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Comparisons of stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes of tourism impact in Mt Qiyun, Anhui Province, China

A thesis

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by

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Executive Summary

This thesis was conducted in Qiyun Mountain, Anhui Province from the commencement of November, 2012, to the end of May, 2013. Qiyun Mountain is well known for its long history of Taoism, its unique Danxian landscapes, numerous cliff inscriptions, and ancient Huizhou style of villagescapes. This thesis attempts to compare perceptions of tourism impacts from the perspectives of different stakeholders' and their attitudes towards future tourism development and their suggestions for further sustainable tourism. While any application of Western literature on stakeholders' perceptions of tourism impact in the context of a rural Taoism community in China may have limitations and currently many studies in the Chinese academic literature have focussed primarily on local communities and economic impacts, this study tried to obtain a grounded understanding of daily realities by adopting an ethnographic research method to collect data. This approach involved 'Semi-structured interviews', 'Participant observation', 'Conversation', 'Field notes', 'Photography', 'Using secondary documentation', and formal 'Questionnaires'. Analysis of the interviews was based on thematic analysis methods and textual analysis software, while an analysis of survey data was undertaken using SPSS 20.0.

This thesis has six main research objectives. The first is to investigate visitors' perceptions of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun, and their evaluations of Qiyun tourism. The second objective is to investigate the views of residents who live in 'below mountain' villages, and discover their attitudes to tourism development. The third objective therefore, investigates tourism impacts from the Qiyun People's perceptions, that is, the residents who live in the mountain village that until now has been the core of the attraction. The fourth objective is to investigate the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from local governmental officials' perceptions. The next objective is to simply compare the different perceptions and attitudes towards tourism impacts. Finally the thesis draws on the evidence and speculates in the context of the wider literature the extent to which it is possible to generalize from the study to a wider conceptualization of tourism impacts on Chinese communities. As outlined above, four stakeholder groups were chosen to be researched, and were classified as 'residents who live on the mountain', 'residents who live below the mountain', 'visitors', 'Government officials'. Thus, a large number of samples were obtained in this thesis. The total number of semi-structured interview from 4 different stakeholders reached 124 respondents, comprising 36 respondents from residents below the mountain, 28 respondents from residents on the

mountain, 40 respondents from visitors, and 20 respondents from government officials. In addition three questionnaires were sent to three groups, namely residents below the mountain (n=768), residents on the mountain (n=75), visitors (n=1391).

The findings firstly provide an insight into how stakeholders perceive tourism and its impacts in Mt Qiyun from environmental, social-cultural and economic perspectives. It is found that government officials are more likely to focus on the positive environmental impacts than other three stakeholders. Respondents drawn from the two resident groups both clearly realized the benefits and costs which tourism had brought to the local community. The mountain residents who frequently have contact with visitors mentioned the negative impacts created by a number of visitors' activities. With reference to social-cultural impact, it can be seen that residents on the mountain are the most affected group when compared with the other three stakeholders. Both government and visitors have a low awareness of social-cultural impacts; and because visitors only stay a couple of hours, it is really difficult for them to deeply experience how tourism influences local life, culture, and value systems. For most government officials, they lived in Xiuning country, and just worked in Qiyun town; and most travel to the mountain only a few times per year. When assessing the residents below the mountain it was found that this group have more favourable perceptions than government and visitor groups, but lower than the residents on the mountain. Regarding economic impacts, except for residents below the mountain, stakeholders confirmed the positive role of tourism in benefiting the village and local area economically. Residents below the mountain showed their dissatisfaction over many economic items, and strongly agreed with a view that tourism development leads to an 'unbalanced industry structure', 'unfairness of income distribution', 'higher living expenses' and 'increases the income gaps between rich and poor'. Secondly, all stakeholders expressed dissatisfaction for different reasons about the current state of Qiyun tourism. Yet all hope the mountain could be developed yet further rather than simply sustain the current level of tourism activities. It suggested that to sustain rural community tourism, every stakeholder needs to be considered; especially those of local residents. Residents should be encouraged to not only enjoy participation in the sharing of tourism economic benefits, but also have some opportunities to say something in the decision making process. The thesis also describes a 'social harmony' model in the Qiyun Mountain area with respect to social-cultural, political, economic and environmental issues.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 presents the background of the research, included the reason for choosing Qiyun Mountain as a research destination, the objectives of the research, the methodology used, as well as the implications of the findings. It also outlines the structure of the thesis by giving a short overview of each chapter.

1.2 Research background

The intention of this thesis is to study a major Chinese Taoist Mountain, to reveal how it is developed as a destination as a religious Taoist site, a heritage site and a tourist site. In particular, the thesis aims to reveal how key stakeholders perceive Qiyun tourism development in its current stage, as well as describing their perceptions of tourism impacts, and their suggestions for further sustainable development. To achieve sustainable tourism in any host community, planners should place an emphasis on considering the perceptions and attitudes of relevant stakeholders toward tourism development and its impacts. Researchers such as Anderreck and Vogt (2000) stated that without stakeholder support, it is nearly impossible to develop tourism in a sustainable manner. Indeed, six principles of sustainable tourism identified by UNWTO (2004) also pointed out the importance of a well-formed participation of all relevant stakeholders, and a constant monitoring of tourism impacts. However, conflicts and tensions among stakeholders can easily occur as the different interests bear varying costs and benefits of development; and thus each stakeholder group should be given consideration without one being given priority over others, but all being equal (Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Markwick, 2000).

The key stakeholders in the current study were from four groups, that is ‘residents who live on the mountain’, ‘residents who live below the mountain’, ‘visitors’, and ‘Government officials’. In this thesis, the author does not intend to separate business owners as a specific stakeholder to be researched although many stakeholders’ studies such as Andereck and Vogt (2000) and Goeldner and Ritchie (2003) identified the main tourism stakeholders as including residents, government officials, tourists and business owners. Unlike other tourist destinations, Qiyunshan is still at the early development stage, and there are not many outsiders coming to the mountain to engage in tourism businesses. Currently, only two external companies are investing there; and other businesses are held by local villagers; as

such, those villagers have two dual roles, both as residents and business owners. However, in the research, outsiders were also interviewed and found to support other stakeholders' views.

With regard to the impacts of tourism, this thesis will examine them from 3 aspects, namely economic, social-cultural and environmental impacts. Every stakeholder was asked about how they viewed these impacts in Qiyun Mountain. The literature indicates that from the positive perspective, tourism is recognized as an essential industry to generate employment, tax revenue, and economic diversity in the host community (Haley and Haley, 1997; Siriporn & Youngsoo, 2010); it helps to improve the quality of life, contributes to the revitalization of arts, crafts and local traditional culture (Cohen, 1984); causes a change in a community's values, beliefs, and traditional living styles (Ekrem, Fuat, Huseyin & Sedat, 2002); and improves the image of the host community (Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002; Mason & Cheyne, 2000). From a negative perspective, it has been found that tourism causes some economic costs such as increased tax burdens, increased costs of land and housing, local government debt, possesses a seasonality of production, creates inflation, generates opportunity costs, an over-dependence on tourism, and overcrowding that degrades natural the environment, threatens the habitats of wildlife, and has negative impacts on local community life (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Mason, 1995; Ryan & Gu, 2009). As such, this thesis is going to explore the tourism impacts in the Qiyun Mountain with the hope of providing evidence of such impacts and the severity of them in a rural Chinese context.

1.3 Research Destination

Qiyun Mountain is situated in Xiuning County, Huangshan City, Anhui, China, and was called White Mountain or Baiyue (白岳) in ancient times, namely "the peaks high in the sky, level with the clouds (一石插天，直入云端，与碧云齐)". It is well known for its rich heritage, long history of Taoism, the unique Danxia landscapes, and the beautiful Huizhou style countryside scenes. The rationale for the selection of this Taoism Mountain as a study area exists in the following:

- a) Mt Qiyun is one of the top four famous Taoism Mountain in China, and the Qiyun village (the village located on the mountain) has a long history of Taoist devotion and is a site of pilgrimage for many centuries;

-
- b) It is located in Anhui Province near Huangshan, and has become part of a portfolio of potential tourism product identified by the Huangshan Municipal Government;
 - c) The Chinese State has already identified the site as one for which a case can be made for accreditation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site;
 - d) Past research has revealed rapid change has already occurred, but the linkages between the community, other local communities, asset ownership and relationship with local government has remained unclear;
 - e) The study can make a contribution to a growing number of such case studies in China, and add to the debate as to whether meta-narratives still have a place in the wider tourism literature (Ryan, Zhang & Jing, 2011)

1.4 Research Objectives

This thesis has six main research objectives. 1) The first research objective is to investigate the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from visitors' perceptions, as well as study the motives of visitors to the village, and shape their evaluation of tourism at the village, 2) To investigate tourism impacts from the perspectives of residents living in other villages which are below the mountain, discover their attitudes to tourism development and evaluate their perceptions of tourism in Qiyun area, 3) To investigate tourism impacts from primarily the perspectives of residents living in a small Taoist village (on the mountain), discover their attitudes to tourism development and evaluate their perceptions of tourism in Mt Qiyun, 4) To investigate the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from officials' perceptions and to assess to what degree congruency exists between the goals of tourism planning and the aspirations of local residents, 5) To assess what is the relevant stakeholders' degree of satisfactions with reference to tourism development in Mt Qiyun, compare their different perceptions and attitudes toward tourism impacts; and explore their suggestions for Mt Qiyun about ways in which tourism can be developed sustainably in a community, 6) To speculate in the context of the wider literature the extent to which it is possible to generalize from the results to a wider conceptualization of tourism impacts on Chinese communities in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

1.5 Research Method

Based on a spirit of pragmatism, both quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted to explore the research objectives, which helps to reduce the limitations of over-dependency on

a single method (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). More specifically, an ethnographic method was employed in this study by the author's close observation and personal involvement with people studied in a particular setting to write and analyse their social life (Watson, 2011). Various research techniques used in this research included 'Semi-structured interviews', 'Participation observation', 'Conversation', 'Field notes', 'Photography', 'Secondary Document analysis', aided by the use of questionnaires. The investigation of three stakeholder groups, visitors, residents below the mountain, and residents on the mountain; were supplemented by the administration of a questionnaire and in-depth semi-structured interviews; while government officials were only approached by interview because of the limited numbers of the sample. Finally, the data were analysed by thematic analysis method and use of software packages like SPSS 20.0, Leximancer and Catpac.

1.6 Rationale and Contribution of the Research Study

In 2010, the author first visited Mt Qiyun (Qiyunshan), and stayed there one month to collect data for her Master's thesis with the topic of "To investigate the social-cultural tourism impact in Mt Qiyun village". At that time, the author only focused on the residents lived in the mountain village and did not research other villages below the mountain. Because of her interest, when the author finished her Master's thesis, she decided to continue a more comprehensive tourism impact study based on stakeholder theory. The findings aim to offer insights into how tourism and its impact are understood from various stakeholders' view of Qiyun Mountain and to contribute to several previous literatures on this subject. In particular, this thesis fills the gaps in the existing literature on the subject of comparing the stakeholders' attitudes and perceptions toward tourism and its impact in a rural Chinese community, along with exploring the level of community participation in Qiyun area. Ultimately the thesis suggests a framework of 'Social Harmony' in the spirit of a scientific understanding of the Chinese market economy to promulgate policies that permits policy objectives to be achieved.

1.7 Organisation of thesis

Chapter 1 Introduction

This introductory chapter provides general information for readers including the research background, rationale for the destination selection, research objectives, research methods, as well as the research significance and thesis outline with a summary for each chapter.

Chapter 2 Literature review

Chapter two firstly describes the literatures on the social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts that emanate from tourism both in the context of the western and Chinese academies. Secondly, the chapter attempts to review stakeholder theory in tourism management with an assessment of the roles of government, tourists, and residents. Thirdly, chapter two also gives an overview of residents' attitudes and the nature of community participation to provide a basic foundation for the current research project as represented by the different samples.

Chapter 3 Research content

This chapter provides a context of the study and provides background information about the research location. It describes Huangshan City, Xiuning County and Qiyun Town individually, with their current tourism development status and planned future tourism policies along with a description of Mt Qiyun.

Chapter 4 Research methodology

Chapter three begins with an outline of 6 research objectives; followed by identifying the research paradigms and methodological issues used in Qinyun research. The ethnographic approach with its main techniques like participative observation, photography, semi-structured interview et al, is examined carefully in this chapter.

Chapter 5 An analysis of the visitors to Qiyun Mountain

Chapter five presents findings derived from both interviews and self-completion questionnaires to answer the questions : 'who are the visitors?', 'why visit Qiyun mountain?', 'what are the visitors' activities?', 'what is the level of tourist satisfaction?', and 'what is the perception of tourism impact?'. Two datasets are used to investigate visitors' perceptions of tourism impacts and their attitude toward current tourism development.

Chapter 6 An analysis of the views expressed by residents of the villages below the mountain

The results reported in chapter six are based on an analysis of interviews undertaken with residents living in the villages below the mountain through questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and participative observation techniques supplemented by photographic evidence. It presents: a) the degree of residents' involvement in the tourism industry; b) residents' perceptions of tourism impacts; c) satisfaction with current tourism development; d)

suggestions for achieving sustainable tourism; and e) degrees of community participation in the decision making process.

Chapter 7 Analysis of the views expressed by Qiyunshan Residents (also called Qiyun people in this thesis)

Chapter seven reports findings derived from interviews with Qiyun people, the self-completed questionnaires, and the researcher's daily observations. The research questions are the same as those posed to the residents below the mountain and examined chapter six.

Chapter 8 An analysis of the views of government officials

This chapter investigates the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from the viewpoint of government officials using semi-structured interviews. Five research questions will be explored in this chapter: 1) The stage of tourism development in Qiyun Mountain; 2) the attitude of officials toward tourism in Qiyun; 3) The goals of tourism development; 4) an analysis of the environmental, economic and social-cultural impacts of tourism; and 5) perception about the need for and level of community participation in local area

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This chapter has four parts. In the first part, the conclusions first summarise the main research findings; in the second part, a comparison of the four stakeholders' attitudes and perceptions of tourism and its impacts is made; in the third part, the implications for destination management and the suggestions made by the four stakeholders for sustainable tourism is provided; and finally, an assessment of the contribution to literature and further research is given.

1.8 Chapter Summary

This first chapter gives a general overview of the thesis, which includes the background to the research project, the objectives of the research, the research methods used, as well as the contribution of the research, and the structure of the thesis. This study is significant when using ethnographic research to compare stakeholders' perceptions of tourism impact in the rural Chinese community. Thus, through the research, it will better understand the differences of various stakeholders' attitude and perception of tourism and its impact on Qiyun Mountain

area, which contributes to a literature that based on a wider conceptualisation of tourism impacts on Chinese communities.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to first describe the literature on the social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts that emanate from tourism. Second, the review will also include stakeholder theory in tourism management with reference to destination development. Overall, in this chapter, the review of literature covers seven sections, namely : a) an overview of tourism impact studies, b) a description of different impacts from the economic, social, cultural, and environmental aspects, c) a review about past tourism impact findings with specific reference to China, d) a review of tourism impacts at religious sites, e) a description of stakeholder theory, including an assessment of the roles of government, tourists and residents, f) a review of residents' attitudes toward tourism and g) a statement about the nature of community participation.

Tourism is a significant form of human activity consisting of tourists, business, government, community and environment (Williams & Lawson, 2001). When the tourist interacts with the local environment, economy, culture and society; of necessity a number of consequences can emerge (Mason, 2008). Certainly much of the literature addresses a number of positive effects of tourism that include the generation of both direct and indirect employment (particularly for women and young adults), increased tax revenue, foreign exchange for national economies, and, at least initially, an increased economic diversity in the host community (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Haley and Haley, 1997; Siriporn & Youngsoo, 2010). Additional benefits include an enhancement of residents' quality of life by increasing the availability of resources for recreation and entertainment, improvements in local infrastructure (Belisle & Holy, 1980, Cohen , 1984; Lankford & Howard, 1994); an improved image of the host community (Besculides , Lee & McCormick, 2002; Mason & Cheyne ,2000), a contribution to cultural exchange and mutual understanding between tourists and hosts, a revitalization of the arts, crafts and local traditional culture (Mason, 2008; Beekhuis, 1981), and an increased awareness to protect the environment (Mason, 2008). On the other hand, it has been found that tourism can increase tax burdens, the cost of land, housing and goods, local government debt, inflation, generate high opportunity costs, an over-dependence on tourism and the emergence of Dutch disease, (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Wall & Mathieson, 2006), lead to low wages, seasonality of employment, overcrowding that degrades the natural environment, threatens the habitats of wild life, and have negative

impacts on local community life (Mason, 1995; Ryan & Gu, 2009). Other ills found associated with tourism include crowding, noise and pollution in the host community (Tatoglu et al., 2002; Ap 1992), a contribution to social ills such as drug trafficking, prostitution, begging, crime, and gambling, and sometimes tourism will change the traditional society and culture (Lankford & Howard, 1994; Kuvan & Akan, 2005). Finally tourism may influence host residents' values, life style, behaviours, and family relationships (Ritchie & Inkari, 2006), but whether this is beneficial or not is dependent upon value systems. Some may see the negation of traditional life patterns, while others may welcome the modernisation of family structures such as a greater independence for women.

Certainly tourism has been envisaged as a vital tool to stimulate economic growth for many decades. It can promote the development of poor countries or areas, and help reduce the gap between rich and poor nations or areas (Chen, 2006). Consequently, there are many studies that focus on exploring the tourism economic impacts from 1980s to 2010s, such as those of Liu and Var who explored economic impacts in Hawaii in 1986, Archer and Fletcher (1996) who assessed the economic impacts of tourism in the Seychelles, and Narayan (2004) who investigated the economic impacts of tourism on Fiji's economy and so on. However, in addition to the economic costs and benefits, it should be noted that tourism also has significant socio-cultural and environmental impacts on local destination. As Archer stated that : “ ...even though such costs cannot always be quantified in money terms, they must be taken into account in the process of decision making” (Archer, 1978, p.13). Indeed, based on the numbers of previous studies on tourism impacts, it could be concluded that although the effect of tourism seem to be multi-faceted, the focus of tourism impacts is always placed on three aspects, namely economic, political, socio-cultural and environment impacts (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Mason, 2008; Li 2002). As such, in the current study, all three impacts will be analysed from the perspectives of visitors, residents (both include residents on the mountain village, and below the mountain villages), and government officials' perception as described in Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 respectively.

2.2 Importance of researching tourism impact

Early work on tourism impact emerged in the 1960s with much focus on the economic and positive effects of tourism (Pizam, 1978). However, in the 1970s, researchers began to examine socio-cultural impacts (De Kadt, 1979). Later, in the 1980s, there was an attempt to focus on the environmental impact of tourism (Butler, 1980) and in the 1990s, there was a

more holistic, integrative view that recognized that all impacts (including economic, social, cultural, and environmental) should be taken into consideration simultaneously (Jurowski, Uysal & Williams, 1997; Xiao & Smith, 2006). For their part Andereck and Vogt (2000) considered that tourism impact studies had changed their focus from the positive impacts considered in the 1960s, to more negative aspects in the 1970s, thence to a more balanced systematic view in the 1980s, to be followed by community level research in 1990s. At early 21st-century, the majority of tourism impact studies focus on exploring local residents' perception (Tosun, 2002; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Sharma & Dyer, 2009; Sirakya, Teye & Sonmez, 2002), while a small number of tourism impact studies in current decade would be assessed from the perspective of other stakeholders, such as visitors, governments or business operators (Andriotis, 2005; Kayat, 2008; Byrd et al, 2009).

The theme of tourism impacts has thus received considerable attention in the tourism literature. It appears clear an analysis of tourism impacts is very important. One of the main principles in WTO's conceptualization of sustainable tourism development is the constant monitoring of impacts (WTO, 2004). According to Belisle and Hoy (1980), Lankford, (2001), WTO acknowledged that a systematic analysis of tourism impacts could provide planners with a database to develop an effective tourism plan aimed at addressing local concerns and issues to help government and local authorities' planners and decision-makers to identify real concerns and thereby help a host community to maximise the positive impacts while minimising the negative impacts. Wall and Mathieson (2006) also put the emphasis on the importance of tourism impact research. They insisted that as tourism grows rapidly, the impacts need to be always anticipated, comprehended, planned for and managed, because tourism impacts are likely to change over time as a destination area develops (Butler, 1980). Moreover, tourism impact research in local community could increase awareness of a need for public participation and a more community-oriented approach to tourism planning (Keogh, 1990, p.450). However, it is difficult to measure the impact of tourism, as tourism cannot be classified as a single industry but would be influenced by any number of factors (Fletcher, 1989). Mason (2008) proposed several questions to further explore these factors, including: "where is tourism taking place? What is the scale of tourism? Who are the tourists? In what types of activities do tourists engage? For how long has tourism been established?..."(p.40). Certainly Wall and Mathieson (2006) noted that the types of tourism, community characteristics, and nature of host-guest interactions would be the main factors affecting the nature of tourism impacts. Indeed, as early as year 1981, Brougham and Butler (1981, p.571)

acknowledged that: "...the nature of tourism impacts is affected by different types of tourists which are based on tourists' desire, expectations and motivations".

With regard to the types of tourism variables, it is especially true that different types of tourism will create varying impacts on local communities. For example, cultural tourism will place more emphasis on keeping and promoting local traditional culture which leads to significant cultural impacts. Equally tourism premised on shopping will focus on building facilities, and creating more shopping opportunities which are more likely to create local social impacts. Nicholson (1997) found that mass tourism (especially that associated with luxury hotels and resorts), always brings better returns to external investors, but creates significant negative tourism impacts for the local community. On the other hand Shah and Gupta (2000) stated that domestic tourism can help to minimise seasonal variations and provide long term sustainability for investments in tourism.

Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) described the relationship between tourism development stages (exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline and rejuvenation) and their impacts. He pointed out that as the tourist destination moves from one stage to another stage, the environmental, social and economic situation of that place will change over time. This notion was reinforced by Cochrane's (1997) study of a part of Indonesia, in which he stated that, in 1977, there was only one hotel in the area and 56 households provide home-stays. However, because of development, two decades later there were many hotels and only six home-stays remained. As a result, tourists choose a homestay only when hotels were full, and the chances of residents-tourists interaction were reduced.

2.2.1 Economic impact

The study of economic impacts has proved popular. As Pearce (1989, p.2) stated: "...studies of the tourism impact on a destination or destinations have been the largest single element of tourism research...however, much of this is predominantly the work of economists and has concentrated on the effects of income and employment." Wall and Mathieson (2006) and Stynes (1997) provided a list of reasons as to why there was so much emphasis on tourism economic impacts. First, economic impacts are easier to measure than other impacts, second, large quantities of reliable data have been collected on the economic aspects of tourism; third, economic benefits command great respect among the business, governmental and local communities; fourth, tourism economic consequences are considered to be the most important

factors in investing, marketing and management decisions, and fifth, there are a variety of research methods existing to measure economic impacts, such as “ multiplier analysis, linear programmes, general equilibrium models, and benefits-cost analysis” (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 71). Normally, the economic impacts of tourism are perceived as positive, due to its contribution to increase foreign exchange earnings for host nation, government revenues, decrease unemployment rate by generating new job opportunities, stimulating the supply sectors of tourism, improving the level of economic activity, and furthering the standard of living in local communities (Andriotis, 2001; Ivanov & Webster, 2007; Ap, 1992; Liu and Var, 1986; Chazapi & Sdrali, 2006; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996).

The economic impacts of tourism can be especially important in many developing nations. For example, Mason (2008) pointed out that the Indonesian island of Bali provided a good example of tourism stimulating significant economic growth in the 1960s to create a large number of jobs. Nicholson (1997) found that tourism dominates the economy of Boracay Island, Philippines. Tourism provided income-earning opportunities by providing accommodation in family-owned units. Those new sources of income have improved locals' living standards. Kala (2008) conducted a tourism impact study in Jaipur, India, who discovered that 80.7% of respondents confirmed that tourism leads to direct economic benefits which include the provision of employment, an increase in income of locals, and improved the living standard for regional development. Additionally tourism development generate for many rural communities an opportunity to add to their social capital as they come into greater contact with the outside world. Evidence of this is provided in chapter 6 and 7 where, for example, villagers make reference to a growing awareness of demographic action in seeking to negotiate with local government.

Although, the economic impact of tourism is generally positive (Tosun, 2002), the negative economic consequences of tourism are not always largely mentioned by a local community. Researchers like Wall and Mathieson (2006, p. 89) found that negative economic impacts of tourism included “... the danger of over dependency of tourism; increased inflation and higher land values; an increased propensity to import; the seasonality of production and the low rate of return on investments; the creation of other external costs”. Kala (2008) and Pearce (1989) are among those who identified problems connected with an overdependence on tourism, and its heavy infrastructure costs that may create an unfavourable impact on the

balance of payments. Din (1993) and de Kadt (1979) even argued that the economic benefits of tourism development were sometimes not evenly distributed within the local community. The income always goes to business and government; thus, the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. Furthermore, tourism has criticised for creating jobs with only low level of skill, and being part time, both of which will disrupt the traditional employment structure (Tosun, 2002; Townsend, 1997). For instance, Mason (1995) found that tourism in Bali gave evidence of being a cause of inflation. Before 1968, land prices had been steady for 20 years, but after tourism developed, land prices rose by more than 100 per cent. A summary of past research is provided in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Given that tourism can be either negative or positive, the question arises as to what determines the outcomes of tourism growth? Wall and Mathieson (2006) identified seven main factors, namely:

- i. “The nature of the main facility and its attractiveness to tourists
- ii. The volume and intensity of tourist expenditures in the destination
- iii. The level of economic development of the designation area
- iv. The degree of interconnectivity between the economic sectors of the destination in which tourist expenditures recirculate, including the ratios of expenditure to the export of commodities and capital movement
- v. The degree to which the destination has adjusted to the seasonality of tourist demand
- vi. The type and pattern of travel arrangements purchased by the tourists
- vii. The size of the economic base of the destination area” (p.90)

Following summaries generally describe the economic themes from both positive and negative ones in most western studies.

Table 2.1 Economic benefits of tourism summary		
Economic benefits	Findings	Researcher
Employment opportunities	Tourism results in generating employment	Liu & Var, 1986 Ap, 1992, Ap & Crompton (1998); Wall & Mathieson (2006); Lawson, Williams, Young & Cossens, 1998; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Chazapi & Sdrae , 2006; Kala, 2008
Standard of living	Increase standard of living for the local community	Liu & Var, 1986 Haralambopoulos & Pizam ,1996, Li(2002), Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, Chen & Chiang, 2005, Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Chazapi & Sdrae , 2006;
Foreign exchange earnings	contribute to the host nation's foreign exchange earnings	Mason (1995, 2008) , Ap & Crompton (1998), Lickorish, 1994; Li (2002)
Destinations economic growth	Tourism contribute to regional development	Lawson, Williams, Young & Cossens, 1998; Liu, et al., 2008;
Government revenue	Tourism help government to increase revenue	Lickorish, 1994; Chen & Chiang, 2005
Foreign capital investment	Tourism could attract foreign capital investment	Li , 2002; Jenkins, 1982;
Family income	Tourism could increase family income	Chazapi & Sdrali , 2006; Liu, et al., 2008; Feng, 2008; Kala, 2008; Arlt & Xu , 2008

Table 2.2 Economic costs of tourism summary		
Negative economic impact	Findings	Researchers
Increased cost of living	Tourism results in increased costs of living for host community	Andereck <i>et al</i> , 2005; Wall & Mathieson (2006), Williams & Lawson 2001
Increased prices	Tourism results in increasing the local prices, such as services, land, property, restaurant	Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Chazapi & Sdrali , 2006; Chen & Chiang, 2005; Lawson, Williams, Young & Cossens, 1998; Williams & Lawson 2001;Tsundoda&Mendlinger, 2009;
Benefits not distributed	Tourism results in unfair distribution of economic benefits among locals	Din (1993); de, Kadt (1979); Belisle & Hoy, 1980, Bill & Carmen1997; Sirakaya, Teye & Sönmez, 2002;Stoeckl, Greiner, & Mayocchi, 2006; McDowall & Choi, 2010
Employment is seasonal and temporary	Tourism development change traditional employment structure, and make lots of seasonal jobs	Tosun, 2002;Townsend,1997; Kala, 2008
Inflation	Tourism results significant inflation	Perez & Nadal, 2004; Wall & Mathieson (2006); Kala, 2008
Over-dependence on tourism	Tourist destinations become over-dependence on tourism industry	Wall & Mathieson (2006); Kala, 2008; Robinson ,1999;

2.2.2 Social- cultural impact

Mathieson and Wall (1982), as well as Dogan (1989), identified socio-cultural impacts as 'people impacts' in their early studies. They explained that the social and cultural impacts of tourism contribute to find ways in which tourism changes daily routines, social lives, value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships and life styles. The social-cultural impacts of tourism were also mentioned by Kala (2008), which refer to changes in the quality of local residents' lives and the cultural environment. Early in 1984, Pizam and Milman identified six major categories of social-cultural impacts: "... impacts on population structure, transformation of forms and types of occupations, transformation of values, influence on traditional lifestyle, modification of consumption patterns and benefits to tourists (p.11)."

When compared to economic impacts, it is often more difficult for researchers to measure socio-cultural impacts. Thomason et al., (1979) asserted that to measure the nature of social impacts is not easy, because it always changes through time. Thus, they called for the need to monitor impacts rather to rely on single assessments at a given time. Normally, to assess tourism impacts on socio-cultural aspects, it was common to investigate local residents' attitudes towards the industry and the effects which tourism was having on their daily life (Lawson, Williams, Young & Cossens, 1998, Ap & Crompton, 1998). Thus, the main purpose of analysing social-cultural tourism impact is to provide researchers, planners, officials, and local authorities with rich data on host community attitudes towards tourism development, which could be used to maximise the positive impacts while minimising the negative impacts, thereby leading to more sustainable tourism (Ratz, 2002).

From a social perspective, positive impacts included, for example, an increase in recreational facilities, endorsing and strengthening community pride, revitalizing poor or non-industrialized regions, resurrecting local arts and crafts, improving public transport infrastructure, reviving the social life of the local population, renewing local architectural traditions, improving the image of the host community, and promoting the need to conserve areas of outstanding beauty that have cultural value (Mason, 1995; Williams & Lawson 2001 ;Ap, 1992; Weaver & Lawson, 2001). However, Liu, Sheldon & Var (1987), and Tosun, (2002) argued that the social impacts may not always be positive. Negative social impacts from tourism could be related to increased traffic congestion, overcrowding in destinations, increases in crime, pollution, low wages, seasonal employment, and social conflicts, and

finally a decline in traditions (Mason, 2008, Backman & Backman, 1997, Dogan, 1989). On top of listing such significant social impacts, some researchers provided detailed case studies illustrating such impacts on host communities. For instance, by conducting a case study of the Sunshine Coast, Sharma and Dyer (2009) found that the negative social impacts may include traffic congestion, pressure on local services, and high prices for real estate as well as noise and pollution. Chazapi and Sdrali (2006) found that residents on Andros Island, Greece, expressed high levels of agreement on positive social impact, such as improving the socio-economic life status for women, but felt that would bring issues pertaining to safety and crime. Moreover, because of tourism, human relationships tended to be commercialized as non-economic considerations became less valued (Dogan, 1989). Kala (2008) investigated tourism's impacts in India, and found that 78.7 % respondents were proud to have visitors in their region; but 80% of respondents mentioned congestion and the overcrowding of infrastructure as a major social problem. Another important finding has related to the role of women. Ekrem et al., (2002) found that the impacts of tourism on women were considered to be positive because the industry provided more opportunities to directly earn and retain money, which made them more confident and increased their family status. However, some researchers also argued that tourism will distort traditional family structures, leading to increases in divorce rates and possibly prostitution (Gee, Makens & Choy, 1997).

From a cultural perspective, tourism development and the interaction of tourist and local residents could cause a series of changes with regard to culture in the host community. Tourists from different cultures interacting with hosts may improve mutual understanding and create better images of different communities and cultures; however, those cultural exchanges may have an effect on the host community (Brayley, Var & Sheldon, 1990). This could be evidenced by 'Acculturation theory', which suggests that when two or more cultures come into contact for a certain time, then an exchange of cultural features will occur. The original cultural patterns of either or both groups may be altered, and the groups remain distinct, but the stronger culture might 'take over' the weaker one (Murphy, 1991; Kottak, 2007). Some significant cultural impacts may include: contribution to the revitalization of traditional arts, crafts, and heritage; change local residents' values, and lifestyles including modes of dress, eating, and recreational activities (Chen & Chiang, 2005; Liu and Var, 1986). On the other hand tourism has helped to maintain historical celebrations, festivals and religious ceremonies (Lanfant, 1980). Nonetheless there remains a view that tourism can result in a misunderstanding and transformation of local culture. For example, Ap and

Crompton (1998) stated that the host community's cultural features may erode over time, because some residents, especially younger residents, may identify with the tourists' cultural values and wish to have the same items defined as luxuries by the value systems of other cultures. For instance, Kala (2008) noted that first, many Indian tourists scratched walls and inscribed their names on them, leading to that behaviour being imitated by local youth; and second, local cultural traditions become commercialised. The impacts above are more or less related to the 'Demonstration effect', which is primarily discussed in the context of social-cultural impacts. Williams (1998) pointed out that in the demonstration effect simply observing tourists will lead to behavioural changes in the host community, especially where the contacts between residents and visitors are relatively superficial and short lived. Fisher (2004) argued that the demonstration effect can cause local residents to copy visitors' behaviours (e.g. consumption pattern, dress code, lifestyles, cultural changes, etc.). For instance, Mason (2008) reported that under demonstration effect, "local residents will note the superior material possessions of the visitors and aspire to these, which will encourage residents to adopt more productive patterns of behaviour" (p.59).

For his part, Ryan (2002) has commented that such imitation can only occur if residents perceive some value for themselves in the behaviours of the tourists. People do not copy unless some advantage is thought to exist, whether in terms of prestige, status or economic gain. Residents, he argues, are not blank pieces of blotting paper simply waiting to absorb a change derived from outside influences, and in many instances, such changed behaviours do not exactly replicate the observed behaviour. Rather a new hybrid behavioural pattern emerges whereby local people shape a given behaviour into something that bestows benefit on themselves. In a series of studies of tourism impacts on Chinese rural life he, in association with different colleagues, has observed differential patterns of response, even to the point of querying whether a meta-narrative is possible (Ryan, Zhang, & Deng, 2011).

Indeed, social-culture impact is a complex concept, and difficult to assess within short periods of time. Although social-culture impact in various destinations has been much examined, there still exists a large gap in this field research; especially a lack of longitudinal ethnographic approach. In response to this gap, for the current research project, the author spent nearly 7 months in the research area to personally experience how tourism influences a local destination's social and culture society. It should also be noted that this was the second such visit, the first being made approximately 12 months prior to the current study. The

following table summarises social-cultural impacts from both positive and negative perspectives as described in the extant literature.

Table 2.3 Positive socio-cultural impact of tourism summary

Positive socio-cultural impact	Findings	Researchers
Increased understanding of different cultures	Host residents could obtain an enhanced understanding of different cultures	Ap & Crompton, 1998; Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987; Besculides, Lee and McCormick (2002); Siriporn & Youngsoo , 2010; Esman, 1984; Cave, 2003; Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002; Su & Teo, 2008;
Revitalized traditional culture	Tourism can revitalize and preserve traditional culture	de, Kadt (1979); Siriporn & Youngsoo , 2010; Cohen, 1984; Cave, 2007; Feng, 2008; Ryan's et al., 2011;
Greater pride in community	Because of tourism, local community acquire more pride in their community	Ap & Crompton, 1998; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Beekhuis, 1981; Siriporn & Youngsoo , 2010; Esman, 1984; Feng, 2008; Ryan et al., 2011; McDowall & Choi , 2010;
Promotes cultural exchange	Tourism can attract many visitors from different cultural values to host destinations, which promotes different cultural exchanges	Belisle & Hoy, 1980, ; Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987; Williams & Lawson 2001; Beekhuis, 1981; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997 ; Su & Teo, 2008; Ryan's et al., 2011;
Improve social status of women	As a result of tourism development, female residents improve their family and social status by improve confidence and earn money through tourism	Ekrem et al , 2002; Harrill and Potts , 2003; Lama, 2000; Nyaupan, Morais, & Dowler ,2006; Tatoglu et al., 2002; Keyim, Yang & Zhang ,2005;
Increase in recreational facilities	Tourism contributes to increase in recreational facilities	Lankford & Howard, 1994, Williams & Lawson 2001; Settina & Richmond, 1978; Pizam , 1978

Table 2.4 Negative social-cultural impacts of tourism summary		
Negative social-cultural impacts	Findings	Researchers
Increase traffic congestion, overcrowding, crime, pollution, noise, social conflicts	Because of tourism development, host community will suffer some negative impacts by increasing traffic congestion, overcrowding, crime, pollution, noise, social conflicts and so forth	Nicholls, 1976; Ryan & Gu, 2009; Travis, 1982; Andereck, 1995; King, Pizam & Milman, 1993 ; Backman & Backman, 1997; Weaver & Lawton, 2001 ; Yang , Ryan & Zhang , 2012;
Low wages and seasonal employment; change traditional employment structure	Tourism requires seasonal employment, which changes local traditional employment structure	Gee, Makens and Choy,1997; Townsend, 1997; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Tosun, 2002; Collier (2003); Kim, 2002; Keyim, Yang, & Zhang, 2005; Liu, et al., 2008;
Misunderstanding of local culture	The local culture will be changed	Ap & Crompton , 1998; Shackley , 1999; Master & Prideaux , 2000; Hinch & Li, 1994;
Affect traditional family values	Local residents will change their value systems by interacting with tourists	Kousis, 1989; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Dogan, 1989; Fan, Wall & Mitchell , 2009; Sun & Teo , 2009;
Culture become commercialization	Tourism in many places will perceive traditional culture as a product, sell the experience to tourists, which leads to commercialization	Cohen, 1988; Kala ,2008; Cave, 2009; Sun & , Teo;2009;

2.2.3 Environmental impact

Once, tourism was perceived as a clean industry or smokeless industry. The environmental issues of tourism were first mentioned in 1967 at the conference on “Ecology, Tourism and Recreation” in Switzerland (Hashimoto, 2000). Since then there has been a growing sensitivity to tourism environmental issues, and the awareness of environmental impacts due to tourism has grown significantly. Many researchers have questioned the nature of environmental impacts, such as Plog in 1972, who questioned: “does tourism create the seeds of its own destruction?” Brackenbury (1993, p.17) argued that “the end of environment is the

end of tourism”; Glasson, Godfrey, and Goodey (1995, p.7) stated, “Tourism can kill tourism, destroying the very environment attraction which visitors come to a location to experience”. With the expansion of world tourism, there is an increased threat to the environment, particularly if it is not well-planned and managed. If tourism destroys the environment of a country, then tourists will no longer have a reason to visit it (Beladi et al., 2009). Those statements and similar others identify the growing importance of assessing tourism impacts on the natural environment. Liu, Sheldon and Var (1987) suggested that the “...environment should be ranked higher than cultural benefits, social costs, and even economic benefits, because the protection of the environment is essential for the sustainable success of any tourism destination” (p.18). Normally, the costs of environmental effects mainly focus on the following:

1. Tourism can increase the pollution of air, water and land,
2. Tourism can contribute to crowding, congestion,
3. Tourism may result in damage to heritage resources or an ecosystem
4. Land-use loss for agriculture, forestry and pastoral arises as built-up tourism areas are developed,
5. Increase urbanization,
6. Creates noise pollution from planes, cars, and tourists,
7. The need to generate increased amounts of energy,
8. The depletion of wildlife and the destruction of vegetation, loss of fauna and flora,

(Travis, 1982; Andereck, 1995; Hunter & Green, 1995; Ekrem, et al., 2002)

On the other hand, some researchers also point out the existence of positive environmental impacts. For instance, Ap and Crompton (1998), and Mason (2008) among others stated that positive tourism environmental impacts are reflected in generating a greater awareness of preserving the natural environmental and historic sites that in turn stimulate measures to protect the environment, landscape and wildlife. Hall and Lew (2009) suggested that tourism provided a financial support for conservation; and at the same time, they also had a view that tourism could potentially involve local residents in protecting a local environment. Indeed, by investigating the local residents’ attitude toward tourism impacts in Joushaigou, China, it

was pointed out that there were positive environmental impacts in that place, because tourism encouraged host residents to fully participate in environment protection policies (Li, Zhang & Liu, 2006). In addition, by interviewing the local residents in Arizona (a southwest US state), Andereck et al, (2005) provided evidence that Arizona residents felt tourism can help improve the local environment by preservation of natural and cultural resources. Mason (2008, p.71) summarized factors influencing the tourism environmental impacts through a series of questions. First, “where are the tourist destinations?” is very important because an urban environment is likely to be affected differently when compared with a rural environment; secondly, the “what is the nature of the activities undertaken by tourists?” is also considered important. Some activities such as fishing and camping will have a great effect on the actual environment, while sight-seeing from a bus will have a smaller direct observable effect. Third, the nature of any tourist infrastructure will also be important. However, our knowledge of the environmental impacts of tourism is still limited. “It is not easy to separate out the environmental impacts attributed to tourism from the effects of other economic causes, such as natural environmental change; it is not possible to separate the source of impacts upon the environment between local residents and tourist; and the consequences of tourism if often incremental and (yet) the effects are cumulative” (Holden, 2008, p.73). Additionally there are a number of significant methodological problems which need to be addressed before undertaking research on environmental impacts, such as distinguishing between changes caused by tourism and those due to other activities (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p.94).

To protect the environment, government, residents, business operators and visitors should work together. As visitor numbers keep growing, there is need to carefully plan and manage tourism in relation to environmental impacts. Commentators such as Wall and Mathieson (2006, pp. 210-212) listed a number of techniques to manage visitors in tourist destinations, including: “regulating access, limiting visitation numbers and specifying behaviours; undertaking market research and marketing; monitoring visitors and research; implementing education programmes and facilities; modifying the heritage management; encouraging and assisting volunteers; and concentrating on destination accreditation and organisations”. Mason (2008) suggested that the concept of carrying capacity is a critical issue in assessing environment impact, and could determine the point at which negative environmental impacts will occur. Moreover, Raschke (2005) provided further suggestions for improving environmental planning policy, which aims at: “mainlining and enhancing biodiversity and

natural landscape of the area; minimising pollution of soil, air and water and the sea; minimising the consumption of resources, particular water and non-renewable resource; increasing tourist; awareness of the importance of protecting the environment” (p.309).

2.2.4 Past findings pertaining to Chinese tourism impacts

The above reviews are derived from studies conducted in western nations. In this section, tourism impact will be discussed in the context of Chinese society. In China, with the rapid development of tourism industry, the research into tourism impacts dates back to the early 1980s. For example, Zhong et al., (2011) undertook a search of the Chinese core journals using the term “tourism environment”. It was found that during the 20 year period from 1981 to 2000, a total of 155 papers had been published with an average of 7.8 papers per year. However, during 2001 to 2009, there were 380 papers published, with an average of 42.2 papers per year. For instance, as early as in the 1981, Chen defined the tourism environment as “a kind of environment in which people can engage in tourism activities, experience beauty, gain spatial, physical enjoyment and knowledge and have fun. It involves natural, social, economic and political environments as well as scientific and technological conditions.” (p.1) Yu et al., (1999) conducted study in Changbai Mountain National Natural Reserve, and found that the discharge of sewage had polluted the watershed of the Erdaobai River, and the atmosphere in this nature reserve had also been polluted due to the use of coal and diesel for heating and cooking. Jiang et al., (1996) examined tourism impacts on vegetation in Emei Mountain of Sichuan Province and revealed that the fir mortality rate in the highly used areas by visitors was several times higher than in other regions. In the current decade, Quan (2003) discovered the serious environment problems in Wulingyuan Scenic Area, a World Heritage Site in Hunan Province, due to its uncontrolled tourism development. Similarly, based on the investigation of Zhangjiajie National Forest Park in China, researchers found that the park’s environment, air quality and ground water quality had deteriorated with the four different tourism development stages (e.g., exploration, involvement, development, and consolidation stages) (Zhong, Deng & Xiang, 2008). It seems that the environment impacts are most likely to be reported negatively in most cases; yet, Chinese researchers also argued that tourism could bring positive environmental effects. Li, et al., (2006) argued that there were positive environmental impacts at Jiuzhaigou that included an increased environmental awareness resident that encouraged them to fully participate in the tourism environment protecting.

With reference to social-cultural impacts, from the late 1980s, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism were widely researched in China; and the majority of studies focussed on investigating the effects of tourism on the quality and standards of living, lifestyle, cultural change, and social structure (Liu, 2003, Zhou & Wu, 2004). For instance, in a study of tourism impact conducted in Shenzhen, it was found that the tourism brought some negative social and cultural impacts to Shenzhen communities, like increasing the conflict between local residents and outsiders, adding to the number of beggars, increasing reported crime and even encouraging the sex industry in Shenzhen (Li, 2002). Gu and Ryan (2010) investigated the tourism impact on a rural community, Hongcun, and found that tourism brought local residents a perceived better quality of life, while the handicrafts being produced by the village had significantly increased. Yet at the same time the residents also felt that the tourism created crowding, noise, poor water quality, and more rubbish. In another study, Cui and Ryan (2011) found that in Ankang, China, both rural and urban residents had positive attitude toward tourism impacts, believing tourism could bring job opportunities, and improve their life standards. In addition, Wang, Li and Bai (2005) undertook a study of residents' perception of tourism impact in Harbin, and noted that tourism made Harbin a more exciting place, and enriched its traditional local culture. Gu and Ryan (2008) examined the relationship between local community and tourism impacts in a Beijing hutong, and indicated that 'traffic congestion' and 'visitors are far too intrusive in everyday lives' were the main negative social impacts as perceived by residents.

In many cases economic benefits are often cited as the main reason for attracting all levels of government to invest in tourism development. In some developing countries, such as China, the government is using tourism as an important strategy to increase local revenue. However, the present model of tourism development in many rural areas of China faces problems because while focusing on economic growth, it is overlooking the actual distribution of economic benefits and socio-ecological costs resulting from that growth (Wang, 2003). Feng (2008) investigated tourism impact in Fenghuang County and found that tourism created both positive and negative economic impacts for the local community. For example, while tourism development increased local revenue, it failed to cover the increased expenditure. However, there was an imbalance between those experiencing the increased revenues and costs, and while some benefitted, there was an increased income disparity. Equally, while tourism could increase employment opportunities for locals, the higher paying jobs were usually given to outsiders. Li et al., (2006) investigated tourism impact in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve.

They found the GDP derived from the tourism industry increased from 28% in 1990 to 68% in 2002, while that from agriculture fell from 28% to 11%. Furthermore, Zhong et al., (2008) conducted research in Zhangjiajie National Forest Park, China. They suggested that tourism development in the park promoted economic development for the whole of Zhangjiajie City. This was based on findings that, for example, in 2002, 59% of the city's tax revenues were from tourism and related sectors while in the early 1990s this percentage was only about 20%. On the other hand, the researchers found that 81.9% of respondents reported that the distribution of tourism income was inequitable. The following table summarises some of the Chinese research.

Table 2.5 Chinese research on tourism impacts summary

Environmental impacts	Study areas	Findings	Researchers
	Changbai Mountain National Natural Reserve	Discharge of sewage has polluted the River; the use of coal and diesel for heating and cooking has polluted atmosphere	Yu et al., (1999)
	Emei Mountain (Sichuan Province)	Fir mortality rate in the highly used areas by visitors was several times higher than other regions.	Jiang et al., (1996)
	Zhangjiajie National Forest Park	Air quality and ground water quality have deteriorated	Zhong, Deng & Xiang, 2008
	Tuanmushan Nature Reserve	Vegetation destroyed, and the shortage of water supply	Li, 2004
	Jiangxi province	Environmental destruction caused by on-going infrastructure construction projects related to tourism expansion; the official data does not mention the negative environmental impact	Rioux, 2006
	Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve	Existence of trampling problems and trail widening, the greater frequency of trampling problems had inverse correlation with the circularity and connectivity of the trail network	Li et al., 2005
	Hongcun Ancient Village	Negative environment changes such as crowding, noise, poorer water quality, more rubbish.	Gu & Ryan, 2010
	Yulong Mountain Glacier	The glacier on the Yulong Mountain died away, and the number of tourists fell	Yuan et al., (2006).
	Shandong Province	A decreased local wildlife as tourism development begin to change the landscape	Wang, et al., 2010
	Li Jiang ancient town	The water quality in Lijiang deteriorated sharply, due to the fast growing tourism	Ning & He, 2007.

Table 2.6 Some Chinese research on tourism impacts summary			
Social-cultural impact	Study areas	Findings	Researchers
	Shenzhen	Increasing conflict between local residents and outsiders, adding the number of beggars, raising the crime or even encouraging the sex industry	Li, 2002
	Ankang	Tourism could bring job opportunities, and improve their living standards	Ryan & Cui, 2010
	Haierbin	Tourism made Harbin become a more exciting place, and enriched its traditional local culture	Wang et al., (2005)
	Beijing hutong	‘Traffic congestion’ and ‘visitors are far too intrusive in everyday lives’ were the main negative impacts	Gu & Ryan (2008)
	Yunnan province	Tourism enhance the empowerment of women; improve of quality of life; Revitalization of ethnic culture; tourism create prostitution issue; disruption of traditional kinship and community bonds	Nyaupane, et al., 2006
	Kaiping Diaolou, Guangdong	Tourism help to preserve the heritage of the diaolou, meeting visitors from outside seen as social benefit	Ryan et al., 2011
	Fenghuang County , Hunan	The conflicts among the local residents, local government, and the tourists are becoming fierce; the role of local women is also changing; the rate of crime increase	Feng, 2008
	Zhangjiajie National Forest Park	Growth in total population, people migrate from other parts to park; quality of life was positively affected by tourism; local residents’ friendliness towards tourist has gradually faced over time	Zhong et al., 2008
	Lijiang Old Town	The usage of historic buildings has drastically changed; the location of the residences of the indigenous minority and its culture are rapidly changing as tourism develops	Yamamura et al., 2006
	Jiuzhaigou Scenic	Tibetans residing in the Jiuzhaigou Scenic area have been largely influenced by tourists of Han nationality, including the food, oral language, dressing, and housing style	Liu & Zhu, 2006

Table 2.7 Some Chinese research on tourism impacts summary

Economic impact	Study areas	Findings	Researchers
	Fenghuang ancient County	Increase local revenue, increase deficit; increase income disparity; increase the employment opportunity for locals, but higher payment job for outsiders	Feng (2008)
	Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve	Cause great changes for the economic structure and employment structure	Li et al., (2006)
	Zhangjiajie National Forest Park	Promoted whole economic development for Zhangjiajie City, increase tax revenues; but 81.9% of respondents reported the distribution of tourism income is unfair.	Zhong et al., (2008)
	Kaiping, World Heritage Site	Created job opportunities for local resident; benefits of tourism get distributed widely though village; no significant negative economic impacts mentioned by villages	Ryan et al., (2011)
	Shenzhen	Attracting foreign capital investment, creating job opportunities, improving living standards and enhancing community life by offering better consumer goods and services	Li, 2002
	Xidi ancient village	Tourism increase family income, most of the increment results from two sources: ticked-based income distribution and tourist commercialisation	Zhang, Ding and Bao, 2008
	Zhouzhuang	Provide substantial job opportunities in Zhouzhuang, all the low pay jobs are filled by outsiders rather than the locals, economic leakage is high.	Xu, 2003
	Beijing 2008 Olympic	Increase business opportunities in Beijing, increase employment opportunities in Beijing, also increase higher price levels	Zhou & Ap, 2009
	Dachangshan Dao	the price of commodities increases sharply, the cost of living increases.	Gu & Wong , 2006
	Shandong	Revenue generated in the local economy, jobs generated in the community, variety of shopping facilities, attract investment	Wang, Bickle & Harrill, 2009

2.2.5 Tourism impact in religious sites

As mentioned previously, Qiyunshan is a traditional Taoism Mountain, and there are still numbers of pilgrims coming to pray in the Qiyun temple although other factors are being used to attract tourist. Thus, in this section, the review of literature will describe some features of tourism impacts in religious sites. Vijayanand (2011) surmised that the socio-cultural economic impacts of religious tourism should not be neglected or underestimated. Given the vital role of religious tourism, one should not be surprised that religious tourism can have impacts similar to those of mass tourism, such as job creation, population growth and infrastructure improvement, but it may also have its own unique features (Vijayanand,

2012). Smith (1992) conducted an early study to assess the religious tourism impact using a socioeconomic perspective and noted its economic benefits. Again Mack (1998), proposed that temples in India function as economic centres, and she found that in some towns the entire socioeconomic structure of the community depends on the temples' visitors and the income generated. She estimated that in Tirupati city (a famous religious site in southern India) employment was controlled by religious tourism, and the employment dependent on pilgrimage increased from 70% in 1971 to more than 80% in 1991, directly employing more than 14,000 people and indirectly about 23,000 people. Ten years later, Dongre and Gopalan (2008), in their study, found that religious tourism in India contributed to social development for poverty alleviation and rural development, as well as infrastructure development. Besides India, other Asian countries, such as China, Laos, and Thailand also have many religious sites and significantly obtained economic benefits. Ashley (2006) provided data that tourism in Luang Prabang in Laos is used to alleviate poverty. Zhang et al., (2007) recognised that religious tourism benefits local economic and social development in Dengfeng City, Henan Province, because of its Shaolin Temple on Mt Song, which is very famous for its religious and cultural tourism. At present, there is a steady tourist market in Dengfeng city, with nearly 3.2 million tourists every year. As such, governments at different levels are likely to support the development of religious sites and festivals, with the purpose of boosting tourism and local economies (James, 2001). However, negative economic impacts are also discussed by scholars. Many of these studies pointed out that commercial exploitation was existing at many religious sites (Eade, 1992; Suntikul, 2008; Nolan & Nolan, 1992). Eade (1992) described shops in Lourdes selling "Lourdes water" to visitors, which were simply plastic bottles, with the pictures of Virgin Mary. While Suntikul (2008) critiqued that some festivals and events are being scheduled to meet the needs of tourists rather than those of cultural authenticity.

With reference to the social-cultural impacts, Shackley (1999) stated that religious tourism can have very powerful positive effects on local communities. One of the most significant effects associated with religious tourism is the role it has in preserving and transforming the viability of cultural tradition. It often motivates residents to seek the preservation of their religious sites, not purely for religious reasons but also in order to maintain if not grow a tourist market (Cohen, 1992; Shackley, 1999). Wang's (2005) research project on "Tibetan Buddhist tourism" is noteworthy. Introducing his article, he observed that Tibetan Buddhism has already influenced local community in every aspect, including politics, economics,

culture and residents' life view of morals, and behaviour. However, a religious place is not simply an attraction; it is a place of worship, to be near God, to show spiritual appreciation (Kasim, 2011). As such, it needs to be managed carefully otherwise the site will suffer negative socio-culture effects. Din (1989) already found that due to certain religious beliefs, tourism is discouraged in some Muslim countries because of its negative impact on the local community. Indeed, Joseph and Kavoori (2001), and Shackley (1999), pointed out that tourism was seen as a threat by some local communities, because of the poor and ill-informed behaviour of visitors to sacred sites. Residents felt tourism will change their local traditions and have adverse effects on their deeply held religious practices. Gray (2008) provided evidence that in Luang Prabang, some monasteries closed because of diminishing income from alms, the intrusion of tourists into temple, and the appearance of crime, drug use and sex among young novices. This may be the result of cultural differences between tourism and its implied hedonistic values and the host religious culture, and increasing tensions between tourists and pilgrims (Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Suntikul, 2008). It is Suntikul (2008) who explained that because of a lack of knowledge of the local region and its practices, tourists easily behave in ways that may be deeply offensive to local religious sensibilities. Additionally, the role of a religious site as a cultural and heritage attraction arises in many religious sites, and "problems related to conflict of visitor interests are most likely to occur when the balance between tourists and pilgrims shift rapidly" (Nolan & Nolan, 1992, p.77). There is additional evidence that tourists may be seen to disrespect a local religion. For example photography is prohibited in most sacred places, but many tourists may disobey this regulation (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Another question that has arisen is whether religious tourism plays an important role in adversely affecting the local natural environment. Shackley (2001) found some possible environment problems at religious sites, much as in mass tourism sites, such as physical pollution, noise pollution, littering, microclimate change and overcrowding. Shackley's finding was later reinforced by a study conducted by Zhang et al., (2007). In their study, they pointed out that some visitors to religious sites will destroy and pollute the environment with litter, graffiti and rowdy behaviour, which destroys the holy atmosphere of local religious sites. They provided example to show how tourists have a negative effect on ancient murals: "the world-famous Dunhuang Murals of the Buddhist Grotto have been affected by the huge influx of tourists. The internal temperature of the grotto is so high that it has already caused great damage to the murals..." (Zhang et al., 2007, p.109). Shinde (2007) researched the

relationship between pilgrimage and the local environment at a pilgrimage centre located in the mountainous region of Himalayas, in north India. It was concluded that there were three main environment problems in local area, including: a) stress on basic services (e.g. shortage of water), b) increase in pollution (e.g. lack of sewerage system, poor disposal of solid wastes), and c) degradation of natural resource. Other environmental issues at religious sites also mentioned by authors, such as Turner (1973), found that many pilgrimage centres have experienced rapid urbanization, which may bring problems such as a loss of forest and land to develop real estate, as well as increasing traffic congestion. Additionally Li, Wang and Ryan (2012) noted that in China, many pilgrims prefer burning incense and joss paper in religious temples, which created much smoke and rubbish and could tarnish murals apart from any increased risk of fire. Finally, from a general point of religious tourism impact, it seems clear that it is important to develop religious tourism in a more sustainable way. Thus, Kasim (2011) listed 4 ways to ensure sustainability:

- “1. Managing against over commercialization of a religious tourism resource,
2. Keeping rituals authentic,
3. (The) Education (of) onlookers on the “do’s” and “don’ts” of a particular religious ceremony and encouraging a sense of respect;
4. Encouraging donations or pledges to generate money to help support the continuity of the rituals” (p.455).

2.3 The Stakeholders

Thus far a general overview of tourism impact has been attempted and the second part of the literature review will focus on stakeholder theory, including ‘stakeholder theory application in tourism research’, ‘the government role in tourism’, ‘the visitors’ role in tourism’, ‘the residents’ role in tourism’, as well as ‘community participation theory’.

2.3.1 Stakeholder theory

One response to the issues raised in this dissertation is the use of stakeholder conceptualisations. The concept of the “stakeholder” was pioneered by Freeman (1984), who identified a stakeholder as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives” (p.46). Carroll (1993) expanded the definition of stakeholders based on Freeman’s concept as being “stakeholders are those groups or individuals with whom the organization interacts, and can affect or is affected by any actions,

decisions, policies, practice or goals of the organization”(p.60). Later in 1995, Donaldson and Preston (1995) refined this definition; they proposed that as a stakeholder, the group or individual must have a legitimate interest in the organization. They also indicated that all stakeholders do not need to participate equally in the decision making process, but all of their interests should be identified and understood. Generally, the fundamental idea of the theory is that the organization should consider all the interests identified by their stakeholders, and increase various stakeholders’ involvement.

Although stakeholder theory was first used in management perspective, later, the concept also becomes a recurring theme in tourism research. The Global Ethics for Tourism approved by the 13th General Assembly of World Tourism Organization used the term “tourism stakeholder” to mark that the concept has been officially accepted. Stakeholder theory was considered as an important concept in sustainable tourism, particularly as it relates to perceptions towards tourism impact and strategies, in order to reduce conflict (Kayat, 2008; Byrd & Gustke, 2004; Byrd, 2007). Three of the six main principles of sustainable tourism reported by WTO in 2004 were related to the “stakeholders”: the six principles being “(1) achieve a high level of tourist satisfaction, (2) make optimal use of environmental resources, (3) respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, (4) provide socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders, (5) constant monitoring of impacts, and (6) informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership” (WTO, 2004, P.193). Actually, as early as in the 1990s, it was stated that each stakeholder group should have a direct influence on managerial decision making, because collecting the stakeholder views about tourism plans could help to reduce the conflict in the longer term, and lead to a desirable society (Healey, 1998; Jones, 1995). More currently, Byrd et al, (2009), and Timur (2010) pointed out that stakeholder theory plays an important role in tourism development, which requires a balance among the needs of the industry, residents, and local community. Kruja and Hasaj (2010) analysed the relevant literature, and summarised multiple outcomes in their studies that encourage stakeholder involvement, including “1) information and education of public about the topics and issues; 2) public and opinions are incorporated in the decision making process; 3) the improvement of quality of decisions; 4) new ideas are generated ; 5) ensuring that stakeholders in tourism are treated fairly; 6) being ethics towards the host community and tourists; 7) an effective cost process; and 8) each stakeholder has rights and possibilities” (p.4). However, it seems that the involvement of stakeholders will be

influenced by factors such as the nature and level of interests, and the openness of key decision makers to outside participation (Marsden & Murdoch, 1998).

With reference stakeholder groups in the tourism industry, Bramwell and Sharman (1999) identified those groups most likely to affect a tourism product as including: those with community interests; those with environmental concerns; local government officials; those with recreational interests; those with economic interests; those with developmental concerns; and other individual local residents. Briefly, scholars have indicated four key major groups: tourists, residents, business owners and government officials (Goeldner & Titchie, 2003; Byrd, 2007; Andereck & Vogt, 2000). One interesting argument stated by Driscoll and Starik (2004) was that the natural environment should also be viewed as a major stakeholder in any type of development, and this requires other stakeholders to understand the interest of the natural environment.

Based on those classifications, many articles in tourism research analysed and used stakeholder theory in the context of tourism and recreation. For example, Lankford (1994) examined the attitudes of four groups of stakeholders: business owners, paid government officials, elected officials and residents in the Columbia River region of Oregon and Washington. Yuksel et al. (1999) conducted interviews for four relevant stakeholders: central and local government officials; managers of local hotels; nearby residents; and other interested organizations to explore their view on local tourism planning at Pamukkale, Turkey. Similarly Andriotis (2005) investigated perceptions of tourism development in three community groups in Crete: residents reliant on tourism employment, non-reliant residents, and tourism business people. Kayat (2008) also focused on the diversity of the stakeholder groups, and, guided by stakeholder theory, investigated the level of stakeholders' interests and attitudes toward a new tourism development programme in Kampung Pelogong community. Furthermore, Byrd et al. (2009) used stakeholder theory to discover if differences in perceptions of tourism's impact on a rural community in eastern North Carolina existed among four different stakeholder groups: residents, entrepreneurs, government officials and tourist. Holden (2010) identified four key stakeholder groups in his study exploring perceptions of sustainable tourism development in the Annapurna Conservation Area, which was situated in Nepal, namely: the trekkers, the lodge owners, the guides, and the principal management agency.

However, it is only recently that the concepts of stakeholders in tourism studies in Chinese scholarship have been recognised. In 2000, Zhang Guangrui translated the UNWTO Global

Ethics for Tourism into Chinese and introduced them into the Chinese academic lexicon (Tao & Fuying, 2009). Bao and Zhong (2002) then identified the stakeholders as tourists, external tour operators, business owners, tourist attraction developers, service business, governmental officials, and local residents in the Guilin Tourism Development Master Plan (2001-2020). Later examples such as Liu and Bao (2005) assessed the various relationships between local government and tourism operators; local government and residents; tourism operators and residents; tourism operators and visitors; as well as the visitors and residents, under a Chinese view of ecotourism. Shi (2008) critiqued the Chinese tourism planning as lacking stakeholders' involvement, and hence resulting in significant conflicts between stakeholders or a lack of implementation of plans. Zhou (2009) investigated four main stakeholders in Zhangjiajie area, including local government, visitors, residents and business operators. She found those stakeholders' expectations of tourism kept changing, which resulted in disharmony of stakeholder development in regional area. More currently, Liu, Ouyang, and Miao (2010), investigated the environmental attitudes of stakeholders (farms, government staff, business persons, and tourists) perceptions in the Protected Area of Jinyun Mountain in China, and found that improving community participation in a protected area can alleviate the protected area-community conflicts. It appears clear that the research about stakeholder reviewed above has contributed to tourism studies; but there remains a lack of studies that have included related and numerous stakeholder groups' perceptions of tourism impacts within the one study. Therefore, one purpose of the current study was to build on the existing body of knowledge about stakeholder attitudes toward tourism development in Qiyun Mountain area by evaluating if differences in perceptions of tourism impacts on local community existed among four stakeholders: tourists, residents on the mountain, residents below the mountain, and government officials.

2.3.2 Government role in tourism development

Nearly, every government plays a very important role in developing the tourism industry no matter whether in developed or developing countries. But why are those governments so enthusiastic about tourism sectors, especially given that the industry often complains that it lacks status in the eyes of governments? Some reasons were identified by Jeffries (2001), who felt that one major reason was the perception that tourism could quickly generate employment opportunities, provide quick economic returns and resolve political and social issues (Jeffries, 2001). Urry (2002) also stated "tourism is one of the only opportunities

available for generating employment... tourism may help local states obtain funding from central government to initiate projects which may also benefits residents”(p.105). Indeed, early in the 1982, Jenkins and Henry remarked that for each developing country, the degree of active involvement by government in the tourism industry reflects the importance of tourism in the economy (Jenkins & Henry, 1982). For example, tourism in Darwin, Australia, was seen as a “pet project” for the government, who wanted to use tourism to create a pillar for economic growth, with a main objective of “boost: the territory’s economy and create large numbers of job within a short period of time (Schmallegger & Carson, 2010). It is especially true in China, where the central government has used tourism as a means of developing an infrastructure to improve rural economic development, and address issues of income disparities between rural and urban zones, and between east and western China (Ryan & Gu, 2009).

2.3.2.1 Government adopt more actively role in tourism

It was Richter and Richter (1985, p.203) who wrote that “the crucial question is not whether government plays a role in tourism development, but what kind of role is played”. Governments in developing countries tend to be more actively involved and have assumed key developmental and operational roles, and most governments have an agency with responsibility for tourism (Zhang, Chong & Ap, 1999; Matthew & Richter, 1991). In terms of governments’ involvement in the tourism development in developing countries, Jenkins and Henry (1982) divided government involvement into two. First is active involvement, which is seen as a deliberate action by government, and favors tourism, while another is named passive involvement, which occurs where government undertakes an action which may have implications for tourism, but is not specifically undertaken to favor or influence tourism. One commonly heard reason for government taking an active role in the tourism development was the perceived absence of a strong and experienced private sector in a local area (Jenkins & Henry, 1982). It is also considered that many issues and problems relating to tourism can only be resolved by the government, such as managing the impacts of tourism in a host zone (Jenkins & Henry, 1982). Furthermore, government involvement is also required to create and maintain public assets that are vital for, but are beyond the control of private industry (Jeffries, 2001). As a result, “government help shape the economic framework for the tourism industry, helps provide the infrastructure and educational requirements for tourism, establishes the regulatory environment in which business operates, and takes an active role in

promotion and marketing” (Hall, 2000, p.135). Alejziak (2008) provided a useful list of the governmental role in tourism development, saying it involves regulation, planning, subventions to operators, management, research, education and training, consumer protection, social tourism, transport, promotions, and events and tourist traffic reception. Similarly, Hall (2000) summarized the main responsibilities of governments in tourism, as follows: 1). Coordination of resources both within and between government agencies and the private sector; 2) regulation of human behaviour and industry processes through policy development and legislation that affect tourism; 3) Tourism planning and strategic development on different scales; 4) Entrepreneurial activity by owning and operating business and infrastructure that need to be sustained for the public good; 5) Stimulation of private industry development through the provision of direct financial incentives or funding of research; 6) Promotion and marketing of destinations; 7) Protect of public interest and 8) Social tourism

2.3.2.2 Chinese government role in tourism

With reference to the Chinese government’s role in tourism, there was wide agreement in the tourism industry and academic body that it is necessary for China to adopt a “government-led” strategy for its tourism development (Deng, 2000). Zhang, Chong and Ap (1999) stated that the Chinese government has played various important roles: operator (provide the infrastructure, operate tourism business), regulator (formulate and implement regulations), investor; promoter, coordinator and educator. The government in China dominates everything and makes joint decisions with developers and the community lacks the right to know, while unofficial non-governmental organizations are not yet well developed (Bao & Sun, 2007). One reason maybe the Chinese current vertical and parallel bureaucratic system, which lacks a clear definition of governments’ perspectives, purviews and commitments in administration, and enables governmental organisations to intervene in tourism development to an optional extent, according to their practical interests and needs, that may sometimes be more to do with developing prestige rather than rational economic policies (Ying & Zhou, 2007). In China, the government and company have become the primary partnership in the tourism process because of the power and resources they hold, and they are the dominant stakeholders. Often residents will only realize that their community is going to be developed into a tourist attraction only when they notice the enterprises entry into the process, and even then they will still not know any detail of the company’s plans (Bao & Sun, 2007). Thus, some scholars such as Li and Lin (2000) have stated that control remains firmly in the hands of local and to

a differing degree, national Chinese government. This contrasts with the role of many western governments where the decisions of privately owned enterprises and organizations usually influence government tourism planning (Nash, 1996; Bao & Sun, 2007). However, it is notable that the Chinese government has created special typical governance models to transfer the managerial operation right to qualified tourism enterprises, such as the Leasing Model, the Non-listed Shareholding Model, and the Public-listed Share-holding Model (Su, Wall & Eagles, 2007). Those models were developed in rural areas where the locals governments lacked capital to invest in an attraction and wished to attract external companies to bring money to the local tourism industry. Several tourist attractions have been developed under those models, such as Fenghuang County of Hunan Province (Feng, 2008), Bifengxia Valley in Chengdu (Peng, 2003), and Wuyi Mountain Scenic Area in Fujian Province (Ye, 2005). Theoretically it is obviously good for the local economy and its tourism development, but the negative impacts also cannot be ignored, and are associated with issues such as corruption, unfulfilled promises and high leakage rates of profits (Bao & Zou, 2013). In this study, QiYun Mountain was also operated by a government-tourism enterprises model, and the resultant issues will be later discussed in chapter 9.

2.3.3 Tourist's role in tourism development

When assessing tourism impacts, it is relatively easy to quickly assess a measure of residents' attitudes and their perception. Indeed, the majority of scholars have focused on the perceptions of local residents toward the impacts of tourism. However, Brongham and Butler (1981, p.571) stated that: "...the nature of tourism impacts is affected by different types of tourists which are based on tourists' desire, expectations and motivations". Tourists attitudes and behaviour toward tourism critically influence local destination sustainability, and visitors may perceive different aspects of tourism sustainability to those of local residents (Gezici, 2006; Weaver & Lawton, 2004). Thus, visitors' perception and attitude toward tourism should be identified and considered as well. Deng and Bender (2007) also pointed out that outside visitors may be able to see things that insiders cannot, and again may have perceptions of tourism development for a local destination that differ to those of both local residents and government officials. Again, Schewe and Calantone (1978) also commented that varying types of tourists also have different impacts upon the local destination areas in terms of both economic and other aspects. Consequently, this thesis attempts to explore visitors' attitude toward tourism by accessing visitors' expectation, motivation, activities, as well as assessing

their satisfaction during their trip in Qiyun Mountain, with a purpose of measuring the different perceptions of tourism development among four different stakeholders.

2.3.3.1 Travel motivation

Motivation is identified as “a need or desire that energises behaviour and directs it towards a goal” (Myers, 2004, p.455). Tourist motivation is well known as playing a crucial role in understanding and predicting why tourists make travel decisions and how they make a decision, and affecting the choice of tourists’ destination, planning procedures, mode of travel and activity patterns at the destination (Balogu & Uysal, 1996; Alegre, Cladera & Sard, 2011). One reason for emphasising the importance of tourist motivation came from marketers, who believed that by researching tourist motivation they could better predict the more complex behaviours of consumers, including their personal expectations and benefits sought. These classifications can be used to segment markets, and achieve the purpose of product development, service quality evaluation, image development, and promotional activities (Fodness, 1994; Formica & Uysal, 1998).

Pull and push theory is widely used in researching tourists’ motivation. Push factors have been seen as useful in explaining the desire for travel, while pull factors are used to explain the choice of travel. The latter are concerned with the external factors that determine where, when and how they travel (Crompton, 1979; Jang & Cai, 2002). More recently, Heitmann (2011) suggested that push factors that will lead to the decision to travel but pull factors play an important role in influencing the selection of destination. Crompton (1979) in one of the earliest papers on the subject identified nine travel motivations, namely: escape, exploration, and relaxation, and prestige and status regression, enhancement of relationships, social interaction, education and novelty. Iso-Ahola (1982) suggested that tourist motivation has a psychological (escape) and a social component (seeking). Cha and Jeong (1998) investigated the motives of Korean travellers to Australia and New Zealand. They found four push factors (sports, safety, pleasure, new culture) and five pull factors (attractions, nature environment, leisure activities, resort environment and tourism infrastructure). Similarly, Kao et al., (2008) found that Taiwanese tourists who visit Australia had four pull motivation factors: sunshine and scenery; a place of good value; famous tourist’s attractions; and a place for family travel. Moreover, it has been popular to segment markets based on visitors’ motivations. Thus, the factor-cluster approach is widely used in motivation research (Li, Xu, Weaver, 2009). For example, Kau and Lim (2005) segment four groups of the Chinese visitors to Singapore,

based on their travel motivation, these being: family/relaxation seekers, novelty seekers, adventure/pleasure seekers and prestige/knowledge seekers. Li, Xu and Weaver (2009) investigated Chinese tourists' motivation who visits the US, finally found three segments based on six motivations, namely the highbrow, reluctant, and enthusiastic travellers.

2.3.3.2 Visitors' satisfaction

In addition to visitors' motivation, it was well known that tourist satisfaction has also been an important topic in the tourism marketing literature since the early 1960s (Wang, Zhang, Gu & Zhen, 2009). A good understanding of tourists' satisfaction will help to contribute to an enhanced reputation for service providers, gain better destination image, attract more purchasing of products and services, and generate intention to revisit the same attraction (Kozak & Rimmington, 2000; Song, Li, van der Veen & Chen, 2011). Oliver (1997) defined satisfaction as "a judgment that a product, or service feature, or the product or service itself, provides a pleasurable level of consumption-related fulfilment" (p.13). Normally, tourists' satisfaction is a result of achieving a fit between visitor expectations about the destination and the perceived evaluation of the experience (Pizam, Neumann & Reichel, 1978). In other words, as Engel et al., (1995) briefly stated, satisfaction occurs when the experience meets the expectation, while if experiences fail to meet expectation, then dissatisfaction comes. However, Barsky (1992) argued that although expectation have been widely accepted as affecting satisfaction, but there was no evidence that expectations directly lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Thus, there was an opposing approach satisfaction, namely that "consumer satisfaction (is) an outcome of the actual quality of performance and its perception by consumers" (Kozak & Rimmington, 1999, p.261). It is quite difficult to measure tourist satisfaction, because it does not exist as a 'pure affect' and nor does it exist in the absence of feeling. It is a combining of complex human responses that possess both cognitive and affective components (Mano & Oliver, 1993, p.465). Ryan (1995) proposed that the attitudes, expectations and perceptions of the holidaymaker play vital roles in setting goals, influencing behaviour and determining overall satisfaction. Currently, authors have listed factors that will influence tourist satisfaction, including tourist expectations, destination image, perceived quality, perceived value, and tourists' post-purchase behaviour (Wang, Zhang, Gu, & Zhen, 2009), as well as expectancy disconfirmation, attribution, stability over time, emotion, and equity (Bowen & Clarke, 2002). Based on those literatures, chapter 5 will evaluate Qiyun

visitors' information including expectation and motivation before the visit, activities conducted during visit, and satisfaction and evaluation at the conclusion of the visit.

2.3.4 Local residents' attitudes toward tourism

The topic of residents' attitudes toward tourism has been discussed for more than forty years in the tourism literature. Many scholars have assessed cases about residents' attitudes toward tourism from both international and local regional levels, and for developed and undeveloped nations. It is generally acknowledged that residents in the community play a very important role in developing tourism, and as such residents' attitudes and perceptions have to be given much consideration during tourism planning and policy making (Ap 1992, Murphy, 1985). Here, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) provided a definition of "attitude", stating "...attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degrees of favour or disfavour...evaluating refers to all classes of evaluating responding, whether over or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioural" (p.1). Generally, residents' specific attitudes toward tourism will affect some specific objects significantly. If local residents have negative attitudes, and are not willing to participate in developing tourism, it may hinder the success and sustainability of tourism destination (Ap, 1992). Indeed, scholars of tourism have long recognized the importance of the local residents' attitudes toward tourism development, and strongly recommended that it is necessary to observe changes in residents' attitudes toward tourism over time (Sirakaya, Teye, & Sonmez, 2002; Ap, 1992; Lankford & Howard, 1994). Several statements include:

1. To know the nature of residents' positive and negative concerns with tourism development (Andereck & Vogt, 2000),
2. Reflect the wellbeing of the local population, to ensure residents a better quality of life, and low cost of living, which is used to generate support from the host community (Sirakaya, Teye, and Sonmez, 2002; Chen, 2001);
3. Provide better insight into community development and planning, if the planners could understand why residents support or oppose tourism, the information can help planners to develop the plans which are accepted by residents (McGehee & Meares, 1998, Williams & Lawson, 2001),
4. It also vital for the attractiveness of a destination with regard to visitors' satisfaction, repeat visitation etc. (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003), because a host's anger, apathy or mistrust will be conveyed to the tourists and it may make tourists feel unwelcome

(Fridgen, 1991); as such positive attitudes of local residents will lead to high tourist satisfaction (Latkova, 2008),

5. It will possible to maximize positive tourism impacts and minimize negative ones (Lawson & William, 2001; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001).
6. Without local residents' support for tourism development, the operation of tourism and its sustainability will be unsuccessful (Gursoy et al., 2002)

Table 2.8 10 Representative case studies of residents attitude toward tourism development			
Research area	Researcher	Findings	Methodology
New Zealand 10 towns	Lawson et al., 1998	Perceived tourism impacts; residents in the study appreciate its contribution towards tourism but want more profits	Mail questionnaire
Dawlish, UK	Brunt & Courtney, 1999	Residents have both positive and negative attitudes toward tourism	Qualitative in-depth interview
South-eastern Virginia	Chen, 2001	Residents' concerns about tourism with four discernible factors including its economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts	Questionnaire with 30 pre-test
Nazareth	Israeli et al., 2002	Residents near the tourism destination expressed a stronger belief in the role of tourism as leverage for economic development	Questionnaire
Andros Island, Greece	Chazapi & Sdrali, 2006	Demographic and socio-economic factors influenced the residents' attitude toward tourism development	Questionnaire
Arizona, US	Andereck et al., 2005	Residents recognize many positive and negative consequences. Residents who get economic benefits from tourism, have more positive perception of tourism impacts	Mail survey
Santa Marta, Colombia	Belise & Hoy, 1980	Despite the perception of some serious negative impacts, local residents still consider overall impact to be beneficial	Questionnaire
Masooleh, Iran	Zamani-Farahni & Musa, 2008	The majority of residents strongly support tourism development, but they are involved little with the planning and management of tourism	Questionnaire
Kusadasi, Western Turkish	Tatoglu, et al., 2002	Local residents have more positive perception about economic, social and cultural aspects of tourism , but less favour about environmental impacts	Questionnaire
Spey Valley, Scotland	Getz, 1994	Although, residents largely support tourism, but some negative views also increased over time.	Longitudinal study with survey

2.3.4.1 Conceptual frameworks of residents' attitudes

A current research for the keywords “residents’ attitude & tourism development” in Google Scholar on 22/07/2012 returned 81,900 references, indicating that research into residents’ attitudes has occupied a significant space in the study of tourism. In this section, the author has summarized 10 representative case studies to summarise research into local residents’ attitudes and perceptions toward tourism development.

To analysis residents’ attitudes and to determine the key variables influencing those attitudes, a number of theories and models have been developed. Popular examples include Doxey’s (1975) Irridex Model, Butler’s (1980) Tourism Destination Lifecycle Model, and Ap’s (1992) Social exchange Theory. In this section, these models will be introduced separately.

Index of Tourist Irritation

Doxey’s (1975) “Irridex” model was one of the first models to explore residents’ attitudes. This model suggests that local communities experience a sequence of reactions as the impacts of an evolving tourism industry in their area become more pronounced and over time their attitudes also change. The process by which this occurs evolves through stages of “euphoria-apathy-annoyance-antagonism”, and indicates that, as the tourism industry develops and the number of tourists increase, local residents’ attitudes change and become increasingly negative (Getz, 1994; Kwon, 2008). For example, in the Euphoria stage, visitors are welcome, and residents show enthusiasm about tourism; in the Apathy stage, residents start to concentrate on the benefits of tourism, and visitors are taken for granted (Mason, 2008; Wall & Mathieson, 2006, Beeton, 2006), and in the latter stage residents are unhappy with the evolution of mass tourism. They begin to develop negative stereotypes about tourists, and begin to act on their dissatisfaction (Nancy, 2006, p.102).

Figure 2.1 Doxey's Irritation Index

Euphoria	Residents show enthusiasm about tourism and they want more visitors at the early stage of tourism development
↓	
Apathy	Residents start to concentrate on the benefits of tourism that bring to the community.
↓	
Annoyance	Saturation is approached, residents begin to aware of their life more or less affected by tourists
↓	
Antagonism	Residents feel their life has been changed caused expensive life costs, inappropriate tourists' behaviour, unrespect local culture, etc. Residents are very angry about mass tourist at this level

Sources: Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 228; Mason, 2008, p.29

Social exchange theory

Social exchange theory has been accepted as an appropriate tool to explain residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism development. It indicated that individuals or groups will engage in an exchange if they feel mutual benefit, and perceived costs do not exceed perceived rewards (Skidmore, 1975). With regard to tourism development, community groups are keen to support tourism development if they find the exchange beneficial for their well-being; otherwise, if community groups see the exchange as problematic, they will be against the exchange and oppose tourism development (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Easterling, 2004). In other words, social exchange theory supports the view that community members "balance the costs and benefits of tourism development and their support for tourism depends on the outcome of this cost-benefits equation" (Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996). Latkova (2008, p.21) has summarized the both strengths and problems of social exchange, as follows:

Strengths

1. "Considers heterogeneity of communities, thus explains why there are different attitudes within the same community,

-
2. Explains both positive and negative effects of a phenomenon under study,
 3. Can explain relationship at both individual and collective levels,
 4. Provide understandings of exchange of social, environmental, cultural and economic resources, thus the evaluation of the exchange process is complex and dynamic,
 5. Individual's evaluation of social, environmental, cultural and economic benefits/cost differs based on personal benefits/cost measures,
 6. Individuals evaluate a range of interacting costs and benefits before they make a rational decision based on individual interactions and community outcomes,

Weakness

1. Not all people who enter exchange have complete or correct information,
2. Assumes individuals' knowledge is a result of direct experience rather than socially and historically derived,
3. Suggests those who perceive benefits will also perceive higher positive impacts but the simple theory it does not consider the nature of interaction or stage of tourism development,
4. Residents vary in the degree to which they benefits/ bear the costs (Easterling, 2004)"

Butler – tourism area life cycle

The conceptual framework of the Tourism Area Life Cycle has been frequently examined since 1980. Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) described the relationship between tourism development stages (exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline and rejuvenation) and their impacts. In other words, it indicates that the environmental, social and economic situation of a tourism area will change over time as an area moves through the different stages. Based on this theory, it is assumed that there is a cycle in the development of tourist resorts. Initially, at exploration stage, there is only a small number of visitors and no specific facilities are provided for them. As awareness of the destination increases, the number of visitors increases. As such, in the involvement stage, local residents begin to provide facilities for visitors, and some level of organization in tourists travel arrangements can be expected. In the following development stage, the area has been defined as a significant tourist market destination, local involvement and control of development will decline rapidly, and external capital becomes increasingly dominant and provides larger facilities. In this stage, the number of tourist in peak periods will exceed the

permanent local population. At the next stage, namely the consolidation stage, the rate of increase in numbers of visitors will decline but local areas are mainly dependent on the tourism industry; and there are some opposition and discontent among local residents. This may be followed by a period of consolidation follow by stagnation when the destination has already a well-established image but will no longer be in fashion. As a result, the destination will have a heavy reliance on repeat visitation. In the final decline stage, the destination will not be able to compete with other newer attractions and face a declining market; many facilities disappear or become less attractive, but local involvement begins to increase at this stage, because they can purchase facilities at lower prices and may need to be involved in possible rejuvenation policies (Butler, 1980; Mason, 2008).

After two decades, Butler (2008) revisited his 1980's model, and highlighted some aspects to explain the growth, change, limits, and intervention in a tourism area that are used to guide more particular use of the model, such as by Rodríguez et al., (2008) who applied the model to determine and explain stages of tourism development in Canary Islands, Spain. Kamat (2010) attempted to evaluate the Goa tourism industry performance through Butler's Life Cycle model, concluding that Goa's beach tourism had not reached the stagnation stage. In China, Zhong, Deng and Xiang (2008) employed this model to analyse the Zhangjiajie National Forest Park life cycle, concluding that the park had experienced three stages (exploration stage, involvement stage, development stage) and that currently the park is at the consolidation stage.

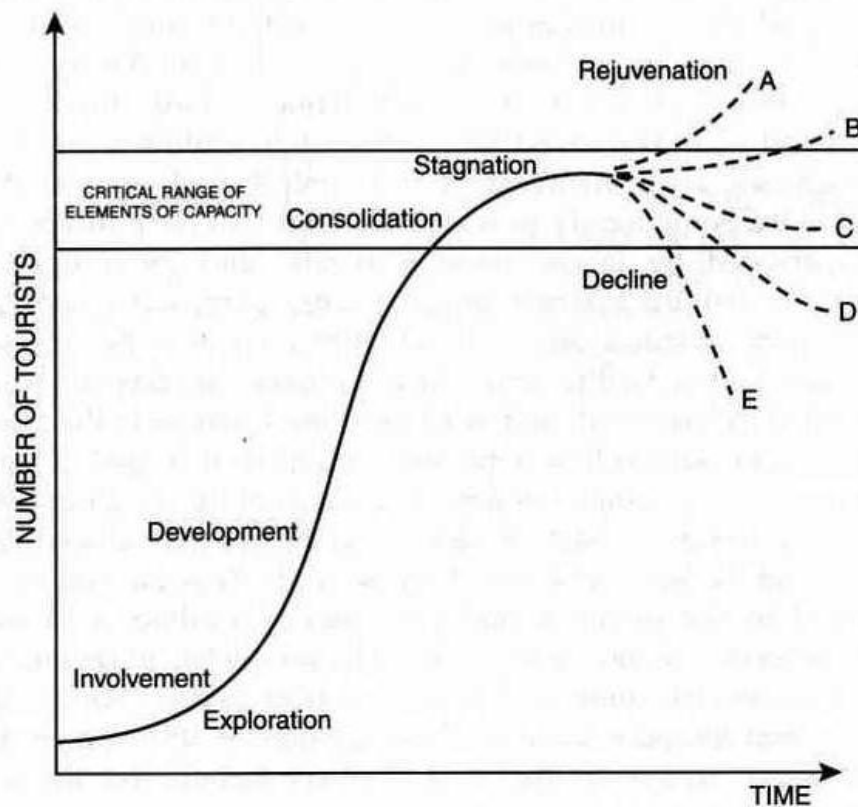


Figure 2.2 **Stages in tourist area life cycle** Butler (1980, p. 7)

2.3.4.2 Factors influence residents' perceptions and attitude toward tourism

Socio-demographic variables

A significant literature has attempted to identify the factors which could influence residents' attitudes toward tourism development. It is said that the socio-demographic variables were commonly used to explain why residents' perceptions to tourism differ, such as age, gender, income, education, length of residency and ethnicity. Early research employed those variables and for example Sheldon and Var (1984) undertook an attitude study in Welsh and found that the lifelong and native Welsh speakers appear to be more sensitive to social-cultural impacts than others. Liu and Var (1986) conducted a similar study in Hawaii and discovered that "ethnicity" and "length of residency" were the only variables that had any effect on residents' different attitudes. Later, researchers such as Girard and Gartner (1993), and Brunt and Courtney (1999) found that the longer residents lived in the community, the more negative was the perception of tourism they held and the less they were supportive of further tourism

development. Tomljenovic and Faulkner's (2000) study of Australia's Gold Coast found that older residents were more tolerant of international tourists and less concerned about tourism's adverse environmental impacts. Mason and Cheyne (2000) found that gender was a determinant of perceptions of tourism impact. Females were more concerned about negative tourism impacts, such as drunk driving, traffic problems, noise and crime. Despite those findings, some researchers argued that the socio-economic factors only play a relatively small role in explaining the variation in residents' attitudes toward tourism development (Perdue et al., 1990). Besides socio-demographic variables, researchers also focus on other factors as independent variables when analysing residents' attitudes.

Economic reliance on the tourism industry

Generally the literature has acknowledged that residents who are highly dependent on tourism industry employment had more positive attitude to tourism; in other words, locals' support for tourism development is somewhat directly related to the degree which they economically benefit from tourism (Murphy, 1980; Liu & Var, 1986; Lankford, 1994; Pizam, 1978; Easterling, 2004), while most local residents who do not receive direct economic benefits from tourism are often less willing to support further tourism development (Martin et al, 1998). For instance, Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) investigated a tourism destination on the Greek Island of Samos and found that local residents who were economically dependent on tourism had more favourable attitudes towards the tourism industry. Madrigal (1993) also pointed out that the residents who are economically depending on tourism are more likely to recognize the benefits of the industry. On the other hand, Ritchie and Inkari (2006), as well as McDowall and Choi (2010), noted that if a resident perceived an unfair distribution of benefits, it might lead to less support for further tourism development.

Distance of residence from the central tourism zone

With reference to the distance, some studies reveal that the distance residents live from tourism centres could explain to some degree the variation in attitude (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Pearce, 1980, Korça, 1996). Both Ap (1995) and Mansfeld (1992) stated that the stronger negative attitudes were expressed by those residents who lived closer to the tourism core. Thus one common finding is that residents, who live close to attractions, have more negative attitudes towards tourism because of the pressure of increasing numbers

of local infrastructure, traffic congestion, crime and noise (Williams & Lawson ,2001; Lankford , Williams & Lankford, 1997).

Level of knowledge about tourism

Different levels of knowledge about tourism were also considered main determinant variable explaining differences in attitudes. Davis et al., (1988) in a study undertaken in Florida showed that local residents who had low levels of knowledge about tourism in the local area had the most negative attitudes towards tourism development. Lankford (1994) also stated that residents' degree of familiarity with tourism and the local economy have an effect on diversity in attitudes being voiced.

Level of contact with tourist

The level of contact with tourist has somewhat influence in local residents' attitude toward tourism. In the early study, Brougham and Butler (1981) found that the majority of local resident who with frequent contact with tourist perceive tourism to have significant impacts. Aki, Peristianis and Warner (1996) conducted an attitude study in Cyprus, discovered that there was a significant relationship between a positive attitude towards tourism and tourists and how often the respondents meet tourists.

Resident involvement in tourism decision making

When investigating residents' attitudes toward tourism development, some authors stress the need to consider the degree of resident involvement in tourism decision making. As early in the late 1980s, Ayers and Potter (1989) pointed out that when local government policy makers become more concerned about residents' suggestion, residents' attitudes toward tourism will be more positive. Indeed, as evidenced by Lankford and Howard (1994), and Bachleitner and Zins (1999), if residents were involved with various staged in decision-making, they appeared to be more favourable toward tourism development. Liu (2000, p.29) in a Chinese setting, also stated that "when the local residents realise they can exercise influence; they tend to support tourism development".

Religious and culture promoted for tourism

Finally it has been suggested that where it is residents' heritage that is being positively promoted for tourism, then they are more likely to support its development than those whose religious or cultural heritage is ignored (Uriely et al., 2003; Uriely et al., 2003)

2.3.5 Community participation

The concept of community participation was been introduced at an early stage in the academic literature and has been widely recognized as possessing importance throughout the democratic world. Research into community participation in tourism started in the early 1970s with reference to rural America with the work of Gunn in 1972. He argued that it would benefit both visitors and residents. Many researchers agreed that the community should be involved in the tourism development process, because it is they who are most affected by the tourism development (Nyaupane, Morais & Dowler, 2006). It is often stated that without residents' active involvement in the tourism development, it is impossible to sustain tourism's long term success (Ying & Zhou, 2007; Mason & Cheyne, 2000). The process of community involvement is often considered a tool to achieve a more equal distribution of benefits, a means to discourage undemocratic decision-making, thereby better meeting the needs of the local community and handling the impacts of tourism (Brothman, 1996, Li, 2004); Furthermore, effective participation can avoid conflicts between stakeholders (Chandralal, 2010). If communities are given the chance to participate in decision-making during tourism development, they may also develop an ability to develop rational and practical opinions that aid all concerned through their local knowledge (Andriotis, 2005; Simmons, 1994). Indeed, Tosun and Timothy (2003) provided seven propositions in their article "*Arguments for community participation in the tourism development process*":

1. "Community participation is a vital element in the implementation of tourism plans and strategies,
2. Community participation contributes to sustainable tourism development in several ways,
3. Community participation increases tourist satisfaction,
4. Community participation helps tourism professionals design better tourism plans,
5. Public participation contributes to a fair distribution of costs and benefits among community members,
6. Community participation can help satisfy locally identified needs,

7. Community participation strengthens the democratisation process in tourist destinations” (pp4-9).

As such, scholars have generally concurred that the concept of community participation should be considered in the tourism planning (Simmons, 1994, Spanoudis, 1982, Bahaire & Elliott-White, 1999, Li, 2004), to deliver tourism experiences which ensure both visitor satisfaction and on-going benefits for the local residents (Spanoudis, 1982), and thereby change the balance of power amongst the stakeholders to the advantage of all community members (Bahaire & Elliott-White, 1999) to empower a community to have real influence and control over local resources, and to create an accountable and representative local leadership (Barr, 1995). Thus Haywood (1988) defined the goals of community participation in tourism planning as “ identify the possibilities and choice about the future of tourism within communities, examine each possibility carefully in terms of probable impacts, include in the planning process the real preferences of the people in the communities whose lives are in influenced by tourism” (p.16). While community participation in tourism planning can offer several advantages, it is also an ambiguous concept presenting some difficulties. Sewell and Philips (1979) pointed out that when designing and implementing community participation in tourism planning it is difficult to achieve a high degree of participation with large numbers of people, and it is also difficult to achieve equity in participation. Furthermore, Hall and Richares (2002) highlighted three issues which may affect community participation in tourism planning, namely: the *scope of the participation* by the community (e.g. whether the range of participants from the community is representative of all relevant stakeholders), the *intensity of participation* by the community (e.g. how often the relevant community stakeholders are involved), and the *degree to which consensus emerges* among community participation. Indeed it is possible that participatory processes may exacerbate existing differences, or create new ones.

2.3.5.1 The type of community participation

Researchers have attempted to establish models of the concept of community participation. Arnstein’s (1971) typology of community participation is the one of the earliest, but it is not related particularly to a sector of an economy. Later, Pretty’s (1995) model divided community participation into seven categories: symbolic, passive, advisory, material-motivated, functional, interactive and self-inspired participation (cite in Li & Zhao, 2001). Based on Pretty’s theory, it is assumed that when local communities are at a passive

participative level, they may only receive few jobs at subordinate roles at the tourist destination, with little or no right to control the nature of tourism development. While, if communities have active participation, it indicates that, at the very least, communities have access to information on the planning and decision making about tourism development (Pretty, 1995). At the end of 1990s, Tosun (1999) examined community participation in the tourism industry, and developed a model that can be used in tourism development. He classifies community participation into three types, namely spontaneous community participation, coercive community participation and induced community participation. Later, in 2006, Tosun compared his three forms of community participation to other forms designed by Arnstein and Pretty (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 Normative typologies of community participation

7. Self-mobilization	←	8. Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power	→	<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up; active par.; direct participation; par. in decision making, authentic participation; self planning;
6. Interactive participation		7. Delegated power			
5. Functional participation	←	5. Placation	Degrees of Citizen Tokenism	→	<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback.
4. Participation for material incentives		4. Consultation			
3. Participation by consultation		3. Informing			
2. Passive participation	←	2. Therapy	Non-participation	→	<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation.
1. Manipulative participation		1. Manipulation			
Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation	Arnstein's (1971) typology of community participation				Tosun's (1999a) typology of community participation

(Tosun , 1999)

Figure 2.3 indicates that the ‘spontaneous participation’ of Tosun’s model fits with the concept of ‘citizen power’ in Arnstein’s model, and corresponds to self-mobilization and interactive participation in Pretty’ s model. It is suggested that the Figure represents an integrative model of community participation. For example the “... induced community participation stage corresponds to the degrees of citizen tokenism in Arnstein’s typology,

while associated with the functional participation, participation for material incentives, and participation consultation in Pretty's typology" (Tosun, 2006, p.495; Michael, 2009, p.25). Nonetheless in the model the local community is allowed to hear and be heard, but still does not have right to ensure their views to be taken in the decision making process other than at stage 8. At the other end of the continuum, in coercive community participation type, the community is, in fact, not involved in the decision-making process, a stage which is similar to Arnstein's non-participation typology, and Pretty's 'manipulative participation and passive participation stage' (Tosun, 2006, p.495; Michael, 2009, p.25).

2.3.5.2 Community participation in China

Although there are many cases of varying degrees of successful of community participation described in western academic literature, it is still difficult to achieve similar success in many developing countries. Nonetheless the western paradigm of community tourism has been influential in setting an agenda (Timothy, 1999), although it can be noted that Din (1997) stated that the notion of community participation may not be readily applicable to Third World destinations, because of many formidable operational, structural and cultural constraints to participatory principles in those countries (Timothy, 1999, Tosun, 2000). Tosun (2000) further explained that the following limitations hinder community participation in developing countries: limitations at an operational level that may include the 'centralisation of public administration of tourism', a lack of co-ordination and lack of information; the limitations in structural level include "poor attitudes of professionals", a "lack of expertise", domination by an "Elite", "lack of appropriate legal system", "lack of trained human resources", the "high cost of community participation", "lack of financial resources"; and the limitations at a cultural level may refer to the limit social and financial capital of poor people, and "apathy and low level of awareness in the local community" (pp.618-626). Indeed, early in 1987, Linton argued that "Third World" tourism had no record of participation by, and consultation of community residents, who had no opportunities to shape the phenomenon because tourism was dominated by foreign, outside investors and local elites (Linton, 1987). As an example of this, in the case of Turkey, Tosun (1999) argued that residents had little ability to withstand the bargaining power of tour operators (Tosun, 1999). In 1994 the World Tourism Organization examined 25 cases studies of tourism planning in the developing world, and found that only the Sri Lankan tourism plan explicitly considered community consultation (WTO, 1994). Yet demands continue to be made and more recently, McDowall

and Choi (2010), who investigated residents' perception of tourism impacts in one Thailand village, found that local residents wanted the government to include them in the decision process, and also wanted to be involved in the implementation of policies. In China, according to Xiao and Li (2004) who discussed regulations published by the National Tourism Administration of China between 1999 and 2003, none of the regulations included key words like "socio-cultural impacts, residents' perception and attitudes, community participation in tourism planning..."(p.76).

Certainly it appears that most Chinese research on community participation in tourism has relied on introducing Western community participation models (Bao & Sun, 2007), and many scholars believed that it was an indispensable mechanism within the macroscopic system of sustainable tourism development (Liu, 2000). Normally, there are two ways to evaluate the extent of community participation, by (a) involvement in the decision-making process and (b) by participation in the benefits of tourism. The former generally empower local residents to determine their hopes and concerns for tourism, while the latter is always through employment (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1986). In many developing countries, community participation has been used to help local residents obtain economic benefits, such as encouraging local people to operate small businesses, or find jobs in tourism industry, rather than give residents an opportunity to make decisions of public policy (Tosun, 2000). Indeed, Wang (2006), Bao and Sun (2007) confirmed that in China, participation in the benefits from tourism may be more important than participation in the planning processes, and local communities only participate in the economic activity, with a low or even no participation in decision making processes. This is thought to compare with western countries, where it is believed that local residents can enjoy participation in every aspect, such as planning, management, operation, benefits distribution (Bao & Sun, 2007, p.24). It is recognised that in the later stages of the tourist destination life cycle, it becomes even more difficult for local residents to conduct business due to the higher levels of competition from larger external capital. As such, local communities may lose control over business benefits and decision-making process, thereby further reducing the possibility of local participation (Pearce, 1989).

Currently, the studies in China about community participation mainly focus on the following topics: "comments and introduction theories in the West, macroscopic exposition of community participation modes in China, and advocacy of the idea of community participation in tourism planning" (Bao & Sun, 2007, p.11). However, the problem is, as

Ying and Zhou (2007) indicated, that it may not be possible for Chinese tourist destinations to completely copy western-style community participation principles, due to its special socio-economic and political and cultural setting. Indeed, in light of Ryan's et al., view (2009) there are several reasons to explain why Western models cannot be easily transferred into a Chinese setting. They pointed out the: "man-nature relationships, the Chinese predisposition toward taxonomic process, the economic imperative, the socialist market system and erosion (of direct States control), and cultural components including the importance of the concept of a harmonious society" (as cited in Ryan & Gu, 2010, p.221).

Additionally, Bao and Sun (2007) also explored the main differences in community participation in tourism development between China and the West. They noted differences of social significance and points of interest, and the over-dependence of many tourist destinations in China on tourism with little development of other industries. The government has also only focused on the increasing economic benefits, but with low level awareness of subsequent negative effects. Other commentators such as Li (2002) have stated that the Chinese tourism industry and policy have focused only on the economic aspects, which may lead to the mistaken perception that there are no serious environmental issues associated with tourism development. Many local governments prefer to ignore potential negative impacts when writing tourism plans, which may lead to a reduction of local residents' awareness of such negative effects. This lack of awareness may also contribute to a reduced motivation for participation in planning. A further factor is that, especially in China, it is likely that those residents who gain direct economic benefits from tourism are more likely to tolerate negative social and environmental consequences because of prior states of impoverishment (Chen & Chiang, 2005).

Second, China's top-down management styles as well as its strong centralism of government direction are major barriers to community participation in tourism development (Gu & Ryan, 2010). As previously stated, in China, the government has played simultaneous roles in tourism development that include being the operator, regulator, investment, stimulator, promoter, and coordinator as well as educator (Qiu, Zhang & Ap, 1999). As a result, tourism planning is highly centralised by government and local authorities. Local governments and authorities are solely responsible for the tourism planning and development, while the role of local residents was to passively accept all the changes. Bao and Sun (2007) stated that government dominates everything and only make decisions with developers, because they are

the main stakeholders who hold the power and resources, while the community lacks a right to know of planned future developments.

Thirdly, in China, the government owns the land, and has the right to designate anywhere for tourism development (Li, 2004). As such, local communities have no knowledge of any planned development until an enterprise actually commences the process, and communities can only passively allow developers to use their land for any state-supported projects (Bao & Sun, 2007; Ryan, Gu & Meng, 2009). Phayakvichien (2007) complained that local communities felt they did not have a channel to voice their opinion to the local government, and their concerns totally had no impact on government decisions. Fourth, China is a typical developing country, with a relatively low level of socio-economic development, and the majority of residents lack democratic awareness, especially in some rural areas. As such, local people may believe that it is the government's obligations to plan tourism development, and it is not appropriate for residents to become involved (Ying & Zhou, 2007; Timothy, 1999). Bao and Sun (2007) even argued that many Chinese local governments had long-standing mistaken ideas that it is because community residents are weak and foolish, that it is right that local government can freely make decisions for them. It was Wang (2011) who concluded that both the high level of central government regulation and very low level of community members' democratic awareness explain why community participation is considered as being "superficial" in China. Other possible reasons may include lack of skills, time, and money, and decision makers consider participatory planning process as a difficult process, which has high financial costs, and thus time consuming and unproductive (Swarbrook, 1999; Boyd, 2000; Paul, 1987).

Although there are limits in community participation in tourism in China, Ying and Zhou (2005) discussed a new communal approach for Chinese tourism development, which would encourage community participation and help a little in preventing tourism's negative impacts. This approach requires the local community to act as the basic unit of destination; ensure residents get a certain proportion of the revenue from ticket sales; and have the right to run their own small tourism business, but should be under the coordination of the special corporation (p.102). Furthermore, Bao and Sun (2006) designed a community participation model for tourism development for communities in Yunnan and Guangxi Provinces (see Figure 2.4). Figure 2.4 shows under a top-down management style, how communities

participate in tourism and the interactions between the government, tourism enterprises, and the third party. From the Figure, it can be seen that all the stakeholders are restricted by contracts and laws that are vital for balancing the interests of government, private sector and community. Accordingly, author tries to use Qiyun Mountain case to versify this model's reliability and possibility. In the top cycle of the model, it indicates the role of government dominance in most Chinese rural community like 'Formulate public policy in tourism', 'Provide participation platform'; to prove this, current research will find the truth of whether Qiyun local government provide participation platform for local communities, and the extent to which Qiyun local people feel that they have a voice in planning tourism. In the left cycle of this model, Bao and Sun (2006) indicate that tourism enterprises 'invest on tourism development in the community' 'provide participation opportunity to the community'. As such, in the following chapter 6 and 7, author will expose the truth related with these two statements to see whether this happen in Qiyun community. At the bottom of the model, Bao and Sun identified the role of the community in tourism development. Thus, based on these statements, later chapters will explore whether 'community introduce participation approach in tourism development', whether 'tourism enhance education and skills training in the community' whether 'tourism establish community organizations' and 'foster community elite'.

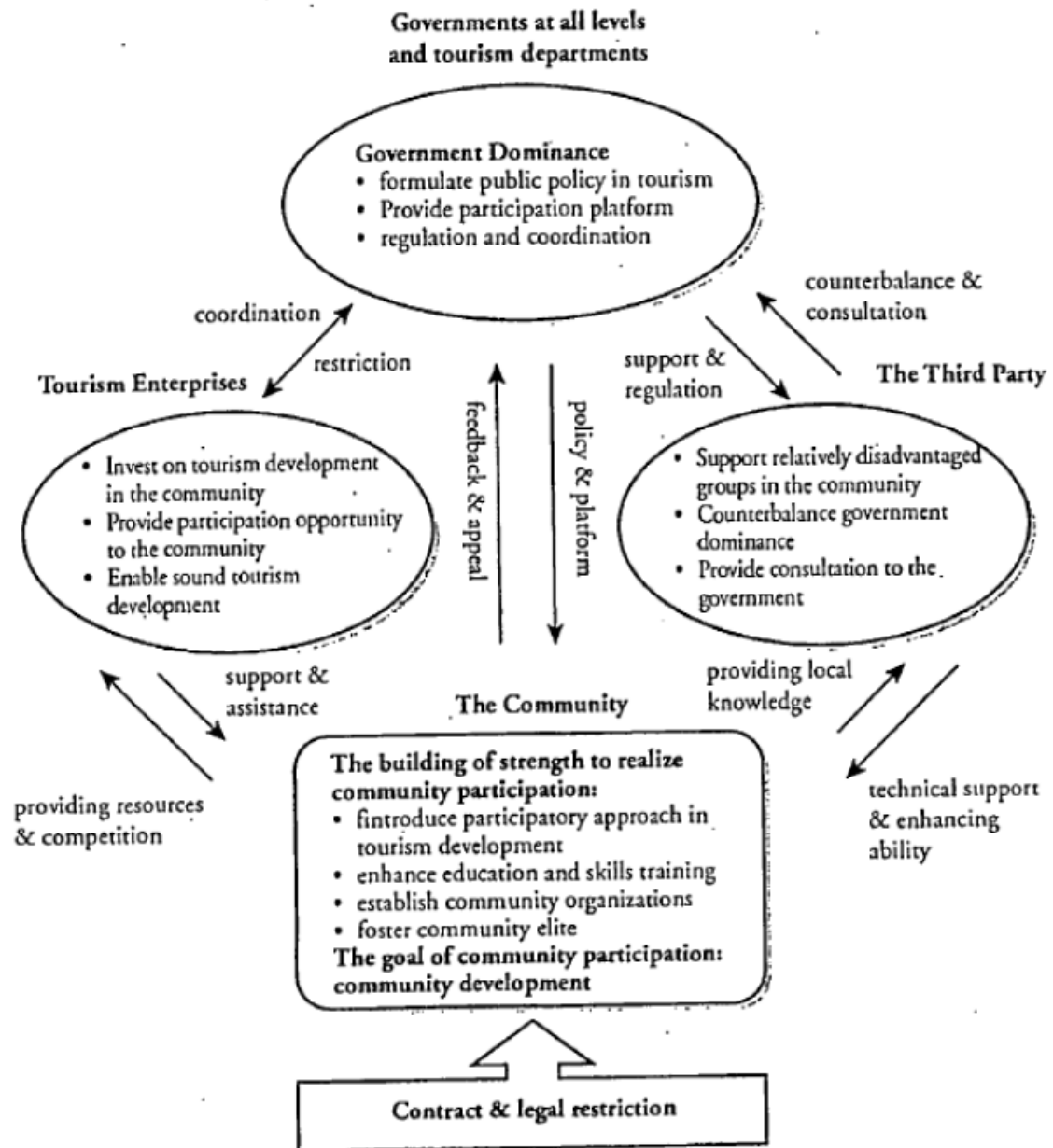


Figure 2.4 Chinese community participation model

Bao & Sun (2006, p. 143)

2.4 Chapter Summary

In summary, the current chapter identified the concepts of tourism impacts, stakeholder theory, and community participation to provide an overall framework for the current study. Those literatures will be discussed and compared with the current findings in later chapters. The next chapter will focus on describing the background of the researched destination, namely Huangshan city, Xiuning County, and Mt Qiyun, each of which will be introduced separately.

Chapter 3 Research content

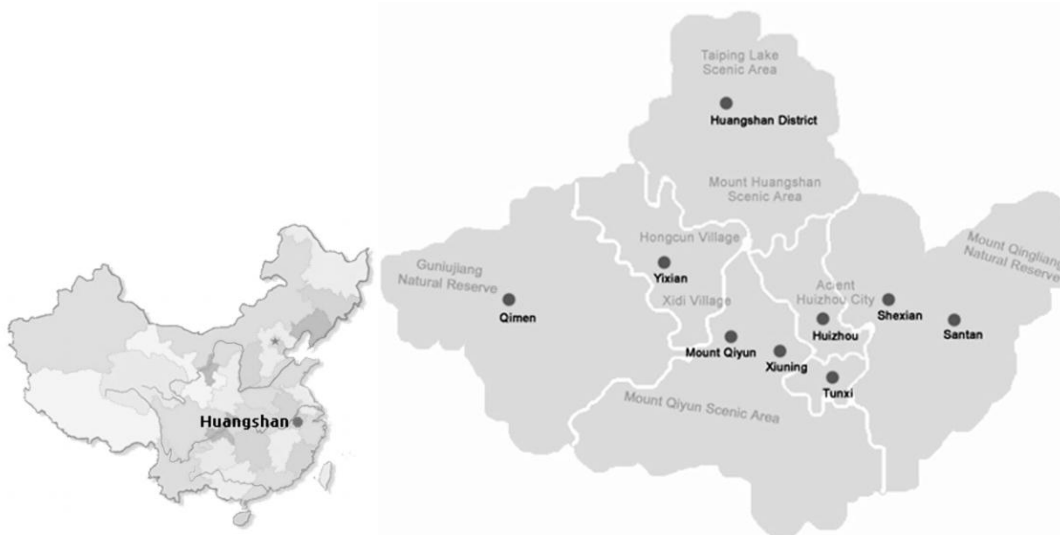
3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the context of the study from a geographical and policy perspective. Consequently this chapter will first describe the backgrounds of Huangshan City, Xiuning County, and Qiyun Town individually, and their current tourism development status and further tourism policy. Second, this chapter will then describe Mt Qiyun, including its location, history, management system and the most recent new tourism strategy at the time of writing in 2012.

3.2 General description of Huang Shan city

Huangshan City in East China's Anhui Province, was previously known as Huizhou in previous dynasties. It has a population of 1.48 million, a total area of 9,870 square km, and a long history of more than 2,222 years (Wen, 2004). As shown in the following map (Figure 3.1), Huangshan city has three districts, namely Tunxi District, Huangshan District, Huizhou District, and four counties, namely Shexian Country, Xiuning Country, Yixian Country, and Qimen Country ("Huangshan city", 2010).

Figure 3.1 The Location of Mt Qiyun



Source: Top China Travel, 2004

Sources: China Daily, 2010

Huangshan City is famous in China because of its special landscape and rich cultural heritage resources. The most renowned is Huangshan Mountain, which was listed as a world cultural

and natural heritage site by UNESCO in 1990 and is well known for its pine trees, strange rock formations, seas of clouds and hot springs (Wen, 2004). Other main attractions in Huangshan Mountain that also should be mentioned as being pertinent to the current study, include Qiyun Mountain (Xiuning County), Hongcun and Xidi ancient villages (Yixian County), and Ancient Huizhou City (Huizhou District). Other attractions in the region include Taiping Lake (Huangshan District), Guniujiang Natural Reserve (Qimen County), and Qingliang Mountain (Shexian County). It was recorded by “Huangshan city” (2010) that Huangshan City has one World Natural and Cultural Heritage site, one World Cultural Heritage site, one World Geological Park, three national geological parks, three national forest parks, two national nature reserves, three national scenic and historic interest zones, one national AAAAA class tourism areas, and 15 national AAAA class tourism attractions. With reference to culture and heritage, Huangshan city is the hometown of the Huizhou Merchants and the birthplace of the Huizhou culture. Hui Zhou culture covers many aspects, such as architecture (e.g., horse-head walls), economics (e.g., the Huizhou Merchants Guilds), Xinan medicine, science (hand-made ink techniques), arts (e.g. Xinan School of Painting), as well as Xinan philosophy. This specific philosophy is listed as one of the three major regional cultures in China, together with Tibetan and Dunhuang culture (Huangshan Commitment, 2012a). For example, Huangshan city is rich in its cultural relics, with more than 5000 relic sites being scattered around the city, of which 17 sites are listed as key national protected units (Wen, 2004). Huangshan City, therefore, has a high reputation, and is known as “China Excellent Tourist City”, “China Garden City”, “One of the World’s Top 200 Attractive Cities”, one of “China’s Most Attractive Cities”, and a “Top Hundred Competitive Tourist City” (Huangshan Committee, 2012b).

Tourism development in Huangshan City has grown rapidly in the past 30 years. It plays a vital role in the city’s economic prosperity. In 2002, Huangshan city tourism revenue grew rapidly, and accounted for as much as 26 % of its GDP. Tourism is therefore seen as a leading industry in the municipality (Huangshan Tourism Committee, 2007). In the years between 2005 and 2010, tourism development continued to grow. Huangshan City has placed an emphasis on the diversity of its tourism products, from traditional sightseeing to cultural tourism, business tourism, village tourism, and ecotourism. For instance, Huangshan district developed leisure tourism based on areas like Lake Taiping leisure resort area and Mt Huangshan springs; Shexian Country developed ecotourism as at the Wannan ecotourism centre; Tunxi district developed a business tourism centre, and golf leisure area; and Xiuning

Country developed tourism based on Taoism and associated health and wellness tourism. Additionally, the Huangshan municipal government has continued to improve and strengthen regional cooperation with Shangshai and Hangzhou, to build a high standard tour route based on the “famous city (Shanghai), famous lake (Hangzhou west lake) and famous mountain (Huangshan mountain)” theme; and improved cooperation with Chizhou government to actively build a “Two mountain (Jiuhuang Mountain, Huangshan Mountain) - one lake (Taiping lake) tour route” (Huangshan Tourism Committee, 2004). Furthermore, the Huangshan government has concentrated on improving tourism facilities, such as transport, hotels, and information centres. At present, Huangshan City has built 245 kilometers of highways, and by 2020, the city’s highways will reach 446 kilometres in length. Meanwhile, Huangshan Airport is a domestic 4D-class airport designed to further aid tourism, and it is expected that by 2015, the Airport will provide for one million passengers per annum (Huangshan Government, 2012). As illustrated in the Table 3.1, by 2011, Huangshan city had officially classified a total of 52 attractions, 80 star-class hotels, 133 travel agencies, 40 star-class restaurants and 823 Nongjiali (farm restaurants), and 3938 tour guides.

Table 3.1 Huangshan Tourism industry basic status - 2011		
Name	No.	Detail
Attractions	52	3 5A class attractions, 19 4A class attractions, 12 3A class attractions, 18 2A class attractions
Star-class Hotels	80	4 5Star Hotels, 26 4Star Hotels
Travel agencies	133	4 agency do the out bound business
Star-class restaurants	40	18 4Star restaurants, 20 3Star restaurants, 2 2Star restaurants
NongJiaLe	823	211 are provincial level
Tour guides	3937	1514 have bachelor degree, 1764 have technical secondary school degree
Sources: Huangshan Tourism Committee, 2011		

According to Huangshan Government (2012), in 2011, Huangshan had received 30.4 million tourists, (and annual growth of 19.5 per cent for 2010 to 2011) and a total tourism revenue of 25 billion RMB. Moreover, in the latest research conducted by the China Tourism Institute, it was found that among the 60 main tourism cities, Huangshan City was rated third for the

level of tourist satisfaction (China National Tourism Administration, 2012). When comparing tourism development between the 3 Districts and 4 Counties that comprise the region, it was found that the Tunxi District has the biggest tourist market, while the Huizhou district, Xiuning country, and Qimin country are the fastest-growing destinations (see table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Economic indicators of tourism development in Huangshan City 2010-2011

	Arrivals (Ten Thousands)			Tourism revenue Ten Thousands RMB)		
	2011	2010	GROWTH	2011	2010	GROWTH
Tunxi District	595.62	493.86	20.61%	670,420	514,960	30.19%
Huangshan District	525.92	441.55	19.11%	400,114	338,399	18.24%
HuiZhou District	258.68	197.52	30.96%	160,202	978,04	63.80%
Shexian Country	474.15	410.90	15.39%	398,851	361,674	10.28%
Xiuning Country	266.56	210.12	26.86%	200,135	128,144	56.18%
Yixian Country	518.04	441.87	17.24%	408,216	348,617	17.10%
Qimen Country	141.02	105.07	34.22%	90,362	66,602	35.67%
Total	3,054.39	2,544.72	20.03%	2,510,200	2,021,400	24.18%
Sources: Huangshan Tourism Committee, 2007						

3.3 Future Policies for Huangshan tourism development

According to Anhui's 12th Five-Year Tourism Plan for 2011-2015, Huangshan City will be developed as a world class tourist destination, based on Huangshan Mountain, Xidi and Hongcun UNESCO World Heritage attractions. During this period, Huangshan city will build a further 1 to 2 new 5A attractions at Qiyun Mountain and Lake Taipin and design new tourism products, including a World Heritage site tour, Huizhou cultural tourism, leisure tourism, sports tourism, village tourism, and business tourism. The new tourism plan pointed out that Huangshan city will construct a new holiday destination integrating urban and rural areas, as well as integrating the mountain and city (Anhui Provincial Tourism Bureau, 2011). More specifically, according to the Anhui Tourism Development Plan for 2010-2030, Huangshan city will be constructed as a world class tourism destination based on the strategy of "one core, one city, three routes and four districts". One core means "the core of World Heritage Sites – Mt Huangshan, Xidi, and Hongcun", which will be mainly developed as an

ecotourism area, leisure vacation site, and rural tourism region. One city means “integration of Tuxi district, Xiuning county as a city” to build a specific international tourism destination. Three routes mean “the rebam which was encircles Huangshan city, the river tourism of Xinanjing area, and the ecotourism belt from Chizhou to Huizhou. Four districts mean “Taiping lake holiday tourism district, Mt Qiyun holiday tourism district, and the ancient village tourism group with the theme of Huizhou culture. (Beijing Tonghe Time Tourism Design Institute, 2010). Thus, under Anhui’s Provincial tourism plan, the Huangshan Municipal Government developed the “Huangshan City 12th Five-Year Plan” in May, 2011. This outlines a more detailed direction for Huangshan tourism. The plan requires local governments and authorities to promote Huizhou and Taoism culture, speed up the establishment of tourist facilities, strengthen communication and cooperation between the three districts and four counties, increase the quality of the tours, and improve management and marketing. It is expected that in five years, the total investment will up to 100 billion RMB, and Huangshan city may increase another its facilities by another ten 4A attractions, three to five visitor distribution centres, 15 five star hotels, and 30 visitor information centre. Another important sector in the new development plan is with regard to village rural tourism. It is estimated that by the end of 2015, there will be 300 villages identified for the development of rural tourism, and more than 2000 Nongjiale involved in the industry. The government also estimated that by the end of 2015, the village tourism can receive 35 million visitors and generate 20 billion RMB of revenue (Huangshan Government, 2011).

3.4 Description of Xiuning County tourism development & future policy

Xiuning County has a history of more than 1700 years, and is located in the south of Anhui Province. It is very close to Huangshan City, only 18 kilometres away, which can be seen as an asset for the implementation of the “integration of Tunxi district and Xiuning County” strategy. The total area of Xouning County is 2,151 square kilometres, including 9 towns, 12 townships, and 259 villages, with a population of 274 thousand (Xiuning Government, 2005). Xiuning County is famous as its culture. For instance, it is well known as “the Chinese first number one scholar’s county” and from 1217 to 1880, there were 19 military ‘number one’ scholars coming from Xiuning County. In addition, Xiuning County also maintains other types of culture that includes religious culture, Huizhou culture, tea culture, wine culture, feng shui culture, and a health retention culture. Xiuning County is the home town of organic tea in China, and has more than 1200 years history of making tea. Additionally, the county

also has abundant landscape resources. Qiyun Mountain is the most famous landscape, and has 36 odd peaks, 72 strand rocks and the special Danxia landform (Xiuning Government, 2005). Based on the Huangshan tourism market, Xiuning County also concentrates on developing its tourism industry in the role of secondary tourism attractions to Huangshan, thereby permitting the government to extend the stay and expenditures of tourists visiting Huangshan. From the statistics, it can be seen that the tertiary industry in Xiuning County is proportionately more important than the primary and secondary industries (Table 3.3). Tourism development has thus experienced fast growth, especially, in Xiuning's 11th five-year period, During 2005 to 2010, the total arrivals of tourists visit Xiuning County increased by 45.3% compared with the number at the end of 10th Five Year plan period (2004), while the tourism revenue increased 64.3% (see Table 3.4). At the end of 2010, Xiuning County had 3 more new travel agencies, 3 new star classified hotels, and 5 new tourist attractions, with direct employment reaching a figure of 1,107. During the 11th Five Year period, Xiuning County was judged as "the best original ecosystem county". According to Xiuning Government's "12th five-year plan", Xiuning County has two targets. The first is to promote itself as "the great health-retention capital of the world", and the second is to heavily promote "Xiuning cultural tourism" during years 2010 to 2015. It is expected that the Mt Qiyun will play a leading role in boosting Xiuning's tourism industry. Qiyun Mountain, therefore, will be designed as an international Taoism place, and a national 5A attraction. Three main tourism products will be emphasised:

- a) Famous Taoism Mountain tourism product;
- b) Cultural tourism product, promoting local ancient culture, like traditional cuisine, folklore, and handicrafts;
- c) Ecotourism product, mainly developing a theme of an ecological mountain, ecological river, ecological forest, and ecological village (Xiuning Government, 2011a).

In the plan, the government also announced that it will "actively introduce an external large group and company to be involved in tourism development...to improve management, (and) marketing ...that will help Xiuning County change from a 'traditional sightseeing tourism' to 'leisure health-keeping tourism'" (p.12). It is estimated that at the end of 2015, Xiuning County will have developed three strong tourism towns, 100 Nongjiale, achieve 12 A class attraction (including 5 4A attractions and 1 5A attraction), increased the number of travel

agencies to 10, star classified hotels to 21, and star rated restaurants to 50 (Xiuning Government, 2011b).

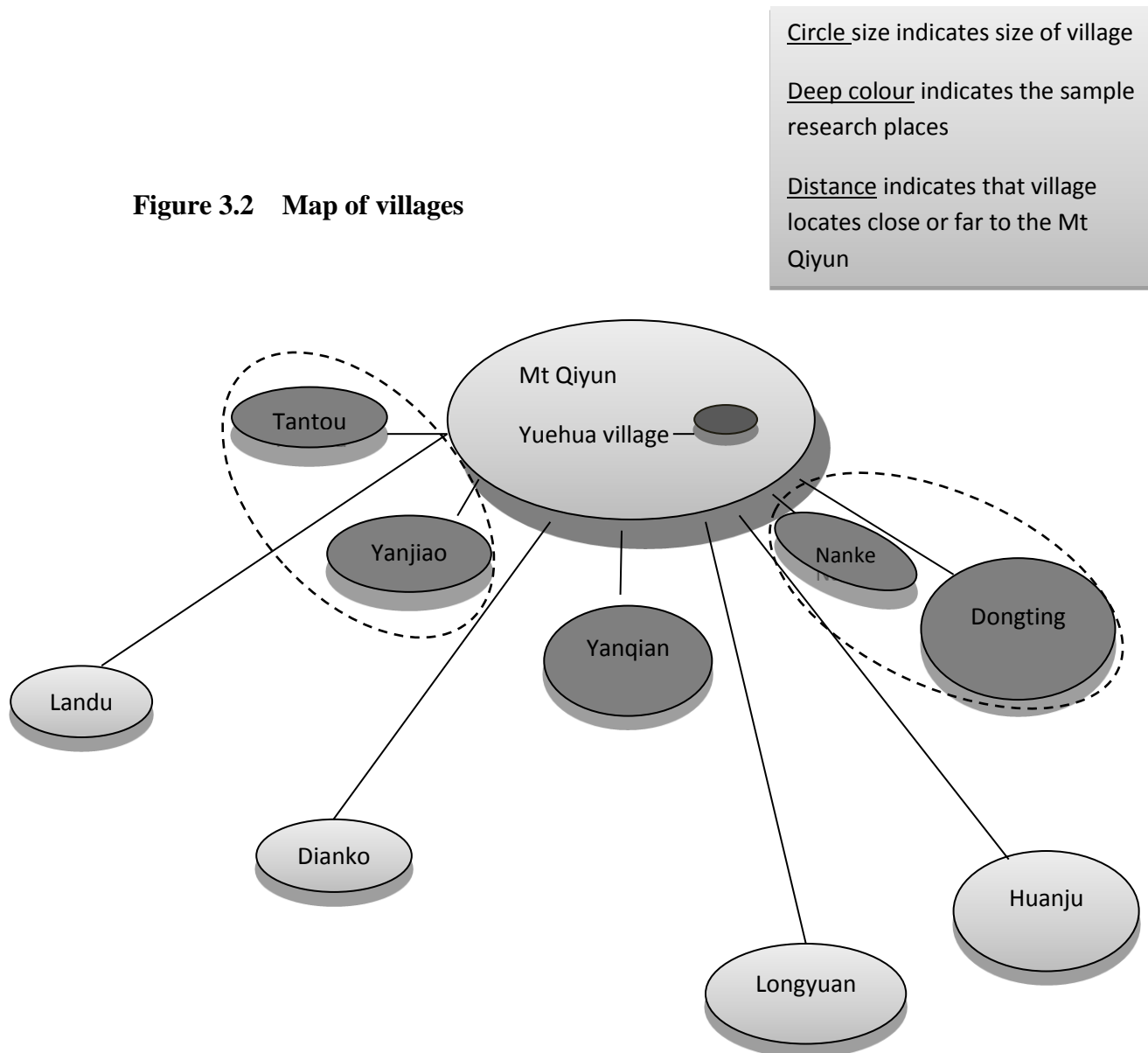
Table 3.3 Industrial structural proportion of Xiuning County				Table 3.4 Xiuning Country tourism growth from 2002 to 2010			
Year	Primary industry	Secondary industry	Tertiary industry	Arrivals(ten thousand)	Growth (per cent)	Tourism revenue (ten thousand)	Growth
2002	34.10%	25.10%	40.80%	47	25.30%	9020	29.00%
2003	31.20%	27.10%	41.80%	43	-8.50%	8653	-4.10%
2004	29.50%	31.70%	38.80%	53.9	25.30%	19700	25.30%
2005	27.60%	33.20%	39.20%	60.5	12.20%	25200	28.10%
2006	26.10%	34.10%	39.80%	88.5	46.30%	34000	34.80%
2007	24.60%	34.20%	41.20%	115.8	30.80%	54100	58.80%
2008	23.60%	36.50%	39.90%	162	40.80%	78000	45.00%
2009	21.90%	39.00%	39.10%	211.9	30.00%	103600	32.80%
2010	21.70%	39.90%	38.40%	260.9	23.10%	128000	25.00%
Source: Xiuning Government, 2011b							

3.5 Description of Qiyun Mountain Town

Qiyun Town, one of Xiuning's tourism centres, is located in the west area of Xiuning County, 15 kilometres from Huangshan City. The town is mainly dependent on developing Qiyun Mountain as its core to boost the local economy. In order to protect the local environment, there are no factories in the town. Thus, the economic structure heavily depends on agriculture and the tourism industry. In 2010, government annual revenue was 6,320,000RMB (1.264 Million NZD), the average farmer annual revenue was 6,841 RMB (NZ\$1,368), while tourism annual revenue reached to 20,190,000 RMB(NZ\$4,038,000) (Qiyun Mountain Government, 2011). Qiyun town has a total of 7 villages, namely: Dongting village, Yanjiao village, Yanqian village, Huangju Village, Landu Village, Diankou Village, and Longyuan Village. Of those 7 villages, 3 lie in the area of Qiyun Mountain, they are: Dongting village, Yanjiao village, and Yanqian village. The remaining four villages lie in a little further away from mountain (see figure 3.2). For the current study, the author choose to interview residents from villages close below mountain sampling three villages, namely Yanqian village, Yanjiao village, Nankeng village (one big village belonging to Dongting village in administrative law, but located far away from main village), and Tantou village

(one big village team belonging to Yanjiao village in administrative law, but again independently located geographically).

Figure 3.2 Map of villages



There are a large number of younger residents working outside their village area, leaving the older residents to work on the farms. According to Table 3.5, it could be seen that except for Longyuan village, 6 villages had more working away from the village than resident famers. This was seen as being due to the current nature of Qiyun tourism, which at present is only developed on the mountain and hence only residents on the mountain village can be directly involved in tourism businesses. Furthermore, with no factories being present in Qiyun town,

that too makes it difficult for villagers to find employment. As a result, residents have to go outside their home village to find jobs.

Table 3.5 Basic information of 7 villages in Qiyun Town (2011)						
Village name	villager group	families	population	Workforce	farmer	Migrant workers
Dongting	14	759	2389	1299	519	612
Yanjiao	8	339	1051	603	158	285
Yanqian	12	746	2087	1163	380	681
Huanju	15	738	2543	1905	342	817
Landu	7	388	1157	673	273	263
Diankou	9	485	1664	1158	416	529
Longyuan	23	708	2332	1164	516	346
Total	88	4173	13223	7965	2604	3533
Sources: Qiyun Mountain Township Government, 2011						

However, in 2010, Qiyun town was successfully able to attract two external large groups to invest in Qiyun area, leading to the development of a three star restaurant, one five star hotel, and two big holiday cottages resorts, which cost nearly 1.4 billion RMB (Qiyun Mountain Government, 2011). Those projects helped local farmers and workers to easily find construction jobs.



3.6 Description of Qiyun Mountain

Qiyun Mountain is situated in Xiuning County, Huangshan City, Anhui, China, and was called White Mountain or Baiyue (白岳) in ancient times, namely “the peaks high in the sky, level with clouds (一石插天，直入云端，与碧云齐)”. This mountain is located on the bank of the Hengjiang River, and very close to Huangshan World Heritage site (46 kilometres), on the east of the Tunxi centre city (33 kilometres distant), and to the west of Xidi (21 kilometres) and Hongcun (32 kilometres) (Wu & Zhou, 2005).

It is well known for its long history of Taoism, the unique “Red Cloud Land Form” (Danxian landscapes), its numerous cliff inscriptions, dinosaur’s footprint and the beautiful Huizhou

style countryside scenery. Thus, it is a Taoist religious site for the faithful, a heritage site for those interested in Chinese heritage, a place of research for those interested in geography, and a tourist location for the simply curious. The height of Qiyun Mountain is 585 meters above sea level. The ancient Taoists believed that immortals lived in mountains that are as high as the clouds (Zhang, Ding & Shen, 2002); thus, its cloud cover could be seen as one primary reason why early Taoists chose Mt Qiyun as a place to practise Taoism meditation. In the past 30 years, Qiyun mountain has gained many awards, like “China National Tourist Resort (1994)” “China National Forest Park” (1995), “China National Geopark” (2001), and “China National AAAA Scenic Area” (2005). Qiyun tourism has experienced a rapid growth during 2010 to 2012. In 2010, the total number of arrivals reached to 355,700, and the revenue was 11.13 million RMB, while in 2011, the arrivals increase by 40.15% to 498,570 thousand, and the revenue increased 49.88%. As of the end of June, 2012, Qiyun Mountain’s arrivals rose by a further 32.09% when compared with the same period in 2011 (Qiyun Tourism Authority, 2012).

Qiyun Mountain has a significant history of Taoism, and is regarded as one of the four main Taoist Mountains in China. The others are: Mt. Wudang in Wuhan Province, Mt. Qingcheng in Sichuan Province, and Mt. Longhu in Jiangxi Province (Zhang et al, 2007). Taoism was introduced to Qiyun Mountain during the period of Tang Dynasty in (758-760) when the Taoist Gong Xi Xia visited Qiyun Mountain and lived here. He is generally regarded as Qiyun Mountain’s first Taoist. Qiyun flourished in the period of the Ming Dynasty, because it was strongly supported by the Emperor Jiaqing, who came to Mt Qiyun to pray to give birth to a son, which request was granted. In ancient times, Mt Qiyun had the same or even higher reputation than Huangshan. Lixun, the Ming Dynasty poet, once said “there are lots of mountains in Xian area, only Qiyun and Huangshan are the best (新安多佳山，而齐云与黄山为最).

However, Qiyun Mountain suffered a very difficult time during the period of the “Cultural Revolution” (1966-1976). The Chinese government attacked Chinese religious beliefs as “feudal superstitions”, and one of the “four-olds” that were associated with “traditional culture, ideas, customs and habits” (Ryan, 2011, p.112). Most religious sites were destroyed by the Red Guard; they broke the temples, churches, other religious buildings, and arrested many ritual specialists (Dean, 2003; Zhu, 2003). Qiyun Mountain was ruined by the Red Guard during this revolution, leaving no temples, no Taoists priests, and no pilgrims.

The village therefore remained in a decayed state until 1978, when the vice-governor of Anhui Province provided funding for restoring temples, and then established the Qiyun Taoism Association in 1984 (G. H. Cheng, personal communication, December, 23, 2011). Qiyun Taoism belongs to “Zhengyi” school, which is very different from “Quanzhen” school. The latter is more monastic and based on the Buddhist model of monastic communities (Schipper, 2000), while “Zhengyi” Taoist follow a more normal life, being married, having children, and eating meat as well. Only when there is a need to do the Taoist rites do they follow Taoist regulations such as fasting on certain days, and taking showers.

3.61 Taoist rites and songs

Qiyun Taoist rites have been listed in the non-material heritage category by the Anhui Provincial government in 2010 (Fang & Zhang, 2012). There are many kinds of Taoist rites, such as: praying for safety, fortune, long life, or for the spirits of the dead. Taoist rite is quite complex. It requires Taoists to dress in specific clothes, and sing different songs with different dances. Normally, the rites will last 2 to 3 hours, but some particular rites will last 3 even 7 days, like praying for the safety of residents who have experienced large earthquakes. The number of Taoist priest in the ritual will always range from 7 to 15 depending on the purpose and scale of the rites. Qiyun Taoists undertake the appropriate rituals for some important festivals, especially for some god’s birthday. At other times, Taoist rites can be booked by pilgrims and visitors, but it is quite expensive, with charges from 1000 RMB to 10000 RMB. In Qiyun Mountain, the author observed some pilgrims ordered a simple rite for their safety and fortune. Normally, during the rite, five Taoist priests, wearing five different colour (red, yellow, green, cyan, white) that stand for gold, wood, water, fire earth, and North, East, West, South, and Middle, will pray in front of the God while other priests play Taoist music (D. L. Zhang, personal communication, March, 11, 2012). Then the family standing behind the five Taoists can pray. Qiyun Taoist songs have also been listed in the non-material heritage roster by the National Government in 2008. Taoist song is always used in the Taoists’ ritual and comprises two parts: vocal and instrumental music, with varied forms seen in performance, including solo, unison, and accompaniment. The instruments can include gongs, drums, cymbals, wooden fish, bamboo flutes, and suona. However, there does seem to be a cultural disconnect in Qiyun Taoist Song, as few Taoist priests can play Taoism music at a professional level. Another traditional ‘treasure’ that should be mentioned is Taoist food, which is a rare delicacy that visitors can seldom enjoy. Taoist food is mainly made from

the fresh vegetables, soybean products, and dry vegetables. The following photos show Taoist song and ritual.

Photo 3.1 Taoist song



Photo 3.2 Taoist rite

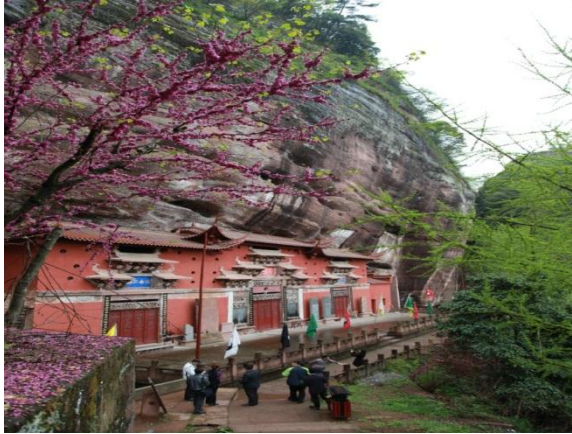


Source: Fang & Zhang, 2012

Additionally, the mountain is rich in landscape and natural resource. There are 36 steep peaks, 44 oddly shaped rocks, 18 tranquil caves, 537 inscriptions and five ancient stone bridges, 33 temples (including those classified as being of heritage value), 36 rare plant species, and 25 rare animal species in mountain (e.g. Ginko biloba, Dysosma, Pistacia chinensis, Bunge etc.) (Fang & Zhang, 2011). Interestingly, in some places, visitors can find that Taoism and Buddhism rituals blend with each other. This is because during the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism also developed in Mt Qiyun for a short period, but during the later Ming Dynasty, Taoism received great support from the Emperor, and Buddhism practices were excluded from Qiyun Mountain. Finally, Buddhism wholly gave way to Taoism, and Taoists took the place of Buddhist nuns. Generally, Qiyun Mountain has 8 main attractions for current visitors, but in next 5 years, the tourism authority is considering the building of other heritage sites to become new attractions. The current 8 attractions include “Yuehua street”, “Fairy’s cave”, “Taisu Palace”, “Yuxu Temple”, “Yunyan lake”, “Xiao hu tian” Southern Mountain”, and “Hengjiang river”. The most popular activities for visitors are generally thought to be to “pray in temples for good fortune”, “watch Taoist rites”, “listen to Taoist song”, “Viewing the red Cloud Land Form”, “Viewing the dinosaur’s footprint”, and “Viewing cliff inscriptions”.

Temple

Photo 3.3



Yuehua Street

Photo 3.4



Photo 3.5 Cliff inscriptions





**Photo 3.6 Hengjiang River
& Ancient Bridge**








3.62 Yuehua Street

At present, Yuehua Street has a population of 120 from 28 families. The majority of the local residents are descendent of the ancient Taoists families, and they have been lived here for many generations in the ancient Hui Zhou style Taoist houses (within the homes can be seen the Ancient Taoists' names scratched in the walls). Most of the families are related to each other. This is because previously the village used to be very poor, and no girls wanted to live

in the village; thus men could not find “outside girls” with whom to get married, and so only married with their neighbours. Before Qiyun developed as a tourist attraction, the residents mainly lived on cutting wood, planting tea, providing food and accommodation for pilgrims, and some also worked outside. Moreover, during the Cultural Revolution, the residents on the mountain suffered a lot; they lost their temples, pilgrims, as hence much of their income. They only have forest lands, no farmland; and it is difficult for them to feed a large population. Thus, some of them borrowed food from the villages below the mountain; otherwise, they simply suffered from hunger. Luckily, after Qiyun opened its door to visitors in 1980s, life on the mountain began to change. Every family became involved in a small tourism business, and they began to discover the value of developing tourism. At present, the Yuehua village is considered to be the richest village in Qiyun Town, even in Xiuning County. Families are now rich enough to buy houses in Xiuning County, some have even purchased a private car. Their children always go to good schools in the County rather than in local schools. It is estimated by the local authority that there are 260 people directly involved in the Qiyun tourism industry; of whom 28.5% to 30% are from Yuehua village (the tourism authority has a policy that village residents have priority over other village residents for employment in tourism). Those residents are mostly engaged in basic jobs like selling incense, being a tour guide, operating restaurants and souvenir shops, and being cleaners. The average annual family income in this village is now approximately 70,000-80,00RMB per annum, some higher income families may reach 200,000-300,000 RMB (X. J. Yao, personal communication, November, 4, 2011). The following table 3.7 describes different jobs in Yuehua village.

Table 3.6 Jobs For Yuehua residents		
Job title	Photo	Job description
Tour 24 Guide		All of the tour guides are selected from residents on the mountain. There are 23 female tour guides and only 1 male tour guide. As local tour guides, they do not need to get a Tour Guide Qualification Certificate as a registered tour guide, they only need to pass a simple test which is carried out by the tourism company. They do not have fixed working hours and their working hours is up to them. They charge normally 60 RMB, which was increased by 10 RMB in 2010. The average age of tour guides should be between 30 and 35 years old. The majority of tour guides only have middle school or high school education background. Thus, no one can use English to guide foreign visitors.
Incense sticks seller 22		All of the incense stick sellers are residents on the mountain. Almost all are old ladies. Only during holidays will school aged young girls sell incense to earn pocket money. Those sellers are supposed to wait at one spot and take shifts to sell incense sticks, but they always prefer to follow tourists and keep asking them to buy incense, which is a nuisance to visitors. The profits for selling incense is quite high, the purchase price for every pack of incense is less than 1 RMB, while they will sell at 10 RMB. If visitors bargain the price or buy more than one pack, some sellers may lower the price to 5 RMB.

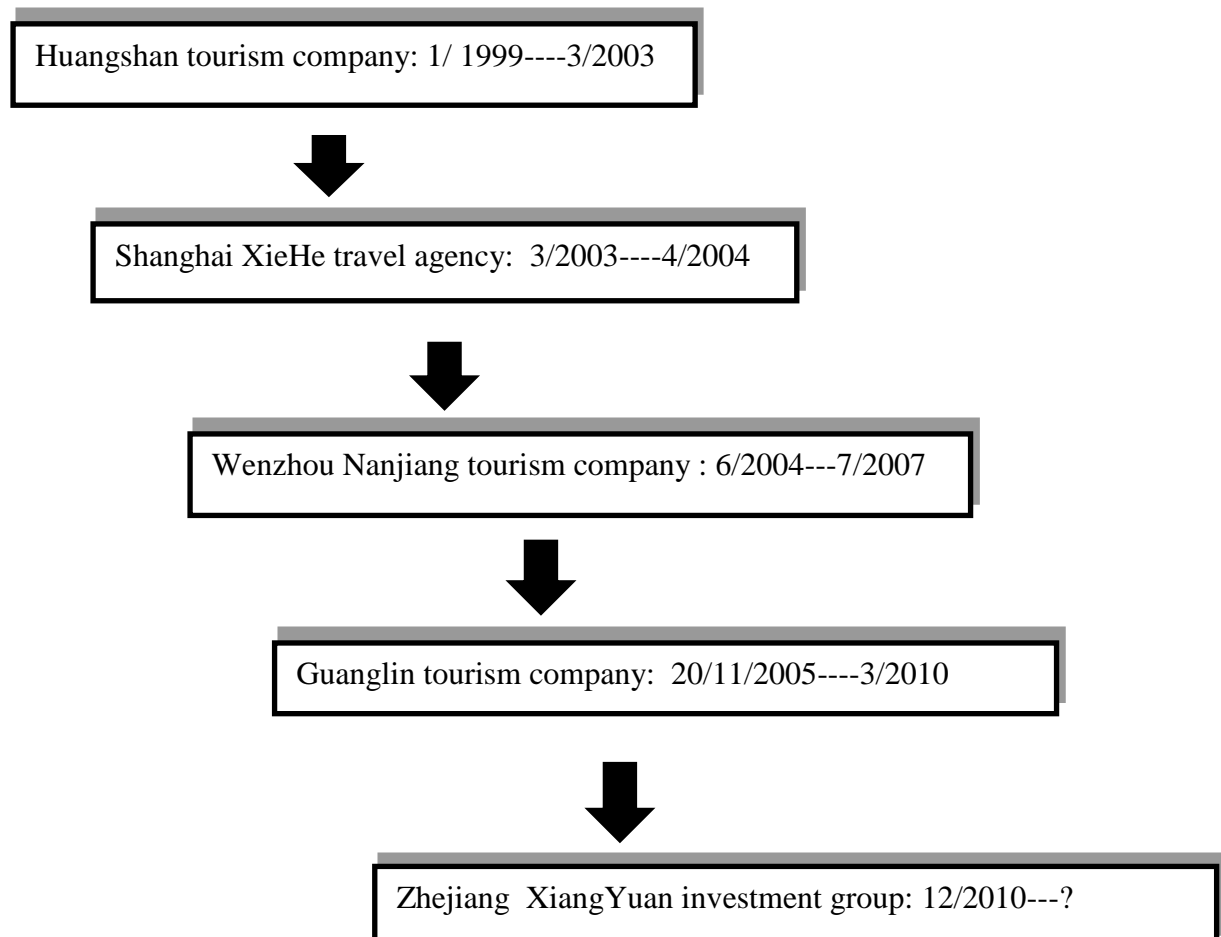
<p>Fortune-teller 7 person</p>		<p>There were 3 fortune tellers in 2010, but in 2012 they now number 7. Among them, only one is a local resident on the mountain, two are from the villages below the mountain, while other 4 have come from other cities in Anhui province. All are male. Those 7 fortune tellers have different methods to predict future events, such as use of the tortoise-shell, reading people's palms, and from coppers. Their standard charge is very interesting, some will charge a visitor a high price if he is said to have good future; while some fortune teller will charge visitor at difference prices depend on the credibility of his words.</p>
<p>Cleaner 7 person</p>		<p>In 2010 there were 14 cleaners working in the mountain, but in 2012 only 7. Among those who left, 4 cleaners were forced to leave their job by the new company because all were above 50 years of age. The new company wanted to use cleaners below that age. Another 3 staff quit the job because of the hard work and low wages. At present remaining staff work longer hours than before, but their revenue also increased from 800 RMB to 1200 RMB per month.</p>
<p>Taoist 14 priests</p>		<p>There are about 14 Taoist priests working in the Qiyun Taoism Association. The age of priests range from young residents to a 78 years old resident, and all are male. Their job requires them to sit in the temple to look after the incense, candle and paper burning. They also need to clean the temples. Sometimes, they do the Taoism rite, if pilgrims require them to pray and bless them. But the Taoism rite is very expensive, from 1,000RMB to 100,000 RMB. The Taoist revenue mainly comes from the donation of pilgrims, the fees of Taoist rituals, and</p>

		some small commercial activities like selling a blessed amulet.
<p>Small business owners (23 restaurants 8 hostels 5 souvenir shops 2 antique shops 2 tea shops)</p>		<p>There are 23 out of 28 families operating family restaurants on the mountain. The restaurant sizes vary from 20-30 places to 200-250. There are 8 places providing accommodation. Except for one hostel which attracted outsider investment and had high quality facilities and hygienic conditions such as private bathrooms in every room and had internet access; the other 7 hostels are basic and of a low standard. Thus, the room rate in those hostels is very low, only 40-50 RMB (\$8-\$10) per night; for the pilgrim even lower prices existed at 10-20 RMB (\$2-\$4) per night.</p>
<p>Chairman 6 person</p>		<p>Previously, there were more than 20 chair carriers in this village 10 years ago, who came from other villages below the mountain. However, more and more visitors prefer to walk rather than taking a chair; thus, at present only 6 remain, and they only work only in the high season.</p>
Source: Wang (2011); Li (2011)		

3.63 Qiyun Mountain management system

Mountain has its unique resource, but lacks a stable management system. From 1999 to 2011, Qiyun Mountain experienced 6 changes in its management system. Huangshan Government formally established the Qiyun Tourism Authority as early as in 1996, at the level of a vice-county administrative authority. The executive responsibilities are vested in Qiyun Authority to manage Qiyun Mountain, and it seemed things were beginning to settle into a pattern. However, only two years later, Xiuning County entrusted the Huangshan Authority to develop Mt Qiyun for 30 years, hoping they could bring new ideas to Mt Qiyun. Huangshan Authority invested millions in improving facilities at Qiyun Mountain, by rebuilding the pathway and installing toilets. Indeed, from conversation with the local residents, the author found that residents set a high value on “Huangshan Authority Performance”. But, the stability was illusory; Xiuning Government unilaterally broke the contracts in March 2003. The official reason was the Huangshan Authority had not been able to avoid a loss of ticket revenue. Later, in June 2003, Xiuning County sold the operating rights to a private tour company for 50 years – the Xiehe Travel Agency. Only 7 months later this contract was also broken, and the company took 3,000,000 RMB in compensation and 450,000 RMB in ticket revenue retention. In 2004, Xiuning Government again sold the Qiyun operating rights to an external group, which came from Zhejiang Province, again for 50 years. But before this company begun handling Qiyun business, the contract was again unilaterally broken. No one knows the real reason. This corporation cost the Xiuning Government 400,000 RMB in compensation to the company. In 2005, Xiuning Government found another company – the Guangling company. This company promised that they would invest 20,000,000 RMB in the mountain. However, by the end of 2008, they had invested nothing, but had taken 70% of the ticket revenue and all of the cable car revenue, which totalled 6,000,000 RMB (Fang & Zhang, 2011). Again, the contract was stopped by the government. In October 2009, when the author first visited the mountain, local residents told her that the mountain operational rights had returned to Qiyun Tourism Authority 5 months previously, and they hoped the mountain could really develop this time. Interestingly, when the author returned to the mountain for her doctoral research in November 2011, she was told that the operation rights had been sold to a large real estate company from the eastern coastal provinces one month earlier. Currently, from the above evidence, it might be said that Qiyun Mountain had wasted 10 years after 2000, a decade when the tourism industry in China developed rapidly (as shown in the Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 Five times co-operation for Qiyun government and external company



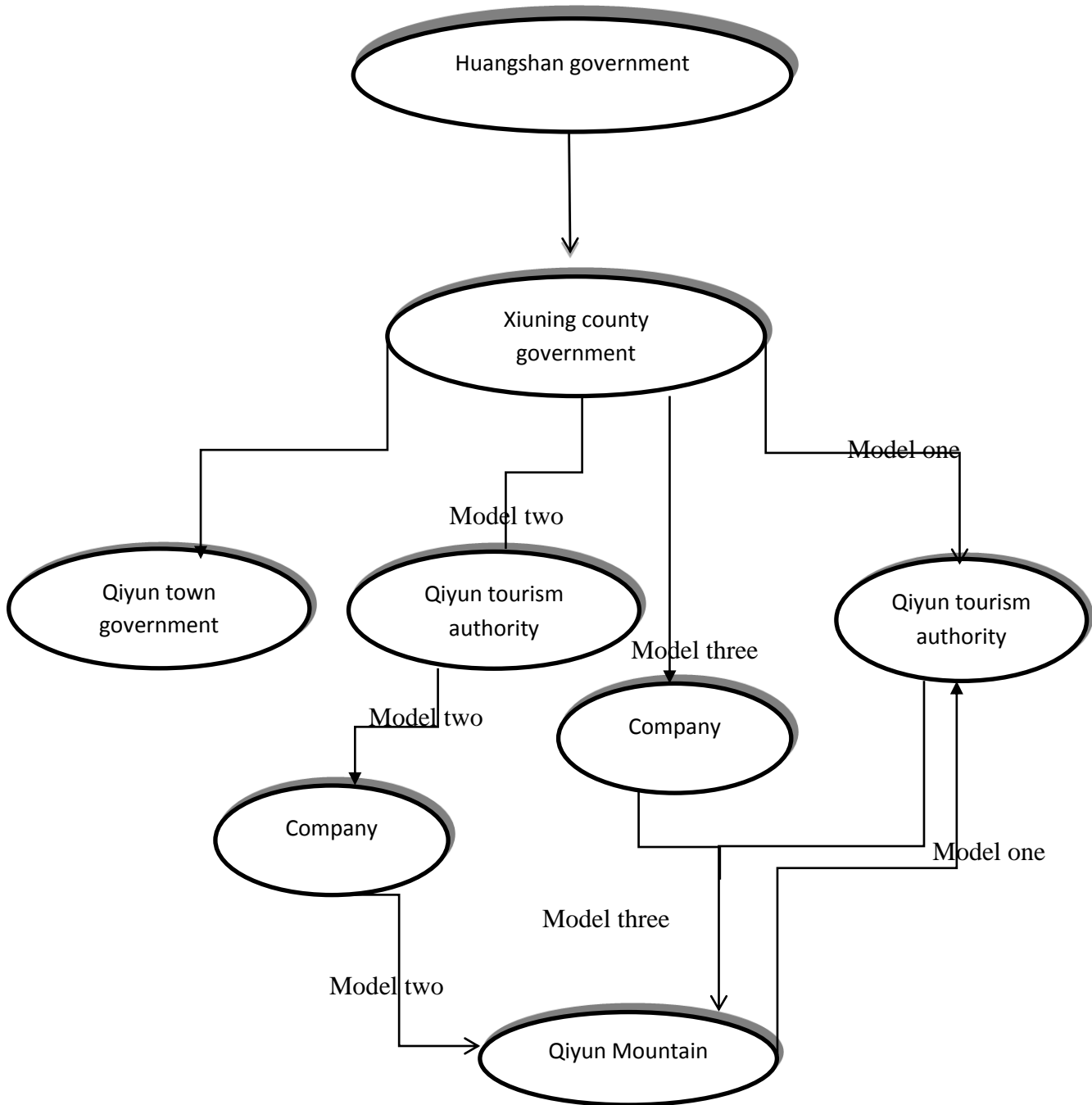
Accordingly, the author suggests that Qiyun Mountain has had three different management systems as illustrated in Figure 3.3:

Model 1: Directly managed by Qiyun Tourism Authority, under the Xiuning County guidance 1996 -1999.

Model 2: Under the Xiuning County guidance, The Qiyun Tourism Authority cooperated with a private company, but the authority was more dominant than the private sector companies (e.g. during the period of the Xiehe Travel Agency)

Model 3: Under the Xiuning County guidance, Qiyun Tourism Authority cooperated with a private company, but now the companies are more dominant than the authority.

Figure 3.3 Management Models for Quiyunshan



3.64 A New tourism development policy for Mt Qiyun

In July, 2011, the Xiuning Government constructed a new overall Qiyun Mountain Tourism plan to re-define the development strategy for the period 2011-2030, with the objectives of achieving the status of “National AAAAA Tourist Attraction”, “National Ecological Culture Tourism Demonstration Area”, “National Culture Industry Demonstration Area”, and “National New Socialist Countryside Demonstration Base”. The plan was divided into three periods: the short term “Year 2011- Year 2015 for Development Construction Period”, “Year 2016-Year 2025 for Steady Development Period”, and the “Year 2026-Year 2030 for Integration and Optimization Period” (Xiuning Government, 2011a). In the plan, it was pointed out that Qiyun Mountain will focus on the Chinese “long triangle” and central area as the fundamental market, and develop its five main tourism product orientations, namely: sightseeing tourism, leisure tourism, business tourism, health-retention tourism, rural tourism, and cultural-heritage tourism.

It is expected that in the next few years, Qiyun Mountain will finish the work of converting from sightseeing tourism to a more comprehensive leisure-vacation type of tourism, which requires government and external investors to build numbers of advanced facilities to meet visitors’ needs, like star classified hotels, spas, business centres, health centres, sports clubs, bars, and places of entertainments and theatres. In this plan, the government also places an emphasis on protecting the ecological environment, and realizing social and economic benefits for the local community. To finish the transformation, the plan lists 5 goals for further development based on the involvement of government, external investors, visitors and local residents. First and foremost is the goal of economic growth, with the objectives of increasing total arrivals, improving facilities, and driving other industries to develop together; the second goal is related to social benefits, which are designed to improve the quality of life for local residents and creates employment, especially for residents below the mountain; the third goal is mainly protecting traditional Huizhou culture and promoting Taoism culture to visitors; fourth is the focus on protecting natural resources and recovering previously destroyed areas; and finally the improvement of the current management system, and provision of more opportunities for visitors to gain a richer travel experience (Xiuning Government, 2011b) (see Table 3.8).

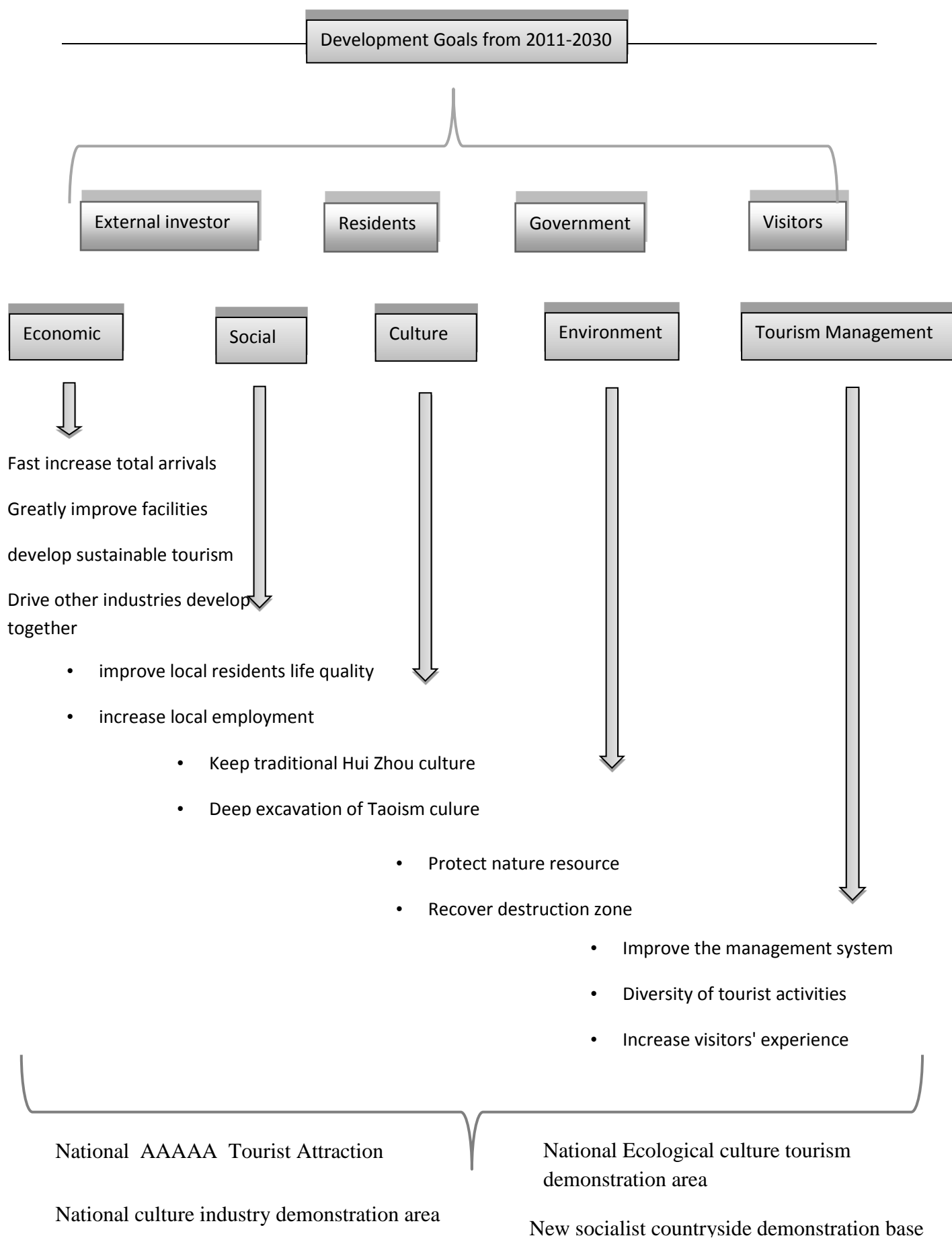


Table 3.8 Develop goals from 2011-2030

Source: (Xiuning Government, 2011b)

3.7 Chapter summary

Chapter 3 present the context of the research. The general geographical and policy information of Huangshan City, Xiuning County and Qiyun Town have been described individually. Additionally, the chapter also provides comprehensive background information about Mt Qiyun tourism, which can be useful to better understand the following perspectives of tourism from stakeholder. The next chapter discuss the research methodologies used to satisfy the six research objectives.

Chapter 4 Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research design used in this thesis. It begins with accessing the research objectives, and then followed by discussing the research paradigms which this thesis is grounded in; later the specific research methodology and methods will be explored as well. This thesis has 6 main research objectives, which used to guide the whole research, were defined at the outset as being:

1. To investigate the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from visitors' perceptions, as well as study the motives of visitors to the village, and to assess the degree to which religious motives determine motives to visit the village and inform the behaviour of visitors and shape their evaluation of tourism at the village, and thereby to assess to what degree congruency exists between visitors, government planners and village residents (present in chapter 5)
2. To investigate tourism impacts from the perspectives of residents living in other villages which below the mountain , discover their attitudes to tourism development and evaluate their perceptions of tourism in Qiyun area (present in chapter 6)
3. To investigate tourism impacts from primarily the perspectives of residents living in a small Taoist village, discover their attitudes to tourism development and evaluate their perceptions of tourism in Mt Qiyun (present in chapter 7)
4. To investigate the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from officials' perceptions and to assess to what degree congruency exists between the goals of tourism planning and the aspirations of local residents. The sample of governmental officials was obtained from the levels of village, municipal and provincial perspectives (present in chapter 8)
5. To access what are the relevant stakeholders' degree of satisfactions with reference to tourism development in Mt Qiyun, compare their different perceptions and attitudes toward tourism impacts, and explore their suggestions for Mt Qiyun about ways in which tourism can be developed sustainability in a community (present in chapter 9)
6. To speculate in the context of the wider literature the extent to which it is possible to generalise from the results to a wider conceptualisation of tourism impacts on Chinese communities in the second decade of the twenty-first century through the observation

of power structures and networks and the findings derived from the research(present in chapter 9)

4.2 Research paradigm

4.21 The importance of identifying a paradigm

Each research project is supported by the researcher's philosophical assumptions. Wearing et al. (2005) argued that tourism studies should continue to be critiqued and evaluated by a range of alternative philosophies. Thus, to conduct an effective tourism research project requires a need to address the theoretical paradigms that may be used in the research. As Hamilton-Smith and Brickness (1993) stated, it is not possible to conduct good quality research if there is no understanding of the ontology and epistemology of any current research project. However, unlike other research fields, in tourism few authors specifically identify their research paradigm, or provide reasons as to why the paradigms adopted have been selected. For example, Jones (1998) pointed out that fundamental issues of paradigms and the philosophy of social sciences are rarely mentioned or discussed in tourism and hospitality research.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) stated a paradigm could be considered as "a group of basic beliefs that is concerned with 'ultimate' or 'first principles', which used to describe a person's understanding of the world" (p.107). Weaver and Olson (2006, p.459) pointed out that paradigms are "patterns of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline by providing lenses, frames and processes through investigation". More recently, Johnson and Christensen (2010) acknowledged that: "...a research paradigm is a perspective about research held by a community of researchers that is based on a set of shared assumptions, concepts, values and practices" (p.31). For this study a 'paradigm' is a pattern of our beliefs, attitudes and worldviews which affect the way people know reality, acquire knowledge and interact with the world. Filstead (1979, p.34) identified four objectives of paradigms:

1. A guide to a discipline for indicating what are the problems confronting the discipline;
2. As an developmental explanatory scheme that places problems in a specific framework that permits attempts to solve them;
3. Establish criteria for appropriate "tools" (i.e., methodologies, forms of data collection) to solve disciplinary problems, and

-
4. Provide a framework in which these phenomena can be identified as existing in the first place.

There are numbers of competing paradigms in the social science research field. Each paradigm has its own set of concepts, and can provide flexible guidelines to connect methods and shape any inquiry (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004); however, no single one can solve all the research questions involved in any one project (Bailey, 1994). As Guba and Lincoln (1994) acknowledged, there should not be a question as to which paradigm is superior *per se*, but rather which paradigm is more suitable for achieving a specific research objectives. As a result, the selection of an appropriate paradigm is a fundamental prerequisite for a researcher to successfully complete a project. According to Creswell (2009), there are four main factors that will play a role in influencing the choice of paradigm, including the problem, the research, the methodology and the desired outcome. However, scholars have established criteria to differentiate between paradigms (Guba 1990; Guba and Lincoln, 2005). Such authors mapped out the fundamental characteristics of paradigms, each paradigm being defined by three questions: ontological (what is the nature of reality, what can be known about reality?), epistemological (what is the nature of relationship between the knower and the known?) and methodology (how can the researcher find out knowledge?). To these three criteria may be added a fourth, the axiomatic or ethical. Among them, ontology, epistemology and methodology are complementary as the first two inform the latter (methodology) (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). These characteristics therefore provide an effective framework for tourist researchers to perceive tourism and tourism research (Delanty, 1997). Guba (1990) also stated that researchers should always reflect on their philosophy by examining their ontological, epistemological and methodological choices, and choose those research methods to be consistent with their assumptions and research problems. Indeed, as Pansiri (2009) and Crotty (1998) describe, any choice of methodological approach to tourism studies is associated with the epistemological and ontological, and will reflect not only the nature and exigencies of the research work, but also the role of researcher and his or her view of the social world. Generally the most common paradigms in social science research are positivism, post-positivism, interpretive, critical theory, constructivist, feminist, postmodern paradigm and chaos theory (Jennings, 2001; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, Sarantakos, 1993; Hess-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). For the current research project, four paradigms were selected as the researcher's fundamental philosophical worldview. They were positivism/post-positivism, critical theory, interpretive and pragmatism to form a mixed

methods approach to the research questions listed above. The following Table 4.1 provides an overview of these four major research paradigms, and each is evaluated individually, by describing their features and the reasons why they fit this research project.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of Research Paradigms

Alternative paradigms (Existing use in tourism research)				Potential areas of tourism research
	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology	
Positivism (Commonly used)	Realism: truth exists and can be identified or discovered	Objectivism: unbiased observer	Hypothesis testing, falsification, controlled conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Behaviour ➤ Tourism impact ➤ Tourism forecasting ➤ Marketing research ➤ satisfactions
Post-positivism (Commonly used)	Critical realism: truth exists but can only be partially comprehended	Objectivism is ideal but can only be approximated	Modified quantification, field studies, some qualitative methods	
Critical theory (Negligible usage)	Value-laden realism: truth shaped by social processes	Subjectivism: values influence inquiry	Interactive process that seeks to challenge commonly-held notions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ negative social impact of tourism on host community ➤ relationship between tourism organization power relate to tourism planning
Interpretive (Common in 1970s/80 and again growing is use)	Relativism: knowledge is socially constructed , local, and specific	Subjectivism: knowledge created and coproduced by researcher and subject	Process of reconstructing multiple realities through informed consensus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Host-guest interactions ➤ Customer service evaluation ➤ Travellers' Experience
Pragmatism (Growing usage with adoption of mixed methods approaches)	External, multiple, view chosen to best enable answering of research question	Both objective and subjective points of view	Mixed or multiple method designs, quantitative and qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Cultural tourism ➤ Travel behaviour ➤ Tourism impact

Source: Creswell & Clark, 2011, Guba (1990) , Denzin & Lincoln (1994) , Jennings (2001)

4.2.2 Positivism / Post-positivism

The term ‘positivism’, the oldest research paradigm, has dominated the physical and social sciences for over 300 years. The positivist paradigm arose from a philosophy known as logical positivism that was based on rigid rules of logic and measurement, truth, absolute principles and prediction (Gillis & Jackson, 2002). Positivism has the aim of testing theory, explaining relationships and determining how one thing affects another in a population (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). According to Merriam (1991, p.44), the positivist worldview assumes “...a single, objective reality (the world out there) that we can observe, know, and measure”. It generally defines the natural world as organized by universal laws and truths, that reality is objectively given, and can be perceived and understood through the senses, and which is independent of the researcher (Sarantakos, 1993; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Tribe (2001) has identified two main characteristics of the positivist paradigm, firstly, “...this paradigm concentrates on positive data, which can be verifiable and can survive attempts at falsification; secondly, a rigorous scientific methods is used, based on hypothesis formulation, and testing against empirical evidence, using quantitative measurement and experiment techniques” (p.443). In light of Weaver and Olson’s (2006, p.463) view, various strengths are considered in positivistic research, including “generalizability of findings beyond a particular sample; objectivity enhances credibility; (and) belief that scientific methods used to investigate the physical world can be used to investigate the social world”. However, positivism is said to possess disadvantages. Sarantakos (1993) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) critique that the over-emphasis place on quantitative methods will lead to an unjustifiable paradigm that fails to capture the real meaning of social science, and may not be effective to understand processes that people attach to actions. For his part Ryan (1995) also made a convincing appeal for the use of conversations in tourism research, albeit these may be based on what is thought to be important rather than that which is important. Truth is therefore veiled, and the veil has an importance.

In the area of tourism research, post-positivism is a popular research paradigm, especially in economic analyses of tourism. As Xiao and Smith (2006) and Jennings (2001) found, the tourism academe still has been dominated by the positivist paradigm which limits the ways and the types of knowledge. For instance, in the study of tourism impacts it appears the majority of articles prefer to use post-positivism and conduct quantitative questionnaires and analysis to evaluate the impacts and attitudes from the perspective of residents, visitors and to

a lesser extent, planners. Although this methodology can represent target populations, a question remains as to whether results truly reflect respondents' deep concerns, or the agenda of the researcher. Crouch (2000) also suggests that a positivist paradigm has been commonly used in areas such as travel market segmentation and demand forecasting. In particular, Jennings (2001) examined the consequences of a positivist paradigm for tourism research: "a positive paradigm, when applied to tourism research, predicates the explanation of a tourism behaviour, event or phenomenon to being based on causal relationship...other potential areas for positivist paradigm in tourism research including tourism forecasting and modelling; social environmental impacts; marketing research studies, and hospitality satisfaction studies" (p. 36-38). However, with regard to the current doctoral research project, post-positivism was used as a complementary means to examine the motives of visitors to the village, to assess the degree to which religious motives determine visits to the village, inform the behaviour of visitors and shape their evaluation of tourism at the village.

However, a number of researchers began to critique the early premises of positivism recognizing that reality is not readily apprehensible, and that there is no absolute source of knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2003; and Creswell et al., 2008). Thus, positivism's offspring, 'post-positivism', was introduced. Post-positivism is similar to positivism. As Denzin & Lincoln (1998, 2000), stated that the positivist/post-positivist paradigm assumes a realist and critical realist ontology, objective epistemologies and relies on experimental and quasi-experimental methodologies. Both paradigms believe that the researchers are value free and can be substituted for another without an effect on findings (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). But there are differences when studying social reality, because post-positivists uphold a more critical realist ontological viewpoint, arguing that researchers cannot be absolutely positive about their knowledge (Lincoln & Guba, 2003; Creswell, 2008).

4.2.3 Interpretive paradigm

The interpretive social research paradigm is concerned with the cultural and historical contexts of the social life world. It attempts to guide the study to a deeper understanding of social phenomena in which people are involved. It assumes "a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and subject create understanding), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures" (Denzin & Lincoln 1994, pp.13-14; Crotty, 1998). Early in 1979, Burrell and Morgan (p.227) identified the

interpretive paradigm as “...embraces a wide range of philosophical and sociological thought which shares the common characteristic of attempting to understand and explain the social world primarily from the point of view of the actors directly involved in the social process” More specifically, Sarantakos (1998), pointed out that the interpretive perspective believes that the reality is not out there, it is in the mind of people (it is not objective but subjective); The epistemologically, interpretive paradigm is anti-positivist because it emphasizes investigating human experience through participants’ involvement in the research process (Brand, 2008; Monti & Tingen, 1999). It is therefore closely related to a constructionist approach where the researcher adopts a profile where the help of the informant is enlisted in constructing a socially determined truth.

Recently, as Hollinshead and Tribe (2006) argued, there is a turn towards constructivist/interpretivist thought and practice in the tourism research field. This is because the interpretive paradigm has significant strengths when compared with positivism research paradigm:

- Its ability to address complexity (Black, 2006);
- To articulate, appreciate and make visible the voices and concerns of research respondents (Ford-Giboe, Campbell & Bermann, 1995);
- Social truths are constructed by the researcher and in a participative interaction in the natural environment (Guba & Lin 1994); and
- It emphasizes the totality of the human being, and prefers to use qualitative methodology instead of quantitative measures (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1986).

Normally, the use of the interpretive research paradigm in the field of tourism requires that the researcher should conduct the studies in the real-world setting; to become an ‘insider’, personally experience the phenomena within the studied area, to be more subjective and to use a qualitative research methodology. As a result, Jennings (2001) suggests that the interpretive paradigm is appropriate for the topics of travel experience, host-guest interactions and resident’s experiences. In the case of Mt Qiyun, the ethnographic method within an interpretive perspective was adopted as the main research approach. Miller, Strang and Miller (2010) noted that ethnography is interpretive because the reality does not just present itself to be objectively recorded by researchers, but has to be reconstructed by the ethnographer using insights gained during fieldwork. Here, the interpretive paradigm for designing a tourism impact study aims to provide an understanding of tourism impacts from the perceptions of all

the stakeholders in the Qiyun mountain tourism area. The methods employed by the interpretive paradigm in this doctoral project range from participative observation, through to semi-structured interviews, photography and document analysis. It encourages local residents/government officials/ visitors to tell the researcher about their perceptions of tourism impacts in mountain area, both positive and negative. In addition, the in-depth semi-structure interview enables researchers to further explore respondents' attitudes toward tourism development, and shape their evaluation of tourism at the village.

4.2.4 Critical theory paradigm

Critical social theory is a study of social institutions. It believes that the reality is created not by nature but by the people, because humans have great potential for creativity and adjustment (Gillis & Jackson, 2002; Sarantakos, 1993). According to Layder (1994), the aim of critical theory is diagnosing the problems of modern society and identifying the nature of the social changes necessary to produce a just and democratic society. Critical theories perceive science from a stand-point that is between positivism and interpretive social science; thus they propose that the critical paradigm adopts a position between subjectivism and objectivism (Sarantakos, 1998, 1993). Furthermore, with regard to the ontological, a critical theory paradigm proposes that reality is regarded as apprehensible, but that it is shaped by social, political, cultural, gender and economic factors that over time are considered 'real' (Ford-Giboe, Campbell & Bermann, 1995; Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Obviously, there are potential advantages in the use of critical theory. Maguire (1987) pointed out that under the critical theory paradigm research becomes a means of taking action and a theory for explaining how things could be. Weaver and Olson (2006, p.486) concluded that "Critical theory can be better used to expose oppression through understanding shared meanings of political, social, historical and cultural practices that impede equal participation; theory and practice are closely linked, then research goes beyond description towards action to change inequities; develop tacit knowledge from practice via criticism and reflection".

The critical theory paradigm has contributed to the tourism research field. Jennings (2001, p.42) noted that "the use of the critical theory paradigm in tourism research means that the interests or needs of minority groups will be identified and data collected in order to open or improve the provision of tourism opportunities, experiences and services for those minority group." Consequently, in the current research project, critical theory is used to examine the tourism impact in a small remote Taoism village that was previously overlooked by governments, tourism authority and operators. Moreover, critical theory was used to examine

the relationship between those in power (such as the government) and those without power (such as residents) in regard to tourism planning and development, and thereby to assess to what degree congruency exists between visitors, government planners and village residents (Jennings, 2001).

4.2.5 Mixed paradigm: Pragmatism

In order to explore different research objectives as mentioned previously, this study adopted the sequential exploratory mixed strategy to achieve each of them, with a view to using quantitative methods to help support qualitative results. However, before conducting the mixed methods, we need to solve another paradigmatic issue, that is, “what philosophical paradigm is the best foundation for mixed methods research?” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). It has been suggested that several researchers fail to understand the philosophy of mixed methods, even when they use this approach. For example, Bryman (2007) conducted an in-depth-interview with 20 researchers who had chosen to use mixed method in their research; but found that some of those researchers seem not to dwell on the epistemological and ontological issue related to mixed methods. Several scholars proposed that pragmatism is the best paradigm for mixed methods research, such as Rossman and Wilson (1985), Denscombe (2008), and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003).

“Pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis in a single piece of research” (Creswell. 2003, p.11). Furthermore, pragmatism allows the researcher to achieve a fuller understanding of human phenomena, to be free of mental and practical constraints imposed by the “forced choice dichotomy between post-positivism and constructivism” (Creswell & Clark, 2007, p.27). As Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), as well as Maxcy (2003) stated, pragmatism provides a set of beliefs about knowledge and inquiry that underpins the mixed methods research; furthermore, pragmatism also make a distinction between purely quantitative approaches based on a philosophy of positivism/ post-positivism and purely qualitative approaches that are based on a philosophy of interpretivism / constructivism. To test pragmatism by the three questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology, it could be said that pragmatism accepts an external reality and chooses explanations that best produce desired outcome (ontology); that researchers collect data by what works to address research questions using both objective and subjective points of view; and researchers under pragmatism prefer to combine both quantitative and qualitative data and mix them into one study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Creswell & Clark, 2011).

Table 4.2 Comparing Methods engaged by Research Paradigms

Qualitative , Quantitative, and Mixed methods approaches			
Tend to or typically	Qualitative Approaches	Quantitative approaches	Mixed Methods approaches
Use these philosophical assumptions	Constructivist/Advocacy/Participatory knowledge claims	Post positivist knowledge claims	Pragmatic knowledge claims
Employ these strategies of inquiry	Phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, case study, and narrative	Surveys and experiments	Sequential, concurrent, transformative
Employ these methods	Open-end questions, emerging approaches, text or image data	Closed-ended questions, predetermined approaches, numeric data	Both open- and closed-ended questions, both emerging and predetermined approaches, and both quantitative and qualitative data and analysis
Use these practices of research, as the researcher	Positions himself or herself Collects participant meaning Focuses on a single concept or phenomenon Brings personal values into the study Studies the context or setting of participants Validates the accuracy of findings Makes interpretations of the data Collaborates with the participants	Tests or verifies theories or explanations Identifies variables to study Relates variables in questions or Hypotheses Uses standards of validity and reliability Observes and measures information numerically Employs statistical procedures	Collects both quantitative and qualitative data Develops a rationale for mixing Integrates the data at different stages of inquiry Presents visual pictures of the procedures in the study Employs the practices of both qualitative and quantitative research
Sources: Creswell, 2003, p.19			

This approach, has begun to be considered as a third methodology, and the third research paradigm movement in research field in the recent decade (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie,2004;

Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). This is because mixed methods, using both inductive and deductive research logic, makes good use of the strengths and weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative research characteristics, provides a bridge between the paradigms and various research methods to solve more complex research problem, and provides more evidence of research findings (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Giddings, 2006). The mixed method is the most appropriate approach to addressing research problems “when a quantitative design can be enhanced by qualitative data, or when a qualitative design can be enhanced by quantitative data”, “when the quantitative results are inadequate to provide explanations of outcomes, and the problem can best be understood by using qualitative data to enrich and explain”, or “when qualitative research can provide an adequate exploration of a problem, but such an exploration is not enough, then quantitative research is needed to further understand the problem” (Creswell & Clark, 2007, p.34). Normally, quantitative research tend to begin with predetermined, instrument-based questions, design to identify relationship between variables and test a specific hypotheses; while, qualitative methods try to involve holistic collection of data through observation or from the perspective of the respondents, to an understanding of a specific phenomenon within a particular context (Testa et al, 2011; Seifert et al, 2010). Table 4.2 is used to compare three methodologies based on philosophical assumptions, strategies, methods, and practice.

4.3 Research methodology

4.31 Mixed-methods

In recent decades there has been a call for mixed-methods research in the tourism field to help tourism researchers enhance their understanding of very complex social phenomena (Pansiri, 2006). Downward and Mearman (2004) strongly argued that if future tourism research could move to the use of mixed methods, the credibility of the research would be enhanced. In the case of tourism impacts, a village life story may be appropriate and welcome in evaluating local residents’ perception of tourism development; thus, qualitative research may be required while to compare the difference among demographic groups on the importance of tourism to the village quantitative methods may be better than qualitative ones. Many scholars prefer to use mixed methods in their research. Sarantakos (1998) and Creswell & Clark (2007) provided four answers for this approach, first, mixed method is more “practical”, and the researcher is free to use all methods possible to address a specific problem and obtain a variety of information on the same issues; second, mixed method

enables evaluation researchers to be more flexible, and use the strengths of each research method while overcoming the deficiencies of the others; third, it could achieve a higher level of validity and reliability for the results (Madey, 1982), and finally, to overcome the deficiencies of single methods studies. Greene et al (1989) identified five significant benefits of mixed methods to confirm Sarantakos' statement, as follows:

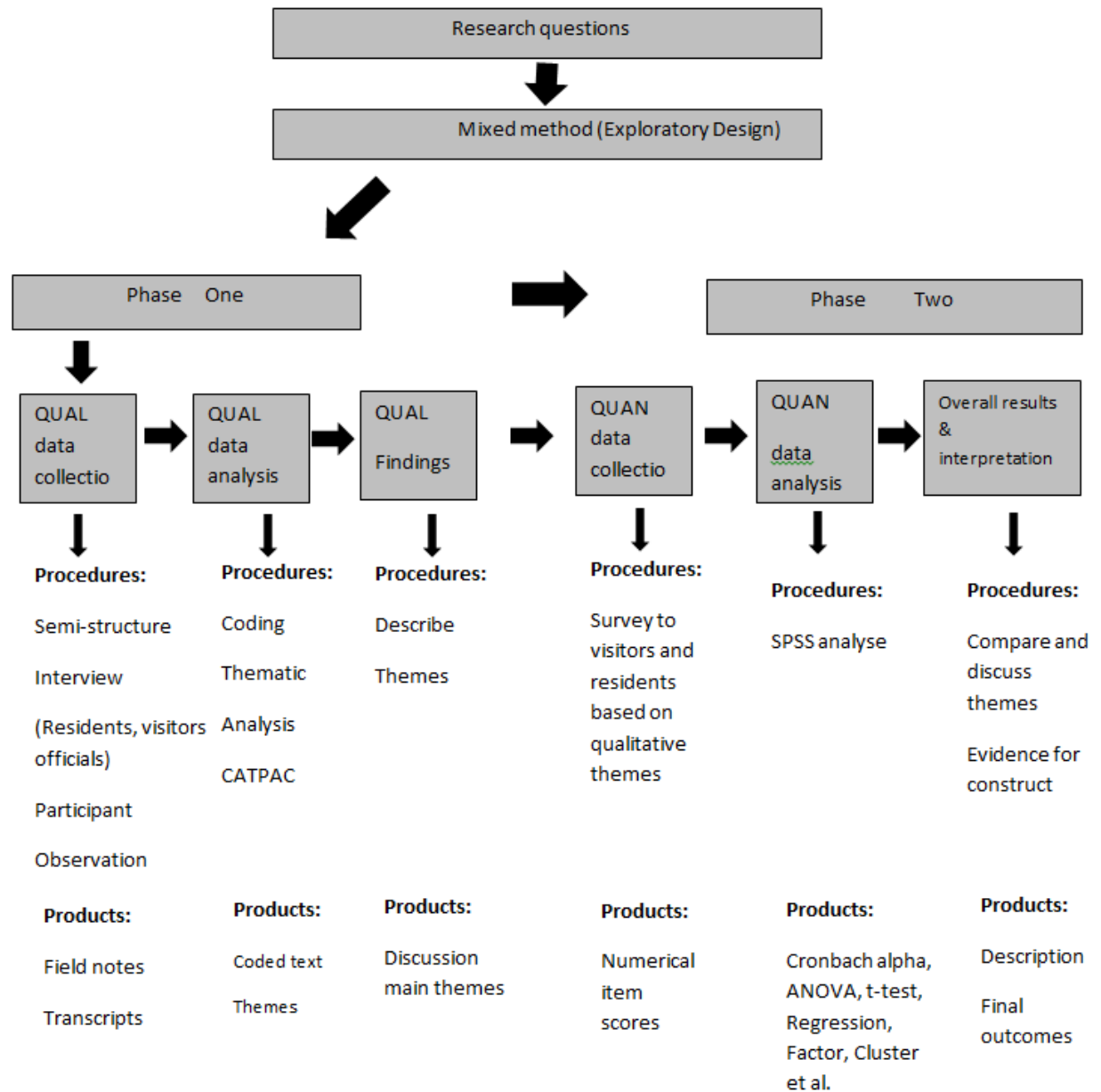
- i. Triangulation (combine different sources of data, research theory, method, investigators in study);
- ii. Complementarity (seeking elaboration, illustration, enhancement, and clarification of the findings from one method with results from the other method);
- iii. Development (using current findings from one research method to help inform the other method);
- iv. Initiation (discover contradictions that lead to a re-framing of the research questions); and
- v. Expansion (seeking to expand the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components).

However, conducting mixed methods research is not an easy task. It requires plenty of time and resources to collect data and analyse findings. Moreover, investigators need a high level of skill both in quantitative and qualitative research methods. Generally, Morgan (1998) pointed out that using mixed method approach is essentially a technical problem, because using different research methods under one study may result in some conflicts among different paradigms. Furthermore, Bryman (2007) questioned that “lot of mixed methods investigators do not bring their findings from quantitative or qualitative together (and) always treated them as separate domains. This is may be the reason (why) the integration of quantitative and qualitative results may not always be intended” (p.9). For example, as Greene et al (1989) evaluated 57 mixed method articles and found that 44% of articles did not integrate the quantitative and qualitative data, and only 5 articles integrated both sets of data during analysis.

With regard to the strategies used in mixed-methods, there are four major types of strategies to note: triangulation design (one-phase), the embedded design (either a one-phase or two-phase), the explanatory design (two-phases), and the exploratory design (two-phases) (Creswell & Clark, 2007). In this research, an exploratory design was undertaken, which involved qualitative research to explore a phenomenon in the first stage, building to

quantitative research in a second stage, and then comparing and integrating two datasets together (Morgan, 1998, p.370). Creswell (2003) pointed out that exploratory design is conducted in two phases, and will generally be characterized by the first phase of qualitative data collection and analysis, with the second stage the use of quantitative outcomes to assist in the interpretation of qualitative findings. More specifically, the quantitative study in exploratory design is used to “...test results on different populations to ascertain whether or not the qualitative findings transfer to other populations”. The first phase was a qualitative exploration of residents, visitors, and officials’ perceptions and attitudes toward to the tourism development in Mt Qiyun based on participation observation, and semi-structure interview and the second quantitative phase studied the motives of visitors to the village to generate data pertaining to evaluations of tourism at the village, as well as studied the perceptions of residents both on the mountain and below the mountain toward tourism development in their village. The framework below indicated the procedures (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4. 1 Diagram of the procedures used to measure exploratory qualitative results with quantitative data in Mt Qiyun study



4.3.2 The Qualitative & Quantitative Debate – a note

Researchers in the tourism field are long familiar with the concept of qualitative vs. quantitative research. Both are very useful and practical and have their own features and fit for different research areas. It is certainly true that qualitative research, based in an interpretive paradigm, is used to describe the characteristics of certain phenomena and behaviours, focuses on textual rather than numerical data, and is concerned with building rather than testing theory (Schwandt, 2001; Bunne, 1999; Beach et al., 2001). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) defined qualitative research as : “...qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting...involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials, such as case study, personal experience, focus group, life history, interview, observational, visual texts...” (p.2). These data collection techniques could be used separately or together, and with quantitative data collection methods like surveys (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Unlike quantitative research, which is based on positivism and seeks to be rigorous and scientific, normally, qualitative research can be described as an ‘art that offers an understanding of meaning or provides an in-depth analysis of specific groups and an insider’s perspective (Patton, 2002; Decrop, 1999).

With regard to tourism research, qualitative approaches offer a great deal of potential help to researchers to understand human dimensions of society such as tourism’s social and cultural implications (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004); Thus, based on the current objective to investigate different stakeholders’ attitudes toward tourism impacts and tourism development, it is appropriate to employ qualitative methods in tourism impact research (e.g., interviews, observation) and for the researcher to become an “insider” to personally experience phenomena in Mt Qiyun, such as host-guest interactions, residents’ experiences and attitudes, and governmental official planning (Jennings, 2001). On the other hand, it also should be emphasized that the quantitative approach is vital in advancing tourism research because it can be used to analyse large data samples with relative ease and speed (Hara, 2008; Byrne, 2002). Babbie (1992) identified quantitative research as numerical representation that describes and explains phenomena and their relationships, with the goal of testing models, theories and hypotheses. Indeed, Riley (1996) noted that the majority of tourism marketing studies still rely on structured surveys and quantification (p.22). Finally, Simpson (1993) concludes that: “tourism impacts on local populations at many levels. Some of these can be researched and documented in purely quantitative terms. Others, such as the concepts of

cultures and objects, can only be understood by an awareness of the ‘fine grain’ of local experience” (p.164).

However, some authors argued that qualitative findings evaluations rely too much on the researcher’s unsystematic view, which can lead to bias and a lack of transparency (Bryman, 2004) or that qualitative research can pose many challenges for researchers like how to develop rapport with responders, how to manage emotions, and how to leave the research site. As a result, Decrop (1999) responded by noting that (a) positivism is still the prevailing atmosphere of tourism research, and (b) qualitative researchers often cannot explain how and why their methods are collect and effective. Consequently, to conduct qualitative research, it needs to be in accordance with the criteria identified by Lincoln and Guba (1985), namely:

1. Credibility (true value): How truthful are particular findings?
2. Transferability: How applicable are the research findings to another setting or group?
3. Dependability: Are the results consistent?
4. Conformability: How neutral are the findings (whether findings are reflective of respondents and not a product of the researcher’s biases)?

Consequently, the current project primarily employed qualitative method and quantitative methods as a supplementary role to explore research questions about Mt Qiyun for several reasons as described later in the chapter.

4.3.3 The ethnographic approach to research

Given that it was thought important to become at least a temporary ‘insider’ there is a need to explain why this was thought necessary, and to indicate the nature of the ethnographic approach. The word “Ethnography” comes from the Greek words ‘*ethnos*’ (people) and ‘*graphei*’ (to write), which means to write about people or cultures (Marvasti, 2004). Generally, ethnography is always defined as the study of achieving an in-depth understanding of culture, including norms, values, beliefs, concepts, and language from the perspective of the members of the certain culture (Spradley, 1979, 1980). Similar definitions of ethnography were also given by several authors, such as Fetterman (1989) who stated that ethnography is to seek a complete “picture” of a particular group of people, which ask ethnographers to bring history, politics, regions, and other aspects of daily life into the picture. Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte (1999) suggest that ethnography is a scientific approach to discover and investigate social and cultural patterns in communities by generating important information

about culturally patterned beliefs and behaviours. To date, ethnography is more considered as an appropriate method of research to be adopted by researchers who are not part of the studied group, but who seek to see the world in a new way from the view of the members under study, by using the researcher's close observation and involvement with local people to write and analysis their social life (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2006; Watson, 2011; Richards & Morse, 2007). Usually, ethnographic research is often linked with phenomenology and interpretivism. Traditional interpretivist sociologists argued that by using ethnographic research methods we can deeply understand real social life (Mcneill & Chapman, 2005). It developed in the first half of the 1800s when it split away from traditional anthropology (Gobo, 2008), although others argue that ethnographic approaches to the study of human groups begun in the early 20th century (Angrosino, 2007). At that time, two entirely independent intellectual developments emerged. One was classical, traditional social anthropology in Britain with its proponents including Malinowski, Boas, Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard. Another is the work of the Chicago School of sociology; they used observational technique to explore groups in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s (Brewer, 2000). At the end of the 1970s, some new approaches developed, such as reception ethnography, postmodernist ethnography, feminist ethnography, which was critically different from the previous ethnographic traditions (Gobo, 2008).

To better understand an ethnographic approach, it is important to think about its main features. The first hallmark of ethnography research is that the researcher should become an 'insider', to become involved with members of the studied community for a long period, such as several months or more. The second hallmark is the use of both qualitative and quantitative data. Although some ethnographers still debate whether it suitable to conduct quantitative research, many scholars have stated that both qualitative and quantitative data were important parts of the ethnographic research and they suggested that the quantitative methods could be used to verify qualitative findings (Schensul, Schensl, & LeCompte, 1999; Lecompte, & Schensul, 1999). The third hallmark of ethnographic research should be related to its inductive design. Ethnography research is interpretive, and the "lived reality of people does not just present itself to be objectively recorded by researchers, it should reconstructed by the researcher using insights during fieldwork" (Miller, Strand, & Miller, 2010, p.289). The most important hallmark of ethnography identified by Wolcott (1987) was concerned with the culture of the observed, that is, each ethnographic study must be guided by the concept of

cultural empathy and understanding. In summary, Hammersley (1994, 2006) and Lecompte and Schensul (1999) list the following characteristics of ethnographic research:

1. Ethnography is used to collect and analyse empirical data drawn from natural social settings, and not under experimental conditions created by the researcher.
2. A core aim for ethnographic research is making sense of these events from the perspectives and behaviours of participants
3. Data collection is mainly dependent on observation, conversation and face-to-face interaction with local participants
4. The focus sample is a single setting or small group.

Given this, there are a notable number of strengths for conducting ethnographic research when compared with other research approaches. First, a key strength identified by Wallen & Fraenkel (2001) is that ethnographic study provides the researcher with a much more comprehensive perspective than other types of research. The researcher can spend a long time in the natural and social settings to gain a much deeper and richer understanding of social culture and behaviour than otherwise is the case. Furthermore, Lecompte & Schensul (1999) stated that ethnographies could tell the cultural story of a group from the groups' perspective as much as from the researcher's perspectives. Another strength mentioned by Willing & Stain-Roger (2008) is with reference to ethnography's flexible structure, which can generate original insights and innovative methods. Moreover, authors agreed with that ethnography is particularly suitable in complex situations in which the investigation under specific culture setting is novel, different and unknown. Geertz (1983) pointed out that ethnography can enhance the validity and the reliability of the studies by means of triangulation, such as the use of multiple data sources, multiple investigators, and methods. However, ethnographic research is not without its drawbacks. For example, it is well known that ethnography needs plenty of time and funds to conduct the research; especially it takes time to develop trust to gain access to studied community or groups (Kolb, 2008; Ward, 1999). Furthermore, Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen & Razavieh (2010) have remarked that the main limitation of doing ethnographic research is that the findings largely depend on the particular research's observations and interpretations of data. Therefore, it is difficult to check the validity of the researcher's conclusions (Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). Last but not least, unlike numerical data, the ethnographic findings may not be easily encapsulated into a series of clear points (Willing

& Stainton-Rogers, 2008). According to Lecompte & Schensul (1999), the situations appropriate for conducting ethnography research are:

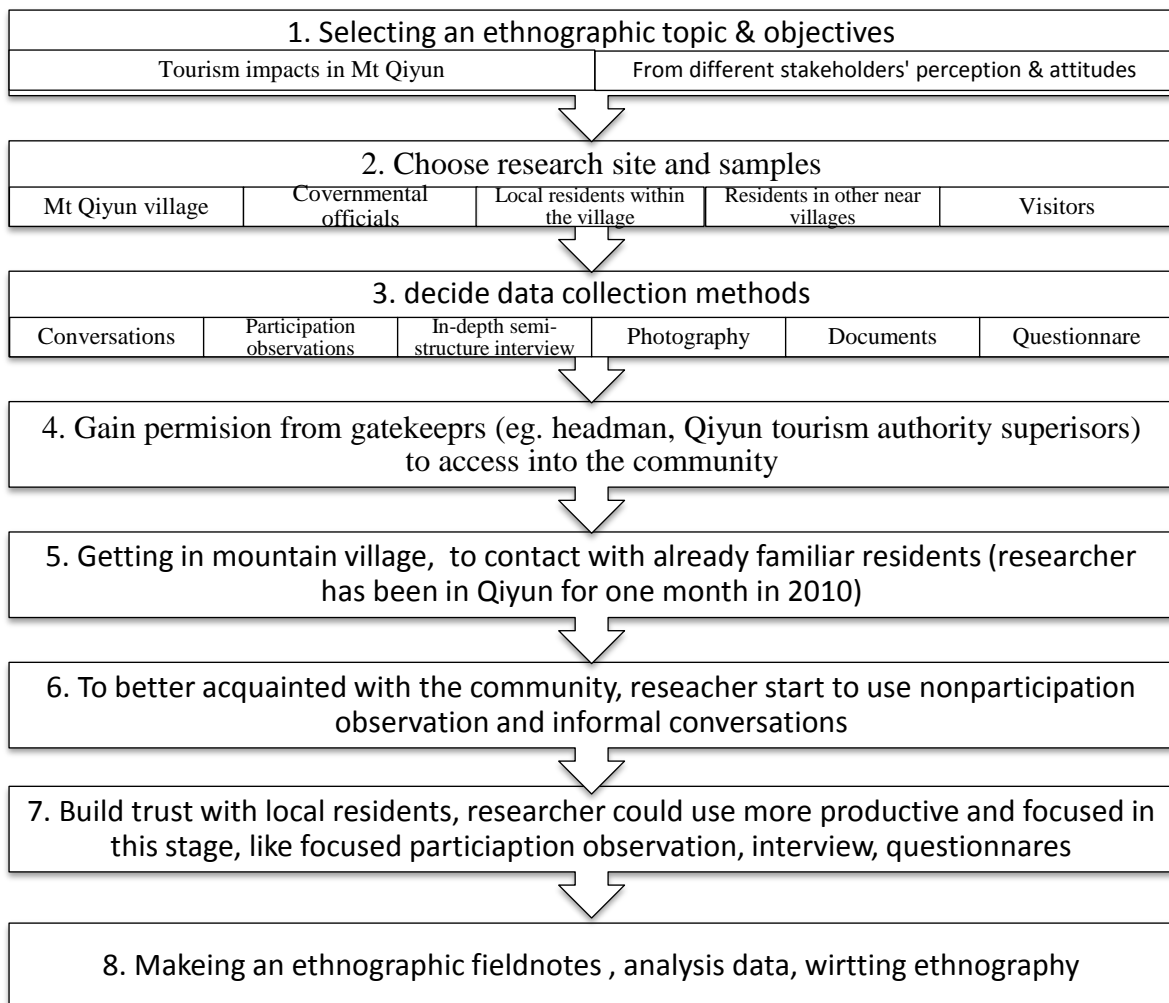
1. Determine the characteristics of a target population
2. Find which problems need solving
3. Describe how individuals in a group interpret their community
4. Present what people do and why
5. Provide information that will assist in planning a project
6. Monitor implementation or find out what is going on
7. Provide information that will help to interpret or explain outcomes” (p.97)

Therefore, based on these criteria, this research uses an ethnographic approach to enhance an understanding of tourism impacts from different stakeholders’ perceptions because:

1. The researcher would attempt to determine the characteristics of local residents in Mt Qiyun, to explore their culture, beliefs, and behaviours by being an insider.
2. The researcher wants to understand the tourism impacts from the perceptions of each of residents, local government officials and visitors’ perceptions.
3. The researcher would like to describe what’s residents’ attitude toward tourism development in Mt Qiyun , and their determinants.
4. The researcher seeks to assess to what degree congruency exists between the goals of tourism planning and the aspirations of local residents.
5. This research was part of an on-going monitoring to find out what is going on in Mt Qiyun compared with previous studies (Ryan, Sai, He & Gu, 2012, Li & Wang, 2012).

In order to design an effective field study for current research, 7 steps may be listed. Some steps were taken from previous ethnographic studies, such as Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen & Razavieh (2010); Richard & Morse (2007); Kolb (2008); Brewer (2000). Figure 4.3 followed presents the main phases of how the researcher conducted the research at Mt Qiyun.

Table 4.3 Steps in the ethnographic research process



Sources: Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen & Razavieh (2010); Richard & Morse (2007); Kolb (2008); Brewer (2000).

4.4 Ethnography

Ethnography is not a specific data collection method, but a style of research. Various data collection methods should be involved, such as participation observation, in-depth interviewing, the use of personal documents material and some tape and video recording (Brewer, 2000; Burns, 2000). Each relevant method is now briefly discussed.

4.4.1 Participation observation

“Observation” is the most effective technique to conduct ethnographic research, while, there are three broad ways to classify them: direct observation, participation observation and compete observation (Robson, 2002). In this research, author adopted participative observation as main method. The term ‘Participant observation’ is always considered as a qualitative approach with roots in traditional ethnographic research (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2010; Spardely, 1980). Schensul et al., (1999, p.91) even stated that: “...participant observation represents the starting point in ethnographic research”. According to Van Manen (2006) and Bernard (2006) participant observation is not only a softer method when compared with an almost obsessive focus on the empirical, but also a humanistic and scientific method. It involves data gathering by means of getting close to the informants, establishing a direct and supportive relationship, participation in the daily life of the particular community setting, such as watching, observation and informal talk to informants to explore their basic beliefs, expectations, behaviours and activities (Brewer, 2000; Gobo ,2008). As such, Spradley stated that “...each participant observer comes to a social situation with two purpose, first, to engage in activities appropriate to the situation, second, to observe the activities, people and physical aspects of the situations” (1980, p.54).

Participant observation methods as employed in ethnographic studies have several advantages, such as enhancing the quality of the data and interpretation of data; it encourages the formulation of new research questions to improve the design of other methods; and provides a better understanding of data collected from other methods (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002; Mack et. al., 2010) . However, this technique also requires the researcher to live as long as possible with the people being investigated; ideally, the researcher should live in the community for more than 6 months to one year or more, which is quite time-consuming (Watson, 2011; Fetterman, 2010).

Based on Jorgensen's (1989) criteria of the preferred conditions for participation observations, a simple overview of "Why participant observation is a most appropriate method for current research", is presented in Table 4.4:

Table 4.4 Criteria of conditions for participative observation in current research	
Criteria	Reasons
The research problem is concerned with human meaning from insiders' perspective	The research problem is mainly concerned with the investigation of tourism impacts from stakeholders' perceptions, which require researcher become an "insider" in that community to experience every stakeholder's perspective
The phenomenon of investigation is observable within an daily life setting	The investigations will be more focus on local residents' daily life story, to experience their current life statues after tourism developed in their living area.
The researcher can gain access to that setting	The researcher has been living there one month previously, and get some familiar with local residents and gatekeepers
The phenomenon is sufficiently limited in size and location	The phenomenon is around in Mt Qiyun villages
Study questions are suitable for case study	Yes
The research problem can be addressed by qualitative data gather by direct observation	Yes

Jorgensen (1989, p.13)

4.4.2 Field notes

To become a successful ethnographer, it is crucial to keep writing field notes during the whole period of the field study. Field notes are considered to be the basis of ethnographies (Walford, 2009; Erikson, 1990), they are the “birch and mortar of an ethnographic edifice, which generally consist of data from interviews and daily participant observations...” (Feterman, 2010, p.119). Similarly, Dewalt & Dewalt (2002), Atkinson & Hammersley (2007) also pointed out that the writing of field notes is the only effective way to record daily observation. The field notes often record a researcher’s experience in the study area that includes feelings, sights seen, and discussions of the daily events. Chiseri-Stracter and Sunstein (1997) have defined a list of important elements when writing an effective field note during the ethnographic research as:

- i. Firstly, record “ data, time, and place of observation”
- ii. Write “specific facts , numbers, and details of what happens at the site”
- iii. Provide sensory impressions: sights, sounds, textures, smells or tastes
- iv. Note personal responses to events
- v. Provide summaries of conversations
- vi. List questions about people and events at the site for future investigation

Observation process & field notes

During the 7 research months, the author was involved in participant observation almost every day. The process includes daily on-site writing of stakeholders’ activities and events, such as recording the residents’ busy life, some visitors’ specific behaviour during their visit to the mountain or leisurely conversations with all stakeholders including those with governmental personnel. Randomly, the author would conduct short conversations with those stakeholders, sometimes, photography and video taking also will be used. The researcher always wrote detailed observation field notes at night. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 are two samples of participation observation field notes used in the current research.

Figure 4.2 Sample of participation observation field note used in current research

Date : 25/11/2011

Site: The entrance to the tunnel

Start time: 14:20 pm

End time: 14: 45 pm

Descriptions: This afternoon, the headmen told me that the car can come into the village through the tunnel (because the tunnel just opened yesterday). He invited me to buy incense with him. When we arrived at the entrance to the tunnel, I found several villagers have already there. They are just choosing the right incense. One resident told me happily “it is really good, we don’t need to carry incense from the town to the mountain, it is difficult to carry incense, and they are easily broken. Now the seller drives his car to our mountain, we can easily buy, and he can easily sell!

Photography:



/

Figure 4.3 Sample2 of participation observation field note used in current research

Date : 3/3/2012

Site: Taisu Palace

Start time: 10:10 am

End time: 10:40 am

Descriptions: today is the birthday of Zhenwu god, which is the most important day for those pilgrims. They normally, arrived at mountain one day or two days ago, and have a vegetable diet to wait today's events. They prepared lots of candles and incenses at home. Pilgrims not like the visitors, brought incense on the mountain. I ask one pilgrim that how many of them came to the mountain at this time. She told me: "nearly 150 villagers in my village come to the mountain for this pray; this is a traditional event for their village every year. I come to this mountain for 7 years at present..."

Photography:



Note: many pilgrims pray in the temple pilgrim



Note: author was talking with a

4.4.3 In-depth face to face semi-structure interview

From the above review, it could be said that participant observation plays a vital role in ethnographic research. However, the interview itself is also considered as an important data collecting technique, due to the fact that respondents can provide explanations for what the ethnographer sees and experiences (Fetterman, 2010). Thus, this study used in-depth interviews to supplement conversations and observations to explore residents', visitors' and officials' attitudes and perceptions of tourism impacts at Mt Qiyun. According to Hess-Biber & Leavy (2011, p.103), there are three kinds of interviews based on the research questions

and goals of the study. They are the: “highly structured interview, semi structured interview, or low-structured interviews”. In the case of Mt Qiyun, the highly structured interview lacked flexibility, because it requires the researcher to ask the same questions for all participants, including various visitors and residents from different villages; while unstructured interviews had the problem of generating vast amounts of data that sometimes were unrelated to the research topic.

As a result, semi-structured interviewing was adopted for this research. Semi-structured interviewing has been used either as part of a structured or unstructured interview because it combines the flexibility of the open-ended interview and the agenda of the structured interview (Burns, 2000), along with the objectives of clarifying the central factors in the study, developing preliminary hypotheses, and then developing a qualitative base for designing an ethnographic survey (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). These interviews should start with a prepared holistic interview guide, which is an informal “group of topics and questions that the interviewer can ask in different ways for different participants” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p.195). The reasons for use of this method in the Mt Qiyun study were as follows: first, there is little existing information to describe the local population as there only a very small number of studies of Mt Qiyun and second, interview questions need to change from respondents to respondents due to their diverse job roles and occupations on the mountain, which would affect their perceptions and attitudes to the tourism impacts (Proctor & Vu, 2005, p.308). The advantages of applying semi-structured interview that emerged included:

- i. Topic and Questions can prepared previously, making the interviewer more confident (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006)
- ii. Increase the reliability and comparability of qualitative data (Flick, 1998; Cohen & Crabtree, 2006)
- iii. Help bridge the gap between simply qualitative ethnographic research and simply quantitative hypotheses-testing research (Angrosino , 2005)
- iv. Give interviewees more freedom to explain their views, be questioned in greater depth, resolve apparent contradictions(Horton, Macve & Struyven, 2004)
- v. Responders’ perceptions are provided rather than the perspective of the interviewer being imposed (Burns, 2000, p.425).
- vi. The participant had equal status to the researcher in the dialogue (Burns, 2000, p.425).

Semi-structured interview design

Consequently, a semi-structured interview technique was the major qualitative research method author used in this research. This method is employed to explore: 1) stakeholders' satisfaction of current tourism development, 2) their perception and attitude of tourism impacts, 3) their suggestion to the better development. Based on those themes, different interview questions are designed for four groups, including residents on the mountain, residents below the mountain, visitors, and government officials.

Table 4.5 Semi-structured interview themes	
Respondents	Interview themes
Governmental officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Evaluate the current tourism development stage• Discuss the main problems which will obstruct the Qiyun Mountain development• Summarise the most significant positive and negative impacts of tourism at Mt Qiyun• Evaluate the external investors• Evaluate the role of different stakeholders in tourism planning• The answer to question “residents can have share or not”
Residents (two different groups of residents have quite similar questions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Their satisfaction of current development• The significant tourism impact from economic, social-culture and environment aspects• Their participation in tourism decision making• Their work status• Their evaluation of external investor come to the local area• Their suggestion to further tourism development
visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The motivation they choose to visit here• They satisfaction or not after visiting mountain• Any problem they discovered which may obstruct the mountain develop• The significant tourism impact from economic, social-culture and environment aspects• Their suggestion to further development

Brief description of the interview research process

During the first two weeks after arriving at the destination, the author mainly look around the entire village to see changes since a prior visit as well as renew acquaintance with residents. This time, author felt there was quite a difference in the residents' attitude toward her arrival. In 2010, it seemed that many residents were unwilling to talk openly and indeed many just keep asking her to buy their products. Some residents did not trust the author, thinking she

was a journalist. After the initial two weeks, the major daily task for the author was to spend time with different residents as long as possible, do something for them, and keep chatting with those residents. For example, author stayed with some souvenir shop owner and helped them by taking care of their shop, and chatted with them for several hours; the author stay with some old “grandmas” who sell incense sticks, helping them to approach visitors. Over time it seemed that those residents were quite enjoying with the author’s involvement with their lives, and they were pleased to tell her something new when an opportunity arose. Thus, after several such approaches the author then began her formal semi-structure interviews on the mountain. At the same time, author also went down the mountain 3 times each week. The core purpose was for author to become familiar with the villages below the mountain. Because the cable car ticket becomes quite expensive if used daily the author normally climbed the mountain on foot. This took 2.5-3 hours for the return trip. Additionally, with the experience of previously getting to know the residents, the author had more confidence than before. Moreover, many residents on the mountain also helped the author to get to know other villagers (because some resident below the mountain are relatives and friends of those living on the mountain). In consequence the author kept walking to and within the four villages located at the foot of the mountain (Dongting village, Tantou village, Yanjiao village, Yanqian village) hoping to find opportunities to chat with residents. Generally, on finding someone working on the farm or washing clothes near the river, it became obvious that they were willing to tell you something about their place, especially as the author became a more familiar figure and one who came to be trusted. This process took nearly 2 months, was time consuming, but generated rich data and new insights. In addition detailed semi-structure interviews were held, and residents below the mountain were generous in showing documentation to her, including materials relating to actions that residents took against the government when their farmlands were being compulsorily sold to external investors. On the other hand there were negative aspects because a village leader reported to the local government that there was a person from outside doing her research in Qiyun area, and that many residents were providing criticisms of official policies, which was deemed to threaten the stability of their society. Thus, the researcher was invited to a meeting by the Qiyun government and was told to stop my research. This issue was solved with the help of the village headman (Mr Chen). His three children worked in the local government, and thus he had quite close relationship with local officials. The incident turned out for the best because the researcher became well known to the government officials and could directly go to every

office frequently to chat with them, especially about visitors to the area. These conversations were also aided by the researcher living with the head men's family, who operated the biggest accommodation on the mountain, and thus in addition the researcher had easy access to tourists staying overnight in the village. Although at times the numbers were limited, there were usually at least one or two visitors staying with whom it was possible to have long conversations. This was especially true at night for there are no activities for those visitors to do, and so they were more willing to give time to the author. The total number of interviews from 4 different stakeholders reached 124 respondents, with 36 respondents from residents below the mountain, 28 respondents from residents on the mountain, 40 respondents from visitors, and 20 respondents from government officials.

Photo 4.1 Photography of semi-structure interview conducting

a: Resident on the mountain

b & c: residents below the mountain

d: visitor



Analysing semi-structured interview data

Aronson (1994) suggested that thematic analysis is one useful way to analyse kinds of qualitative data, such as ethnographic interviews. Indeed, several scholars like Daly, Kellehear & Gliksman (1997), and Tuckett (2005) have already pointed out the importance of thematic analysis. They agree that thematic analysis should be considered as a foundational method for qualitative analysis to search for important themes. Braun and Clark (2006)

concluded that thematic analysis technique is flexible, aids new qualitative researchers to access results, and is useful for working within the participatory research paradigm. Thus in current research, thematic analysis technique is employed to analyse the qualitative data. In addition, the software package CATPAC™ is used to provide some help to identify themes. There are 6 important phases of thematic analysis identified by Braun and Clark (2006, p.87), namely

1) Familiarizing yourself with data

How: firstly, the author kept reading and re-reading the data collected from semi-structure interview, and participation field notes (first-hand information), looking the photography, watching videos and reading collected documents (second-hand information) and providing comments or key words when reading those materials.

1) Generating initial codes

How: in this phase the author coded important features of the data as noted in the first phase, such as: lose farmland, high price, visitor increase, unfair development...

2) Searching for themes

How: in this phase, the author began to sort those codes into potential themes, like economic benefits, social cost, environment benefits...

3) Reviewing themes

How: in this phase the author checked whether the themes are related to the codes, and provided a summary of main themes and sub-themes mapping

4) Defining and naming themes

How: After carefully reviewing the thematic map many times, author could generate clear definitions and names for each theme.

5) Writing report

In the second stage, in order to increase the reliability of themes, the author used CATPAC software to examine the result. CATPAC II is a "self-organizing artificial neural network optimized for reading, used to identify themes, and provide relationships between concepts evaluated by word counts, frequency rankings, hierarchical cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling (MDS)" (Woelfel, 1998, p. 11). The author can also generate perceptual maps from the MDS in CatPac, and display them in both 2d and 3d to make data more vivid (Samkin& Schneider, 2008).

4.4.4 Photography: a way of seeing

Photography has been employed in anthropological research since the end of the 19th century, and has been related to visual sociology, visual ethnography, and visual anthropology (Collier & Collier, 1986); however, few studies have attempted to expand the role of photographs in visual ethnography. It was stated by Ruby (1996) that even in the mid-1990s, ethnographic photography was still, “a practice without a well-articulated theory” (p.1346). This is because, traditionally, photography is considered as data providing explanations for the main text and supplementing primary data, but without any significant analyse of the photographs (Banks, 2001). Nonetheless many anthropologists use photographs to interpret a finding that they have decided as being significant. In that case, they use photos not as a research technique, but as a way of confirming some particular findings (Collier, 1967). However, some scholars argued that the photography is “equally meaningful” as text in ethnographic work (Pink, 2001, p.5). Recently, Szto, Furman & Langer (2005, p.143) formulated photography as an important tool in ethnographic research; they also suggested that “photography is more accurate than statistics, because it is a direct representation of reality”. Photography in social research might require the analysis of historical photographs from public or personal collections, published photographs, or production of photos during visual research. Those photos could be used to provide visual insights and knowledge about residents’ lives, social structure, and culture identity, which lead researchers into a richer area of nonverbal data (Jupp, 2006; Morse & Field, 1995; Collier, 1967).

Photography offers great value to tourism impact research because of its utility in quickly and clearly comparing periods of tourism development in Mt Qiyun, both at the different life stages (e.g. Exploration stage, involvement stages, development stages), or at the different geographical locations, (e.g. village on the mountain, villages nearby the mountain). For example, by using and comparing photographs, it was easy to obtain information on the local culture, environment, residents’ daily life, or visitors’ behaviour, and then, those images were then reviewed to assist in recording, coding, analysing data, and providing additional evidence to support findings (Gold, 2004). Furthermore, the photos taken during the research period can be compared with those taken at earlier stages of the village’s evolution as taken by Ryan and Gu in 2009 and Li in 2010. These then form a record of change in the village due to tourism.

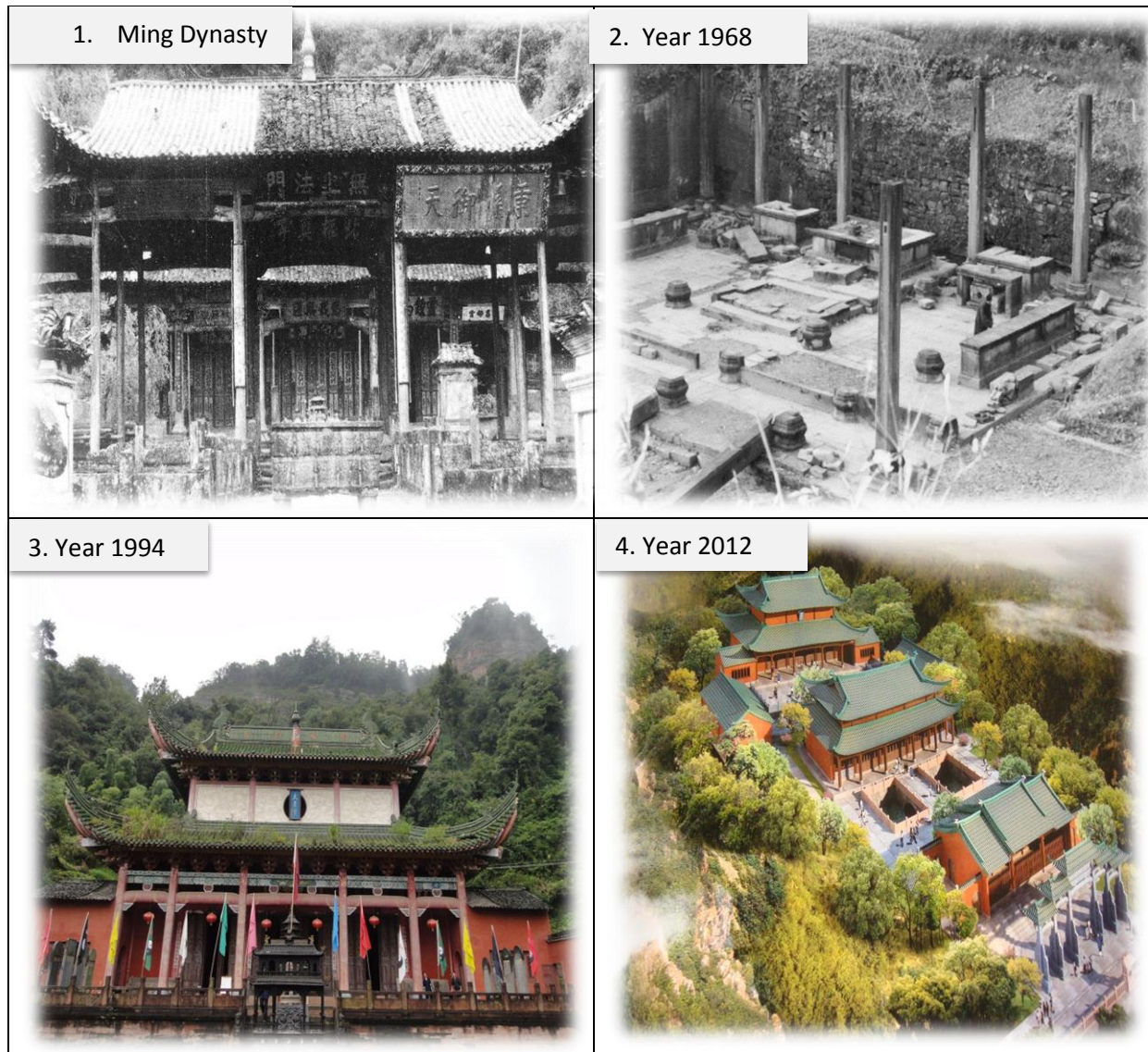
Usually, the role of photography in anthropology has been concerned with two areas: first it has been considered as a methodological tool in social research or second as a means of

presenting social research (Schwartz, 1989). In this ethnographic research, photographic approaches were broadly summarised as three-fold:

1. Images will be recognised as primary data, which provides insights about the Taoist culture, local residents, visitors, and tourism development.
2. Images will be used as a secondary role as evidence supporting the existing text/ findings as determined by the researcher.
3. Images will be utilized in the semi-structure interview or daily informal conversation as an aid to discussion and to help in communication with the subject of interview (Collier & Collier, 1986)

Finally, the total number of photographs used in the current research numbered almost 2500. The author use her camera to record many valuable features for her research, like visitors' activities, special events, residents' daily life, environmental problem etc. Additionally the author also got access to 40 old photos from residents, previous visitors, the Xiuning photography club, and government officials. Those photos were made 15-20 years prior to the current research, and were very helpful for the author to compare changes across those years. The following four photos are used as a sample to describe changes at Taisu Temple that occurred as a result of political and tourism development. The first photo describes the very ancient appearance of Taisu Palace that was inherited from the Ming Dynasty; the second photo describes the ruins of Taisu Palace when it was destroyed by the Red Guards during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1968); the third photo described the appearance of new Taisu Palace which was rebuilt in 1994; while the last photo was the newest design map for Taisu Palace, which will be rebuilt at the end of 2012 as part of an effort to secure World Heritage Site accreditation and also to further improve tourist experiences.

Photo 4.2 Photography of Taisu Temple in four periods



4.4.5 Questionnaire design

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of tourism impacts on Mt Qiyun residents' daily life and their attitudes toward tourism development, as well as explore visitors' motivation and satisfaction about Qiyun tourism, the author also employed quantitative techniques. Three questionnaires were sent to three groups, including residents below the mountain (n=768), residents on the mountain (n=75), visitors (n=1415). Each questionnaire comprised both open and closed ended questions. The data will be analysed by CATPAC software (for open ended questions) and SPSS 20.0 software (for closed ended questions).

4.4.5.1 Residents' questionnaire

Based on the thesis objectives and semi-structured interview questions, two similar questionnaires were designed for both the residents on the mountain and below the mountain, thereby making it possible to compare differences in experiences and perceptions. The questionnaire was used to explore residents' evaluation of tourism impact in their village and personal life arising from economic, social-cultural, environment changes; the residents' satisfaction with tourism development and their suggestions as to further tourism development. The questionnaire comprised four sections.

Section one: Your usual place of residence

Under this section, both groups of residents were asked to answer whether they lived in Mt Qiyun village, and how long he/she had lived there. The aim of this question is to examine if attitudes and opinions differ because of distance from the core tourist attraction. In addition, residents living below the mountain were also asked about the frequency of visiting Mt Qiyun and the purpose of their visit.

Section two: Changes in the Qiyun Mountain and your village

In this section, there are five open-ended questions to be answered:

- What do you think are the special characteristics of Qiyun Mountain ?
- What changes have you observed in the mountain and your own village in the last 2 years
- Which of these changes do you think are beneficial for your village?
- Which of these changes do you think are disadvantageous for your village?
- People say the village nearby the mountain is a special place to live? Do you feel this way?

Those questions helped to prepare a general outline for residents' perceptions of tourism development in their village. The answers were analyzed by CATPAC software to identify themes important for the research.

Section three: Importance of tourism to your village

In this section participants were asked to evaluate their perceptions of tourism impact in their village, and their attitude toward tourism development. There are 32 questions for those living in the village and 34 questions for residents living below the mountain. Each question used a seven-point scale ranging from 1=strongly disagree or this has no importance to 7=strongly agree or extremely support, while 0 stood for "no opinion".

Section four: personally information

This section was mainly used to generate the basic social-demographic data including gender, age, and income.

Visitors' questionnaire

The visitors' questionnaire was used to ascertain tourists' expectation before their visit, their motives for visiting Qi Yun Mountain, their activities during the visit, and their satisfaction and assessment after visit. Those data are essential for the author to have a deeper understanding of Qiyun Mountain from the visitors' standpoint. One rationale for the questionnaire is that the "outsider perspective did allow tourists to have a more comparative knowledge, gained from touring other cities, enable them to see uniqueness in what residents would view as commonplace and ordinary" (Lew, 1992, p.50)

Section 1

In the first section, three open-ended questions were asked:

- List up to four short phrases or words about your expectations prior to your visit to the Village
- List up to four short phrases or words about your assessment of the Village now that you have seen it
- Using a scale of 1 to 10 – where 10 represents the maximum level of satisfaction with your visit, to provide assessment of your overall level of satisfaction.

As mentioned previously, those data were analysed by CATPAC software to identify themes to help generate data of a qualitative nature and thereby supplement quantitative data.

Section 2 Reasons for visiting Mt Qiyun

There are 12 motives listed in this section. Every item used a seven-point scale ranging from 1= of no importance to me to 7= very important to me. The 12 motivations could be generally classified into several groups, namely: see the beauty of the village and mountain; want to pray at the mountain because of Taoism beliefs; and simply interest in Chinese and heritage.

Section 3 Your stay in the Village

In this section, respondents were required to describe their stay in the village, including:

- Whether visitors stay overnight or not, and the duration of their visit to the mountain
- What kind of activities are conducted during their visit, including “to pray at any of the shrines?” , “participate in a religious service at the temple”, “have a meal at a restaurant” “buy any incense sticks”, “take photographs” and so on
- The number of adults and children accompanied in this trip
- The total money the visitor spent in this visit

Based on those results, it is hoped that author can examine the question “whether the visitor have different motivation, or satisfaction because of different visit/stay situations?”

Section 4 Level of satisfaction with your visit

Thirteen statements with regard to tourist satisfaction and assessments were listed in this section. Each statement also used a seven-point scale ranging from 1= “very strongly disagree” to 7= “very strongly agree”. Generally, the satisfaction statements are designed based on the motivation items; for example:

- The village was as scenic as I expected
- I truly felt that the mountain is a sacred place
- I found the history and heritage to be of interest to me
- I was able to pray at the shrines and temple in peace
-

Section 5 : Assessment of tourism and Taoism in Qiyun Mountain

This section only has one open ended question, which asked visitor to indicate their thoughts about Tourism, Taoism and this village.

Section 6: Visitors' personal information

This section was used to access the visitors' social-demographic information, including gender, age, travel group, income, education, and usual place of permanent residence.

Photo 4.3 Photography of questionnaire conducting for resident and visitor



4.4.6 Document analysis

As noted above, usually, traditional ethnographers prefer employing participant observation, in-depth interviews, and photography as research methods; however, researchers are also interested in rich information by analysing documents. Brewer (2000) stated that ethnography relies on several specific data collection techniques, including observation, in-depth interview and documentary analysis.

According to McDonald (2001), documents are: “things that we can read and which relate to some aspect of the social world, such as official reports, private letters, diaries....” (p.196). Documents can uncover information which cannot be explored by in-depth interview or observation; for example, a researcher could quickly understand the research destination background by reading credible official statistics or historical records; thus, providing rich data for current research (Tenenbaum & Driscoll, 2005; Lindlof & Taylor, 2010). Furthermore, Merriam (1988) also previously stated that the use of document can help researchers to develop deeper understanding and discover insights relevant to the research problem.

McNeill and Chapman (2005) have generally classified 6 categories of secondary documents, as follows:

- i. Public or official records

-
- ii. Personal documents
 - iii. Biography and autobiography
 - iv. Literature
 - v. Historical documents
 - vi. Print and visual media

As such, in this research, the researcher obtained public documents from the Anhui government, tourism authority, personal documents from the headman and local residents' letters, photos, literatures documents from other Chinese research conducted previously at Mt Qiyun, historical documents from the local library and provincial archives, along with the print and visual media from Mt Qiyun promotional material and brochures. In this respect links and relationships formed from previous stays and research in the village were all of help, and some of this material was already in the possession of the researcher. It should be noted that these documents are on public record.

But how can those documents play their role in the current research? There are some specific functions that can be identified. First, after reading different types of document, researchers could frame specific questions to ask respondents during the semi-structured interviews or daily conversations (Bowen, 2009). Based on previous research experience in Mt Qiyun, the researcher found she could seek more information based on existing documents from government officials, which meant the interviews went better for being well prepared. For example, Goldstein & Reiboldt (2004) used document analysis to help generate new interview questions when they conducted an ethnographic research. They also stated the relationship thus: "(an) interview could help focus specific participation observation activities, document analysis could help generate new interview questions, while participant observation could provide opportunities to collect documents" (p.246). Second, document analysis could supply rich information by providing supplementary research data. For example, if a photograph was found of Qiyun Mountain village taken 10 years ago by a resident, then it is possible to compare changes and identify how rapid was the development of village. Third, the documents could be considered as a very effective way to examine and verify the findings collected from other research methods, which added to research trustworthiness (Bowen, 2009). For instance, letters of complaint from the headman and residents' submissions to the government could provide further evidence of negative attitudes of residents to that obtained from semi-structured interviews. In short, each research method analysed plays an indispensable part in ethnographic research. It is indicated that this research

will mainly depend on the use of participation observation, and in-depth interview, while, aid by survey and document analysis.

4.5 Chapter summary

Current chapter has determined the research design of this thesis included the types of research paradigms, research methodology and research framework to conduct the research. Pragmatism was chosen in this research. To achieve this, exploratory mixed strategy was designed with a view to using quantitative data and qualitative data integrate together and support each other. Accordingly, ethnographic research method was adopted to explore the tourism development in Qiyun area, and access residents' perception of tourism impacts. The data collection methods under ethnographic research in this study may include participation observation, semi-structure interview, questionnaire, document, photography, and conversation. In the following chapter 5, 6, 7, 8, the data will be summarized and present to answer the research objectives.

Chapter 5

An Analysis of the Visitors to Qiyunshan

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present findings derived from interviews with visitors and their self-completed questionnaires. It begins with a simple analysis of quantitative data to answer four questions: ‘who are the visitors?’, ‘why visit Qiyun mountain?’, ‘what are the visitors’ activities?’, and ‘ what are the levels of satisfaction they gain form visit?’. After the qualitative part of this chapter is used to provide further light on the quantitative data, which begins by assessing visitors’ motivation for choosing Mt Qiyun as a place to visit; followed by investigating the potential impacts of tourism from the visitors’ perceptions, from which a subsequent discussion includes their satisfaction level and views as to further sustainable development at the village.

5.2 Quantitative data analysis

5.2.1 Who are the visitors ?

The quantitative dataset was obtained through a self-completion survey conducted at the Qiyun Mountain from November 2011 to May 2012. A pilot study was undertaken in October 2010. The author distributed nearly 2,000 copies of the questionnaire and obtained 1,391 valid responses. In the sample there were more males (52.8%) than females (45.7%). The socio-demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 5.1. Age groups have been recorded using 7 classifications, and the result showed that 34.2 per cent of respondents were aged 22-30 years old, followed by respondents aged between 17-21 years old (i.e. 27.4 per cent of the sample). These groups were the major age groups in the total sample, and indicated that the majority of respondents were young people between 17-30 years of age. The middle aged groups, that is respondents whose age was between 31-40 years accounted for 19.1 per cent of the sample, those between 41- 50 years accounted for 8.9 per cent, and those between 51-60 years, 2.5 per cent. Those above the age of 60 years accounted for only 1.2 per cent. In this case, it was found that during the survey that young visitors were more willing to participant. One possible reason for this is that younger people have normally received a higher standard of education; they know how to finish the survey and younger visitors prefer to fill in the survey to complain of any dissatisfaction that may

have arisen during their visit. Some older elder visitors did not seem to understand the real meaning of doing such a survey while others refused to complete the survey because of problems with their sight, saying that the questionnaire was ‘inconvenient to read’. These observations support the findings of Gu and Ryan (2008) who discovered that younger generations tend to be more willing to answer surveys because of better levels of education, and they are more likely to express personal opinion than an older generation. In terms of party type, Table 5.1 shows that the majority of visitors (67.79 %) travelled with friends, followed by those who travelled with their family (16.82%) and with both family and friends (11.72%); while only 2.16% of total respondents reported they visited alone. Additionally, every respondent was asked to indicate their income level. Table 5.1 showed that 38.7 per cent of respondents had a self- assessed “average income level”, 26.4 per cent of respondents had “little income” followed by the respondents whose income level was above average and who accounted for 13.9 per cent of the sample, and those with “below average income” accounted for 8.1 per cent. Again, respondents were asked to provide information about their education level. The results indicate that 49.1 per cent of participants had an undergraduate degree, followed by technical school education (accounting for 22.8 per cent),

Table 5.1 Demographic of respondents			
Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent
Party type (N=1370)	With friends	943	67.79%
	with family	234	16.82%
	With family and friends	163	11.72%
	by myself	30	2.16%
Gender (N=1370)	Male	735	52.8%
	Female	635	45.7%
Age (N=1370)	22-30	476	34.2%
	17 to 21	381	27.4%
	31-40	266	19.1%
	41-50	124	8.9%
	Under 16	71	5.1%
	51-60	35	2.5%
	over 60	17	1.2%
Income (N=1263)	Average income	538	38.7%
	Little income	367	26.4%
	Above average income	194	13.9%
	Below average income	112	8.1%
	Significantly above average income	52	3.7%
Education (N=1368)	Undergraduate	683	49.1%
	technical school	317	22.8%
	middle school	206	14.8%
	Other	88	6.3%
	Master's degree and above	74	5.3%

and middle school education a further 14.8 per cent of the sample.

The places of respondents' usual permanent residence place indicate that more than half of the respondents came from Anhui Province, accounting for 61.6% (see Table 5.2). Among them, Huangshan city is the most frequent place reported, accounting for 34% of the sample, followed by Hefei City, which is the capital city of Anhui province, accounting for 9.7 %. Participants from other main places accounted for 28.1%, and included Shanghai (5.5%), Nanjing (4.3%), Hangzhou (3.7%) et al. The current result is quite consistent with Qiyun Company's marketing efforts, which mainly focus on Anhui, Zhejiang, Shanghai, Nanjiang, and Jiangxi.

Table 5.2 Usual place of permanent residence					
Anhui province			Other main places		
Place	Frequency	Valid Percent	Place	Frequency	Valid Percent
Huangshan	473	34%	Shanghai	76	5.50%
Hefei	135	9.70%	Nanjing	60	4.30%
Xiuning	86	6.20%	Hangzhou	51	3.70%
Benbu	27	1.90%	Wuhu	48	3.50%
Xuancheng	23	1.70%	Jiangxi	37	2.60%
Anqing	16	1.20%	Beijing	16	1.20%
Shexian	15	1.10%	Shuzhou	16	1.25%
Fuyang	13	0.90%	Jiangshu	15	1.10%
Haozhou	10	0.70%	Ningbo	15	1.15%
Maanshan	10	0.70%	Wuhan	9	0.60%
Jixi	9	0.60%	Guangzhou	15	1.10%
Qimen	9	0.60%	Tongling	7	0.50%
Huaibei	8	0.60%	Quzhou	6	0.40%
Huainan	8	0.60%	Shandong	5	0.40%
Liuan	8	0.60%	Suzhou	5	0.40%
Caohu	7	0.50%	Tianjing	5	0.40%
Anhui Province total	857	61.60%	Other main places total	386	28.100%

5.2.2 Motivations for visits

In order to explore why visitors choose Mt Qiyun for this trip, 12 questions were asked about motives for making a visit using a scale ranging from 1= “of no importance to me” to 7= “extremely important to me”. The findings are illustrated in Table 5.3. The results indicate that the item ‘I like this mixture between scenery and history’ is considered as the most important reason for respondents to visit Mt Qiyun, with a mean of 5.48. Indeed, of a total

1,391 respondents, there are 428 respondents (accounting for 30.8%) who expressed the view that the mixture of scenery and history is ‘Extremely important to me’ as a travel motivation. This was followed by the item ‘This is a peaceful place I wanted to enjoy’, with a mean of 5.38, and ‘It is simply a nice place to visit’, with a mean of 5.27. However, the research also found that other mean scores were relatively low with scores of 3.72 for “I wished to pray at the shrines and temple for specific reasons”. Thus, by comparing the higher and lower mean scores it could be seen the visitors surveyed were mostly motivated by nice scenery, long history, and the peaceful atmosphere of Mt Qiyun, while with reference to pilgrimage, the great majority of respondents gave low scores, thereby indicating that pilgrimage was not a significant motivation for visitation in this case. When compared to the research undertaken in 2010, the two results are very similar. For example, in the 2010 survey, it was found that the item “I like this mixture between scenery and history” was rated as the primary motive for visiting Qiyun Mountain, with mean of 5.88; while the lowest score item also related to the motivation “I wished to pray at the shrines and temples for specific reason”, with mean of 2.72 (Wang, 2011; Li , 2011).

Table 5.3 Travel reasons			
Reasons for visit	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I like this mixture between scenery and history	1390	5.48	1.45
This is a peaceful place I wanted to enjoy	1389	5.38	1.59
It is simply a nice place to visit	1390	5.27	1.47
I had heard about the beauty of the village and wanted to see it	1389	5.23	1.47
I am interested in seeing places that can inform me of history	1390	5.11	1.60
I am generally interested in the history and heritage of China	1390	4.81	1.63
This place was recommended to me by friends	1390	4.75	1.80
This is one of the 'must see' places in Anhui Province	1389	4.75	1.76
I really came just out of curiosity	1389	4.43	1.84
I made a pilgrimage to the mountain because it is sacred	1390	4.36	1.85
This place was one reason I choose this holiday	1389	4.31	1.97
I wished to pray at the shrines and temple for specific reasons	1389	3.72	2.04
Note : 7 point Likert Scale where 7 is the highest score			

5.2.3 Visitors’ activities in Qiyun Mountain

Participants were asked to answer whether they stayed overnight in the village or not, and if they did not stay overnight, how many hours did they spend in this trip. As illustrated in Table 5.4, of the sample, approximately 89.5 per cent respondents did not stay overnight on the mountain, only 9.8 per cent respondents reported they had such experience. Those

respondents, who did not stay overnight, also showed that the most frequent duration of their stay was between 5 hours and 6 hours, accounting for 18.8% and 21.1%; followed by 4 hours (11.8%), and 3 hours (9.5% of the sample). The data therefore showed that the length of stay for the majority of visitors was short. As visitors needed to take some time to wait for the cable car or climb the mountain to the core attraction, often their real visit time at the core attraction was limited.

Table 5.4 Visit hours			
Did you stay overnight in the village	Hours spent	Frequency	Percent
NO	6hours	294	21.1%
(N=1245 89.5%)	5hours	262	18.8%
	4hours	164	11.8%
	3hours	132	9.5%
	7hours	128	9.2%
	8hours	108	7.8%
	12hours	70	5.0%
	2hours	52	3.7%
	10hours	17	1.2%
	9hours	8	0.6%
Yes	N=136		
	Per cent=9.8%		
Valid	Missing	Total	
N=1381	N= 10	N=1391	
Per cent=99.30%	Per cent=0.70%	Per cent=100%	

In order to determine participants' travel activities during their visit, 9 activities were listed in current survey to assess respondents' patterns of participation. From the Table 5.5, it could be seen that with the exception of 'taking photographs', and 'having a meal at a restaurant', other activities were only infrequently adopted by most respondents. For example, 38.1% of respondents reported that they prayed at any of the shrines, 29.8% of respondents participated in a religious service at the temple, 37.5% of respondents brought incense sticks on the mountain, and 35.1% of respondents had experience of buying arts and crafts. Indeed, from conversations with tourists, the author found a number of visitors thought it expensive to buy incense sticks on the mountain, and some visitors also stated that there is no unique difference to the arts and crafts, because they can be brought from anywhere. This is quite

similar with Sun and Teo's (2009) finding that "global network of souvenir production tends to homogenize tourist space because the products they make for purchase by the tourists are the same" (p.107). It was interesting to find that with regard to religious activities respondents reported low levels of participation. Table 5.5 showed that 94.3% of respondents took photographs during their visit. With reference to the activity 'have a meal', the similar percentages of 'yes'(49.4%) and 'no'(50.1%) were found. As such, it could be concluded that 'take photography' and 'have a meal' are two most common activities; and the number of respondents visiting with a primary religious purpose are low in number.

Table 5.5 Visitors' activities participation			
Activities		Frequency	Per cent
Pray at any of the shrines?	No	854	61.4%
	Yes	530	38.1%
Pray at the temple?	No	797	57.3%
	Yes	588	42.3%
Participate in a religious service at the temple?	No	969	69.7%
	Yes	415	29.8%
Have a meal at a restaurant?	No	697	50.1%
	Yes	687	49.4%
Buy any arts and crafts?	No	895	64.3%
	Yes	488	35.1%
Buy any incense sticks?	No	862	62.0%
	Yes	522	37.5%
Take photographs?	Yes	1312	94.3%
	No	71	5.1%
Take a guided tour?	No	953	68.5%
	Yes	427	30.7%
Stay in a hotel?	No	1243	89.4%
	Yes	136	9.8%
Total		1391	100

Additionally, respondents were asked to provide estimates of their personal expenditure during this visit. The majority of respondents reported they spent 1-100 RMB (48.7%), followed by 101-300 RMB group (37.0%). Those basic expenditures refer to the entry ticket, cable car ticket price, and meal fees. Normally, a visitors' entry ticket is 75 RMB for the high season, and 55 RMB for the off-peak season, but seniors and children can enjoy discounted prices paying 38 RMB. Additionally Huangshan city residents just pay 20 RMB. As for the cable car ticket prices, visitors need to pay 40RMB for a return fare. From the table, it could be seen that few respondents reported high levels of expenditure during their visit. For example, respondents who spend above 501 RMB (less than NZ\$100) on their trip only

accounted for 1.9% of the sample. As such, visitors' short duration of visit and low levels of expenditure, are two underlying main reasons leading to Qiyunshan residents' dissatisfaction as described in the chapter 7.

5.2.4 Visit satisfaction

An additional scale with reference to respondents' satisfaction (13 satisfaction statements) was also incorporated into the survey, with 1= "I very strongly disagree" to 7= "I very strongly agree". Table 5.6 presents the overall mean scores and standard deviation for the satisfaction scores for visiting Mt Qiyun. From the table, it can be seen that respondents have a high level of agreement on "I would like to see more tourism develop here" with a mean of 6.03(std=1.30); followed by the item "The village was as scenic as I expected" (mean=5.28, std=1.47). However, at the lower end of the scale were satisfaction statements relating to "I was able to pray at the shrines and temple in peace" (mean=4.42, std=1.83), and "I think the present level of tourism is as much as the village can sustain" (mean=3.43, std=1.93), this latter implying that higher numbers of visitors are possible. Consequently, current results illustrated that respondents are more likely to be satisfied with the scenic setting of the village, but not interested in praying at the temples, which is consistent with the low level of pilgrimage motives discussed above. Additionally, respondents showed their strong willingness to see more tourism develop here rather than simply sustain the current stage of development. Additionally, every respondent were ask to indicate their overall satisfaction level from 1 to 10, 10 represents the maximum level of satisfaction with their visit. By recoding the data, the satisfaction levels were divided into three classes (1-5 points = low satisfaction, 6-7 points= medium satisfaction, 8-10 points=high satisfaction). Table 5.6 indicated that 12.1 per cent of visitors belong to low satisfaction group, 36.9 per cent belong to medium satisfaction, and 48.8 per cent belong to high satisfaction group. By author's observation, many visitors do not allocate very low marks, even they quite dissatisfied with current trip, which reflects Chinese 'mianzi' psychology. For example, although some visitors complain many of still recorded an overall satisfaction score of 6 or 7 when asked to show their level of satisfaction. Few gave scores below 5.

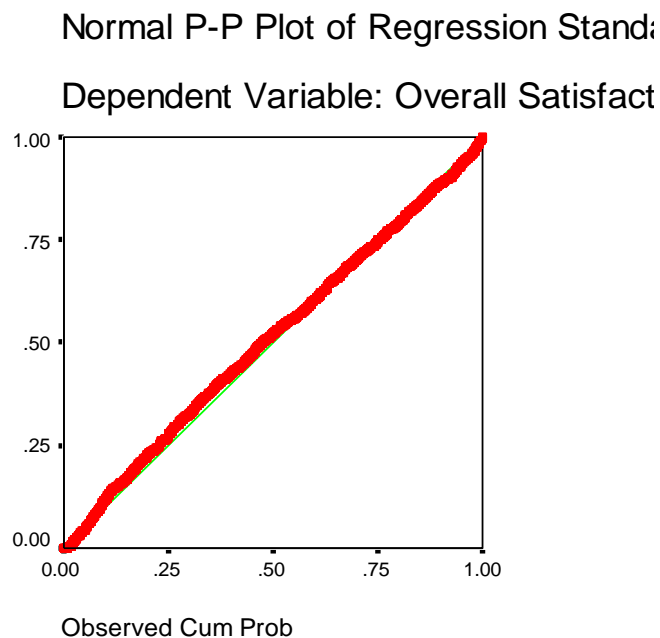
Table 5.6 visitors' Satisfaction			
Satisfaction	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I would like to see more tourism develop here	1381	6.03	1.30
The village was as scenic as I expected	1377	5.28	1.47
I like this mixture between scenery, faith and history	1376	5.16	1.56
I found this a nice place to visit	1375	5.09	1.61
I truly felt that the mountain is a sacred place	1377	5.06	1.56
I would recommend this village to my friends as a place to visit	1374	5.06	1.62
My curiosity was fully satisfied	1372	4.96	1.65
I agree that this is a 'must see' place in Anhui Province	1371	4.85	1.66
I found the local people to be friendly	1372	4.82	1.73
I found the history and heritage to be of interest to me	1371	4.69	1.65
I learnt a lot about the village and its role in Chinese heritage	1373	4.50	1.74
I was able to pray at the shrines and temple in peace	1360	4.42	1.83
I think the present level of tourism is as much as the village can sustain	1380	3.43	1.93
Note : 7 point Likert Scale where 7 is the highest score			
	Classifications	Frequency	Percent
Overall satisfaction level	Low satisfaction	169	12.1
	Medium satisfaction	513	36.9
	High satisfaction	679	48.8
	Total	1361	97.8
Missing	System	30	2.2
Total		1391	100

Stepwise regression analysis was used to examine the coefficients of visitors' satisfaction scale. As shown in Table 5.7, statistically significant difference are found and that six variables determine 27.6 per cent of visitors of the variance overall satisfied their trip (Durbin Watson= 1.84). 'Nice place to visit', 'friendly local people', 'scenic village', 'sustain village', 'must see place' and 'sacred place' (sig < 0.001) are found as the factors that affect visitors' overall satisfaction. Additionally, to test the consistency of the residual values, as shown in Figure 5.1, it appears a perfectly match expected and observed values.

Table 5.7 Regression Analysis of the visitors' overall satisfaction on visitors' satisfaction scale							
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	Beta	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	4.018	.153		26.310	.000		
I found this a nice place to visit	.147	.034	.154	4.349	.000	.426	2.350
I found the local people to be friendly	.110	.024	.124	4.541	.000	.715	1.398
The village was as scenic as I expected	.129	.035	.123	3.719	.000	.489	2.043
I think the present level of tourism is as much as the village can sustain	.090	.019	.110	4.638	.000	.949	1.054
I agree that this is a 'must see' place in Anhui Province	.107	.028	.116	3.749	.000	.556	1.798
I truly felt that the mountain is a sacred place	.105	.033	.106	3.178	.002	.485	2.063

a. Dependent Variable: Overall Satisfaction

Figure 5.1 Normal P-P Plot of Regression



Overall, it could be concluded that visitors coming to Qiyun Mountain belong to a younger age group, with a level of average and above income, and high education levels. They prefer

to travel with friends than other party groups. A great proportion of visitors came from local places such as Huangshan city and Xiuning County. As derived from the data, it could be found that visitors were motivated to visit the mountain because of its scenery and history while the pilgrimage motive was not significant. As such, when examining the activities visitors undertook during their current trip, only a few reported activities consistent with a religious purpose, like ‘praying at the shrines’, ‘participate in a religious service at the temple’, and ‘buy any incense sticks’. However, when visitors were asked to indicate their overall satisfaction level, it was found that generally many visitors did not express higher levels of satisfaction with their visit and most hoped for further development of tourism. To deepen the understanding of Qiyun visitors, qualitative data will be analysed as follows.

5.3 Qualitative analysis of visitors’ semi-structure interview

The sample for the formal semi-structured interviews consisted of 29 male respondents and 11 females respondents. The majority of them came from relatively local areas like Xiuning County, Huangshan city, but also further afield including the main cities of Anhui Province, like Maanshan, Bengbu, Hefei and also other provinces, such as Shanghai, Zhejiang, Hunan, and Jiangxi. Additionally, there were five international visitors in this sample from Germany (2 respondents), France (2 respondents), and the United States (1 respondent). Of these visitors, only 6 respondents stayed overnight in the village, of whom 4 visitors stayed for one night, 1 visitor for 3 nights, while a French visitor stayed in the village for 3 months.

5.3.1 Thematic analysis of travel reasons/motivation

The first task was to explore the reasons for the selection of Mt Qiyun as respondents’ destination in their current trip. The results indicated five dominant themes in current data, which could be classified into both push factors and pull factors: these were ‘To relax-sightseeing (push)’, ‘Learn new things (push)’, ‘Personal specific reason (push)’ and ‘Pull factors’. This is comparable with the conclusions from the study of Shen, Schüttemeyer, and Braun (2009), who stated that people travel because they are pushed and pulled these inherent forces.

5.3.1.1 Relax-sightseeing (push)

Like the results of travel reasons derived from quantitative data, many visitors considered mountain beautiful scenery as one of the top reason to visit Mt Qiyun. Indeed, by thematic analysis of the interview transcripts, many respondents mentioned that they chose Mt Qiyun

as their destination to simply meet relaxation and sightseeing motives. Those visitors were more likely to use words such as ‘to see beautiful scenery’, ‘see the ancient mountain village’, ‘enjoy a quiet place’, and ‘have a walk in the natural forest environment’ as their main reasons. These perceptions are consistent with those who advocate the view that tourists are motivated to escape the routine of everyday life, the daily norm of considerable noise, work pressures and simultaneously seeking what they perceive to be an authentic experience (MacCannell, 1977; Sun & Teo, 2009). Of these reasons ‘to see the natural beautiful scenery’ is the primary reason for visitors visiting the mountain. Yet those respondents who selected this as their main reason often nominated supplementary reasons such to escape the daily city congestion and noise, and to breathe fresh air in a natural environment. Additionally, several visitors also claimed that they are attracted because of its branding as the “Chinese First Taoist Village”, which provides opportunities to have a different life in this village, such as eat mountain vegetables, and live in a wooden house. This group of visitors also seemed to be the group from which overnight stayers could be drawn. Some specific quotes within the data included:

“..I came from US, someone just told me there is an ancient village on this mountain, so I want to look at a Chinese ancient village, and hopefully, stay two days to experience life here...” (Male visitor, from US)

“ ...I choose this place, because I want to feel the natural environment, to relax in a countryside place, to escape the city pollution and noise..” (Female visitor from Ningbo, Zhejiang)

Conversations with the tourists confirm that many do relax by sightseeing something different and this is a general reason for tourists to visit Mt Qiyun.

5.3.1.2 Learn new things (push)

As previously stated in quantitative data, visitors choose Qiyun Mountain because it is a culture-heritage place of growing fame. Thus, from the interview transcripts, it was clearly revealed that another important reason to visit Mt Qiyun is to learn something new, like discovering Qiyun Mountain history, Taoism culture, Qiyun cliff story, increasing geographical knowledge, or learning Hui style architectural structure, all of which confirm Ryan’s (1997) previous finding that to personally experience some different culture is a major motivation for tourists. During the interviews, the author found that respondents who

travel alone and who also possess a high education background often gave this reason, while respondents traveling in a large group rarely mentioned this motive. These latter visitors were often content with being told stories that traced the life of ancient celebrities, such as famous poets, Taoists, and Emperors at an anecdotal level. With reference to geography, some visitors claimed that they were interested in Qiyun's landscape, especially for its 'Danxia landform' and the 'Dinosaur's footprint', things that they personally wanted to see and appreciate rather than reading about them in a book. Additionally, some visitors expressed their interest in Taoism culture. They hoped to communicate with Taoists, and to get in touch with Taoism in a holy place. As such, the present study provides some support for Bansal & Eiselt's (2004) analysis that a desire to learn is an important educational motivation for taking trips, and visitors wish to see 'how local people in other cultures live', 'the specificity of given sights' and to 'attend special events' (p.390). Other evidence includes Dunn Ross & Iso-Ahola (1991) who found in their study there 20% of total respondents had a tendency to seek general knowledge and learn about the history of a place. The following quotes illustrate these points:

"...I have visited the other three Taoism Mountains, I like Taoism so much, so it is necessary for me to travel here, I want to compare here with the other three mountains ..."

(Male visitors from Taiwan)

"...I am interested in dinosaur fossils, I have been to many places to see the dinosaur fossils... I was introduced to this mountain in a geography book..."

(University student from Huangshan city)

"...I am a retired building designer from France, I stayed here for 3 month to learn about the special design of Hui Style building..."

(Male visitor from France).

There is no doubting that Mt Qiyun's heritage, culture and landscape appeals to visitors. Thus, it is supposed that if the Government and Qiyun Tourism Company can focus more on presenting the rich cultural content of the mountain and in addition to its landscape values, perhaps more visitors will be motivated to visit by reason of its cultural significance and historic appeal.

5.3.1.3 Personal specific reasons (push)

The interview transcripts revealed that many respondents came to mountain not just simply have a look; many travelled with specific purpose, which could be identified and divided into

8 categories, namely: ‘take photographs’, ‘do sketching’, ‘revisit to see changes’, ‘Do physical exercise’, ‘visit friends or relatives on the mountain’, ‘just curious’, ‘Pray and make a vow to god’, as well as ‘do research’. The category ‘take photographs’ is the most common reason mentioned by visitors; this is due to the fact that Mt Qiyun is considered as Xiuning County’s photographic base, and photographic club members are able to visit Mt Qiyun for free. Additionally, Chinese visitors prefer to take photographs of places when they travel to prove they have been there. With reference to ‘do sketching’, this was mostly mentioned by students majoring in art and painting. There were two reasons that contributed to this statement. First, Mt Qiyun has its beautiful natural scenes, but is not crowded as are other attractions, which is good for sketching. Secondly, there is a route provided for sketching students in many colleges, from Hongcun-Xidi ancient villages to Mt Qiyun mountain landscape. Another important purpose of ‘Pray and make a vow to god’ was also mentioned several times. Those visitors, who have only the purpose of praying in the temples and making requests of the Taoist god(s), were referred to as pilgrims. Pilgrims came to Mt Qiyun just for the specific purpose of burning incense and worshiping the gods, they tend not to take photos, or ask for a tour guide service. Additionally, the current results highlight some interesting purposes, such as ‘do research for collecting biological specimen’, ‘measuring Dinosaur’s footprint’. The following quotes illustrate these themes in the current study:

“...I choose this place, because I have been visiting Qiyun Mountain for 15 years, in each February I will come here to pray for my family...I am just taught by my father that the god in this mountain is highly efficacious...” (Female pilgrim, from Wuyuan, Jiangxi Province)

“...I came here 14 years ago, this time I just want to see whether there is many changes during these 14 years...” (Male visitors, from Guangzhou)

“...I choose here because I have been here for 3 times for my sketching...it is a good place to do sketching...” (Collage student from Beijing).

The photograph as follows shows two foreign visitors exercising in Taiji landscape at Mt Qiyun

Photo 5.1 visitors play Taiji



5.3.1.4 Pull factors

Besides the push factors mentioned above, there were 4 pull factors specifically identified by respondents: ‘easy accesses’, ‘not crowded’, ‘short time trip’, and ‘cheap’. Some visitors cited cheap prices for their visit as the major reason when they choose this destination. It is true in Qiyunshan’s case because respondents from Xiuning obtain 50 per cent discount on ticket prices to Qiyunshan; thus, a large portion of the visitors traveling to Mt Qiyun were local visitors. Indeed, this result reinforces the comments made by Dwyer, Forsyth, and Rao (2000), who considered price as a main means of competitiveness in the tourism industry, and suggested that travellers are sensitive to price. Visitors motivated by ‘short time trip’ also appeared many times. These visitors normally have limited time, and prefer to take a one-day tour. In addition, ‘Qiyun Mountain not crowded’ is found to be a key reason for visitors to choose this place. Those visitors hope to enjoy some quiet place to escape the city’s noisy environment and heavy work pressures. Again it is possible to illustrate these themes with various quotes, this time from two young visitors.

“...I compared several nearby attractions, then decide to visit mountain, because it is cheaper with some discount...” (Female visitor from Yixian County)

“... because Mt Qiyun is quite easy to get here, very near motorway, also, it is a short trip, I can return in one day...” (Male visitor from Hangzhou)

As found in the above themes, there was a clear distinction between those ‘push reasons’ and ‘pull reasons’ in the majority of respondents’ answers. However, several respondents reported they had mixed reasons to choose this destination. In more detail, the transcripts reveal the use of the following statements:

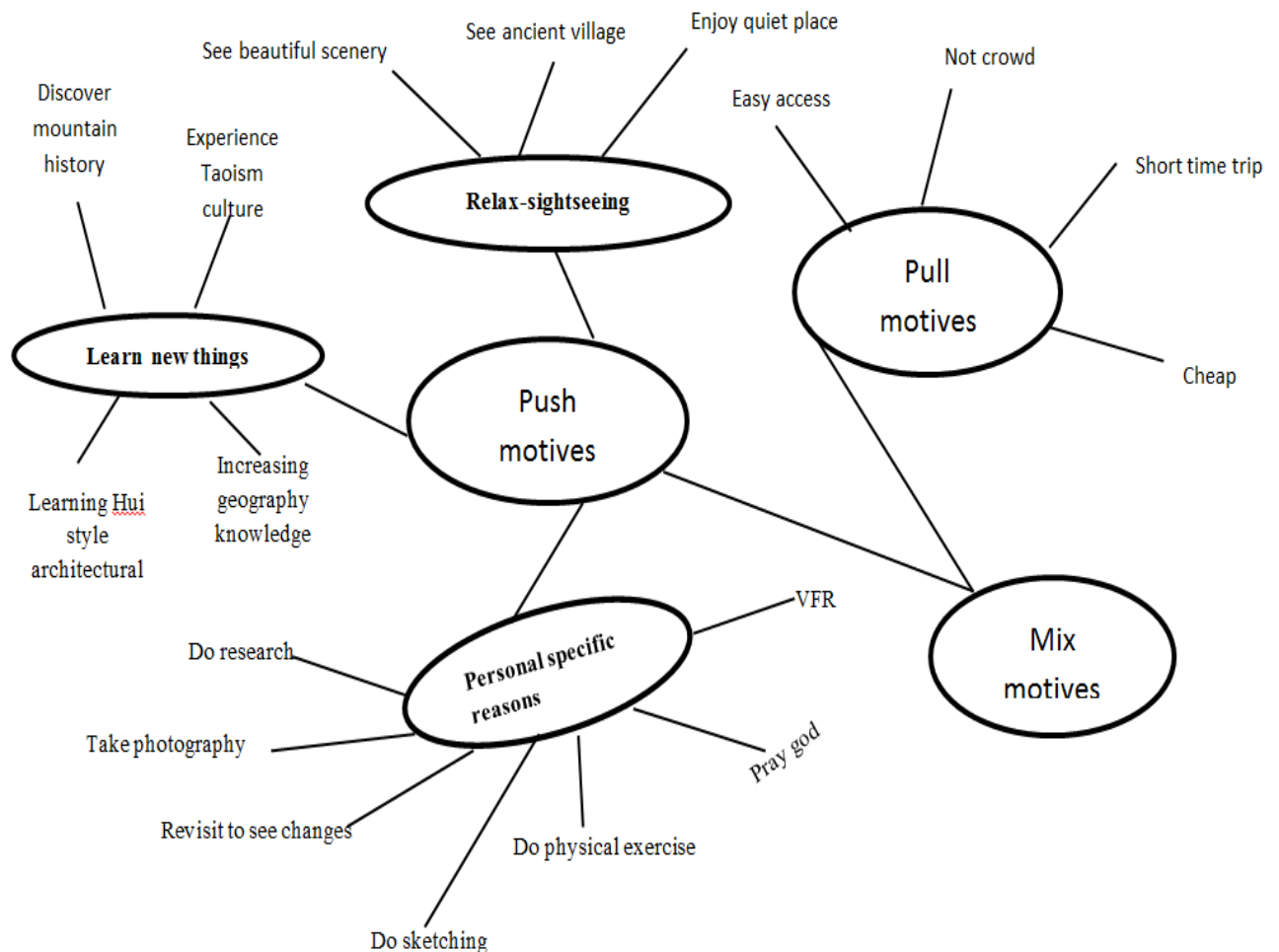
“...I choose Mt Qiyun for a visit, because it is a short time trip, low price ticket, and I want to fulfil my curiosity about Taoism culture...” (Male visitor from Nanjing)

“I choose this mountain because it is near my houses, and I want to find a quiet place with beautiful nature view to do some sketching...” (University Students from Hangzhou)

Figure 5.2 follows indicated that the reasons for visiting Mt Qiyun differ greatly among visitors. ‘Relaxing and sightseeing’ is the most frequent reason mentioned by visitors, followed by ‘learn new things’ about the mountain’s history, heritage, culture and geographical aspects, while a ‘personal specific reason’ is also of importance in visiting this

destination. Some ‘pull reasons’ also cannot be ignored because these are recognized as playing an important role in influencing the selection of particular destination (Heitmann, 2011). Additionally, visitors with mixed travel reasons to visit Mt Qiyun were also explored in the current study.

Figure 5.2 Summary of visitors’ motivation



To summarise, from the respondents’ stated motivations, Mt Qiyun visitors can be mainly divided into 7 groups, namely: ‘Pure pilgrims’, ‘General sightseeing’, ‘culture-heritage seeker’ ‘Outdoor sports enthusiasts’, ‘calligraphers/ painters’, ‘photographers’, and ‘VFR’. Stoeckl, Greiner and Mayocchi (2006) stated that different types of tourist have their different

tastes and reasons to travel in a particular tourist destination. Therefore, Table 5.8 describes characteristics of each group based on their travel motivation as follows:

Table 5.8 7 Main visitors groups based on different motivation		
Name	Amount	Features
Pure pilgrims	Few	They always come to mountain within group (20-50 numbers), once a year. They will stay two nights, eat vegetarian food, bring lots of yellow paper, incense stickers, even fireworks, and they pray to each of the gods on the mountain. Those pilgrims normally don't care about other things like accommodation, food et al. They expect to pray to the gods, they do not undertake other activities, such as take photos, or ask for tour guides
General sightseeing	Mass	They quickly look at the scenery, and take photos randomly. No special purpose, just relax. They normally, have a meal in a local restaurant, within short visit time.
Culture-heritage seeker	Medium	They are motivated by the mountain's ancient culture and heritage. They normally visit the mountain very carefully. They prefer to employ tour guides to tell them culturally-oriented stories, and ask more questions about culture of local residents than other tourists.
Outdoor sports enthusiasts	Few	They are always in a group, from a sports club, with only one purpose: do some outdoor activities. They prepare everything, like food, tent, so they tend not to spend in local shops. They also don't use cable car, preferring to walk
Calligraphers / painters	Few	They are very welcomed by local residents. As those people normally stay in the village above one week to create their new work. Some lucky residents may collect their works
Photographers	Quite a lot	They come to the mountain in groups and as individuals. They stay in the village one night or two. They will avoid the rush hour, so normally take photographs early in the morning or late in the night.
VFR	Few	They come to the mountain just to visit their relatives or friends on the mountain, and live together with their relatives

With reference to the importance of religious motivation, Ryan (2012) comments that while there is a strong revival of religious practices in China, distinctions may be made between practice and belief. People may adhere to the forms of religious practice, but may not possess

a deeper knowledge of the doctrine behind the practice. Wong, McIntosh and Ryan (2013) note differences between *Xiankes* and *Jushis* – the former being more devote and the latter less so. It is suggested here that observance of traditional practice can denote many things, and these include (a) genuine belief; (b) adherence to folkloric traditions; (c) conventional expressions of Chinese culture; (d) a form of Urry's ludic playing tourists and the experiencing of a 'role'; (e) a conscious rejection of overt materialism and (f) a seeking of a meaning not fully understood. The young may then replicate the practice of the older visitor, but practice is an outward sign of many internal processes that were not studied in this thesis. As such, they do represent a direction for future research.

There is also a need to note some other aspects of the research with reference to the issue of religious belief. There is a supposition that older people will be more religiously inclined, e.g. those over 70 were born before the Maoist revolution and Daoist beliefs will have been inculcated by many of them as a 'normal' part of growing up in pre-Communist China. For those around 50-60 years of age, and born in the early years of Maoism when the 'Four Olds' were under consistent attack (particularly during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976), their formative years would have been spent in a period when religious beliefs were generally suppressed by the state, removed from all education programs, and the opportunities to practice religion greatly restricted. While it is true that China is rediscovering its traditional religions it does so partly as a means of reinforcing senses of Chinese identity and respect for authority at a time when arguably the Chinese Communist Party is not Communist and certainly not Maoist. This may be said to be further heightened when the current Chinese leadership continues to express concerns about corruption, and also what some have termed the replacement of a sense of community by naked self-interest (Wang & Dou, 2012). The position of interpreting signs of religious piety are hence complex, especially, it can be argued, in a tourism context when many travel for other than religious reasons.

This is not to deny that there are some for whom religious motivation is important. The author was present in the village during two periods of religious festivals ("Pray to the god of wealth during the spring festival", in January, and "the birthday of Zhenwu god", in April), and for some there were apparent religious motives, but during this period older visitors were often hesitant about answering questions. Given the religiosity of visitors was not a major purpose of the research, it does leave some unanswered questions for future analysis.

In the next section, the thematic technique will be employed to analysis visitors' perceptions of tourism impacts from the environmental, social-cultural and economic aspects in turn.

5.3.2 Tourism impact assessment

5.3.2.1 Environment impact thematic analysis

As part of the research objective, respondents were asked to assess the impacts of tourism on the environment of Mt Qiyun, based on questions such as "According to your personal view, do you think tourism development will affect the local nature and physical environment? Is the environment here damaged or unchanged?" It is proposed by Barber, Biddlecom and Axinn (2003) that the environmental perception of visitors' could reflect the degree of environmental degradation occurring at a place, and their answers will provide suggestions for the appropriate authorities about how to enhance the environment. Interestingly, the interview transcripts revealed that nearly half of respondents were satisfied with the mountain's environment, and they had not encountered environmental problems. The words reported included "not, yet, I found they (tourism company) do a good job to protect environment", " very good environment, quite green mountain ", "...it is quite clean here". Nevertheless, still a number of respondents mentioned some existing adverse environmental impacts made by residents, visitors and developers, while positive environmental impacts were rarely mentioned. Exceptions to this last comment lay in words like "cleaners maintain the cleanness actively in the core attraction", "lots of environmentally friendly slogans improve our environmental awareness...". In the following analysis, three themes will be described from 'Residents variables', 'Visitors variables', and 'Developer variables'. Each of the themes had their associated sub-themes as described below.

Resident's variables

With reference to comments about the residents of the village and the surrounding area, the majority referred only to those residing Yuehua Street (the village on the mountain) and only two respondents mentioned residents living below the mountain. The main reason is that the majority of visitors only visit Mt Qiyun rather than visiting Qiyun Town. It was clear from the transcripts that visitors considered local residents' daily behaviour as a factor influencing the mountain environment. For example, from the visitors' perceptions, residents' behaviour such as 'washing in the scenic pool', 'burning rubbish', 'drying clothes and vegetables in the main tourists street', 'throwing waste food or rubbish into the forest' and the observation that

‘someone messy lived in the cave’ were frequently mentioned. On the other hand, as discussed in chapter seven, residents have been living in this mountain for many generations. They see Mt Qiyun as their homeland first, and then as a tourist attraction second. Thus, it is quite difficult to ask locals to change their inherent life habits in a short time. However, in the visitors’ eyes, local residents lack organisation and many of their activities influence the mountain environment in a greater or lesser degree. For example, burning rubbish may create lots of smoke for visitors; residents drying clothes and vegetables in the tourist main pathway may create inconvenience; and residents throwing waste food into the forest will create bad smells, especially in hot weather. Yet, given the *habitus* of local life, Puczkó and Rátz (2000) stated that local residents may not always blame themselves for the potential negative environmental impacts of their unsuitable activities. Some important comments made by respondents included:

Photo 5.2 Resident wash cloths in scenic pool

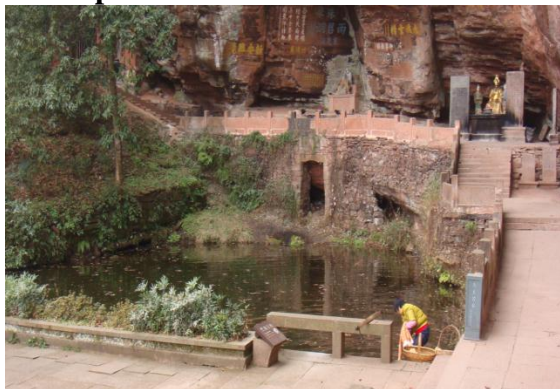


Photo 5.3 Messy lived in cave



Photo 5.4 Waste food thrown in the mountain



“...I found some residents burn rubbish on the mountain, which created lots of smoke, I feel unconformable...” (Female visitor from Huangshan city)

“... overall, environment here is good, but I saw many restaurants just throw waste food directly into the mountain, it is not good for the mountain...” (Male photographer , from Xiuning County)

The following three photos show some aspects of the residents’ behaviour that visitors’ thought impacted upon the mountain.

Visitors’ variables

The transcripts also explore the issue that many respondents also judged other visitors. This finding provides some support for previous studies that has found that tourists are not always perceptive about their own behaviours, but they will evaluate the impacts of other tourists’ actions (Hillery, Nancarrow, Griffin & Syme, 2001). In the current study, frequent words used by respondents to describe how other visitors behaved included: ‘visitors litter everywhere’, ‘lots of mass painting and carving on the wall’, ‘visitors damage trees, flowers, and plants’, and ‘ pilgrims make smoke and rubbish in the temple’. It is common in many Chinese tourist attractions that visitors do throw litter everywhere, like cigarette butts, drink bottles, food packages, and fruit remains. It is a similar situation in Mt Qiyun. The author often observed that when a group of visitors left to return home, lots of rubbish would be left on the ground. Only a small number of visitors will throw their rubbish into the rubbish bins. In such cases, it is both exacerbating environmental pressures and increasing the cleaners’ workload. As following Photo 5.5 indicates, after pilgrims left, much paper and waste incense stickers were left on the ground. Additionally, visitors wanting to draw graffiti leaving carvings on the wall were reported as a common cause of damage to the mountain environment. This finding was quite similar with Kala’s finding (2008) that Indian tourists tend to scratch walls and inscribed their names on them. Again, another photo just reflects this problem, and it can be seen that there are many names curved near the shrine to the god. Interestingly, Respondents also pointed out that although less common, still some visitors prefer to pick special rare plants, and take them home, which behaviour is considered as a way to destroy the local vegetation. Finally, a small number of respondents complained that pilgrims burn too much yellow paper and incense stickers in the temple, which created lots of smoke for visitors, as well as blackening the stature of the god by smoke. These sub-themes are illustrated in the following quotes:

“...I saw lots of visitors throw rubbish on the ground...” (University student, from Huangshan city)

“ I felt disappoint that many inscription are mass painted or carved by visitors, it is too bad...” (Female visitor, from Ningbo)

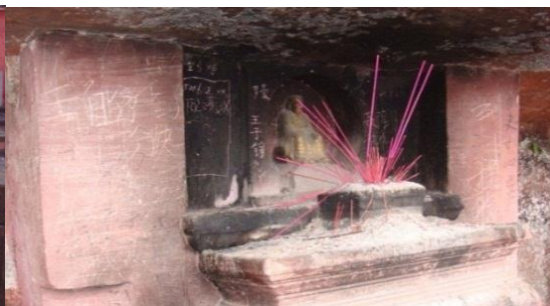
“ when I walk through a small temple, there are so much smoke, which make my hair very dirty...” (University students, from Hubei)

When asked to comment on the perceived impacts of noise or crowding at Mt Qiyun, there was seldom any mention of these factors from the visitors’ perception. This result is contrary to those of Gu and Ryan (2010), and Hillery’s et al., (2001) finding that crowding and noise were the most significant negative impacts in research destination identified by residents. This is probably due to the small number of visitors come to Mt Qiyun. Compared with other nearby attractions, Qiyun Mountain total arrivals are only about 10 per cent of the numbers visiting Hongcun and Xidi ancient villages (Mr Zhu, personal communication, general manager of Qiyun Tourism Company, December, 12, 2011).

Photo 5.5 Lots of rubbish left by pilgrims



Photo 5.6 Visitors carved their names



The role of development

The theme of ‘the impact of development’ indicated that because of construction related to facilities development the mountain environment was being damaged to some extent. According to a thematic map, three impacts were significantly identified by respondents: ‘Destroy landscape for building cottage’, ‘Construction make street dirty, dusty and noisy’, ‘river damaged by construction’. Among those themes, ‘destroying landscape’ was the most frequent reason mentioned by respondents, especially by photographers. This is because the landscape destroyed formed one part of the natural Taiji landscape, which is seen as one of

the most attractive for photographers. Certainly, in order to develop more facilities, government had invited external investors to build star accredited hotels and holiday cottages below the mountain, and this has occupied significant stretches of land and forest. As such, one visitor from Taiwan critiqued that: “For the (Xiuning) government, attracting investment is a good thing, but they are destroying the natural landscape for construction, I think the loss may outweigh the gain”. This result provides some support for the previous findings by Rioux (2006) that in many destinations, the environment is being damaged by on-going infrastructure constructions projects for tourism expansion. Another related impact that appears in the transcripts many times was the theme that ‘construction make Street dirty and dust’, which happened in Qiyun Town. There are three big construction sites, lots of vehicles, like loaders, cranes, bulldozers, all of which make the local area full of dust, and noisy. Finally, the interview transcripts revealed that Hengjiang River was dirty according to some visitors’ perceptions. This maybe a result of some companies digging for sand in the river, thereby changing the direction of the river channel, and making the river muddy. Some specific quotes in this theme as follows:

“...I came here two years ago, I was attracted by the natural Taiji landscape, I took lots of photos . However, this time, I was really disappoint to see the landscape destroyed by some real estate company...I think I won’t visit next time ” (Photographer, from Shanghai)

“...The Hengjiang River is dirty and muddy, not like the days of 10 years ago ...quite disappointing ” (Male researcher from Guangdong)

Photo 5.7 Nature ‘Taiji’ Landscape before 2011



Photo 5.8 Destroyed ‘Taiji’ landscape in 2012



5.3.2.2 Thematic analysis of social-culture impacts

These comments, while requiring further substantiation, potentially confirm the statement made by Deng, Qiang, Walker and Zhang (2003) that environmental degradation can influence the quality of visitors' experience. As such, it is noted that although building infrastructure is needed for tourism development, relevant departments still should guarantee the protection of the environment and be responsible for the visitors and local community. The following left hand photograph was taken by the author in 2010, and the second in 2012. When comparing the two photographs, it can easily be seen that the landscape below the mountain had been changed a lot because of the various buildings and construction projects.

In this section responses to questions such as "Do you agree with the idea that the tourists' coming may bring some social and cultural impacts to the local community?" Unlike the case of environmental impacts, which were mainly seen as being negative, normally the social-culture impacts were normally seen in a more positive fashion by visitors. Some frequently words mentioned by respondents were "positive impacts are more than negative impacts", "not so many significant negative social-culture impacts", "I don't think visitors will bring significant negative social impacts to the local residents, because the majority of visitors visit only 2-3 hours. Their short stay won't bring lots of problem to local residents...". Additionally, it seems that this impact was quite difficult for respondents to access from their short visit. Unlike the environmental impacts, which could be simply observed by sightseeing; social-culture impacts assessment require visitors to have a higher level of involvement with local villagers. Thus, during the interview, it was easy to find examples of a low level of awareness of the socio-cultural impacts associated with tourism, or indeed example of some indifference. In total 40 respondents responded to these issue, and there were 8 of them (20%) who stated that they had no real feelings about these impacts on the local village. The current results indicated 5 positive sub-themes: 'know new things', 'keep traditional Taoism and heritage resources', 'keep ancient building', 'make friends with visitors', 'improve residents' communication skills', and 3 negative themes, namely 'residents become commercial', 'Taoism become commercial', and 'Disturbances to residents' daily life'.

Positive social-culture impacts

Many visitors who had been interviewed reported that because of tourism development, local residents were able to see many visitors from different places, social levels, and backgrounds. Visitors could come from international or ethnic minorities; they could be a business operator, doctor, teacher, government official, painter, soldier etc. Thus those people may bring different new things to the local village, from material objects to new ideologies. For instance, visitors used advanced cameras, climbing boots, export food and will show these to local residents; some important news from political, social or economic elite may also be transferred to residents. Accordingly, they help local residents broaden their own horizons and learn things outside of their remote village. Some important comments indicating this theme included:

“...we, visitors come to this village, can bring lots of new information to these small villages...this time, I tell a restaurant owner about the tea market in my hometown, and suggest he sell tea to the tea shop in my place...” (Male visitors from Nanjing)

“...I discuss the some information about Chinese university with a local villager, because his daughter will have college entrance examination this year, as I am a university professor...”
(University Professor, from Anhui)

The transcripts revealed that majority of tourists in the present study thought local Taoism culture and heritage was preserved because of tourism. Without tourism, there would be few opportunities to attract the government’s attention to repair and preserve those ancient treasures. Repairing the dilapidated temple; restoring broken inscriptions; or the promotion of Taoism to visitors, all of them needed investment. Additionally it was pointed out, to develop tourism meant old buildings such as the residents wooden houses also needed to be well maintained. Not one house was rebuilt in the style of a new modern house as in other villages below the mountain. This potentially confirms Ryan’s et al., (2011) and McDowall & Choi (2010) analysis that tourism can help to revitalize and preserve the local culture and heritage.

With reference to another sub-theme ‘improve residents’ communication skills’, some respondents felt that the local residents were good at communicating with strangers, unlike those who had never experienced meeting various aspects of society. No matter their age, gender, or job, everyone enjoyed communicating with visitors. There is no doubt that local residents have already established good communication habits by having frequent contact

with tourists every day. One respondent stated that: “I am quite surprised that those elderly ladies who sell incense can speak Mandarin so frequently and well, and they never feel timid even when they faced prestigious government officials...” (Female journalist, from Hangzhou). Overall, it was clear from the transcripts that ‘know new things’, ‘keep traditional Taoism and heritage resources’, ‘keep ancient building’, ‘make friends with visitors’, ‘improve residents’ communication skill’ were considered as positive impacts by visitors. These impacts have been identified in the literature as tourism social-cultural benefits (McDowall & Choi, 2010; Cohen, 1984).

Negative social-culture impact

‘Residents become commercial because of tourism development’, followed by ‘Taoism become commercial’, and ‘Tourists may disturb residents’ daily life and even create conflict with hosts’ were considered as the three main negative social-cultural impacts. It was interesting to find that many respondents feel local villagers are not as simple as they had previously imagined. In the visitors’ perception, the fact that several local residents are driven by money belies their ‘pure image’. For example, residents charge difference prices to different visitors; residents lie by saying that the chicken which visitors eat is raised by themselves rather than it being purchased from town, yet the lie allows them to charge a much higher price. The following quotes illustrate this theme in the current study:

“...I think residents here become more commercial than 3 years ago, when I first visit Mt Qiyun...now, they are thinking too much about money...” (Female visitor from Maanshan)

“... I think the residents here are not kindly, especially for our students. They treat us unkindly, because we students have no money to spend in their shop or restaurant...this trip, we have 40 students from Jixi Middle school, we visit here for our spring outing...unfortunately, it rains heavily...we groups just find some restaurant to shelter from the rain. But no restaurants allow us to stay there, they said to us ‘if you guys stay here, how about my other customers, too crowded and you guys haven’t spent money in my restaurant’” (Middle school student from Jixi County).

There was a field note recorded by the author in the afternoon of 7/3/2012 that comments on these issues:

“Today is tomb-sweeping festival holiday. I have been told that the visitor number will be great in this day. Thus, I prepare lots of visitor questionnaire to start my work. Everything goes well, until 12 o’clock, there appears much noise near a big restaurant. I went there as quickly as possible, and find 7-8 visitors argue with restaurant owner. I am been told that the owner want to charge 1 RMB for each visitor who wants to go to the public toilet. Of course, visitors refuse this requirement , they think it is a ‘public toilet’, it should for free; while restaurant owner think the public toilet is in her backyard, so many people come here will damage her back yard, thus she thinks about charging a price...”

This is just on particular case that happened in Mt Qiyun, and other similar events also occurred sometimes, especially during peak holiday periods. Therefore, it can be postulated that some of residents’ commercial behaviour may lead to visitors’ low satisfaction during their trip. Gallarza, Saura & García (2002) stated that residents’ attitudes toward tourists can affect tourists’ perceptions of a certain destination; because a local host’s anger, apathy or mistrust will be conveyed to the tourists and lead to visitors’ being them unwilling to revisit that place (Gursoy et al., 2002; Bachleitner & Zins,1999). Secondly, findings from the present study showed that many respondents interviewed were aware of ‘commercial Taoism’. The main reasons given for this were that majority of visitors felt unable to sense a ‘real’ Taoism culture in Mt Qiyun. They complained that there were no Taoists praying in the temple; no one could properly introduce Taoism for visitors and that the Taoist priests themselves lacked any deep understanding of Taoism. However, much to visitors’ dismay, visitors had to experience the aggressive selling of incense sticks by the older residents, experience some over assertive ‘hassling’ from the fortune tellers, as well as being asked to donate money to the temples. Some respondents also complained that the price of candles and incense being sold on the mountain was too high. This finding is quite similar to that of Sun and Teo (2009), who found the tourists in Lijiang, China, insisting that they have not experienced the authenticity of Naxi culture. As well as Sofield and Li (1998) stated that: “...cultural events to serve economic interests without due regard to their cultural integrity has resulted in the loss of heritage quality and educational value...” (p.386). As illustrated in the following quote:

“...Taoism culture become commercial, it can’t do real exchange with visitors... I hate those commercial activities...you can see so many fortune tellers, incenses stick sellers wanting to

make money...if you don't buy, they will keep talking with you, or following you all the way..." (Male visitor from Shanghai)

As such, there seems that commercial Taoism and commercial residents have resulted in a low quality travel experience. It is the author's view that both local residents and the Taoism Association need a unified management plan to overcome the 'commercial problem' and make Taoism in Mt Qiyun more authentic. Otherwise, visitors' satisfaction may be adversely affected by the impressions detailed above.

Finally, some considerate respondents mentioned that their own visits may disturb the local residents' daily life. To better service visitors, local residents should change many things to better fit tourists' needs. These could include residents getting up very early to prepare breakfast for visitors, while some need to be prepared to go to sleep very late because some visitors ask for midnight snack. While, many visitors perceived these demands as being very perfectly normal things, a few held to a view that it was fair to sacrifice something. Some important quotes are as follows:

"Yes, our coming will disturb local residents' life. For example, I stay in this village for two nights. We guys wake up very early, because many of us want to see the sunrise. We get up at 4 o'clock, and our movement might wake the hosts. We also get back to the accommodation very late, because we want to see the Night Mountain, and the stars. We feel guilty that the host keeps waiting until the midnight, after we get back, they just close the door" (Tour group leader, from Shanghai).

"...yes, it will disturb their life to some extent, but I think it is normal, because they want to earn more money ..." (Female visitor from Shanghai).

There was another field note which recorded by author in 23/2/2012, 11pm to 2 am in next day which provided some evidence to support this result:

"Today, there a large foreign group visited Mt Qiyun for 2 days. 42 young visitors come from many countries, China, US, UK, Australia, German et al., They plan to have a party in the night, and they also invite me to enjoy their party. We start party at 11 pm; we are drinking, dancing and singing. I feel everything is so great, because author hasn't play with so many young friends for 4 month. However, the bad thing is two hours later, 3 residents come to

censure us for making noise, disturbing their sleep, then cut the electricity. The party just stop, and those young visitors are unhappy”.

Therefore inherent in these quotes is the nature of the impact on residents’ daily life, and a need to respect the situation that while the tourist is on holiday at 1.00am, the local residents are not and have to get to work the following morning and do not have the leisure to sleep until mid-day (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Doğan, 1989).

5.3.2.3 Thematic analysis of economic impact from visitors’ perception

The issue of the economic impacts was examined through questions such as “what kinds of economic impact do you think tourism will bring to local community?” Interview transcripts revealed that the majority of visitors affirmed the positive effects. Economic benefits were frequently mentioned by respondents, and included ‘Attract investors’, ‘Government generate ticket and tax revenue’, ‘Increase revenue for residents’, ‘create job opportunities’, ‘Develop related industry’, while only two costs ‘Seasonal revenue’, as well as ‘change traditional labour structure’ were reported. Interview transcripts revealed that many respondents focused on the positive economic impacts for the mountain village, and they believed that residents on the mountain were the ‘lucky ones’ who can directly earn a fortune from tourism development.

Economic benefits

Nearly all respondents mentioned that tourism development helps local residents to find jobs, increase family revenue and improve their quality of life. These findings provide some support for the previous studies reviewed in Chapter 2 that have found tourism leads to direct economic benefits to a local community by providing employment, increasing locals’ income, and improving local living standards (Kala, 2008). Additionally, confirming this finding, Pendleton and Rooked (2006) pointed out that visitors create a positive economic impact for a destination through expenditure that support jobs related to tourism service. Visitors had an intuitive sense of the means by which residents’ became involved in tourism businesses, by, for example, selling native products, opening restaurants and working as cleaners. They believed tourism could bring a fortune for local residents, and provide many work opportunities to enable the residents to have a better life. Indeed, as described in Chapter 3, all of 28 families located in Yuehua Street had taken advantage of location and operated tourism businesses to make money. Besides creating job opportunities, some respondents

pointed out that tourism development helped residents to sell their native products easily, such as dry vegetables, salt meat (see Photo 5.9) and mountain tea, which could be seen as another way to increase family revenue. Indeed, from the author's daily observation, visitors will buy local special product to take home after they taste them in the restaurant. Some important comments made by respondents included:

“...tourism helps local residents with more opportunities to make money from tourism business. Their life qualities become better year by year. I have come to the mountain to pray for 15 years: I saw their changes” (Male pilgrim from Wuyuan)

“...of course, they can make big money...you see the price in this small village is really high. One RMB water will be sold at 3 RMB or even 5 RMB a bottle, which absolutely increases residents' revenue...” (Elder visitor from Guangzhou)

Photo 5.9 Homemade salt meat sells or serves to visitors



With regard to the ability to attract investors, this subject was mentioned by respondents who noticed the real estate constructions below the mountain. Although, they not knowing the realities of this external investment in Mt Qiyun; they still made judgements based on the existence of those construction sites. Thus respondents stated that :

“...normally, tourism can attract outside investors to come here to invest in facilities, which create job opportunities for local residents” (Male visitors from Huangshan city).

“ when the mountain became famous, it will attract lots of outside investors and some investment, which is used to improve local facilities and economy” (Male visitors from Shanghai).

However, a small number of comments indicated a contrary view that the outside investors will take the majority of revenues earned from tourism and expatriate those monies elsewhere. One middle school teacher, who had more depth of thought about tourism development in

Qiyun Mountain, was concerned that local family businesses could not compete with a large company, which would pose strong competition. Finally, a small number of respondents mentioned that Mt Qiyun tourism helps to develop other related industry, such as the restaurant and transport industries. These comments included:

“...I guess the tourism industry can encourage other industry to develop together such as transport, tour farm industry...”(Female visitor from Jiangxi)

“ although Mt Qiyun tourism has not developed very well, anyway, tourism development can more or less motivate other related industry...like retail business, transport industry, restaurant industry...”(Student from Huangshan University)

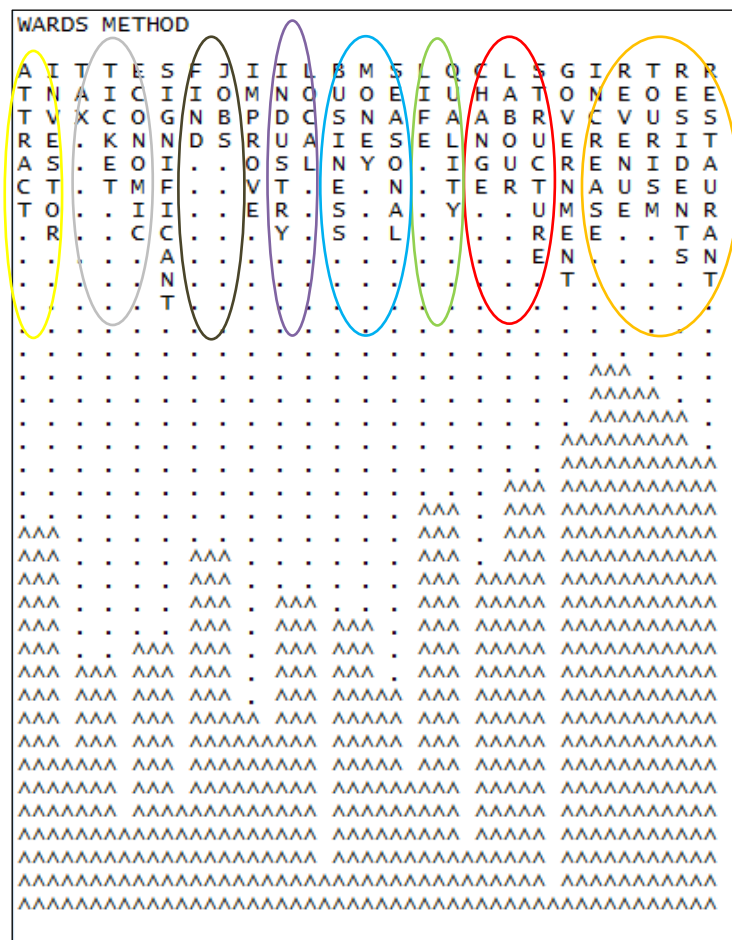
Economic cost

On the other hand, respondents critiqued two main negative economic effects. Tourism development in Mt Qiyun is quite seasonal, which lead to seasonal jobs and revenue. Respondents noting this tended to be group who travelled in the off-peak period, especially in cold winter. Based on the author's observation, the majority of residents had no business in the winter days. One respondent stated that: “I think the tourism here is quite seasonal, when I visited here on a winter's day last time, there were no other visitors here... I think local residents' income should be not stable”. In addition, a few respondents mentioned that tourism development may change the local labour structure, at least in this village, that “No one work in farm, everyone involved in operating tourism business, which was far away from their traditional life”. Visitors, therefore, expressed their concern about the reasons for being involved in tourism, noting “tourism destroyed rural traditional labour structure, because those residents only want to make quick money in tourism rather than work in the farm”(No.15), and “It is slow to earn money from farming, while in the tourism business, you can get cash everyday...”(No.23).

In the following section, the Catpac software will again be employed to provide some support to confirm visitors' views of the economic impacts.

Analysis by Catpac

Figure 5.3 Catpac analysis of economic impacts



The original transcripts relating to the economic impacts were entered into the CatPac software for further analysis. Three steps were used: frequency statistics, hierarchical cluster analysis, and ThoughtView perceptual maps. The Catpac map showed that there were 191 total key words in the original text, and 25 unique words. In this analysis, the individual words are both listed by frequency of use and alphabetically. It was found that the word ‘Revenue’ was the most frequently word and that it occurred 21 times, which was 11% of all occurrences. This was followed by ‘Increase’ (18 times, 9.4%), ‘local’ (13 times, 6.8%), ‘industry’ (12 times, 6.3%), as well as ‘jobs’ (12 times, 6.3 %). By analysing the hierarchical cluster map, 8 themes could be identified in economic impact. This analysis describes the relationships between the most commonly occurring concepts in the text analysed, and each cluster evaluated by the height of the stacked shading (^) showing the strength of the relationship between concepts (Hsieh, 2004).

Indicated by Figure 5.3, the first cluster (circled in orange) should be considered as the strongest relation among six words, they are : ‘restaurant’, ‘residents’ , ‘tourism’, ‘revenue’, ‘increase’. These words revealed that tourism development helped local residents to increase revenue by opening farmer restaurants. The second cluster (circled in red) was combined with three words ‘change’, ‘labour’ and ‘structure’, and by checking the original text, it could be found that this theme was mentioned as a visitor negative perception of economic impact, namely ‘tourism development may change local traditional labour structure’. The third theme (circled in green) showed a close relationship between words ‘quality’ and ‘life’. By consulting the raw data, it indicated that these two words were related to the economic impact of ‘tourism development may change residents’ life quality’. The fourth theme (circled in blue) consisted of ‘businesses’, ‘money’ and ‘seasonal’, which confirmed the thematic finding that ‘Tourism development in Mt Qiyun is quite seasonal, which lead to seasonal jobs and revenue’. After that, Catpac successfully identified ‘local’, and ‘industry’ in the fifth theme (circled in purple). Reverting to the raw data, it was found that these words were related to the impact of ‘tourism development can motivate other local industry development’ in Mt Qiyun area. Followed by the sixth theme that is circled in black, this showed a close relationship between ‘find’ and ‘jobs’. When checking the original data, it could be found that respondents mainly stated that ‘tourism development can help local residents to find jobs’, ‘residents can find tourism job easily’. The seventh theme circled in grey, has the words ‘ticket’ and ‘tax’, which indicates visitors believe tourism can bring tax and ticket revenue to government. Finally, the last important theme (circled in yellow) was used to show the relationship between ‘attract’, ‘investor’. The raw text revealed that visitors believed that tourism development can attract external investors to come to mountain and invest more in facilities. Accordingly, when comparing the thematic themes and software result, consistency of interpretation is found.

Figure 5.4 Structure of Tourism impact based on visitors' perceptions

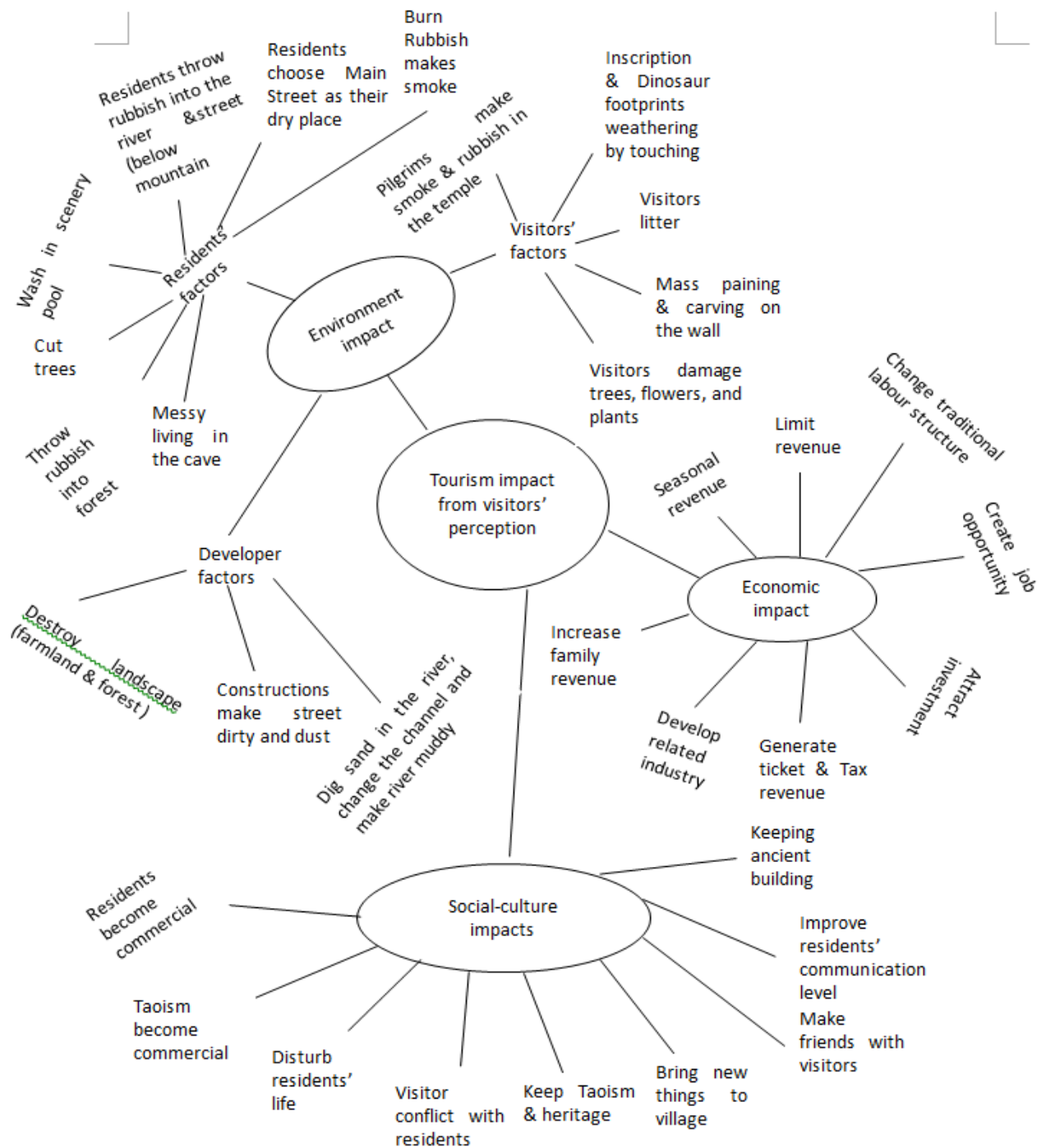


Figure 5.4 above describes the structure of tourism impacts from the visitors' perceptions recorded in the current study. It could be seen that visitors were more likely to care about environmental impact. This is perhaps because visitors can access the environment impacts

by direct observation. Social-cultural and economic impacts are not mentioned in such a great detail by visitors, reflecting visitors' lesser direct knowledge of these impacts. Nonetheless, the visitors show an ability to arrive at conclusions based upon past experiences, general knowledge and observation that provide a basis upon which to examine the issues being considered. In the next section, visitors' satisfaction as well as some potential development problems will be further examined.

5.3.3 Visitors' satisfaction and development problems

Respondents were asked "After you have visited Qiyun Mountain, how satisfied are you with your visit? Was your trip better or worse than expected? Will you visit here again? Have you found some problems that should be solved to better develop Mt Qiyun?" Unfortunately, it was found that 18 out of 40 respondents (45 %) were not wholly satisfied with Mt Qiyun's tourism development and among those 18 respondents, which consisted with the quantitative findings. There were 17 visitors stated that their trip was worse than expected, and 14 respondents expressed the view that they would not visit Mt Qiyun in the future. Of the visitors who expressed satisfaction, their evaluations concerned reasons that included 'had a very good relaxing time', 'appreciate the special landscape', 'see the beautiful view', 'made a wish in the temple', 'see the amazing cloud sea', 'take lots of good photographs', 'tasted very nice village food', 'listened to lots of stories about the mountain from the tour guide', 'do some physical exercise', 'see Huizhou style village' et al. The finding can somewhat confirm Hasegawa's (2010) analysis that 'scenery' and 'meals' have the largest influence on the visitors' overall satisfaction. All of the visitors in this group expressed the view that this trip was better than their previous expectation. Based on the results derived from the semi-structured interviews with visitors, the author found that among 7 main visitor groups, the pilgrims, calligraphers/painters, and photographers had the highest satisfaction levels, especially when compared with groups such as the sightseeing seekers. These former types of tourists are more likely to focus on their own specific visit purposes and showed patience and tolerance of other 'external' conditions. As one painter said: "I don't want Mt Qiyun to develop further, because as a painter, I want to see the very original view made by nature, not by human...the current status is fine..." (Female painter, from Hangzhou).

On the other hand, when assessing the reasons as to why respondents are dissatisfied with current situation at Mt Qiyun, several obvious problems emerged. These problems are mainly three-fold, namely 'Poor facilities', 'Weak management', and 'Attraction problem'. This is

comparable with conclusions from the study conducted by Yu and Goulden (2006), namely that visitors were more likely to focus on accommodation, hospitality services, local employee attitudes, local food, as well as tourism facilities when measuring their satisfaction.

5.3.3.1 Thematic analysis of ‘poor facilities’

Many visitors consider facilities and service quality as important to their trips (Shi, 2009). The ‘Poor Facility’ is always the first problem mentioned by the majority of respondents. This maybe the result of facility provision and the earliest travel experience for visitors at the outset of their visit to the mountain. For example, respondents may feel that local destinations do not have good road conditions; or it is very difficult for visitors to park their cars. In the Mt Qiyun study, it was found that many respondents complained about problems regarding the cable car, public toilets, transport, accommodation, and restaurants. A few respondents expressed dissatisfaction with local facilities because there is no formal bus station for visitors as is quite common at other locations.

The Mt Qiyun cable car was criticised for the small capacity of its gondolas, its slow speed and limited opening hours. On questioning the cable car manager, he pointed out that “Yes, it is a major problem for tourism development. Every hour, the cable can only send 200-250 return visitors, thus in some holidays, visitors need to wait 1-2 hours to take the cable car ...but tourism company is considering building another big cable car in the next 5 years.” Indeed, from the author’s observation, at some peak holiday times, visitors always reduce the duration of their time in the village because they know they need to wait in a long line to catch the cable car before closing time. (Normally, the closing time for the cable car is 5 pm, and in winter it will be closed at 4.30 pm, although for holidays, the final time of operation will be 6 pm). In that case, many visitors waste time on transport issues, which adversely affects the quality of the trip and lower visitors’ satisfaction. As one university student from Beijing, stated that “I spend 8 hours for my today trip, among them 3.5 hours is for returning cable car, 2 hours for lunch, while only 2.5 hours is left for simply looking around ...I really want to walk as far as I can, but the cable car closed 5 pm, I have to arrive at the cable car office before that time” (University student, from Beijing).



Photo 5.10

Visitors wait in a line for cable car in new waiting room, which was built in 2011

Another problem was that of the public toilets. Lots of respondents were unhappy with the toilets for two main reasons: ‘very dirty’, and ‘can’t find toilets on the mountain’. The author heard about many complaints about toilets, most frequently words like ‘4A attraction even has no toilets’, ‘toilets too dirty to use’, ‘there is no sign for visitors to find toilets’, ‘it looks like no one cleans the toilets’. Indeed, except for two modern toilets that were built in 2012 (one located in parking area below the mountain, and another located near the ticket office on the mountain); there are only 3 other public toilets on the whole of the mountain; and moreover, these 3 toilets are quite dirty. Consequently, some visitors may want to go to residents’ houses to use their toilet. Normally these requests are rejected by residents, which increases the tensions between visitors and residents.



Photo 5.11

Secluded public toilet located in the residents’ backyard, visitors always can’t find it unless told by residents

There are also problems of accommodation provision. The present study showed that the 5 out of 6 respondents interviewed who had stayed overnight in the mountain were aware of the poor condition of the local accommodation. As previously described in Chapter 3, there are 8 hostels in the mountain, but only one hostel (which was the result of investment by an outsider) had good quality facilities and hygienic conditions for living. The remaining 7 hostels lacked basic facilities for washing, heating and indeed comfortable beds. Common complains included:

“The accommodation here should be improved a lot, it is too cold in the night... and not clean...” (Male visitor from Nanjing)

“ I can hear many mice jumping in the roof, which scared me a lot...I can’t sleep all night”
(Female visitors from Jiayi Province)

“...actually, I want to live one night or more, because the view here is amazing, but I can’t bear such living conditions” (Young painter from Maanshan)

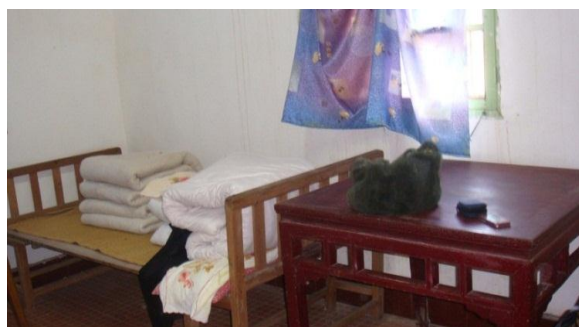


Photo 5.12

**Author’s bedroom in
the mountain**

Additionally, respondents reflected concerns about the restaurants; sanitary conditions, the general lack of safety precautions and lack of rubbish bins. Some visitors pointed out that the food in local restaurant is not clean enough, and hoped for an improvement in sanitary condition in the future. Others may state that it is very dangerous for visitors to climb the mountain ladder without guard rails on the side, as shown in the following photo.



Photo 5.13 Rough pathway

Up to now, it appears that an ambivalence of views are always experienced by the visitors (Sun & Teo, 2009). Most leisure visitors interviewed expressed that on the one hand they hoped they can experience a truly original mountain village which differs from the ordinary life; but on the other hand, they expect access to high quality facilities and services to make for a better travel experience that is worth the money spent. While generally pilgrims were happy enough with the facilities, a few mentioned that the price of food and accommodation has increased a lot in 2011/12. It seems that pilgrims are not overly bothered about physical environment, and indeed it can be surmised that some physical discomfort is part of the

process of pilgrimage. Actually, in Shi's (2008) article "Evaluation of visitor experience at Chinese Buddhist sites", very significant differences between leisure tourists and pilgrims were found. She explained this on the basis that for the pilgrims, their journey was essentially about spirituality, and they were consequently ready to overcome a hard physical environment.

5.3.3.2 Thematic analysis of weak management

The transcripts also indicate that weak management is a significant factor that impedes Mt Qiyun's tourism development. Therefore, visitors insist that the local tourism authority should reassess its management of tourism in the mountain. Two related sub-themes of this factor identified here were: 'lack of resident management', and 'lack of business management'. Of particular importance, the factor 'lack of resident management' was most frequently mentioned by respondents. Many residents complained that local residents were very commercially minded, which was already described in the section on tourism's negative social-cultural impacts. As Zhong et al., (2008) found, local residents in Zhangjiajie National Forest Park, China gradually reduced their friendliness toward tourists and instead were seemingly more interested in earning more money. To be more specific: for example in the core attraction area an old lady may beg money from visitors; residents charge visitors a high price for just a cup of hot water; and even an old lady may ask for money when visitors took photographs with her. There was a field note recorded by the author on the afternoon of 23/11/2011 which provides some support for these finding:

"Today is a rainy day, few visitor come to mountain. I plan to go to ticket office, chat with staff. When I walk past the third gate(三天门), I found an elderly women sitting there, looks very 'tenderness'. I ask whether she can take a picture with me, she allowed that quickly and happily. However, when I wanted to leave, she stopped me, and hoped I can give some money to her. The reason is I take photo with her, I must give her some money....finally I give her 10 RMB...it is the first time I feel embarrassed facing local residents..."

Thus, it might be thought that when visitors come to face these kinds of events, they were more likely to feel the same way as author, which lead to a reduced overall travel experience. This type of occurrence is coming to be not uncommon not only in in Mt Qiyun but for old ladies who lived below the mountain. The author observed three old women who will sit at the front of the mountain walk way to wait for those visitors who come to mountain by foot.

They normally talk about their misfortune to visitors and hope to receive some help (see Photo 5.14). Indeed, during interview, many visitors experienced this, and they wondered why the local government did not take care of these unfortunate old women. For example, one respondent said:

“When I climb the mountain, I face 2 old beggars...although I give them some money...I did not that think in a National Attraction, there will be some beggars...”

Again

“...I did feel not good when I passed an elderly resident, she asked me for some money. I am just a middle school student, I don't have money ...but I hope they have self-respect and don't beg money from visitors...it also reduces Mt Qiyun's reputation”

And again

“...from every distance in the walk ways, I can see an old women clutching bowls asking for money from each visitor ...I have no cash, only one dime left, I just give this to one of the old women. What amazes me is that, she refuses to receive one dime, and say to me ‘just one dime? Are you kidding me? Even taking a photo is more than this money...’”

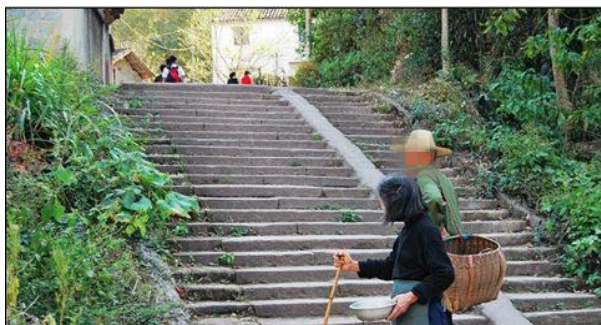


Photo 5.14

This is one main route for visitors to climb to the top of mountain. The old ladies just sit in every section of the walk way waiting for visitors. This old lady just finishes for the day and plans to back home

The authorities are aware of this problem and prohibit and implement prohibitions on begging, but do so only during the major Chinese holiday periods or Golden Weeks.

Additionally, many respondents mentioned their overall satisfaction was negatively affected by the poor management of business operations on the mountain. The original transcripts revealed that respondents felt unhappy when they are ‘kept being followed by incense sellers’; ‘kept being pulled by fortune tellers’, ‘treated with a poor service attitude’, ‘up for grabs by tour guide’, as well as ‘expensive prices and chaos in different restaurants’. Indeed, in order to check the prices, the author used to buy some little things such as instant noodle, water,

ice-cream stick, and soft drinks to compare the prices in different restaurants. However, those restaurant owners always gave some discount, as the author was a ‘temporary resident’ in their village and so the author had to ask about the prices at which they sold items to the visitors. Interestingly, author found the prices in those restaurants varied significantly even for those small things. For example, the price of a bowl of instant noodles in the headman’s restaurant was 5RMB (1 NZD), but in next restaurant (very close to headman’s restaurant, just by one house away) the same item was even higher to 8 RMB (1.6 NZD). Many visitors expressed disquiet when they found they are charged different prices for the same items. On another occasion 2 tourists who stayed overnight in local hostels gave as an example of poor practice the fact that the hostel owner came to his room without knocking door.

Furthermore, some visitors thought many staff who worked in Mt Qiyun lacked professional skills. For example, tour guides lack of a basic knowledge about history and culture, which leads to poor interpretation. As Yang and Chen (2009) stated, a large number of tour guides in Chinese lack an ability to provide effective tour guide interpretation. (Yet it should be noted that in the main cities of China, tour guiding requires the passing of exams, often in front of university staff, but in rural areas the situation is less formal). Those incomplete and unsystematic interpretations may lead to cultural misunderstandings. One French visitor, who stayed at the village for 3 months, suggested that: “... tourism in this village and the Taoist temples may give birth to an ‘intelligent tourism’, if it is well organized with professional guides, with a very good historical and spiritual knowledge”.

These observations reflects Su’s (2011) concern regarding the challenges of rural tourism in China, for he stated that most operators of small rural tourism business lack the required management and service skills to run an efficient business; because it is difficult for operators to “ change from the role of tending farming land to the one of tending people served” (p.1441). Overall, these activities mentioned above play more or less role in influencing visitors’ travel experience. This theme is illustrated in the following quotes:

“ I found the management in this mountain is very poor, the prices in each restaurant are different, some restaurant charge for the same product at an astonishing price...totally unreasonable” (Female visitor from Qingdao)

“ ...during my visit, I was stopped by 4 fortune tellers...I am annoyed to be stop...firstly , I just want choose some quiet place for escape from city noisy and business pressure...finally, it is not successful...” (Businessman , from Ningbo)



Photo 5.15

A fortune teller was asking a male visitor to stop a while, but the man waved him away

This small selection of comments presents an overview of how ‘weak resident and business management’ play a role in influencing visitors’ satisfaction. From observation this author would agree that the residents and staff on the mountain need some training to improve their approaches and service skill levels.

5.3.3.3 Thematic analysis of ‘attraction problem’

The quality of an attraction is one of the keys to the success of satisfying visitors. Mt Qiyun is always praised for its beautiful nature, special landscapes, and rich calligraphic inscriptions. However, visitor rarely gave Qiyun Taoism high marks, and many respondents pointed out that although Mt Qiyun is named as one of the most famous Taoism Mountain, it seems more in name than reality. Firstly, many heritage artefacts were not preserved well. For example, several temples, gods and inscriptions are dilapidated, and in need of repair. Secondly, it is difficult to experience a Taoism atmosphere in the mountain. There are often no or only a few Taoist priests siting in the temple during non-holiday periods. Additionally, many commented that the Taoists possessed an inadequate knowledge about Taoism, and not willing to personally communicate with visitors to promote Taoism. Thirdly, respondents stated that there is a lack of explanation to introduce heritage or Taoism culture to visitors. Without these visitors were often at a loss to understand what they were seeing.

These perspectives indicated that visitors have high expectations for Qiyun Taoism before their visit, but feel very disappointed as a result of their visit. The big differences between expectations and performance are the key for understanding why visitors record dissatisfaction with their visit (Qu & Pin, 1999). This result replicates the conclusions drawn

by Shackley (1999), who found the lack of interpretation to be a serious problem in the Masked Dance Festivals in the Himalayas, a problem that led to visitors complaining that the masked dance was boring because of lack of knowledge of the meanings and symbolisms of the dance. From the author's observation, she found many visitors such as sightseeing visitors, simply do not read the introduction board at the entry point or just very quickly browse signage when they visit Mt Qiyun; instead, they prefer to be told stories of the mountain directly by local residents and tour guides. Indeed, Arlt and Xu (2009, p.179) also argued that: " ...the interpretation demonstrates the value of the natural system but not a deep understanding of the cultural landscape. Few Chinese tourists really stop in front of the signs and read them". The challenge facing the village and tourism authority is indicated by the following observations made by the tourists:

" ...I found the Taoism culture here is not very real, it looks like quite superficial. You see there are few priests here, and most of them just do other things which were not related with Taoism. I have asked for some Taoism knowledge from them, they can only explain a little. I also saw those priests eat meat in lunch time...they should be '**fake Taoist**'...I think the mountain should ask for some Taoists who have real professional knowledge about Taoism and guide other Taoists improve their level..." (Male visitor from Nanjing)

"...Qiyun Mountain is named as one of four famous Taoism Mountain, but I can't find the Taoism. Yes, it has some temples there, and some visitors pray there. But these kinds of mountain in China are many, how can you called yourself 'famous Taoism Mountain'. It has deep Taoism history, it is true, but today you do not show enough to visitors about real Taoism. I was quite disappointed that the Taoism here was commercial, lots of fortune tellers considered them as Taoists; they flimflammed our money, and say something very stupid" (Male visitor from Taiwan)

It seems that the sample of visitors had a high level of dissatisfaction with Qiyun Taoism. However, with reference to the concept of 'Fake Taoist', this comment needs some clarification. Actually, the priests on the mountain are real Taoist priests, but they do not need to spend more time on pray. This is because Qiyun Taoism belongs to the 'Zhengyi' school (正一派), which is very different from 'Quanzhen' school (全真派). 'Quanzhen' Taoists need to live in temples, they should undertake pray work every day, have strict vegetarian diet and rules; while 'Zhengyi' Taoists do not live a monastic life, they can have a family and the common diet on days other than those of special religious significance. Moreover, the

majority of visitors are not familiar with the different Taoism schools, deriving their understanding from popular culture. So, they watch TV where the Taoists shown are always from the 'Quanzhen' school, and so misunderstand the more secular school of Qiyun Taoists. This phenomenon was identified by Master and Prideaux (2000, p.445), who found that due to "a lack of knowledge by the host and the visitor of each other's culture, misunderstanding and complication may arise". These comments remind the author of how she had embarrassing moments when she first time came to Mt Qiyun in 2010. Hence when she chatted with a local tour guide about Qiyun Taoism, she unintentionally made that tour guide quite unhappy. Knowing nothing about Qiyun Taoism the author thought the Taoists should live a monastic life and strict vegetarian diet, like the shows on the TV series. However, when author saw the Taoists on Mt Qiyun, all of whom have a wife and children, eat meat, even smoke the author asked whether the Taoists are "performers". As Hinch and Li (1994) record, they found visitors do not understand the cultural significance of 'Tibetan funerals', and just see a Tibetan funeral as an "exotic" custom, which led to significant tensions between tourists and host residents.

As before, the original transcripts for development problem were entered into CatPac software to provide more evidence for the current themes derived above. From the frequency statistics it was found that the word 'Taoism' was the most frequently mentioned word and that it occurred 18 times, which was 8.8% of all occurrences. It was followed by words 'lack', 'no', 'culture' etc. Using hierarchical cluster analysis, it identified 7 potential problems for Mt Qiyun tourism development, included 'Poor facilities' (circled in blue), 'Lack of Taoism culture' (circled in yellow), 'Lack of special things' (circled in red), 'Many beggars' (circled in green), 'Weak service management' (circled in purple), 'Few temples' (circled in grey), and 'Poor mountain accommodation' (circled in orange). By checking the original text, it could be found that those sub-themes were related to three main themes mentioned previously. For example, 'lack of Taoism culture', and 'lack of special things' should belong the theme 'attraction problem', which provided evidence that visitors fail to find something special in Mt Qiyun, because the best known trait of 'Taoism culture' has not been properly promoted to visitors. Additionally the sub-themes 'many beggars' and 'service management' support the main theme 'weak management' (see Figure 5.5)

5.4 Chapter summary

Up to this point, both quantitative and qualitative findings reported in this chapter explored three main aspects. Firstly, most visitors visit Mt Qiyun motivated by its scenic scenery, natural environment and deep history and culture things; while pure Taoism pilgrims seems to be few in number. Currently, the role of Qiyunshan in scenic and heritage values is more than in its pilgrimage value. Therefore, in the above result, Mt Qiyun visitors can be mainly divided into 7 groups, namely: ‘Pure pilgrims’, ‘General sightseeing’, ‘culture-heritage seeker’ ‘Outdoor sports enthusiasts’, ‘calligraphers/ painters’, ‘photographers’, and ‘VFR’. How to seize the tourists’ characteristics in this new period is one of the key factors to get successful. Take ‘pure pilgrims’ for example, those pilgrims normally don’t care about other things like accommodation, food et al. They expect to pray to the gods, they do not undertake other activities, such as take photos, or ask for tour guides. Thus, rebuilt old temples and held some temple fairs may help to attract more pilgrims and improve their satisfaction. On the other hand, like the ‘painter’ group, they are more likely to see the ancient village; thus the old Taoist house, ancient rocks, grand old trees need to protect to fulfil painter’s artistic circumstance.

Secondly, qualitative findings suggest that from the visitors’ perspective, tourism development creates many significant impacts on local areas, especially for the mountain residents who directly connect with tourism development. The interesting is, the environment impact always seen adversely by visitors; while social-culture and economic impact are more positively. In the current chapter, visitors pointed out there were three variables lead to negative tourism impact included ‘ residents unsuitable daily behaviour’ , ‘visitors’ actions’, ‘developer’s constructions’. However, with reference to the social-culture impact, it seems that this impact was quite difficult for respondents to access from their short visit. Social-culture impacts assessment requires visitors to have a higher level of involvement with local villagers. As a result, there was a part of respondents have difficult to answer indicate social-culture impact. Finally, regard with economic impact, interview transcripts revealed that the majority of visitors affirmed the positive effects such as ‘Attract investors’, ‘Government generate ticket and tax revenue’, ‘Increase revenue for residents’, ‘create job opportunities’, ‘Develop related industry’. Most of visitors believed that residents on the mountain were the right person who can directly benefit from tourism development.

Likewise, integrate both quantitative and qualitative results, it could be found that Mountain Qiyun visitors don’t have high satisfaction level. Visitors’ satisfaction seems to be

determined by underlying dimensions related to the role of facilities, host attitudes, service level, and the authenticity of a ‘Taoist’ attraction. Next chapter, it will access residents’ in other villages (below the mountain) perceptions of tourism impacts, along with their satisfaction with current tourism development and suggestions for further development.

Chapter 6

An analysis of Views Expressed by Residents of Villages below the Mountain

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reports an analysis of interviews undertaken with residents living in villages below the mountain, and data derived from a self-completion questionnaire. The structure of the chapter is, firstly, quantitative data from questionnaire will be analysed by SPSS 20.0 using various techniques to provide a an overview of residents' perception of tourism in their village. In the remaining part of the chapter, an assessment of the degree to which these local residents are involved in the tourism industry is detailed followed by their personal perceptions of tourism impacts from environmental, economic, and social-cultural perspectives. It then progresses to assess local community participation in decision making and finally enquires about the level of residents' satisfaction with tourism, along with their suggestions on how to achieve further sustainable development. Thus, qualitative data will provide some evidence to support the findings derived from quantitative part.

6.2 Quantitative results

6.2.1 Demographic information

The quantitative dataset was obtained using a self-completion survey conducted from 4 villages. A total number of 768 residents were surveyed over a period of 7 months. From the data (Table 6.1), it could be seen that male and female respondents accounted for 58.1 % (n=446) and 41.9% (n=322) of the total sample. It was found that the male respondents were more willing to participate, perhaps because in those remote villages, male respondents had more education than female respondents; they know how to read and write, while many female respondents, especially the more elderly, are still illiterate. Age groups have been recorded under 9 groups. As might be expected that 22.5 per cent of respondents were aged 36-45 years old, follow those between 26 to 35 years (accounting for 17.7 per cent of total sample), and 46-50 years (accounting for 12.6 per cent of total sample). These three age groups could be seen as the major age groups. Other groups, such as those 18 years and under

and 19-25 years took a similar proportion of the total sample (both at 10.2 percent of the total respondents). The results also showed that the respondents above 51 years old had a low participation rate in this survey primarily because of issues of literacy. Thus, their level of participation is low, being for those between 51-55 years (7.8 %), 56-60 (7.3 %), 61-65 (6.9 %), and above 66 years (4.7%). The results showed that the majority of survey respondents considered their income level as average income (45.6 % of total respondents), while 22.5% of respondents reported they have little income, 21.5% of respondents reported they have below average income and 9.4 % of respondents above average income. However, the higher income level groups were under-represented in this survey, there were only 11 respondents (1.4 %) who pointed out they had significantly above average income. Respondents were asked to provide information about the years of their living in Qiyun mountain area. The results indicate that 35.3 per cent of respondents lived here between 11 and 30 years, and the second and third largest group were the years between 31-50 (34.5% of the total respondents), and the years above 51(21.4 % of the total respondents), while there were only 9 percent of total respondents reported that they lived there below 10 years. As part of the survey the respondents were asked to indicate whether they often visit Qiyun mountain, and it was found that the majority of respondents(n=445) had visited Qiyun mountain relatively frequently, which accounted for 58 per cent of the total sample, and 322 respondents (42 %) reported that they visited Qiyun mountain infrequently. With reference to the reasons for such trips the majority of respondents reported they visited the Mountain for simply travel reasons (36.6%), followed by seeing friends or relatives (21.8 %), and undertaking some jobs (26.9 %).

Table 6.1 Demographic of respondents			
Variable	Category	Frequency(N=768)	Valid Percentage
Gender(N=768)	Male	446	58.1%
	Female	322	41.9%
Age(N=768)	18 years and under	78	10.2%
	19 - 25 years	78	10.2%
	26 - 35 years	136	17.7%
	36 - 45 years	173	22.5%
	46 - 50 years	97	12.6%
	51 - 55 years	61	7.9%
	56 - 60 years	56	7.3%
	61 - 65 years	53	6.9%
	66 years and over	36	4.7%
Self-Perceived Income Level (N=768)	Little income	173	22.5%
	Below average income	162	21.1%
	Average Income	350	45.6%
	Above average income	72	9.4%
	Significantly above average income	11	1.4%
Years live (N=768)	below10years	69	9.0%
	11 years-30years	270	35.2%
	31years-50years	265	34.5%
	above 51 years	164	21.4%
Do you often visit Qiyun Mountain? (N=767)	Yes	445	58.0%
	No	322	42.0%
what's your purpose of visiting (N=764)	I don't know	111	14.5%
	Travel	280	36.6%
	See friends or relatives	167	21.8%
	Do some jobs	206	26.9%

6.2.2 Description analysis –perception of tourism impact in village

The most important section of the questionnaire contained 32 questions relating to the tourism impacts on the village and individuals from the perspective of economic, social-cultural, and environment impacts, community attachment, and an assessment of residents' attitudes toward tourism development. Each question was evaluated using a seven point scale from 1 ("Very strongly disagree") to 7 ("Very strongly agree"). The current data was firstly tested for its reliability. Cronhach's Alpha test was found to be 0.823, which is suitable for further analysis. Table 6.2 illustrates the different descriptive statistics for the tourism impacts on the Qiyun area villages. As part of the survey, every respondents was asked to rate the level of agreement on tourism economic impact. The results below showed that local residents had low level of agreement with the majority of economic variables. For example, the lowest mean was the item "the benefits of tourism also get distributed through other villages" (mean=3.24), followed by "My income has increased with the introduction of tourism" (mean=3.43). Other three variables were only a little higher than point 4, which means the respondents have a generally indifferent attitude, including "The tourism industry is good for my village economy" (mean=4.4), "Encouraging tourism will mean prices will increase in the village" (mean=4.31), as well as "I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in my village" (mean=4.25). Thus, respondents who lived below the mountain generally felt they had not been affected by the developing tourism in the Qiyun area. Actually, there is seemed to be a perception among many interviewees that until now, the tourism development in Qiyun area benefitted only the people on the mountain, while the residents below the mountain have not had a very close relationship with tourism. A similar exercise was done with items relating to social-cultural impacts as shown in Table 6.2. The results revealed that, compared with other social-culture items, the majority of respondents showed agreement with the variables "Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from all over the world" (m=5.14), and "the tourists that come to my village are usually friendly" (mean=4.93). It has been mentioned that respondents showed a lower level of agreement with the variables "I feel the sacred nature of the mountain will be spoilt by tourism" (mean=3.67), "I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the mountain" (mean=3.58), and "I think visitors are far too intrusive in our everyday lives" (mean=3.18). Perhaps the reason for this is that the majority of visitors directly go to mountain by cable car, and only small numbers of visitors will come to these surrounding villages, and even then just simply walk through or look around. The visitors have virtually no close contact with local

residents who live below the mountain. Based on a descriptive analysis, it was found that except for the item “ my village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism” , with a mean of 4.97, all of other environmental variables have low mean scores. For example, the lowest point is the item “the tourist are far too noisy for liking” (mean=3.24), followed by “tourists create crowding in the local area” (mean=3.63). The results of the current analysis indicated that residents do not think the environment has been great negatively affected by tourists. Table 6.2 showed that the highest statement is about “the mountain is a special places and should be protected” (mean=5.8), followed by the item “I really enjoy living in my village”, with a mean of 5.52. Furthermore, local residents also agree that “the growth of tourism in Anhui is generally a good thing” (mean=5.48). At the lower end of the scale are attitudes relating to “ tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future”, “I feel that tourism is growing too fast for the mountain to cope with”, “I feel that the mountain should restrict the growth of tourism” and “with the changes I would like to move out of my village” , with mean scores of 3.87, 3.78, 3.54, and 2.72 respectively. The above results indicate that local residents tended to express a view that although tourism in Qiyun mountain has not developed much, and has had relatively little impact on their own villages (mean=4.05); most still overall agree that tourism is a good thing, that the local government and authority should invest more to further develop tourism, and they hope local government can pay attention to the views of local residents when making tourism decisions.

Table 6.2 Residents' attitude toward tourism development in Qiyun Mountain			
Economic impact			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
The growth of tourism in Anhui is generally a good thing	768	5.48	1.58
The tourism industry is also good for MY village's economy	768	4.40	1.87
Encouraging tourism will mean prices will increase in the village	759	4.31	1.91
I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in my village	768	4.25	1.92
My income has increased with the introduction of tourism	768	3.43	1.92
The benefits of tourism also get distributed through other villages	768	3.24	2.04
Social-culture impact			
Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from all over the world	768	5.14	1.61
The tourists that come to the my village are usually very friendly	768	4.92	1.66
Tourism is one way of protecting the traditional houses and courtyards	767	4.36	2.01
I sometimes feel tourists do not respect the local traditions	768	4.03	1.96
There are already some things I do not do in my village at certain times because of the tourists	768	3.75	2.02
Tourism encourages a wide variety of cultural and other activities	768	3.75	1.91
I feel the sacred nature of the mountain will be spoilt by tourism	768	3.67	2.02
I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the mountain	768	3.58	1.96
I think visitors are far too intrusive in our everyday lives	758	3.18	1.91
Environment impact			
My village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism	768	4.96	1.84
The development of tourism facilities and attractions is a threat to the natural environment	768	4.17	2.04
I fear that too many tourists may spoil the mountain	768	3.75	2.03
Tourists create crowding in the local area	763	3.63	1.91
The tourists are far too noisy for my liking	768	3.24	2.03
Community attachment			
I really enjoy living in my village	768	5.52	1.73
I would like to see my village demolished and more modern houses for local people to be built	768	4.14	2.27
With the changes I would like to move out of my village	768	2.72	1.87
Attitude toward tourism development			
The mountain is a special places and should be protected	768	5.81	1.54
The growth of tourism in Anhui is generally a good thing	768	5.48	1.57
The tourism planning authorities pay little attention to the views of local residents when making decisions about Anhui tourism	768	5.14	1.91
The money spent locally to attract more tourists is a good investment	765	4.94	1.82
I think it important that the new Mt Qiyun road will allow more visitors	768	4.76	1.90
I would like to have a job in tourism	768	4.59	1.97
I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on my village	768	4.05	1.84
Tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future	768	3.87	2.12
I feel that tourism is growing too fast for the mountain to cope with	768	3.78	2.00
I feel that the mountain should restrict the growth of tourism	768	3.55	2.03
Note : 7 point Likert Scale where 7 is the highest score			

The stepwise regression analyses were again performed to determine the relationship between the “I really enjoy living in my village” and other scaled item variables, as illustrated in Table 6.3. Findings of the present study indicated that the respondents who enjoy living in their village, were more likely to have relationships with 7 variables, such as ‘move out of village’ ($\beta = -4.02$) ‘mountain is a special places’ ($\beta = .188$), ‘want to have a job’ ($\beta = .095$), ‘too noisy’ ($\beta = -.102$). With an R-square value of 0.308, which means the effect of these statements had a 30.8% contribution to total dependent variable.

Table 6.3 Regression of “I really enjoy living in my village” on other scaled items

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
	(Constant)	4.262	.300		14.226	.000		
	With the changes I would like to move out of my village	-.402	.030	-.437	-13.502	.000	.944	1.059
	The mountain is a special places and should be protected	.188	.037	.167	5.043	.000	.902	1.109
	I would like to have a job in tourism	.095	.030	.108	3.200	.001	.875	1.143
	I sometimes feel tourists do not respect the local traditions	.113	.030	.127	3.739	.000	.859	1.164
	The tourists are far too noisy for my liking	-.102	.030	-.118	-3.428	.001	.830	1.205
	Tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future	.066	.027	.081	2.455	.014	.916	1.091
	Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from all over the world	.082	.036	.076	2.279	.023	.891	1.123

6.2.3 K-mean cluster

K-means cluster was conducted to identify similar residents based on homogeneous perception and attitude toward tourism in Qiyun area as illustrated in Table 6.4. Finally, five clusters were categorized and named as ‘Mildly pro-development but skeptically supportive’, ‘Pro-development’, ‘Tourism is good, but not for us’, ‘Neutrals’, ‘Like tourism even if tourists are a nuisance’.

Cluster 1 : Mildly pro-development but skeptically supportive

This group accounted for 24.1 % of the total respondents. Residents in this group generally score low on most items; especially , for the items where they scored between 2 and 3, such as “my income has increased with the introduction of tourism”(2.39), “tourists create crowding in the local area”(2.58), “the benefits of tourism get distributed through other villages”(2.41), “the mountain should restrict the growth of tourism” (2.46) ; but gave a high value of the item ‘I really enjoy living in my village’(5.48) , and ‘the mountain is a special place and should be protect’ (5.46). As a result, current results can be indicated that residents in this group just mildly pro-development. Respondents give low scores for many negative tourism impacts items; while the same for some positive impacts , especially for economic aspects.

Cluster 2: Pro-development

This cluster had 145 respondents, which contributed to 18.9 % of the total numbers. In this group, respondents normally score high on the positive items while score low on the negative items. For example, the score near 6.0 included “village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism” (6.07), “opportunity to meet people from all over the world” (5.89), “the mountain is a special place should be protected” (6.79), “good for my village’s economy” (5.72). On the other hand, the scores of below 3.0 items such as “visitors are too intrusive in our lives” (1.8), “there are some things I don’t do because of visitors” (2.60), “mountain should restrict the growth of tourism” (1.74). Thus, these respondents are the supporter of tourism development, they personally felt the benefits brought by tourism, while don’t realise the negative aspects.

Cluster 3 : Tourism is good, but not for us

This group accounted for 11.1 % of the total respondents. Residents in this group agreed with that tourism is a good thing for Anhui (5.75); while is not a good thing for their place. For example, respondents gave relatively low scores on many positive tourism impacts, like “the tourism is good for my village’s economy” (3.18), “my income increase because of tourism” (2.01), “tourism encourage a wide variety of cultural and other activities” (2.51) “happy with tourism and its impact” (2.80). However, even this, most respondents in this group enjoy living in the village (6.49) and were not willing to move out of the village (1.79).

Cluster 4 : Neutrals

This cluster formed 27.2% of the sample, which is the largest group. The respondent in this cluster seems to be more neutrals and realists. Their perceptions of both positive and negative impacts are quite balance. The scores for most statements in this cluster are between 3 and 5 points. For example, from economic aspect, the statements like ‘my income has increased’ (3.80), ‘price increase because of tourism’ (4.49), ‘benefits of tourism get distributed’ (3.63); from socio-cultural aspect like ‘encourage cultural and other activities’ (3.96), ‘visitors too intrusive’ (3.78); as well as from environment aspect included ‘village become smarter and cleaner’ (4.37), ‘facilities and attractions is a threat to the natural environment’ (4.44). As such, those residents may be summarized as being evaluated the tourism roles that bring benefits or costs in local village from more balanced and objective perspectives.

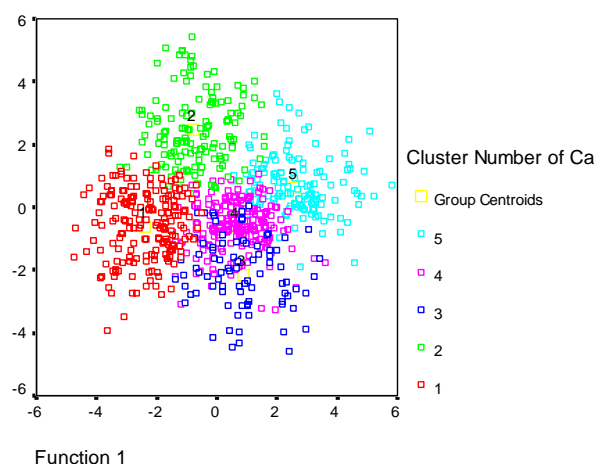
Cluster 5 : Like tourism even if tourists are a nuisance

This cluster contains 144 residents, accounted for 18.8% of total samples. The respondents in this group tend to score high on negative impact statements like ‘create crowing’ (4.64), ‘price increase’ (5.36), ‘some things do not do’ (5.05), ‘sacred nature of the mountain will be spoilt’ (4.97) et al. However, even tourism is a nuisance in some cases; local residents still like tourism, enjoy living the village and believe tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future (4.94).

Accordingly, Discriminant analysis was employed with a purpose of test whether those groups were correctly allocated. As summarised in Figure 6.1, it indicates that 92.4% of original grouped cases correctly classified; for example, cluster one accounted for 97.3 per cent, cluster two accounted for 89.7 per cent, three accounted for 92.4 per cent.

Table 6.4 K-means cluster	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
The growth of tourism in Anhui is generally a good thing	4.70	6.40	5.75	4.91	6.22
The tourism industry is also good for MY village's economy	3.69	5.72	3.18	3.92	5.41
My income has increased with the introduction of tourism	2.39	4.26	2.01	3.80	4.23
Tourists create crowding in the local area	2.58	2.52	4.25	4.39	4.64
Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from all over the world	4.00	5.89	5.65	4.87	5.94
The tourists that come to the my village are usually very friendly	4.25	5.94	4.74	4.49	5.56
Tourism encourages a wide variety of cultural and other activities	2.69	4.81	2.51	3.96	4.58
I think visitors are far too intrusive in our everyday lives	2.14	1.80	4.46	3.78	4.26
I think it important that the new Mt Qiyun road will allow more visitors	4.01	5.60	3.68	4.55	5.87
Encouraging tourism will mean prices will increase in the village	3.57	3.73	4.63	4.49	5.36
The money spent locally to attract more tourists is a good investment	4.20	5.99	3.62	4.65	6.04
There are already some things I do not do in my village at certain times because of the tourists	2.73	2.60	4.81	4.29	5.05
The tourism planning authorities pay little attention to the views of local residents when making decisions about Anhui tourism	4.56	4.83	6.16	5.06	5.85
The mountain is a special places and should be protected	5.46	6.79	6.05	4.93	6.41
My village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism	4.22	6.07	4.48	4.37	6.01
I feel the sacred nature of the mountain will be spoilt by tourism	2.59	2.19	4.72	4.43	4.97
The development of tourism facilities and attractions is a threat to the natural environment	3.15	3.03	5.74	4.44	5.49
Tourism is one way of protecting the traditional houses and courtyards	3.35	5.24	4.15	4.09	5.40
I feel that tourism is growing too fast for the mountain to cope with	2.78	3.13	4.06	4.04	5.36
I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in my village	2.88	5.67	2.86	4.32	5.33
I would like to see my village demolished and more modern houses for local people to be built	2.61	4.91	3.20	4.30	5.66
The benefits of tourism also get distributed through other villages	2.41	3.84	1.73	3.63	4.05
I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the mountain	2.43	1.94	4.84	4.34	4.95
I feel that the mountain should restrict the growth of tourism	2.46	1.74	5.05	4.28	4.89
I fear that too many tourists may spoil the mountain	2.44	2.17	5.16	4.51	5.12
The tourists are far too noisy for my liking	2.11	1.81	4.87	4.04	4.29
With the changes I would like to move out of my village	2.09	2.05	1.79	3.95	2.98
I would like to have a job in tourism	3.55	5.66	4.87	4.12	5.43
Tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future	2.79	4.74	3.22	3.80	4.94
I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on my village	3.30	5.07	2.80	3.73	5.26
I really enjoy living in my village	5.48	6.38	6.49	4.26	5.94
I sometimes feel tourists do not respect the local traditions	3.21	3.04	5.51	4.34	4.90
Total number in each cluster	185	145	85	209	144

Figure 6.1 Discriminant analysis



In summary, the purpose of quantitative data is to present the general perceptions of the residents who live below the mountain towards tourism impacts in their village, along with their overall attitude of current tourism development. The above analysis of the questionnaire indicated that residents didn't perceive the economic benefits which brought by tourism. It was seen that residents gave low scores for the main positive economic impacts like 'improve quality of life' (mean=4.25) 'increase income' (3.43), 'benefits of tourism get distributed' (3.23). Regard with socio-culture and environment impacts, residents perceived both the positive and negative aspects. Although, residents' low satisfaction of tourism and its impacts on local villages were indicated in the above results; the great hope of further development and having a job in tourism were still the main themes in respondents' answers. Additionally, the results of the quantitative data also revealed that only few respondents supported that tourism was the only way the mountain could survive in the future. Indeed, by the informal conversation with local residents, author found many local residents hope the township could attract some external investors to open some big factories to create employment opportunities. This theme, along with other tourism impacts themes will be explored deeply in the following qualitative analysis.

6.3 Qualitative analysis of semi-structure interview

The sample of respondents comprised 21 males and 16 females. Their average age was 47.91 years. The jobs reported by these respondents were: Farmer (12 respondents), construction worker (5 respondents), immigration worker (5 respondents), cleaner (3 respondents), small shop owner (7 respondents), students (2 respondents), beggar (1 respondent), while 2 respondents mentioned they did not a job or just stayed at home. The respondents came from 4 villages: Tantou village (10 respondents), Yanqian village (8 respondents), Yanjiao village (13 respondents), and Nankeng village (6 respondents). These villages were chosen because they located at the bottom of the mountain, near the core attraction when compared with other villages such as Long Yuan village, Dian Kou village et al.

The interviews were semi-structured and took varying periods of time, namely from 40 to 60 minutes. By the time these more formal interviews took place the author had gotten to know the villages and the villages quite well, having visited them a number of times. She was therefore a relatively familiar figure to the respondents, and the interviews built upon a series of past casual conversations. The respondents were selected on the basis of those past conversations as being relatively articulate, able to express opinions, encapsulate the views of their community and at the same time be representative of those communities. It is recognised that such a process has a number of inherent biases, one of which is that a researcher is drawn to the more articulate respondent, but at the same time having been immersed in the area for a period of seven months, that direct knowledge aided in an assessment of, if not the truth of the situation, an understanding that the views expressed were commonly held by large sections of the community in question. In the following sections, the main questions that prompted a discussion are outlined.

6.3.1 Thematic analysis of the question “Do you work in the tourism industry, and if yes, do you like your job ? if no, do you like your family or yourself to be involved in tourism jobs here”

Thirty-five respondents answered this question. It would appear from the data that at the time of the interviews 25 respondents (71.4%) did not work in the tourism industry, while 10 respondents (28.6%) answered in the affirmative. Those jobs included being a ‘cleaner’, ‘roadside shop owner’, ‘bamboo raft operator’, ‘construction worker’, ‘restaurant owner’, and ‘snake shop owner’. Of the 25 respondents who did not work in tourism, 20 expressed the

wish that they wanted to find a job in tourism. The remaining 5 had no such interest. The main reasons for this lack of interest were because they considered the tourism job as one of low wages, only seasonal employment, and having only a low social status. Most of those residents perceived their current job as being much better than tourism job. On the other hand, when the 10 respondents who worked in the tourism industry were asked to describe feeling about their job, 6 of the 10 respondents commented that they liked their job, but failed to provide any specific reason for their choice other than it was a means to make a living.

When respondents were asked to say whether they wanted their children or other family members to be involved in tourism²³ of the 35 respondents commented that they hoped their family would be able to stay at home and find tourism jobs that would permit this, while the other 12 residents hoped their children or other family members could stay outside their village, and find work that paid well. The main reasons given for this were that, normally, such respondents have children who have studied at university or their family members were already employed in excellent jobs in other places, all of which was seen as being better than working in a tourism job in the vicinity of Mt Qiyun. Two more questions explored the situation in more detail, namely:

- 1) Why would respondents want to take a job in tourism?
- 2) Why do residents not get a tourism job?

Why want a tourism job?

The most frequently given reasons for wanting a job in tourism included ‘easy to do a tourism job’, ‘to contribute something to the mountain’, ‘to know many people from outside’, ‘difficult to be a migrant labourer’, and ‘more visitors mean more opportunities’. For of the sample of farmers, they considered taking a tourism job was not only much easier than working on the farm, but also a means of earning more than farming. For example, one respondent mentioned that “I am a farmer; I want to find a job in tourism, because that will be more easy than farming... my leg hurts and not fit for farming” (No.1). Indeed, many older famers expressed the view that they became too tired and exhausted from farming, but if they did not work on the farm they had to depend on their children, which leads to them increasing the burdens upon their children. As such, what are those farmers hoped was that they can open a small shop to sell drinks or souvenirs to visitors thereby covering basic living expenses, and for them, that is enough. One respondent stated: “... how I envy the Qiyun

people (referring to the residents on the mountain), you see...even though they are older than me, they can sell incense to visitors, earn lots of money...but for me, I should ask for my son to raise me if I don't work on the farm...although farming can't earn much, still it can provide for my basic living standards" (No.34). This findings thereby provides further support for data provided by Szivas and Riley (1999), who stated that "together with other economic factors, such as the low wages paid in agriculture and the social stigma attached to such labour, (this) often make tourism an attractive alternative" (p.751).

Another reason 'difficult to be a migrant labourer' also was mentioned by respondents many times. As already pointed out in Chapter 3, the majority of young people below the mountain have chosen to work outside Anhui in cities such as Shanghai, Zhejiang, Shengzhen, Guangdong et al., due to the limited job opportunities at home. However, respondents in the present study reported some dissatisfaction with working outside. For example, comments made by respondents included, "too lonely outside", "high cost of living", "can't take care of family", "don't like the living environment", "heavy work" and "looked down upon by those city masters". As Li (2002) found, local residents in Shenzhen complained that many migrant workers came to Shenzhen became beggars, or even turned to crime leading to violence and crime in the zone. As a consequence, the willingness to be 'back home' has been gaining an increasing attraction for those migrant labours. Certainly, on the evidence of these conversations, it was found that the majority of young respondents still preferred to remain at home if they could find a good tourism job rather than migrant to another city.

Additionally, the interview transcripts revealed that many older respondents planned to ask their children to return home. This is perhaps explained by the fact that, with a significant increasing number of visitors in the two most recent years (2011-12), some local residents have forecast that the tourism industry will be quickly developed in the near future. Thus, they believed if they can understand the trend and respond appropriately, they can seize the initiative, and gain an advantage. For example, one respondent claimed that: "My son plans to come back home this year, I buy a storefront in the town street, we plan to open a restaurant...you see lots of families eager to involve themselves in the tourism business...because lots of big construction built here now, if those big companies were not sure of the potential market, they would not invest so much" (No.20).

Finally, it was interesting to find that when interviewing some middle school students, their answers were very different from those of adults. It seems that those young respondents have

deep ties to Mt Qiyun, and they were motivated to enjoy tourism because of their personal interest. Frequently responses included: “tourism can open my eyes”, “to know many people outside”, “do some things for our mountain”, “to promote our mountain to other countries”.

Why not work in the tourism industry

As pointed out previously, nearly two thirds of respondents did not work in the tourism industry. The reasons could be classified as being both external and internal reasons. The internal reasons were identified by the majority of respondents as being three-fold, namely ‘having no relationships that would help obtain a job’, ‘having no capital to invest in a small business’, and ‘lacking education or similar work experience’; while external reasons largely refer to ‘the poor nature of tourism jobs’, ‘the existence of better development opportunities outside the area’, and ‘the limited good jobs available for local residents’. The interview transcripts revealed that because of slow tourism development few opportunities existed to get a job, even a tiring job such as being a cleaner or construction worker. In fact residents also additionally felt that lacked ‘*Guanxi*’ (relationships) to obtain such jobs even if they wished to, and hence they had no chance of achieving employment in tourism. For their part Li, Lai and Feng (2007) had previously pointed out that in China, *Guanxi* has become an important and necessary instrument for local residents to find jobs and even establish businesses. For example, one respondent said: “I don’t work in tourism job, it is not because I don’t like to, actually, because I can’t find one...I am a farmer, I did not receive a good education, have no special skills, also I am not familiar with any leaders, I have no *Guanxi* (social relationship) to find a job, even to be a little cleaner, no *Guanxi* no job...” (No.26). Other jobs such as being a tour guide, selling incense sticks on the mountain, or working in tourism authority; these jobs were seen as impossible to get, primarily because those kinds of jobs were only available to residents on the mountain, and those outsiders with the right educational qualifications of *Guanxi*. Indeed it was correct that the residents on the mountain had been promised by the local government that they would have the highest priority in obtaining a tourism job rather than the villagers below the mountain. On the other hand it was widely perceived that outsiders working in the Qiyun Tourism Company and authority were able to obtain those jobs because of possessing a higher education background and an appropriate rich working experience. Given this, residents living below the mountain rarely had an opportunity to become involved in the tourism industry unless able to invest in their own business. However, the internal factor of ‘having no capital to invest in tourism

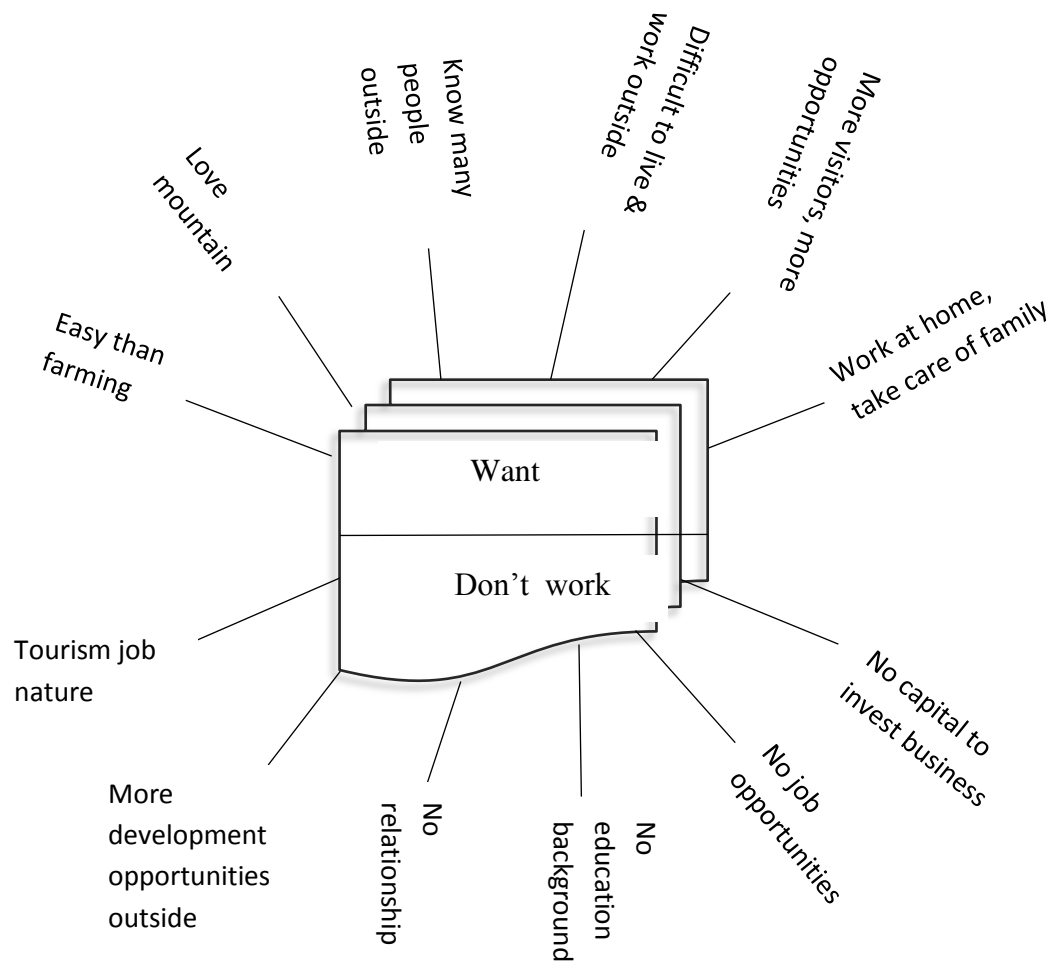
businesses was then mentioned by respondents. For example two respondents stated that “it was difficult to operate a tourism business, because you need lots of money to invest in your business...”; “(having) no money to invest, no job can be found, I have to hold to my steady farming”. Along with internal reasons, respondents also identified and expressed concern about external factors. Many respondents indicated potential dissatisfaction with the nature of tourism jobs even if they had been available. Such concerns were the ‘low wages’, it being a ‘heavy job’, ‘seasonal’, and having ‘low social level’, all of which confirms the similar statements reported by Townsend (1997), Wall and Mathieson (2006), Tosun (2002), and Collier (2003). These views were even more strongly expressed by respondents who have already had an excellent job outside the villages. Common opinions are illustrated by respondents as below:

“ I didn’t work in tourism industry , my sister also quit her tourism job last year, because of the low wages, we will work in a tourism area if one day, our town has lots of visitors, and wage increases ... but currently we still choose to work outside...” (No.6).

“We don’t work in tourism. We are not willing to work in this area, because the salary is low, (and we) can’t afford our life. If I do other job, such as I open a barber shop, the income is higher than working in tourism...” (No.13).

Indeed, when respondents who did work in tourism were asked to describe their salary levels evidence existed to support these views. Two cleaners pointed out they need to work 8 to 10 hours every day, while their monthly salary was only 500 RMB (NZ\$100), which was an increase from 300 RMB in 2010; Three construction workers pointed out that they needed to work strenuously for 9-10 hours, but every day they could get 60-100 RMB (NZ\$12-20) for different jobs. In addition, it is relatively clear from the interview transcripts that some respondents noted that Mt Qiyun Town is too small for young people for further development and they believed that they should go to big cities to find more personal and economic developmental opportunities. As such, this is another reason to inhibiting residents from choosing work in the local area. These reasons are integrated into the schematic shown in Figure6.2

Figure 6.2 The degree of residents' involvement in tourism industry



6.3.2 Thematic analysis of environment impact

When respondents were asked to describe how tourism affects the local villages most respondents commented that their living environment was cleaner than before, but some environmental problems had appeared that attracted residents' attention and these were being attributed at least in part, to the current development of tourism facilities. Views however varied. Two interviewees perceived no environmental changes since the time when the mountain had been developed as a tourist destination. A small number of respondents, however, mentioned that they did not care about such environmental changes as these were significantly less important than the economic impacts. Some statements like "I only care about whether tourism can help me to earn money, the environment is not very important" (No.4), "If we can earn money, it doesn't matter that our environment is damaged a little"(No.6). In analysing the total text both the positive and negative environment impacts will next be thematically analysed, along with some associated sub-themes. The results indicated five dominant themes in current data, these being: 'Town and villages become clean', 'Residents improve their environment awareness', 'Reforestation of mountain', 'pollution', and 'destroy the ecological environment'.

6.3.2.1 Town and villages become clean

When asked to comment on the perceived environmental impact of recent changes on local places, respondent always firstly mentioned that the villages and town had become much cleaner. The main reasons given for this was that to support tourism development, the town government and tourism authority had already done something to protect and improve the village environment. For example, Qiyun Town government had employed a cleaning company to provide a clean, healthy, orderly and comfortable living environment for local residents through an open bidding process in April, 2011. This finding hereby provides further support for anecdotal evidence provided by Ryan, Zhang and Deng (2011) in their study of Kaiping Diaolou, China that residents were aware of tourism as helping them to create a better, cleaner living environment. Indeed, the most frequently used statements reported by respondents to describe the current state of their villages were:

"The street and village are cleaner because the government employ some cleaners to do the cleaning everyday...government help us to dispose of a lot of waste and have built central garbage depot in every village" (No.17).

“Our living environment has become more comfortable. For example, in my village there was a big dump, which had not been disposed for 10 years, it always sent out an offensive odour ...but this year, the government help us to deal with it, ... gives us a more clean environment” (No.5)

“...environment here has become cleaner than before. Now every family has a rubbish bin outside, every day, a cleaner will dispose the rubbish...additionally, tourism authority require families to be responsible for keeping their front door clean and tidy.” (No.15)

The following two photographs describe the neatness of Qiyun town and Yanjiao village.

Photo 6.1 Clean street in Qiyun Town

Photos 6.2 Cleaner collect rubbish in Yanjiao village



Thus, it is clear from the above statements that tourism has helped local residents to have a more conformable living environment, was and this is considered as an important tourism benefit to local area. On the other had a few respondents argued that sometimes, when visitors walk through the village, they prefer to throw rubbish in the road, some of them even damaged residents' crops. The following quotes illustrate this argument:

“...visitors come here, some of them are good, some of them with poor culture quality. They will drop rubbish everywhere, they keep making noise ... Some visitors will destroy our crops, they pick our rape flowers, cotton , sometimes, they even hurt our dogs” (No.18)

“ ...tourists come here will make the environment worse. For example, lots of visitors prefer to drop rubbish everywhere, even though there is a rubbish bin near them” (No.21)

As such, residents below the mountain were satisfied with their environment being clean and neat, which provided a more comfortable and elegant living environment than in the past.

Nevertheless, on the negative aspect, a few residents felt some visitors' behaviour may bring some relatively minor environmental problems.

6.3.2.2 Residents improve their environment awareness

Another positive environmental issue frequently mentioned by respondents was that tourism development helped local residents increase their environment awareness. At present, the majority of residents had broken their past bad habit of literally throwing rubbish anywhere. They had begun to notice the importance of protecting their local environment. The most frequently reported source of environmental awareness included:

“Government stop us from throwing litter into the river, it should not fish in the river. Anyway, the residents in Qiyun town have raised their environmental awareness” (No.4)

“...normally, the environment here has become much better because the government and resident raise their environmental awareness. We know that if only we keep the environment clean; the visitors will come to our place” (No.9)

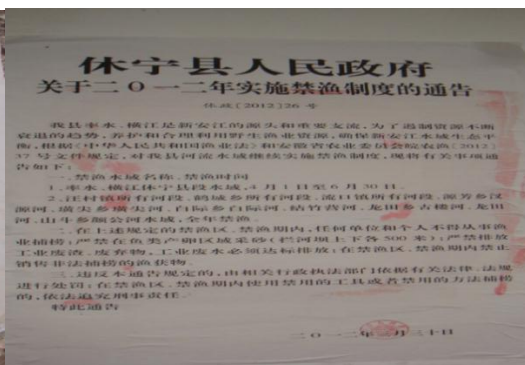
“During the spring and autumn, the tourism authority also sends us small printed handbills to help us increase our awareness of the importance of fire prevention” (No.13)

The above statements found in the data of the present study provided some evidence to confirm that the development of tourism in particular is considered as a potential way to increase residents' environmental awareness (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Mason, 2008). However, some exceptions do exist. A few respondents mentioned that some residents were not co-operating in environmental protection, primarily because they were not satisfied with the local government and its new policies. One respondent particular said: “Some residents will tip the rubbish into the river in the night; some resident will catch fish using electric tools simply to resist the government...” (No.10). These findings seem to suggest that government should play upon the role of corporate harmony and seek the development of an consensual ideology that environmental friendly policies are for the long term benefit of all the community.

Photo 6.3 Fire prevention notice



Photo 6.4 Fishing ban notice



6.3.2.3 Reforestation of mountain

Several respondents mentioned a degree of concern about tourism development and green wooded and forest coverage rate in the Mt Qiyun area. As early as in the year 1981, the town government had begun a reforestation initiative. It was recorded that the government return arable and pasture plots to forestry of about 3000 mu. At present, respondents were quite happy with their green environment. For example, according to the statistics for Yanqian Village, it was reported that the total green coverage rate in the village up to 98%, and forest cover was more than 64.5%. It is expected that during the year 2011-2013, Xiuning Government would invest 12 million RMB to Qiyun Mountain area to improve afforestation by building man-made forests, closing hillsides to build facilities, natural afforestation, and the reconstruction of low-efficient forest (Mr Chen, personal communication, headman of Yanjiao village, March, 12, 2011). This theme was frequently reported by respondents using the words like “The government is doing a good job in afforesting and greening the riverbank, which will attract visitors” (No.2) “...the mountain and river side is becoming more green and beautiful” (No.32). As such, greening of the environment pleases both the visitors and local residents. The next two photographs display Qiyun Town’s green environment.

Photo 6.5 Spread the lawn in the riverbank



Photo 6.6 Villages with high green coverage rate



6.3.2.4 Pollution

To some extent, respondents are aware of environment costs. Several expressed concerns about the construction of local tourism facilities that they felt had led to poor air quality, a dirty river, additional noise, and sometimes, even safety problems. They indicated the concerns expressed by, for example, Tatoglu et al., (2002) that “unplanned and uncontrolled constructions, or inadequate infrastructure all damage the natural environment, and cause air and water pollution” (p.83). Indeed, respondents in the present study reported some level of dissatisfaction with the air quality. Due to the numerous engineering vehicles passing through their streets they commented that the air is full of dust from this traffic. From author’s observation, it could be easily found that many shops near the street prepared had water on hand to minimize the dust when such traffic passed their shops. Another reason for the poor air quality was the exhaust emission from tour buses. Normally, in high season, Town Street will be filled with tour buses and private cars, and their exhaust emissions. Wall and Mathieson (2006) noted that under these conditions the pollutant contribution from tourist vehicles was likely to be significant. These kinds of statements were frequently reported by the respondents who lived near the main street or had opened shops in the street, while residents living in other villages or away from main thoroughfares were less aware of poor air quality. For example, respondents commented that:

“ ...lot of constructions here have made the air full of dust, which is not good for our breath”
(No.35)

Again

“...there are many transport vehicles from the constructions site. They are so dirty when they past the street” (No.15).

And again

“...the street is full of dust now, I can’t open my door, if I did that, my house would be full of dust. Now, I can’t dry clothes outside ...” (No.23)

The following photograph illustrates the effect of construction trucks driving by and kicking up mud and dust.

Photo 6.7 Dirty Town street



Additionally, several mentioned that the increasing number of constructions were bad for the quality of the River Hengjiang waters. They complained that constructions made the river dirty and muddy. One respondent explained that: “The private company, they are always dredging in the river, which made the water muddy, and maybe more dangerous during the flood season” (No.2). Again, another respondent stated that: “because of construction and wastewater discharge, the river has become dirty. We can’t swim in the river anymore. Ten years ago, we could even see the bottom of the river” (No.9). Additionally some respondents explained that some restaurants and households discharged untreated human waste water directly into the river, and this was another reason for the dirty water. These comments, while requiring further substantiation, potentially confirm Ning and He (2007) findings that, with a growing number of tourists, the water quality had deteriorated sharply in their study locations.

Photo 6.8 Muddy Hengjiang River



Issues such as noise and crowding were only rarely mentioned by respondents. Those who did mention these factors did so with reference to major holidays periods, which they felt might be a bit noisy; at other times, with only a small number of visitors this was not a serious issue. However, respondents felt some constructions were noisy, even in the night. As one respondent stated, “The constructions near our village, they always noisy, even in the night, which have already disturbed our daily life, especially influencing my child’s study” (No.14). Furthermore, two respondents worried about the construction sites in front of the middle school as being a potential safety hazard for children.

6.3.2.5 Destroy the landscape

The interview transcripts revealed that the tourism development is being perceived as posing a threat to the local landscape, which is consistent with McDowall and Choi’s (2010) findings that tourism development can lead to natural environmental degradation. Of particular importance was the real estate company that in building a resort did so by destroying farmland to build holiday cottages. These lands were considered as one part of the “Nature Taiji¹”(太极) by local residents. This type of development is not unique to the study area and noted by Zhou and Yu (2004), who found in their research that the construction of accommodation facilities and services were two main negative factors affecting the natural landscape in Chinese tourism development. Many respondents thought those constructions destroyed local “Feng shui²”(风水), and may bring bad luck to the villages. Additionally, a

¹ **Taiji** (T’ai chi): The term in Chinese philosophy and Taoist spirituality. It is a Chinese cosmological term for the "Supreme Ultimate" state of undifferentiated absolute and infinite potentiality (Wikipedia, 2012)

² Fengshui (风水): Chinese ancient philosophy, ‘feng’ means wind; while ‘shui’ means water. Fengshui is used to govern spatial arrangement to bring balance and harmonize for people’s working

few respondents pointed out that the construction of the mountain road also hurt the ecological environment by cutting trees and blasting through the mountain. As one respondent mentioned: "... the lands near the river were destroyed, they are the part of nature "taiji"... it will not only destroy the Chinese 'feng shui', but also destroy the tourism attraction. Normally, in every spring, rape flowers were yellowing the fields, which attracted lots of photographers to come here..." (No.28). Those words combine a reflection of the economic with the Taoism theory of "天地与我并生，万物与我为一" (Tian di yu wo bing sheng, wan wu yu wo wei yi), the idea of man as an integral part of nature. This requires a close and harmonious relationship between man and nature. Hence the destruction notes both an invasion of the natural, and in this dysfunctional state the loss of the harmonious relationship with nature denies the reason for people coming to view the natural setting of rape seed oil fields with their yellow flowers. Harmonious relationships can produce both aesthetic and physical returns, and hence from this theoretical stance, the theory strongly opposes man's destruction of a natural environment.

Upon analysing those themes, tourism development was being perceived as bringing significant environmental benefits to the local area. Both town and villages became cleaner, residents' environment awareness improved, and the mountain appears to be more reforested. However, some negative perceptions of environment also should be noticed, such as 'poor air quality', 'poor water quality', 'noisy and crowded in high season', and 'destruction of landscape'. These findings were consistent with conclusions found by Gu and Ryan (2010), in their study of nearby Hongcun village, in which they indicated that tourism brought some negative environmental impacts included "crowding", "noise", "poorer water quality", "more rubbish", and "fields no longer being kept to the same standards as in the past" (p.234).

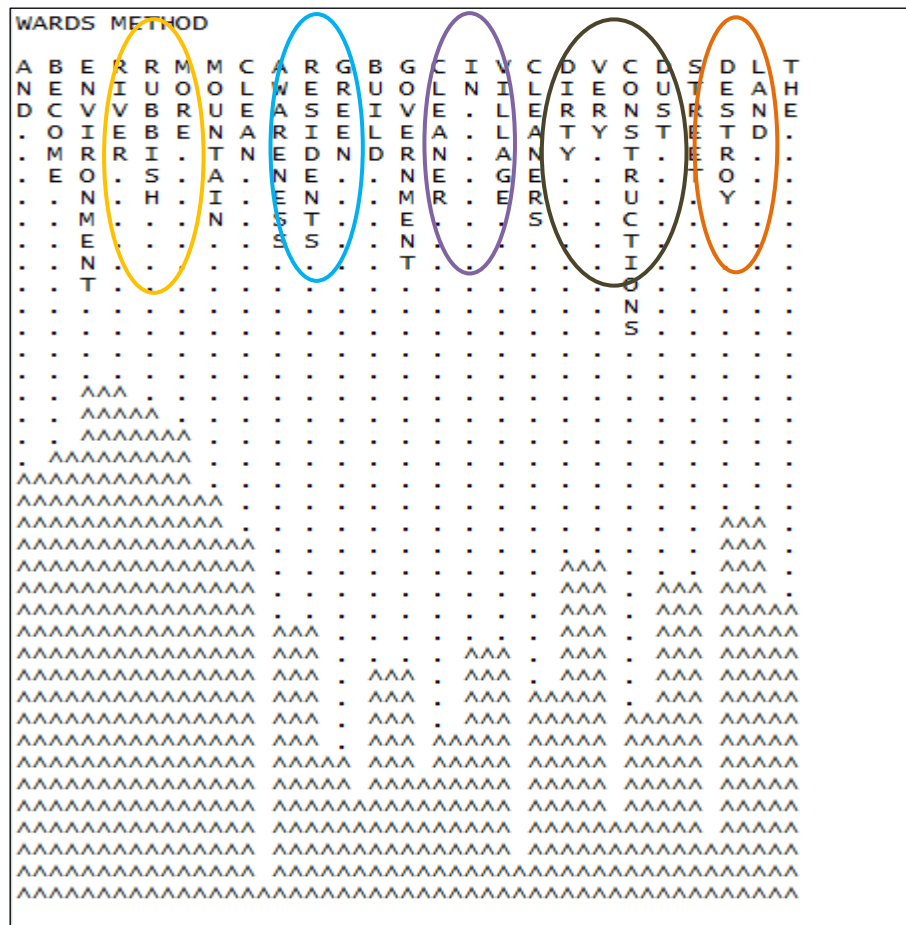
6.3.2.6 CATPAC analysis of tourism environment impact

The original transcripts for environment impact question were entered into CATPAC software to provide more evidence to support the themes derived above. From the word frequency statistics, it was found that the most frequent significant words mentioned by respondents were 'river', 'environment', 'clean', 'more', 'green'. The results revealed the

and life based on the patterns of yin and yang. In current study, residents think the nature Taiji Trigrams destroyed because of construction, lead to unfavourable effects.

existence of 5 distinct grouping of words as shown in Figure 6.3. Group one (circled in orange) showed a relationship between the words ‘land’, and ‘destroy’ which indicated that residents below the mountain perceived that because of tourism real estate construction, farmland was being destroyed, which damaged the natural landscape. In addition it can here be noted that such destruction also has a significant socio-economic impact upon the owners and workers on that land. The second group of words (circled in black) consisted of 5 important words, ‘street’, ‘dust’, ‘constructions’, ‘very’, and ‘dirty’. Reverting to the original text, this set of words indicated that residents thought that constructions made their street very dirty and full of dust. The third group of words (circled in purple) has the words of ‘village’, ‘in’ and ‘cleaners’, and by checking the original text, it could be found that residents who have been interviewed reported their village was cleaner and neater when they had cleaners to clean the village. Similarly, the fourth group of word showed a close relationship between words ‘awareness’, ‘residents’, and ‘green’. The original data therefore revealed that residents feel they have improved their environmental awareness; additionally, it also revealed that residents feel their environment had become greener than before. Finally, the strongest relationship was among the words ‘environment’, ‘river’, ‘rubbish’, and ‘more’ (circled in yellow). The original test revealed that in describing the environment impact, residents mentioned many times that river environment had been damaged. However, ‘rubbish’ in this context form the transcripts also referred to ‘visitors prefer to throw rubbish’, and ‘residents change the bad habit of throwing rubbish’.

A comparison of the results identified from thematic analysis and CATPAC showed some level of similarities in terms of both positive environment impact and negative impact. Both forms of analyses reaffirm that tourism development has made the village tidier, improved residents’ environmental awareness, increased green cover and afforestation, while both analyses also acknowledged that tourism constructions has destroyed some landscape, and made the river and streets dirty. However, CATPAC did not reveal dimensions such as poor air quality, noisy because of its low count frequency. Overall, the results from both analytical techniques support each other and provide credibility to the themes for further analysis.



6.3.3 Thematic analysis of economic impact

As one of the research objectives, respondents were asked to assess how tourism influences villages below the mountain economically, again from both positive and negative sides. However, the majority of respondents expressed the view that tourism had not brought significant economic benefit to them; only bringing benefits to the residents who lived on the mountain. For example, some frequently reported statements by the respondents included “I don’t think the tourism development brings any economic benefits for me”, “I don’t think our residents (below the mountain) can obtain any economic benefits”, “Every resident on the mountain gets rich in recent years, but we don’t ”. Hence rarely was any positive economic advantage identified, and the impacts noted tended to be either negative or noted with some envy of the mountain village residents. This perception is contrary to the general common consciousness that economic impacts of tourism are always perceived as positive or that it

contributes much for a local community (Andriotis, 2001; Chazapi & Sdrali, 2006; Tosun, 2002; Tatoglu, Erdal, Ozgur & Azakli, 2002). Yet, in current study, 6 main themes of economic impacts could be identified as follows: ‘job opportunities’, ‘unbalance industry structure & traditional labour’, ‘unfairness of tourism income distribution’, ‘high living expenses’, ‘start tourism real estate’, and ‘increase/decrease family revenue’. The six themes above and their sub-themes will be detailed presented and discussed in the following parts.

6.3.3.1 Job opportunities

Whether tourism creates ‘Job opportunities’ is a continuing issue of debate in most respondents’ perceptions. Some respondents stated that although tourism was not well developed in the local area and that the villagers below the mountain could not enjoy benefits from the tourism industry to a great extent; however they were still able to find some temporary labouring jobs. For instance, local residents could be employed as construction workers to build cottages and hotels; residents could be employed by external real estate company as a cleaner or a cook; and a few residents with enough capital could operate a small business, like opening a farmer restaurant, roadside shop, food shop, or drive a minibus. This finding has been found in some tourism impact studies such as those of Wall and Mathieson (2006), Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) and Ivanov and Webster (2007). Actually, in previous years, there were some good tourism related jobs for local residents below the mountain, such as those associated with a waterfront restaurant or bamboo rafts. However, because safety and management problems arising in part from roadside and other constructions, those businesses had been halted at the time of conducting the study.

Photo 6.9 Bamboo Raft



Some specific quotes as follows:

“... although we are not like the residents on the mountain who can find so many tourism jobs, we still can find some small ones, such as construction workers, do transportations, open a roadside shop” (No. 9)

“It becomes easy to sell things, I open a bean curd shop, every day I can completely sell out, because the restaurants on the mountain or below the mountain need lots of bean curd...”
(Male resident, 65 years old, Yanjiao village)

To understand this, author talked to some managers who were responsible for the externally financed real estate companies and construction companies. According to the mountain tunnel construction manager, they had 30 workers, among them 15 workers from local villages below the mountain (Personal communication, 1/2/2012). The general manager of Boming Real Estate Company also stated that the majority of their construction workers were employed from local villages; and he also told the author that after their cottages and hotel were formally opened to visitors, they will employ local residents as cleaners, waiters, and security personnel (Personal communication, 13/2/2012). The following table x shows the average residents' annual revenue in the 7 villages of Qiyun Town, which could be interpreted as meaning that the local residents from villages near the mountain have a higher revenue than others. This is may be because nearby residents have more opportunities to find temporary jobs than do other residents who live a little further away from the mountain.

Table6.5 Residents annual revenue in each village				
Village	2008(RMB)	2009(RMB)	2010(RMB)	2011(RMB)
Dongting	5836	6902	7723	10069
Yanjiao	6396	7862	8722	9659
Yanqian	6990	7384	8548	10009
Huanju	4987	6323	7412	8821
Landu	5087	6183	7053	8417
Diankou	4949	6551	7827	8697
Longyuan	4896	6534	7342	9437
Total	5472	6739	7749	9329
Sources: Qiyun Mountain Township Government, 2011				

Two photographs taken by the author show the work setting of local residents; the left hand photograph is of several residents working to repair the ancient ‘Dengfeng’ bridge , and the second photograph is of two residents who drive electrically powered tricycles to take visitors from the attraction to the town to wait for a bus.

Photo 6.10 construction worker



Photo 6.11 Electrically powered tricycle



Additionally some respondents stated that they could find part-time jobs on the mountain. This was because usually, in the tourism high season, residents on the mountain will employ temporary waiters from other villages to help in their businesses. At the same time in the tea plucking season (every April), residents on the mountain will employ someone to pick their tea for two or three weeks. For instance, one respondent said: “I don’t have a formal job. I just wait for someone on the mountain ask me to do some part time job, like carry heavy stuff, build a house, pick tea and so on. Every day I can get 60 RMB, but I could work 9-10 hours. It is really tiring...” (No.13). This is supported by the author’s observation, and it was found that during the busiest days of the peak season, every restaurant would be employing temporary staff from the other nearby villages. A large restaurant will employ some 8 to 10 waiters (like the headman’s restaurant); while smaller ones may employ 2 to 3 staff in addition to family members. Those temporary labours need to work very hard to get 60 RMB per day. Normally, they need to arrive at the mountain at 7 am, which means they need to climb the mountain from early as 6 am; they had a 30 minutes or less break during their lunch time (usually they have their lunch at 2 o’clock after visitors have left a restaurant), and then get back home at 6 pm. If the restaurant owners still need them to work the following day, then they repeat their work schedule.

There was a field note recorded by author on 10/4/2012 that provides a description of this process:

“Today, when I get up, I saw 10 women who took a small bamboo crate stand in the restaurant. The headmen just confirm everyone’s picking assignment. They took their lunch with them, because they need walk very far away to another side of the mountain to pick tea. They departed at 8 o’clock am ...they got back at 6 o’clock pm, everyone had their full crate, but look very tired, after 10 minutes break, the headman ask them to eat dinner, a very sumptuous meal...during their eating, the headman and his wife check everyone’s work, to see whether they pick too little or if it is low in quality. One of middle age woman is criticised because she picked lots of old tea... nearly 7 pm, except for 2 women, they stayed overnight, because their village are far away from mountain, and the other 8 women back home down the mountain; even though now the day is very dark...”

The following photos just display some of the work done by women from the other villages who travel to the mountain undertake casual work. On the left two women are picking teas while another two in right hand picture are washing the dishes for a restaurant owner after the visitors have left.

Photo 6.12 Women pick tea



Photo 6.13 Women wash dishes



Nonetheless, while recognising the existence of these jobs, it should also be reported that other respondents failed to agree with the notion that tourism creates many jobs. These views are akin to those of Tsundoda and Mendlinger (2009) who reported that because of limited tourism product and business opportunities, tourism may not be perceived by many respondents as being a significant creator of jobs. They argued that sometimes, tourism even reduced job opportunities. One main reason in this case would be because of the compulsory purchase of much farmland to build tourism facilities, leading thereby to reduced farming opportunities for traditional farmers. For example, one respondent claimed that “Many of us only live by farming. Now, much good land was taken to build holiday cottages. Then, we lose the farm job” (No.3). Additionally, findings from the present study showed that many respondents interviewed were aware of the notion that ‘tourism creates good job

opportunities for outsiders'. Respondents more than once noted that staff who worked in Qiyun tourism authority and Tourism Company always had a higher education background, and a rich and varied working experience. Most of these workers came from Xiuning country or other nearby cities. At the same time, some respondents also pointed out that tourism attracted pedlars from other towns to come to their villages selling small goods to visitors during the high season.

6.3.3.2 Unbalanced industry & labour structure

Mt Qiyun town can be considered as being heavily dependent upon tourism based. In the past 30 years, no formal or big factory had opened in this town. Today many factories are unable to open in the town because of Chinese strict environmental protection licensing and other processes that exist at a tourism destination. At present, there was only one small family sawmill in this town employing 4 staff there. This potentially confirms Wall and Mathieson (2006) critique that a community may be over dependent on tourism and crowding out effects occur. Some respondents therefore suggested that government should develop a second industry to strengthen the local economy, like opening or inviting some pollution-free factories to create employment. The following quotes illustrate this:

“I hope the tourism here could develop quickly, and government could also open a factory in our town. In that case, we can find more jobs” (No.8)

“There are many problems in Qiyun town. Firstly, we are too dependent on tourism development. Excepting tourism, there are no factories in this town. Yet, the tourism develops not well...lots of resident need to work outside” (No.12)

Interestingly, it seems that Mt Qiyun town heavily depends on its tourism and agriculture industry. However, some respondents have critiqued the local economy by saying that agricultural output is being negatively affected by the tourism development of recent years. Two points should be emphasized. Firstly, tourism motivated some residents to give up their traditional farm work to be involved in the tourism industry, like the residents on the mountain. Again this replicates situations found elsewhere in China. Liu et al., (2008) conducted a research to assess the relationship between tourism and agriculture in the Lugu Lake, China; in their research, and found that “the area near the resort, was directly affected by tourism development. Agriculture growth declined because more people were engaged in tourism activities”(p.8). Secondly, the majority of younger residents in those villages go to

other cities to find their fortune, leaving behind only some middle aged or older ones to work on farm. However, currently, tourism development has taken much farmland, which reduces the need for the previous number of farmers. Thus, those residents who should be the person working on the farm have sought work elsewhere, either geographically or by switching occupations. From table x, which was described in Chapter 3, it can be seen that except for Longyuan village, and Landu village, the other 5 villages in Qiyun town have more emigrant workers than famers. For example, Yanjiao village has 285 working outside the area, that is 47.26% of the total workforce; and 158 farmers, with 26.20% of the total workforce. Yanqian village has 681 emigrant workers, contributing 58.56% of the total; while 380 farmers account for 32.67% of the total workforce.

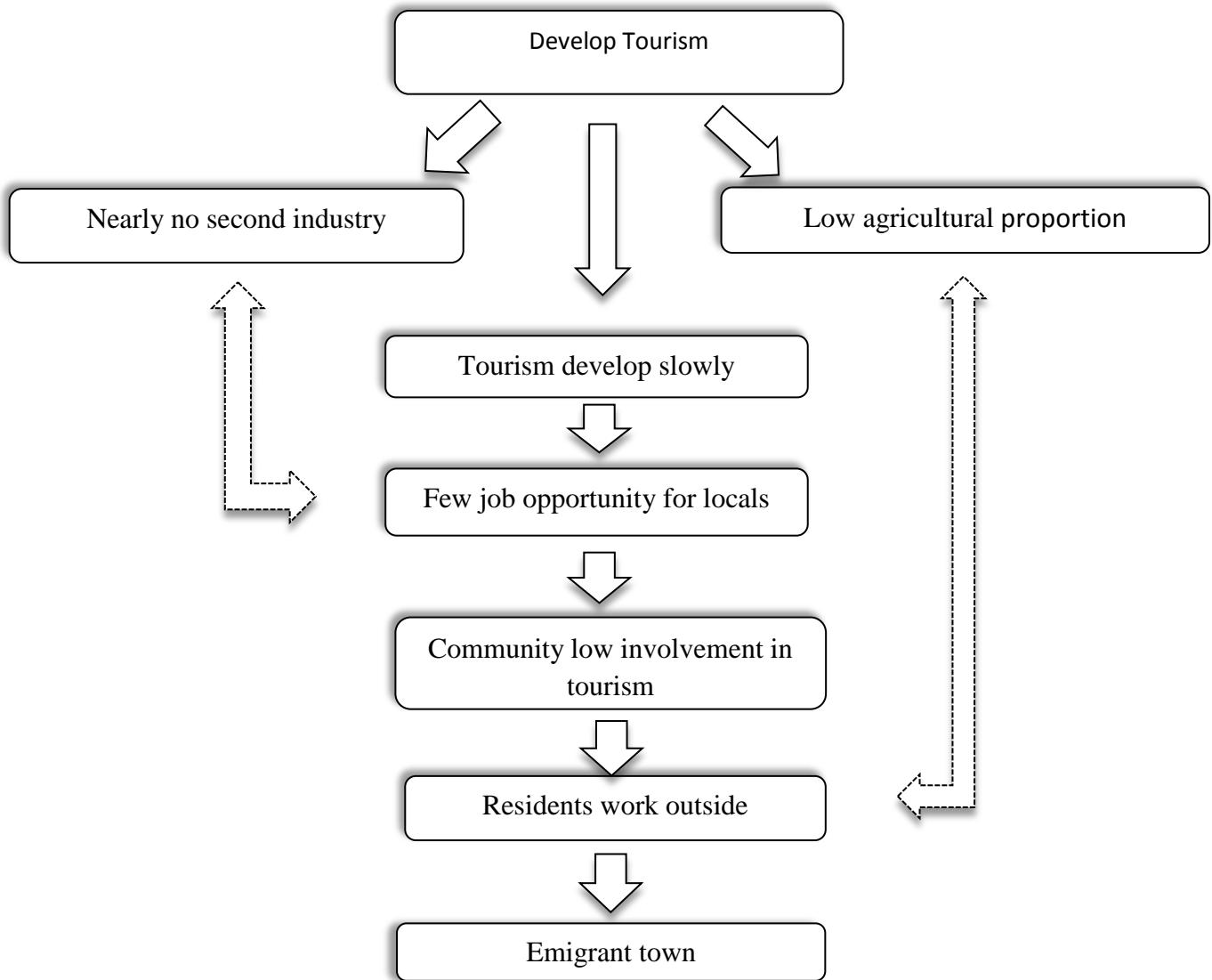
Table 6.6 Comparison of 7 villages information in Qiyun Town 2011					
Village name	Workforce	Farmer number	Per cent of total workforce	Workers Migrating from the Village number	Per cent of total workforce
Dongting	1299	519	39.95%	612	47.11%
Yanjiao	603	158	26.20%	285	47.26%
Yanqian	1163	380	32.67%	681	58.56%
Huanju	1905	342	17.95%	817	42.88%
Landu	673	273	40.56%	263	39.78%
Diankou	1158	416	35.92%	529	45.68%
Longyuan	1164	516	44.32%	346	29.73%
Sources: Qiyun Mountain Township Government, 2011					

This finding complements a previous study conducted in a Chinese rural tourist destination by Ryan et al, (2011), who found that “... many young people have left rural zones for work in the cities, leaving the villages to be communities of older people and young children looked after by grandparents...older people is difficult to work on the land, and farming begins to play a lesser role in the local economy” (p.757). It would appear from the data that Qiyun town is more likely to heavily depend on tourism business in the future. As Robinson (1999) stated, that high dependency can generate its own internal conflicts when “political, economic, environmental and cultural dimensions are often tightly fused together” (p.16). For

example, Long et al., (1990) investigated 28 rural Colorado communities and found in those communities local residents' perceptions of negative tourism impacts increased with a high dependency on tourism.

The following Figure 6.4 summarises the process of how tourism dependency in Qiyun town leads to an unbalanced structure in this community. With the information describe above, it indicates that in order to build a tourism dependent town, the local Town government and Xiuning County government first consciously choose tourism as the most important development option open to them. Many other forms of economic development are simply not encouraged in this town. Additionally, residents' farmlands are taken to build facilities and this significantly reduces the agricultural sector as a proportion of total economic activity. However, the current level of tourism is still at a very low level of development and cannot provide many jobs related to tourism for local residents. At present, only residents on the mountain can be directly involved in the tourism business. Consequently, the majority of residents below the mountain, especially for those with young people, have to work outside their community to support a family, while leaving behind the elderly and young. Equally the increasing numbers of migrating residents obviously decreases the number of farmers further in the local area.

Figure 6.4 Unbalanced economic/ social structure in Qiyun



6.3.3.3 Raise the rich and unfair income distribution

The present study also showed that the majority of respondents interviewed were aware of a ‘tourism created rich gap’ between residents on the mountain and those below the mountain. It is not surprising to learn that in Mt Qiyun residents on the mountain have much more opportunities than residents below the mountain to become involved in the tourism business. For instance, 23 out of 28 families on the mountain operated a farm restaurant while below the mountain, there were only 6 restaurants in the whole town. Even the elderly residents who lived on the mountain can find a job to feed themselves, while below the mountain, they have to rely on children, and some of them even beg for money from tourists. As such, many respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the unbalanced tourism development. Doğan (1989) earlier stated that if local residents in different parts of a community fail to uniformly obtain benefits from tourism, it seems that their attitudes toward tourism will be marked by significant differences. Those who get more benefits are more likely to be more favourably disposed towards tourism. This perception is illustrated in the following two quotes below:

“Every resident on the mountain has gotten rich in recent years. Previously, they are very poor; they always borrow rice from the villagers below the mountain. However, tourism helps them to become rich. Meanwhile, the residents below the mountain, previously, we are rich, because in the early time, every family depends on farming. Our farmland always provides a high and stable yield. However, with the tourism development, our land is being seized slowly by slowly. No, we are poor, we have no land, we can’t find tourism job. The younger people have to work outside, the elderly have to stay at home, it depends on their children” (18)

“ I want to complain about the unfairness of income distribution. There are 5 villages located at the foot of the mountain, but nearly no village can get significant benefits from tourism development. Only the 28 families on the mountain will be happy with the tourism. We below the mountain can find the low level jobs on the mountain, such as repair the old house, carry stones, build roads, dispose rubbish, while the residents on the mountain can open restaurants, a hotel, a souvenir shop, and directly make money from visitors. Even the old ladies, they can sell incense, every package of incense they sell is 10 RMB, but its cost price is less than 1 RMB. They can easily raise themselves. Compared with that old lady, in my village, they lose land, they only depend on their children, which increases in turn their life

burden. Some old person have no children to help them, they have to beg for money. ..” (No. 16).

These comments, while requiring further substantiation, potentially confirm the literature that tourism economic benefits sometimes are not appropriately distributed within the local community (Stoeckl, Greiner, & Mayocchi, 2006; McDowall & Choi, 2010).

Additionally, some respondents complained that tourism development leads to some phenomenon like ‘same work with different pay’, and ‘same product with different price’. Indeed, from the author’s observation and consulting with appropriate government department, it was found that residents below the mountain received less salary than those residents on the mountain. The most compelling example was that of a cleaner’s wage. It was found that at present, the cleaner’s wage below the mountain was 500 RMB (100 NZD per month) paid by the town government, while the wage on the mountain is 1200 RMB (240NZD per month) paid by tourism company. They worked at the same job for the same working hours; but there was a great disparity between the wages. The statement of ‘same product with different price’ was mentioned by respondents many times. The most frequent example is the price of tea. Even for the same quality tea, the prices can be very different. Normally, residents on the mountain named their tea as “high mountain organic tea”, for which a very high price can be easily charged, but if the same tea is sold in a shop below the mountain, without the halo effect of a unique tourist destination, the price may be at least 2 to 3 times less. To ‘rub salt into the wound’, residents on the mountain always purchase the tea from other villages at a lower price, and then sell it to visitors at higher price. There was a field note recorded by author in 17/4/2012-18/4/2012 that notes this phenomenon:

“Today, I went down the mountain to the town. When I walked in Yanjiao village, one of my respondents wanted me to do a favour for him, that is asking the headman whether he wants the raw tea ... when I back to the headman’s house, I tell him the tea thing. He agrees with buying that villager’s raw tea, but wants to check the quality first...next day, headman and me go to tea man’s house ...they make a deal that headman collect all of his raw tea at the price of 36RMB per kilo...headman tells me this tea can be sold to visitors at the price of 120-180RMB per kilo after it is packaged...”

These perceptions also contribute to the better understanding of how tourism affects local villages economically as illustrated in the quote below:

“ it is an unfair income distribution ... do you know even we sell the same tea, every year, we only sell 2 or 3 thousand of RMB or even less, but people on the mountain can sell 50 thousands RMB or more. It is a big gap” (No.20)

It appears that the economic benefits of tourism in Mt Qiyun area are not evenly distributed; residents on the mountain and below the mountain had already been spatially divided into two groups, and this has helped create a gap in incomes which can easily raise conflicts of interest (Doğan, 1989). Thus, it is important to ensure a more equitable distribution of income for the host community and secure local support if a more sustainable and harmonious tourism is to result (McDowall & Choi, 2010).

6.3.3.4 High living expenses

At the same time, respondents expressed concern about their increasing costs of living. During the interview, the most frequently reported words heard by author included “too expensive”, “can’t afford”, and “spend more than make”. Allowing for the reason that China’s price inflation has surged in recent years; tourism development also plays a secondary role in increasing local residents’ living expenses. Two reasons account for this. First, Mt Qiyun town is considered as a very small scale town, for it only has 3 grocery stores, 6 small restaurants, 3 snake shops, one small medicine shop, and a very small farmers’ market. Those shops, especially the restaurants, always charge prices based on what visitors can pay, which is generally higher than those of local residents. Thus local business people become used to receiving higher prices as time passes, and use these as the basis when setting future prices. This creeping upward pressure on prices provides some support for the results explored by Tsundoda and Mendlinger (2009), namely that high restaurant prices were a significant economic cost for local residents as a consequence of tourism. For example, one respondent claimed that: “the prices in this small town are higher than the prices in Xiuning County. There are only a few shops and low competition. For example, the same biscuit I brought in the county shop is 2 RMB, but in Qiyun town, you should spend 2.5RMB to buy it...the restaurant price is even higher, we have to pay the same price as the visitors, unless you have very good relationship with owner, otherwise no discount”. (No.18) This finding provided some evidence to confirm similar findings, in particular, that Gu and Ryan (2010) who reported that food prices increased because of tourism in Hungcon ancient village, Anhui, which located very close to Mt Qiyun.

Interestingly, some respondents reported that the main reason for their increasing costs of living was the needs to buy extra rice, oil, meat et al. Those respondents are those who lost their land and no longer have the opportunity to plant their own food. They now have to buy food, which increase their costs. As one respondent said: “we begin to buy rice, buy vegetable... I never buy them before, because we are almost self-sufficient in food production. But now, we are like the residents living in the city who need to buy rice” (No.14). The tradition in many rural Chinese villages is that local residents generally do not need to buy vegetables, and rice, as residents normally plant these themselves. For those residents who were once very dependent on land, it is now very difficult for them to change their traditional way of life. Once, when the author chatted with some old ladies, they became quite upset about their further life prospects because of their low income but increasing living expenses.

6.3.3.5 Developing tourism real estate

This is a very new phenomenon in Mt Qiyun. In 2011, township government sold nearly 1425 Mu (equal 949,050 square metres) of farmland and forest to two external real estate companies to build two resorts of holiday cottages and two hotels. The total investment totalled about 1.4 billion RMB for those projects. One estate named “Yunshanshiyi” (云山诗意) has already completed its first phase, and begun to sell homes to the public (see figure). According to Huangshan Real Estate (2012), the reported that the average price for “Yunshanshiyi” is 7000R MB one square meter; while the average price for Xiuning Country house is 3500 RMB one square meter. Clearly China’s real estate ‘rush’, once confined to a handful of leading cities, now has spilled into the rural area; especially for those tourist destinations that seem to be the most attractive for real estate developers. As Cartier (2001) stated that the great amount of arable land lost to construction has been very significant in China. As noted earlier, local residents sold their farmland they lived on at 12000 RMB per Mu, far, far less than the initial asking price of 7000 RMB for just square meter. Many of the comments reveal local residents thoughts about how ‘big money’ is made, but not by them. For example:

“I hear from other residents that our area will be built like a city, full of high buildings and hotels. I hope it does not come true, because our ancient village and mountain will be gone forever at that time! In recent years, it is very popular to develop estates in tourism area...It was sad, because everyone knows (that in) the development of such kinds of real estate, the

local residents will suffer many negative things, while the companies and government can earn much. Those external companies won't invest money in mountain; they only develop the real estate" (No.21)

"...I have to tell you the truth: the big changes here only indicate that the government encourage external companies to develop tourism real estate here, not for tourism! We lose the land, to help companies build the cottages to sell outsiders. Those rich outsiders just live several days there each year. But for those farmers, who lose the land; do you think everyone can find job here?" (No. 22)

As such, author asked a supplementary question to every respondent, namely: "Do you support those external companies who invest in Qiyun area, do you think their coming will bring some benefits or problems?" There are 36 respondents who answered this question. Among them, 16 respondents supported the coming of external companies to mountain Qiyun. Respondents in this group insisted that an external company will bring large amounts of capital to develop the local area, which would help to develop the below mountain area, attract more visitors, increase job opportunities, and then improve the local economy. However, 13 respondents were absolutely against external company development of the mountain area. They believe that the external company will take much land from local residents, use those lands to earn large sums of money, while the residents will lose ownership rights, the source of their income and be faced with a series of social difficulties. Five more respondents are realistic expecting the company to acquire the land, believe that the mountain needs external sources of capital to develop; but on the other hand do not like the current means of development that ignore local residents' views, provides insufficient benefits to the local community and which may also involve ecological damage.

Photo 6.14 Yunshanshiyi (云山诗意) Real Estate



Source: www.ahhouse.com

6.3.3.6 Increase or decrease family income

Another ‘hot issue’ in the current study related to tourism’s economic impact with reference to family income. The transcripts reveal that the numbers of positive replies was equally balanced with more negative responses. Respondents who agreed that their family income was improved by tourism did so under four possible scenarios. These were (a) respondents who were residents, who had operated a tourism business for many years, and experienced a rapid growth of family income recent two years. Much of this was tied to the fourth factor, the increasing number of visitors, thereby resulting in much better business than before. One respondent claimed that: “Some residents in my village opened a shop in the town street; they have had good business these two years because of the numbers of visitors increasing when compared with before”. Those respondents could also be the residents (b) who worked outside the village for many years and no longer directly undertook farming anymore. Rather, each year, they may have employed someone to take care of their land. As a result, they were more likely to sell their land to the government and quickly acquire a capital sum. Another possible situation related to the residents (c) who had not lost their farmland and continued to be farmers. They now had an increased local market for their produce, and were able to easily find some temporary construction jobs to increase family revenue in the slack season. Finally, some respondents said that their revenue increased because their old house was demolished and sold to government for tourism development. Those (d) residents had always wanted to move to the county and had hoped to dispose of their old houses. The prices paid by the government tended to be above the market price and thus they gained additional capital. Similarly, other residents who had no money to rebuild their very old houses were pleased to see the government demolish their houses and build a new house in compensation.

But not all were in these situations the most representative group of these were farmers who lost their land and were unable to find another job. They faced problems when the compensation paid began to run out. Other respondents mentioned that their revenue decreased after the demolition of their home due to increased housing costs. Two specific quotes can support this finding:

“Actually, before 2000, I was quite rich, because I have 6 empty stores on the main street to rent to others; however, the government collected my houses to build the riverside park with very low compensation...if I still have 6 stores to rent, I would not have to work anymore, because I can collect lots of rent...”

“Eight years ago, my family built a very good house. We also spend lots of money to redecorate all of the rooms, which spent all of our savings. However, after 2 years we moved in the new house, the government informed us maybe our houses will be demolished. It is so sad, the compensation only depends on square meters, not consider how you redecorate your room, or how old is your house. We suffer the loss of lots of money.”

The situation of gain or loss is therefore complex, depending in part on the personal circumstances of the respondents. Overall, from the above themes, it can be seen that residents below the mountain have a relatively low assessment of potential positive economic benefits and only a small number of respondents confirmed that tourism had helped them to find a job or increase their income. Most residents who were interviewed expressed varying degrees of dissatisfaction about economic factors citing ‘unfair income distribution’, ‘increased living expense’, and ‘unbalanced industry structures’.

6.3.4 Thematic analysis of social-culture impacts

In this section, thematic analysis technique was employed to evaluate the social-cultural tourism impacts in the village below Mt Quinn from the residents’ perception. Compared with the economic and environmental impacts, the social-cultural impacts in the local area was more complex, but interesting. While from current data, it could be found that most respondents had a firmer sense of social issues than those of cultural impacts. This may have been due to the majority of local residents, especially for those older people, lacking basic education backgrounds and therefore being very concerned with immediate issues. Many had only a primary school or middle school qualification. As a result, some respondents used phrases such as “I don’t know culture”, “I don’t care about culture”, and “I can’t understand the meaning of culture impact”. As such, during the interviews, respondents preferred to talk more about the social impacts. In the following the author describes themes under the heading of social-cultural impacts from both positive and negative sides. The results indicated 6 themes: ‘population structure’, ‘residents relationships’, ‘residents’ value systems’, ‘social conflict’, ‘improving basic facilities’, and ‘keeping a traditional culture’. Each, with their sub-themes, will be described respectively.

6.3.4.1 Improve basic facilities

‘Tourism development improves basic facilities’ is the most frequent theme mentioned by residents and it seems that the majority of the respondents gain a clear appreciation, that

because of tourism, their life has become much more convenient in its nature and more comfortable. By summarizing both the transcripts and author's observation, it could be generally concluded that in the period 2007 to 2012 the government and tourism authority has built many facilities for the local area, including a new road, a new bridge for most villages, built new parking for visitors, installed streetlights, repaired the ancient Dengfeng bridge, built the mountain road, built underground cabling for the main street in the town, built hotels and enlarged the town hospital. Indeed, previous impact studies such as that of Williams and Lawson (2001) have provided evidence that the social impacts of tourism can include the improvement of public facilities. Some following specific quotes illustrate this theme in the data:

"... the tourism development has improved transport systems, such as the tourism road that was built, the ancient bridge was also repaired. The very big car parking was built last year for visitors" (No.5)

"...this year, the government help our village to build a new bridge, which was very convenient for us to go to the town. Otherwise, we need cross the mountain to get to the town" (No.13)

"... Government indeed built a new road for visitors and us. It is big progress, because previously the road would be very muddy, especially after heavy rain, we can't walk anymore. This year, the government also build a new bridge for our village." (No.31)

But when data were further analysed there remain a few respondents complaining about a lack of facilities such as a lack of running water (Baimao village did not have running water in 2012), and the need for a new sewage system (New village still has a very poor sewage system). Luckily a new water works was built at the end of 2012 in Qiyun Town to meet residents' tap water requirements. The most interesting finding from the current data was that few respondents expressed any form of overt hostility to the government and its performance. For example, respondents did not like the ancient Dengfeng bridge being repaired in a modern style; some did not like the architectural style of the holiday cottages that did not conform with the traditional HuiZhou building style. These comments are comparable with the conclusions from a study by Kreag (2001) that many new building styles in tourist destination fail to "fit" community styles, and so damage a unique community character. Indeed some residents even doubted that "the new bridge was built not for residents, actually

for those companies, so they can easily ‘catch’ our villages’ land” (No.31). From the author’s view the main reason for these perceptions was lack of communication and trust between the municipal government and the local residents. Certainly, given the lack of information, it can easily be seen why so many local residents doubted the motives of government. The following photographs described some of the new facilities built in recent years.

Photo 6.15 New Bridge for Nankeng village in 2012



Photo 6.16 New Parking for visitors in 2011



6.3.4.2 Demographic trends—“it looks like our village belonged to others”

‘Demographic trends’ is a constant theme in current study. The transcripts revealed that the majority of respondent had begun to realize that the local population structure had changed a lot in a small amount of time. Most respondents mentioned that fewer residents lived in the village, and the villages had become too quiet. This was especially the case relating to younger people for they tended to work outside, leaving behind the older people and children. This is not uncommon in many Chinese rural small towns, and the younger person chooses to work outside while grandparents are left to take care of the family. For example Xu (2003) found that in Zhouzhuang old town, China, more than 37% of households comprised seniors over 60 years old, and the whole community was becoming a migrant community. Only during major festivals, like the National Holiday or Spring Holiday would this ‘missing’ generation return to the village. Actually, many young residents prefer to settle down in other big cities, if they have enough ability and can acquire a job. Additionally this seems to be especially true for young females who generally prefer to marry outside the Huangshan area in different region such as Zhejiang Province, Shanghai or elsewhere. Some specific quotes from the author’s diary of conversations provide some evidence of these findings:

“Many young people work outside, only the old and children live in the village. I really hope the Qiyun Mountain could develop quickly, so the young people also can find a job in their hometown” (No. 5)

“The majority of young people work outside and many girls are even married off to (men from) other developed cities. It was really quiet in the village” (No. 9)

“My village was really lonely, many people can only see each other at one time in each year or several years because many of them work outside, and reside permanently in some developed cities” (No. 13)

There is a short conversation recorded by the author on 23/03/2012, 2pm, at the town barber’s shop. This conversation sounds like a joke, but it is true. It recorded a short communication between the author and a young barber, and provides some further evidence as to the above theme.

Barber: *Hey, welcome to my barber shop. You stay here for many months?*

Me: *Yes, nearly five month...I want to cut my hair a little short...*

Barber: *Ok...you know, you are the most beautiful girl in this town...*

Me (very shy, but quite happy): *No, no , I am not beautiful like that...*

Barber: *No idea, because there is no girl here, they always work outside and marry there...*

Me (disappoint): *Ye...I understand...what’s your meaning*

Through the author’s daily communication with local residents she found that many of the older respondents hope that young people can stay at home to look after their parents or children. For example, one respondent said that: “I really hope they (his children) can back home, because I am quite ill, and need my children to take care of myself...however, they can’t find job here, and need to work outside” (No.21). This current situation was quite different from Feng’s (2008) finding that tourism in Fenghuang ancient town, China, enhanced local family and community bonds; because there the quick development of tourism attracted back those people who had left town years before as they could find employment in tourism or related businesses.

With reference to those ‘left-behind children’, normally called ‘Liu shou er tong’(留守儿童)³ in Chinese, their problem are equally significant. For example, Qian (2004) conducted a ‘left-behind children’ survey in Tian Chang city, Anhui province, and found that 58.5 % of the

³ Liu shou er tong (留守儿童): left-behind children in English, which refers to “those children whose father and/or mother have migrated for work and are taken care of by father or mother, someone from the older generation, and/or others”(Ye & Murray, 2005, p.18).

students had at least one parent working outside, and more than 37% students had both parents working outside the home area. Many children only see their parents once a year or even less, while their grandparents normally lack the power to take properly take care of them or provide an education for those small children, which leads to some educational, emotional and even some problems of safety. Qian (2004) found that grandparents either spoil children or fail to give them basic emotional care. In the author's experience one respondent became very emotional when he talked about the 'left-behind children', because his grandson, one of these children died 3 years ago prior to the conversation.

He said: "...my grandson died 3 years ago. That day was really hot, I was cooking the lunch in the kitchen, and he was playing with other kids outside. However, someone just come to my house suddenly and shouted at me that my grandson was drowning in the Hengjiang River. We try so much.....He was not saved finally. My son hated me so much; he has not been back home for five years. I never walk near the river anymore! There have been more than 4 kids' deaths from drowning because of being carelessly taken there by their grandparents!" (No.20)

Again these types of comments are not uncommon in rural China. For example Liang (2004, p.26) found that "a study of 250 high school students who had experienced being left for more than six month in Jichun country, Hubei province, China found that more than half of respondents had difficulties adapting to the left-behind life, 16.6% felt abandoned, 12.3 % of them had problems expressing difficulties, and 6.5% felt 'anguished' about being left". The following photo illustrates a 'left-behind child' playing in a construction site; while her grandfather was working there.

Photo 6.17 Left-behind child plays in the construction site, while her grandfather worked



Another sub-theme with reference to population structure change was the fact that many richer families had moved to Xiuning County for a better living environment or better educational opportunity. Thus, the number of local school-age children decreased year by year. When questioning the Qiyun middle school principal about the changes in school rolls he pointed out that the Qiyun middle school had a total number of 832 students in 2005, but the number had reduced a lot since those years, and now the number of total students was only 142 in year 2012 (personal communication, 4/12/2011).

On the other hand, some have been attracted from Xiuning County, and other big cities to arrive and work in Mt Qiyun or even to settle down. Normally, these people have taken work in the Tourism Company, local town government, tourism authority, and the externally financed real estate companies. Hence one resident joked that: “it looks like our town is changed to be one of outsiders. You see, we local residents go outside, while the outsider worker and visitors come to our place, instead of us” (No.18). The above results tend to confirm the key findings that Gu and Ryan (2008) obtained in their study of Beijing Hutong, namely that the Hutong was undergoing a process of population changes, because more and more purchasers moved in. The results of the analysis imply that to sustain a local population structure, the first thing to be considered is how to attract and retain residents. It appears clear that if potential jobs can be created to meet residents’ needs the number of emigrant workers will decrease. Indeed, as Ryan et al.,(2011) found Kaiping, Guangdong Province, tourism can play a major role in providing a reason for younger people to stay and not migrate to the other cities.

6.3.4.3 Residents’ relationship changes

Findings from the present study showed that many respondents interviewed were aware that the human relations between residents on the mountain and those below the mountain had been affected because of tourism development; while on the other hand the relationships between residents in their own village had not seemed to have changed, or if so, they had gotten even better. Indeed, to confirm whether this was the case, and to what degree this was true, the author probed this issue with such questions and observations such as “whether tourism development has influenced residents’ relationship in your village?” However, to author’s surprise, nearly all of the respondents disagreed with the notion that relationship

between residents in their own village had deteriorated because of tourism. Most respondents pointed out that the main reason for sustaining stable relationships was because tourism business competition in their village remained weak and non-existent among villagers. Additionally, some respondents said that because local residents have united together to resist government attempts to take their farmland; the community bonds are now even enhanced and stronger than before.

With reference to human relationships the current data focuses on two main relationship patterns. It was found that the relationship between residents on the mountain and residents below the mountain had become somewhat cold and strange. Every time when the author mentioned the residents on the mountain, the majority of respondents interviewed called them ‘Qiyun people’, and perceived them as a different group, a lucky group. The current findings provided some evidence to confirm, in particular, that tourism modified the internal structure of the local community by dividing it into those who have and have not a relationship with tourism or tourists (Brunt & Courtney, 1999). As noted earlier, tourism development has helped the families on the mountain to find jobs and make money while the residents below the mountain have lost land and find it difficult to find jobs. Thus, it seems evident that the resultant unequal income distribution has caused residents below the mountain have a sense of unfairness that in turn engenders negative emotions which may affect their relationships with ‘Qiyun people’. The following quotes illustrate this point:

“...it looks like the distance between residents on the mountain and below the mountain are very far than in previous years...” (No. 3)

“...the relationship between Qiyun people and us became cool...we are in different groups... (No.24).

Indeed, it was interesting to find some respondents interviewed even strongly recommended that the 28 families on the mountain should also move down to the town, like other residents. Thus, it was argued that it would be easier for the company and government to operate businesses, and also keep things fairer. These findings coincide with Robinson’s (1999) argument that sometimes the economic benefits of tourism cannot be distributed evenly across a whole community, and thus this may engender resentment and hostility.

Furthermore, a few respondents mentioned that tourism played a significant role in influencing family relationships. It was said many couples always argued and fought, due to

the loss of land and an inability to find a job. Normally, the wife complained about her husband being as a helpless man at home, and having no way to find a job to raise family. For example, one middle school student said:

“ ...it is not good for my family, my family only depended on farming ...my parents are farmers...however, those years, our land was gone year by year, for building mountain road, cottage...my parents always fight, because my father can't find job, my mother always cry over the current life...” (No.36). This effect of tourism in causing marital discord through the loss of assets and changing economic structures has possibly been one of the least studied aspects of tourism and its social consequences in a society such as that of China.

6.3.4.4 Social conflict (between government and residents)

A recurring theme emerging from this study is that tourism development creates conflict between local government and residents. Local residents expressed their dissatisfaction with the government's apparent poor performance, the origins of the complaints being the perception that the 'community contributes too much while it gets only a little' to use the words of one informant. Several points need to be mentioned here with reference to these complaints. First, the government has invoked its powers of total governance, in compulsorily purchasing much land from those farmers, with low levels of compensation, which produced much resentment in the whole community⁴. Second, the government did not do a good job in the resettlement of residents. The majority of farmers who lost land at the times of the interviews had not found alternative jobs. Some older residents who were interviewed complained that they received very poor welfare payments of only 100 RMB (20NZ\$) to those above 60 years of age. Thus, those older ones, sometimes, even joked that they would need to beg money from visitors in the future. Third, the government had demolished residents' houses and homes to build a riverbank area, but residents felt they had lost their ancient village and broken its community connections. Some of them were dissatisfied with the new village to which they had been moved because it was seen as being a 'remote place' that attracted no visitors whilst prohibitions had been placed on the raising

⁴ By law, the villagers only has the right to use and supervise, but they don't have right to transfer land for compensatory use. But the government can expropriate land when the land is in the public interest. Normally, government firstly collect land from villagers, and then transfer the land right to potential user. As such the land have the market value (Guo, 2001)

of animals. Fourth, residents below the mountain believed they are being treated unfairly, complaining that the government and company gave jobs priority for residents on the mountain. Additionally, in year 2012, the new Qiyun Tourism Company even adjusted the gondola ticket policy which previously allowed free or discounted ticket fees when the residents living below the mountain or their relatives visited the mountain. Residents could not understand why they now needed to buy tickets when they visited their ‘own’ mountain. Thus in these conversations the author heard comments such as:

“...the government collected lots of farmland from residents at very low price, but they sell those lands to external company at a high price...many residents complained to the government, sometimes, there even has been social disorder. The last year, 2011, April, hundreds of local residents oppose with the government. Lots of policemen come to stop...” (No.4)

“...recent two years, my village was changed so much. More than half of the villagers were forced to sell their land to government at very low price. Residents are not satisfied, so they lodge appeals with the advance central authorities. However, no government gives a response. Anyway, there are very major conflicts between government, company and local residents! It is not good for societal development. Many residents were very disappointed with the local government and tourism development...” (No.11)

“Lots of residents in Qiyun area are not satisfied with the performance of government and company, as they seized the residents’ resources. We already have paid a lot on developing tourism here, such as our land, our living environment, but we can’t get benefits. Sometimes, we are even not proud of this mountain...because it brings us lots of trouble, change our traditional life. People here become unhappy; many of them just keep thinking how their life will be after spending all the compensations” (No.15).

This finding is contrary to other findings, such as Ryan et al., (2011) who found in their study of Kaiping Diaolou that local residents had pride in their architecture of Diaolou, and the pattern of life, as well as the social connections associated with it. Indeed, from the author’s research experience, every time, when the author asked local residents whether government had done ‘a good job’ in tourism development or whether tourism brings some significant benefits to local community, most respondents could not stop complaining. Some of them even told the author that they will stop visitors from going through their village to the top of

the mountain, or they would ask for an admission fee from visitors (e.g. for the two main walking trails through Nankeng village and Yanjiao village) if one day, they again suffered ‘trouble’.

Unfortunately while there are more positive examples of tourism development in China such as those of the Kaiping Dialou (Ryan et al, 2011), there are just as many examples of dubious if not corrupt practice. Bao and Zuo (2013) provide evidence of over dependency on external companies developing tourist resort complexes that have more to do with capital gains on property development aided by friendly local government officials, non-compliance with governmental requirements, managed bankruptcies and take-overs, and the making of profits that have little regard to the interests of local communities in their study. Equally Yang & Ryan (2012) have applied Coser’s theories of social conflict to help explain some of the practices found in Kanas Scenic Area in Xinjiang Province.

In the author’s view, to solve these conflicts in this specific circumstance, the most important thing for the government and Tourism Company is to focus on ‘how to safeguard the interests of the residents’ and ‘how to use tourism bring real benefits to the local residents’ if tourism is to be sustained in the longer term. The practices described here are arguably not even politically sustainable given the announcements made by the forthcoming leadership of Xi and Li with reference to a prolonged campaign against corruption which will inevitably lead to a scrutiny of compulsory land purchasing, and this is all the more likely as the Chinese blogosphere becomes increasingly active. A symbiotic relationship may well emerge between reformers and blogosphere if some commentators on the future of China are to be believed (e.g. Fulin, 2010).

6.3.4.5 Keep traditional culture

Present findings from the study showed that tourism has played an important role in retaining a traditional culture that is promoted to visitors to some extent. For example, Yanjiao village has its own Lion and dragon dance performance (舞龙舞狮表演)⁵. All the members are the local residents of Yanjiao village. Every time, when the tourism company operates some festivals, the lion dance team will be invited to give a specific performance to visitors.

⁵ Lion and dragon dance performance (舞龙舞狮表演) has been a traditional Chinese legend for thousand years. It embraces the beauty, art, culture and local traditions. It is always considered as a good way to bring luck and happiness. In many Chinese areas, people prefer to give a lion and dragon dance performance in some big festival event, like congratulation in Spring festival, Wedding, and opening a private practice.

Additionally, respondents also mentioned that some in the village were good at bamboo carving, which is considered as a traditional carving technology (徽雕)⁶ derived from ancient HuiZhou. Because of tourism, those artists have become famous and many visitors order their products, which confirms the previous literature that tourism can revitalise and preserve traditional culture (McDowall & Choi, 2010; Cohen, 1984; Tatoglu, Erdal, Ozgur & Azakli, 2002). Furthermore, the Qiyun tourism authority built a new geological museum in the 2012, which opened a means to display local culture to visitors; as one official said: “We hope our museum can introduce Qiyun Mountain to visitors, especially for those visitors who thirst for Qiyun geological knowledge” (pers. comm). Also, the authority built the Xiaohutian art gallery in 2007 as a calligraphic and painting home to attract famous artists to experience the traditional ancient Hui village style found in the region. For example, one old resident mentioned in an interview that:

“...there is a famous art gallery in our town; some painters will stay here to communicate with each other. Once I, have the good fortune to see a famous painter here. He is very nice, and wanted to have dinner in my house. He ask me to do the very simple, very local dinner for him...I feel honest. I didn’t charge for his dinner, and he paints a picture for me. Others said its value is 10,000 RMB...I feel very lucky” (No.25).

There is a field note made by author of 11/03/2012 to describe a local bamboo carving artist.

“Today, I go to the Tantou village to do the interview...I hear from others that there is a farmer artist living in this village, thus, I decide to find him and talk with him...when I walk into his workroom, I found the room is full of bamboo products and carving tools...he tells me he started his carving 8 years ago, before that, he work on the farm...now his work is in a unique artistic technique that evokes praise from every visitor ...he tells me that there is a visitor who even wanted to support him to open a formal carving studio work...the artist say that after 2-3 years, he plans to open a shop in the town...”

⁶ Huizhou caving style (徽雕): Huizhou caving technique , one of the most famous culture treasure in ancient Huizhou . There are four carving styles: brick, wood, stone and bamboo carving. They originated in Song Dynasty.

**Photo 6.18 Yanjiao village own
lion dance team performance**

Photo 6.19 Dry bamboo in artist's yard



6.3.4.6 Residents value change

Further analysis of the transcript thematically revealed that tourism development has made the local area more open to external influences and this has affected the residents' value system (Kousis, 1989). In a positive way, respondents agreed with those local residents who have begun to understand it was not good to be without knowledge; and they today place a much greater emphasis on their children's education. They hope their children could go to university, get a good qualification to find a good job. As noted earlier, some rich families now send their children to good schools in Xiuning Country. This is unlike the norm several years ago when parents were not overly concerned about their children's post-school education and normally students finished their middle school or high school and then went outside for work. One respondent told the author that: "... many children now begin to go to the university...there is a boy even doing his Ph.D. in Qinhua University...we are so proud of him. He is the only person in our town..." (No.25). Again, another respondent said: "Residents are very focused on children's' education like the parents in the city. Some rich family will find a private teacher for children, or ask their children to attend interest classes. ..Do you know in our villager group, there are more than 30 university students. We are very proud" (No.21). Additionally, some respondents pointed out that their awareness of democracy has improved a lot, and they have begun to know how to use the law to oppose illegal activities. As already mentioned previously, residents have started to use many ways to oppose local government and company on the issue of land. Although the final result was not perfect from their own perspective residents still positively confirmed their own contribution in these democratic activities.

In a negative way, the most frequently reported changes included comments such as ‘residents prefer gambling’, and ‘residents prefer to keep up their neighbours’. The gambling issue was mentioned by respondents many times. A large proportion of the residents said that because they had no job, and had nothing to do; they were falling into gambling as a pastime. Indeed, during the author’s period of observation, every time, when the author walked through the villages, she always found that several houses were full of people playing cards and other games involving bets.

The following photograph illustrates a scene where many residents played Mah-jong in the front yard of a household.

Photo 6.20 Residents play Mah-jong



The phenomenon of people keeping up appearances with their neighbours has become a serious issue. Because of Mianzi (面子)⁷, residents care a lot about the social status of others and themselves. For example, neighbour A built a new house, Neighbour B bought a private car, and they will be an outside stimulus to motive resident C to work hard and maintain the same level with their neighbours or even exceed them. Actually, it was a common sentiment in many villages that if you built a new house with very luxurious decoration that indicated that your family is rich in the village and hence the family acquired much prestige. Normally, one of the major objectives for those young people who worked outside the village is the saving of money thereby enabling their parents to build new houses. The following photographs illustrate the new houses built in recent years and show a comparison with the old houses of Yanjiao village.

⁷ Mianzi (面子): ‘face’ in English, but not only referred to physical face. Mianzi is one of important Chinese etiquette. It can be defined as ‘status’ and ‘self-esteem’ in Chinese relations. Having ‘face’ means that someone get reputation and highly thought by others.

Photo 6.21 New houses in Yanjiao village



Photo 6.22 Old houses in Yanjiao village



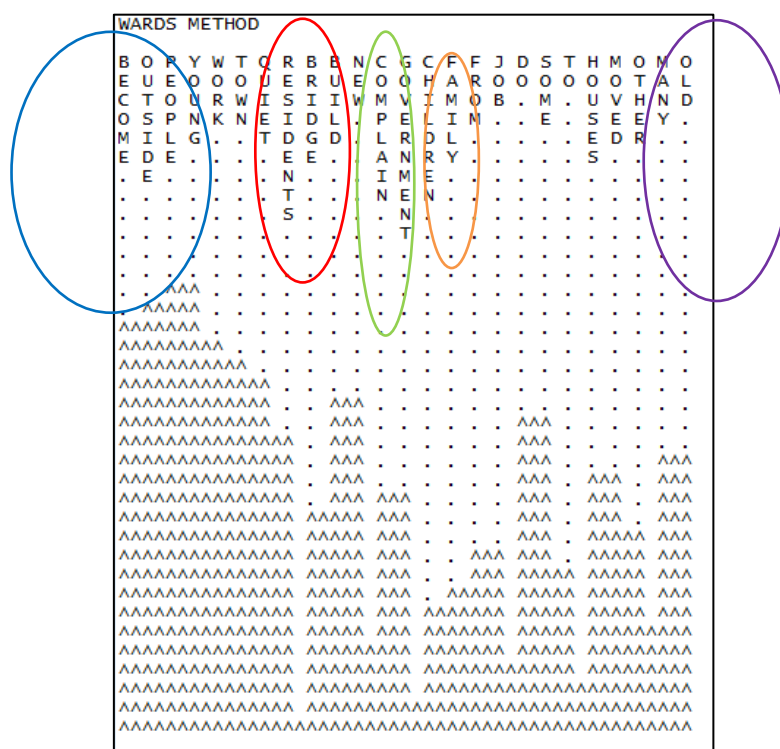
In summary, above thematic findings indicate that social-culture impacts include both the positive and negative sides in Mt Qiyun area. From below the mountain residents' view it could be certainly seen that tourism development has affected the community in 6 ways, which contribute to changes in population structure, residents' relationships, residents' value system, social conflict, facilities, and traditional culture. Next section, the CATPAC technique provides some support for the above thematic analysis.

6.3.4.7 CATPAC analysis of tourism social-culture impact

Again, the original transcripts for social-culture impact question were entered into CATPAC software to provide evidence to support the themes derived above. Using word frequency statistics, it could be found that the most frequently 8 words by descending order were : 'residents', 'people', 'new', 'young', 'government', 'outside', 'work' and 'children'. Additionally, the results revealed the existence of 5 different grouping of words as shown in the Figure 6.5, by the Wards method. Group one (circled in blue) showed a strong relationship among the words ' outside', 'people', 'young' , 'work', 'town' and 'quiet', which indicated that because of many young people work outside the town became 'quiet'. This group particularly reflects the second theme as mentioned previously, that is, tourism development has changed the local population structure, with younger residents leaving to work outside the village while the more elderly and children remain in the village. The second group of words (circled in red) consisted of 3 important words, 'bridge', 'build', and 'new'. Reverting to the original text, this set of words indicated that residents thought tourism development helped to improve basic facilities for their life environment, like building a new bridge and a new road. The third group of words (circle in green) has two words 'complain' and 'government'. By checking the original text, it could be found that residents expressed dissatisfaction with government and complained about the government's performance which

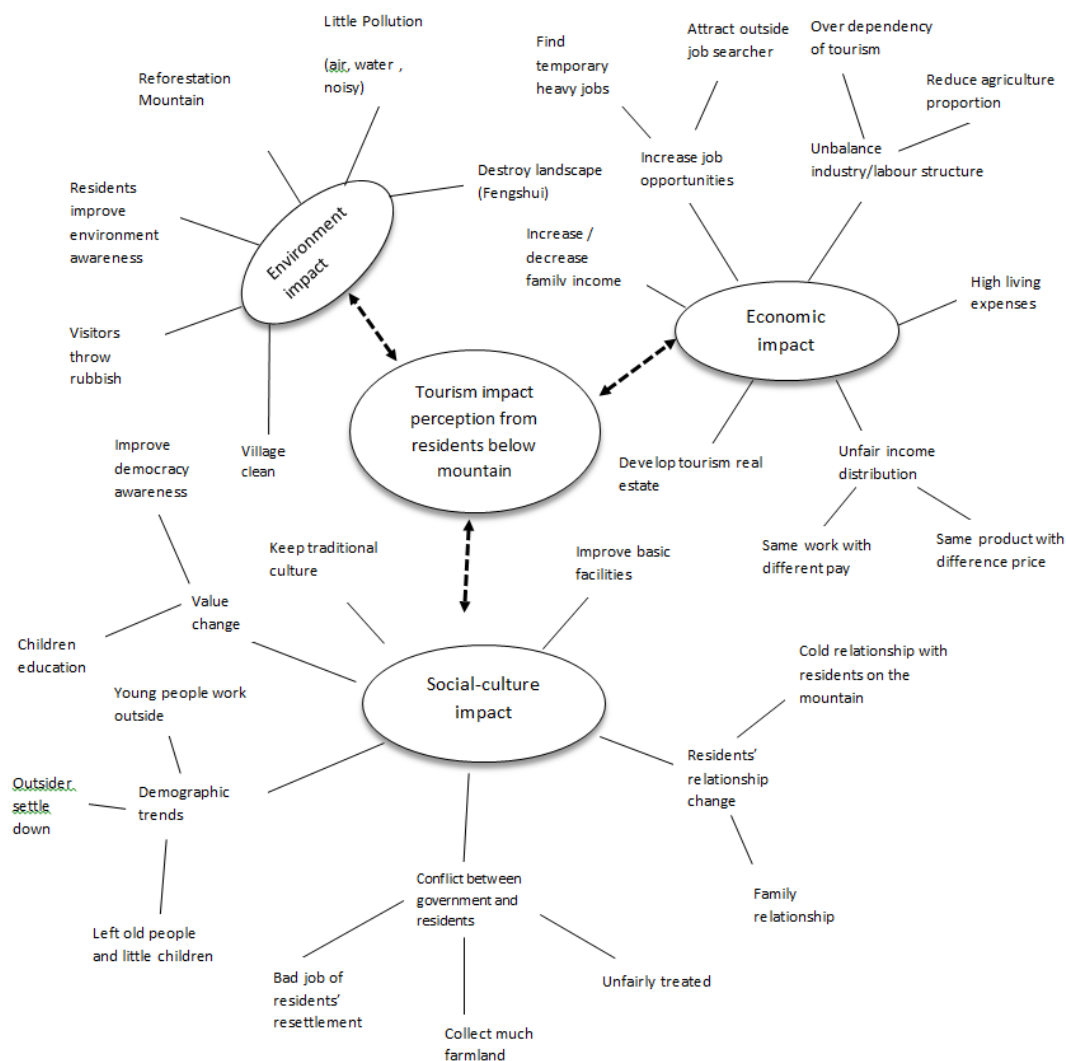
leads to social conflict and tension in the community. The fourth group of words showed a close relationship between words ‘children’, and ‘family’. The original test revealed that there are two sub-themes related to the words ‘children’ and ‘family’. First, it could be indicated that the families have begun to place emphasis on children’s education in recent years, which was under the theme of ‘residents value change’; while another meaning could be considered as parents working outside and leaving their children at home; thus it was under the theme of ‘population structure change’. Finally, the group of word showed somewhat the relationship between the words ‘house’, ‘moved’, ‘other’, ‘many’, and ‘old’. The original data therefore revealed that many old houses have already moved to other places, which have led to the town and village becoming quiet. A comparison of current results identified from thematic analysis and CATPAC software showed similarities. Both forms of analysis reaffirm that tourism development has improved basic facilities for the local community, changed local traditional population structure, and create potential social tensions between residents and government, as well as confirming that tourism development has changed residents’ value system. However, CATPAC did not reveal dimensions such as the changes in residents’ relationships and the retention of traditional cultural practices. Overall, though, the similarities are far greater than any deficiencies and thereby provide an added element of credibility to the findings.

Figure 6.5 Catpac analysis of social-culture impact



By now, tourism impact from residents' perceptions (below the mountain) has been fully described in this chapter. To present a more integrated understanding of residents' perceived tourism environment, socio-cultural and economic impacts in Mt Qiyun; an impact diagram is used to present the findings more clearly (see Figure 6.6). From the following figure, it would appear that at present, residents below the mountain had stronger economic and social-culture awareness than environmental consciousness. Economic benefit still was the first thing residents look for. On the other hand, this figure indicates that the negative impact perceptions were more obvious than positive impact perceptions. Especially in the case of economic impact, respondents mentioned the benefit of increasing job opportunities, but this was the major and primary benefit that was identified.

Figure 6.6 Summary of tourism impact



6.35 Thematic analysis of community participation in Mt Qiyun area

Respondents evaluated their experience and feeling of community participation in Mt Qiyun area through two questions “Have you participated in decision making in tourism planning for the mountain?” and “Do you think the government should listen to the local community during the tourism planning process or could planning be left to the government because of their status and professional skill?” From the transcripts, it was found that 32 respondents provided an answer to those questions. Among them, only 6 respondents indicated that they had some experience of such participation; while the other 26 respondents (up to 81.25% of total respondents) pointed out that they had no opportunity to express any suggestion during the tourism planning process. Most residents passively got to know of the decision through the village leader after government had made its plans. Thus, it appears that it is not common in the Mt Qiyun areas to encourage local residents to be involved in community participation. This is not a special case and a low level of community participation is a normal phenomenon in China, because of its top-down management styles and the strong centralism of government participation (Gu & Ryan, 2010). Sofield (2003) stated that in many socialist states, especially those with centrally controlled economies, like China, “strongly controlled over most forms of economic activities, including tourism development, from planning to construction; from marketing to management and operation” (p.26). For instance, Li (2006) also found very weak participation in the decision making process in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve of China, and the needs of local residents’ have not been a major concern of policy makers. Gu and Ryan (2010) describe similar tensions at the villages of Hungcon and Xidi not far distant from Qiyunshan, indicating a consistent policy of non-consultation and resistance by these communities in Anhui. The most frequently statements made by respondents were:

“No, we are the small fellows in the village...they (government) of course are not willing to ask us to participate in the decision making...we have to obey everything that they want us to do...” (No. 8)

“Never, it is not popular for residents to participate in our area...The residents should passively receive any decision, even if those decisions were bad for us...we also complain to the government when we lost our land, but no one listen and respond to us” (No.14).

Yet, when the data was further analysed, it was found that many respondents mentioned that if the government wanted to collect the land or demolish houses, they did earlier inform residents. For example, one respondent said that : “ if the decision related to private matters, such as move the house, sell the farmland, then the government will talk with us ...but actually, it seems not like discussion, just inform you, you have to do something...” (No.9). Again, another respondent pointed out that “the government and tourism authority ignore residents’ suggestions, unless they want our land, and they will tell us before...” (No.1).

With reference to 6 respondents who had participation experience, they are reported as local village leaders or Party members. Normally, the village leaders represent the residents’ wishes. They have the right and responsibility to discuss with government officials and deliver formal messages to the residents. Thus their answers were quite different from other residents. For example, one village leader mentioned that: “...I have some experience of participating in the decision making, because I am the team leader in my village...normally, the government leader told the village leader about the new decisions, and then the village leader told other residents. After everyone knows it, then the plan will be implemented” (No.5). Again, another village leader stated that: “...I am the headman of the village. When I receive some decisions from the government, I will open a meeting to discuss with other village leaders and residents, and then collect the feedback for government...” (No. 15).

However, when the author asked respondents to express their feeling about the role of village leader in community participation, most of them argued that village leaders only have appearance of participation, but lack any real influence on the process of decision making. For example, one resident expressed the view that “...village leaders have the same standpoint as the government...they actually don’t represent the interests of most residents....they only tell us the decisions made by government...sometimes, they also help government to do their ideological work, like sell the land...” (No.24). Indeed, Guo (2001) stated that in many rural places, the role of the village administration is very important in land expropriation. The village administration is subordinate to the township government; and as such they have a symbiotic relationship. Guo also found that in many cases of land exploration, local villagers are not consulted, but the deals will be made between the township government and village leaders that effectively exclude the village members from actual decision taking.

With regard to the second issue which was summarised in the question “Do you think government should listen to local community during the tourism planning or could planning be left to government because of their status and professional skill”, the results indicated that there was general agreement that the government needs to listen to the local community when it is making decisions. Indeed, 23 out of 32 respondents expressed the hope that they could be involved at some level of participation. Residents mentioned that even if their participation does not affect any final result, they would still feel happy to know what is actually being planned for the village in which they reside. The above results tend to replicate other previous literature, including that of one study conducted in a Thai village that similarly requested government to include residents in the government’s decision process (McDowall & Choi, 2010). Possible reasons for community participation can be explored through examining the transcripts.

“Government should think about our suggestions, anyway we are the masters of this village” (No.2)

“Personally, I think they should consider our suggestion, because we live here, we are more familiar with something than those officials who come from other places” (No. 9)

“Because I think this activity (community participation) can build trusting relationships between government and residents. Even if there are some tough decisions which may have some negative effects on residents, residents will be more understanding! This is a process of generating respect” (No. 25)

On the other hand 4 respondents did not agree that all residents should be involved in the participative process, their reasons being that it was not realistic for government to listen everyone’s suggestion, which was quite time consuming and an inefficient process. One respondent even mentioned that some villagers had a poor education and ‘insufficient capacity’ to participate in decision making. As one respondent stated: “... participation should not be for every villager because it is not realistic for everyone to be involved in participation. There are too many people, they have so many different suggestions and complaints based on their own benefits...thus it is difficult for government to achieve an unified view, which reduces their working effectiveness. ...” (No.19).

On the other hand, three respondents mentioned that they did not care about such participative opportunities. They thought it was of no use to say anything to governmental

bodies because simply there would be no consideration of their suggestions. One respondent commented that: “I don’t want to attend such a meeting...because I know the government won’t use our proposal, even if you say a lot. The government finally still does what it wants to do...this society is not ours, it is government and big bosses’.” (No.32). Again evidence exists elsewhere of such perceptions. Li (2004), who investigated community tourism in the Nanshan cultural tourism zone, Hainan, China, found that “... the villagers generally showed apathy towards participation in the tourism development, because they consider tourism a matter between the bosses of the company and the government officials, while having little to do with themselves...” (p.185). Moreover, when the data was further analysed, it was found that two respondents only wanted to participate in decision making when they were otherwise being adversely affected, and it might be that this could be true of other respondents.

Assessing these comments lead to the conclusion that respondents could be divided into 5 groups. The biggest is the group ‘No participation, but need to listen’ which comprises 19 respondents. Those respondents had no experience of community participation, but believed that it was necessary for government to listen patiently to local residents opinions. The other groups can be classified as ‘No Participation, but don’t need listen’ (2 respondents), ‘Participation, and need to listen’ (4 respondents), ‘Participation, but don’t need to listen’(2 respondents), and ‘No participation, and don’t care’(3 respondents) (see Table 6.7 for indicative comments).

Table 6.7 The summary of degree of involving in community participation

Type	Reason	Detail
Increase participation	Community Residents are the master of the mountain Residents activity support government Residents more familiar with mountain A process of respect Make better decisions Reduce conflict Improve democracy	“The government need to consider locals idea, because government should respect residents” “I think they should consider our suggestion, because we are lived here, we are more familiar with something than those officials who come from other places” “Involving our suggestions, the decisions can meet the needs of more people, which won’t make conflict between government and residents”
Maintain current level	Not realistic for everyone to be involved in participation Residents only focus on own benefits	“There are too many people, they have so many different suggestion and complains. It is difficult for government to unified view, which decreases their work efficient”. “Many residents only focus on their own benefits, and low education, they won’t give those useful proposal”
Want to participate only related own benefits	If the plan has relationship with residents’ interest, they may want to participate ; other cases, don’t care	“If the project is no relationship with us, then I don’t mind no participation. But if the project has some relationship with us, we hope they can discuss with us” “if the project not hurt my personal benefits, I am not willing to say something”
Don’t care	Officials won’t consider residents’ suggestion Only government and external company have right to do the planning	“Even someone go to government official’s office to complain, they won’t listen to you” “If we have some suggestions or complain , report to government, they won’t give us a response” “The government finally still do what they want to do! This society is not ours, it is

Overall, the level of community participation in Mt Qiyun area is quite low. Only a small number of village leaders have such opportunities and residents are only consulted when the government needs to buy residents' land. If Arnstein's (1969) ladder of community participation theory is applied here, it could be identified that currently, the participation level in Qiyun town was between the levels of "Nonparticipation" and "Tokenism". Similarly, as Gu and Ryan (2010) found in their study of Hongcun ancient village, Anhui province, many rural areas in China may be distant from the decision making, leading to communities being bereft of political power. Consequently they suggested that residents need to be better empowered in the community. Certainly respondents felt that if government adopted community participation in the local area it would bring many benefits including building trust between government and residents. In this way government would achieve more support from residents, which were in line with the objectives of sustainable development and stakeholder theory as promoted by the WTO.

6.36 Thematic analysis of residents' satisfaction and their suggestion for further development

Respondents were asked to evaluate their level of satisfaction with the current state Mt Qiyun tourism development by answering questions such as "Do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the current degree of Mt Qiyun tourism development?" and "Do you think the current mountain needs to be further developed or not?" From the transcripts, it could be found that 37 respondents answered this question, and among them 23 respondents are unhappy with current development, and only 11 respondents indicated that they were generally satisfied while 3 respondents thought tourism development it was no related to them in any way and hence they simply did not care about it. Additionally, with reference to the second question whether Mt Qiyun needs further development, the majority of respondents replied in the affirmative (28 out of 37 respondents) hoping that Mt Qiyun could be developed rapidly with significant benefits for them all. As such, although the majority of residents felt dissatisfied with current tourism impact on their villages from various perspectives (e.g. it did not generate enough benefits it brought some disruptions), they still felt that tourism was the best alternative for Qiyun Town when they saw 'Qiyun people' (the residents on the mountain) gaining real economic benefits from tourism development. On the other hand, 6 respondents were against further development on the basis that further tourism development may take

more farmland from local residents, and so generate more problems. This finding is reinforced by Social Exchange Theory, and provides further support for the suggestion by Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) and Easterling (2004) that if community groups see the exchange as problematic, they will tend to be against the exchange and then oppose tourism development.

The findings from the thematic analysis revealed that a variety of reasons existed for dissatisfaction relating to Mt Qiyun tourism and could be grouped in broad themes namely: ‘no relationship with tourism’, ‘contribute more than necessary to tourism’, and ‘poor government performance’.

6.3.6.1 No relationship with tourism

The interviews showed that the majority of respondents expressed the view that their villages located at the bottom of the Mt Qiyun possessed no or little relationship with the tourism development taking place. In other words, it could be simply understood by some respondents’ comments such as “tourism development is only for the village on the mountain, not for villages below the mountain”, “tourism here never bring benefits to our residents below the mountain, it only benefits those people on the mountain”, “we don’t have relationship with tourism, our life depends on working outside, not depend on tourism”. This is perhaps explained by the fact that the current form of tourism development tends to leave villages excluded from direct participation in the tourism industry together, which could be evidenced by earlier findings that only a small number of residents below mountain are actually employed in jobs somewhat related to tourism, while the loss of farm land is seen as a significant cost for those villages. Certainly the 4 small villages chosen for the current study seem to be affect by tourism when compared with other nearby villages, because all of them located on the main route to Mt Qiyun. For example, Yanjiao village is located at the foot of the ‘front’ mountain pathway, and Nankeng village is located at the foot of the ‘back’ mountain pathway. As a result, if visitors walk to the mountain, they will pass through these villages. However, current years, the number of visitors who walk to the mountain was decreasing year by year; rather the majority of visitors prefer to take the cable car instead of climbing the mountain. That is the main reason why some residents in these two villages had already closed their small businesses such as the ‘Bamboo rafting trip’. One respondent from Nankeng village said:

“In previous years, our residents also had an opportunity to get tourism business, because our village operated the bamboo raft...visitors preferred to walk to our village by the back mountain pathway after they visiting mountain. They always take a raft...however, because the river problem, the company asked us to stop operating the raft...now, nearly no one come to my village” (No.29)

Other villages, Yanqian and Tantou, were considered to have a great potential in further development in the next few years because the new mountain road will be open to visitors in year 2013, which will pass through the Tantou village. Similarly, Yanjiao village which is located in Qiyun Town is surrounded with plenty of new large scale constructions which, once completed, may attract visitors stay at town. One Tantou resident stated that:

“ I hope that after opening the mountain road, there will be more visitors who come to our village. At that time, we can open a family restaurant to do a tourism business like the residents on the mountain...I have waited for this day for 20 years” (No.19)

“ I expect that after those holiday cottage and hotels built, lots of visitors will visit the town and stay here longer...thus my business will be booming” (No.21)

At the current level of tourism, however, these villages have little or no direct relationship with tourism, and so fail to obtain any significant benefits from tourism development. As a result, for residents below the mountain, tourism has become “an unfulfilled promise in terms of employment generation and as a supplementary household income source” (Liu, 2006). They still need to wait to maximise their involvement in the tourism industry. This is one of the main reasons why the majority of villagers below the mountain expressed low satisfaction with the current levels of tourism development, which confirms Jurowski and Gursoy’s (2004) finding that residents who received the fewer or no benefits favour tourism much lower than those received greatest economic benefits. A Taoism theory from «Taiping jing, Article 103» suggests that “此财物乃天地中和所有，以共养人也” (ci cai wu nai tian di zhong he suo you, yi gong yang ren ye), that is this property is belonging to the heaven, earth, and all of all; so everyone has the right to enjoy this property. Given this, there is a feeling that government cannot allow a few people to occupy a large number of properties, and solely obtain the benefits. Rather people should try to build a harmonious society with the purpose of getting common prosperity. As such, providing tourism job opportunities for the residents below the mountain and encouraging them to become involved in the tourism industry like

the residents on the mountain is seemingly a fundamental strategy to win residents' support, and achieve the desired balance of community development.

6.3.6.2 Contribute more than necessary to tourism

Additionally, the current study showed that many respondents interviewed were aware that 'they contribute more than necessary to tourism, but can't get benefit from tourism'. Indeed, the most frequently used words reported by respondents to describe this were "we can't get benefits, but needs to contribute" and "We are unfortunate, we give everything to government to develop tourism, but we have no opportunity get money from tourism". The main reasons given for this complaint was that government purchased several fields of farmland from residents for the external real estate companies to build holiday cottages and hotels, yet it was the farmers who lost their livelihoods. To make things worse, the majority of those farmers were not able to find employment at the local area. At present, some of them have chosen to work outside, some lucky ones may find a local construction job, and others may stay at home and live on monies gained from compensation payments. The following quotes illustrate this theme in the data:

"I (am) totally unsatisfied with the tourism development... the government and company develop tourism at the expense of residents' benefits. I don't want the tourism to be further developed, because I know if it keeps developing, our lands will be totally gone! Tourism didn't bring benefits to us, only bring trouble! Finally, I want to say: the more tourism development, the less our quality of life!" (No.25)

"I am dissatisfied with the tourism development. I support development, but the developers should firstly consider the benefits of local residents. You (refer to government and company) as if they can't harm the interests of local residents. In my opinion, the residents here will face much trouble in their lives. We have no land, no job, very low welfare. In my village, there are 67 families who were forced to sell their land to government" (No.22).

Another reason leading to the residents' low levels of satisfaction that was mentioned by respondents many times was that to develop tourism, government undertook a series of demolition of properties and landscapes that created inconvenience for many families. Nearly 60 families who lived in the town street had to move to a new modern village, which was quite remote from their previous location. Although the new village had a very good appearance, being clean, tidy, and of a good-looking design, still it was the subject of

complaints by residents because of its inconvenient location, poor sewage, and reduced number of people. Some older residents also complained that they were forbidden to raise pigs and chickens, which totally changed their life styles. The following quotes provide support for this theme:

“I am not satisfied with the tourism here. Because, the tourism development causes inconvenience to my family, my house was changed three times, because of tourism development. Firstly, the government wanted to do river afforesting and greening, so my house (I lived on the river bank) should move to another place; however, 5 years later, the government told me one company will build a hotel, want to use my land, hope I can move to another place. I refuse, but finally, still moved. Now I am located on quite a small street here, but someone said this street will be requisitioned soon, as the company will build a pedestrian street here. I hated keep moving houses” (No.14)

Old residents' house located in riverbank were demolished and moved to new village as shown in the two photos that follow.

**Photo 6.23 Old residents' house
located in riverbank were demolished**



Photo 6.24 New village



6.3.6.3 Government poor performance

The transcripts also seemed to find that the majority of respondents questioned the value of local government performance. Local government activities were divided into five sub-themes: ‘sell mountain operating rights to external company frequently’, ‘too much land expropriation, and much land waste’, ‘low and opaque land compensation’, ‘poor resettlement of the affected villagers’, and ‘residents don’t have any say in decision making’. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, from 1999 to 2010, Mt Qiyun was sold to an external company five times. The perception was that, except for the first company ‘Huangshan Tourism Company’, no company really made any significant investment in tourism development. Normally, those companies promised to invest plenty of money in the mountain

before they signed a contract; actually, they just earned enough ticket revenue and gained land without any investment, until the government terminated the contract and found a new company. From the interviews, it could be found that nearly all the residents mentioned that they hoped their mountain would not be managed by an external company, because residents believed the objective of those external enterprises is the maximizing of profit, meaning they would not consider local residents' benefits. Thus, residents highly recommended that the mountain should return to the local government and hence into residents' hands. One respondent critiqued that:

“Although, Qiyun Mountain has been developing for nearly 30 years, it is still in its infancy. Every 3 or 4 years, the government will sell the mountain to a new private external company. Those companies earn lots of ticket revenue, and quit. So no money will actually be used to invest in further development. This is a very serious problem. If the government still maintains this form of management, the Qiyun Mountain won't develop further. In my opinion, the Qiyun Mountain needs better development; however, the operating rights should return to our (resident) hands. Only then will the profits will be invested in the mountain” (No.5)

The next sub-theme that could be derived from the data set is also related to the government's poor performance, that is there is 'too much land expropriation by government'. This is a very sensitive issue. This finding is comparable with conclusions from study of Cui and Ryan (2011), who researched the tourism impacts in Ankang, China, and found that in many rural Chinese places, the municipal government has become an active purchaser of land. In some sense, behind the land expropriation, can be seen the local government's desire for economic development and their thirst for fiscal revenue from public land leasing (Deng & Huang, 2004). However, the process of asking questions of residents who did not want to sell their land to sign the sales contract was particularly revealing, especially for those older residents. They used many ways to protest against the government including a sit in of residents at various governmental offices, electing representatives to petition higher authorities (e.g. Municipal government, provincial government), and seeking journalists to report this event. However this tactic may be of limited use because as noted by Zhang, Ding and Bao (2009), even though TV stations and newspapers are open to the society, they are still administered by the government in China. Some local media still simply refuse to publicise negative news. Consequently, conflicts between residents and government that might even come to violence

tend to remain unreported in many instances. Yet these processes are known to happen, and Guo (2001) confirms that in rural China, villagers have sought to defend themselves against ‘government land expropriation’ and conflicts between villagers and local officials are not uncommon. Finally, in this case, through constant local government pressure such as asking the village headman to propagate ‘residents’ ideological work’, and promising increased compensation if residents signed the contract early; residents eventually sold their farmland to government. When describing the developed land, one respondent even argued that : “It is a big joke, that farms have no farmland...I think the government officials don’t know the real meaning of ‘farmer’” (No.14). The following photograph illustrates how an excavator was used to destroy rice seedlings in order to gain farmland.

Photo 6.25 Government collect farmland



Moreover, one needs to consider the issues that arise with regard to ‘collect land’, ‘low and opaque land compensation’, and ‘the affected villages poorly settled’. Low compensation is a major recurring theme in the interviews. Residents are dissatisfied with their compensation. It was known that one mu land compensation was only 12,000 RMB (NZ\$2,400). This price was only for high quality watered land, as the price of dry land was even lower, only 8,000 to 9,000 RMB per mu. The majority of residents, except those who already did not wish to farm, always felt these prices were inadequate. With reference to the perception of ‘opaque land compensation’, in the previous section, it was already mentioned that government increased by a small amount the compensation being offered to encourage residents who worked in conjunction with the government, but this then led to residents’ having even less satisfaction as they saw these deals as being unfair. The following quotes provide evidence of their feelings.

“My land provide a whole family with food, moreover, we can grow rape flower to make oil, normally, we don’t need to buy rice or vegetables, only buy some meat...but now, we need to

buy everything, the rice, the oil, the vegetables...they are very expensive, but we gained only a little compensation...we are old now, can't work outside or do some construction work, we have to depend on my son to live..." (No.21)

"I am not satisfied with the current tourism development. We, residents below the mountain can't get benefits, but we will suffer some negative impacts, such as we lose our land. My family had 4 mu of land to sell to the government in order to build the new road. Once more, the compensation was really low." (No.17)

Respondents in the present study reported some level of dissatisfaction with the government performance of resettling the affected villages. This maybe a result of those residents who lost land being unable to find other jobs, meaning they have lost their source of income. For example, one respondent said: "I don't know what can I do , I have been a farmer more than 30 years... I am old now, I think no one will employ me even if I look for a job outside...the government collected my land but failed to arrange my life ... I think I will be in trouble, otherwise, I will need to beg money from visitors like those old women" (No.15). Finally, the interview transcripts revealed that many respondents pointed out that they knew nothing about the use of their land; even if their land was already collected by government. In short, there was little communication with the residents and many did not know why, at least initially, the government was acquiring their land, and certainly most had no knowledge of the higher prices at which it was then on sold to private enterprise companies. In many cases their queries failed to evoke a reply. This finding thereby provides further support evidence provided by Guo (2001), who stated that in most Chinese villages where land is expropriated, the local residents are normally not consulted and deals are discussed between the government and village leaders. However, as evidenced by many scholars, if residents can be involved with any types of decision-making, even possibly by providing them an opportunity to express opinions, they appear to be more favourably disposed towards tourism development (Lankford & Howard, 1994, Liu, 1999). For example, one respondent said: "I am not happy with the current outcome of tourism development...we residents don't know the plans of either government or company...for instance, we never know what's the use of our lands...only when the company enters into our town, then we know what's going on at this place, we residents are always in the passive position" (No.10).

So far, the transcripts have provided the main reasons as to why the majority of residents are dissatisfied with the current tourism development. Further analysis of the transcript

thematically revealed that those respondents who showed some satisfaction with tourism development are always the residents who have a high involvement in tourism, such as opening a restaurant or operating a mini bus. They have obtained significant benefits with the increasing number of visitors recent years and further provide evidence found in previous studies that residents who are highly dependent on the tourism industry tend to possess more positive attitudes to the development of tourism (Lankford, 1994; Easterling, 2004). Another alternative explanation relates to who work outside the area, but they feel their hometown's environment has changed for the better because of tourism when they return home, by assessing the improvements such as the installation of streetlights in every village, seeing the new bridges, wider roads, and the greening of the riverbank. More interestingly, there was a minority of respondents who worked outside who also stated that they were quite pleased with the current tourism development because now their land and old houses can be sold to government to earn some money, a view that was contrary to that held by a majority of respondents. This adds the dimension of location of occupation as distinct from residence in the literature. These views were expressed as:

“ I am satisfied with the development, because our town has changed a lot when comparing it with my children's period, such as the building of new concrete paths, the demolition of old houses, the building of many new modern houses, I hope the mountain will develop quickly like a city” (No.36)

“I am quite happy with the development. Because I sell my tea land to government, I got enough money to build a new house. Normally I work outside, so I don't need land. I want the mountain to develop significantly; in that case, my other land and old house could be sold to the government, because then my family maybe move to the Xiuning county” (No.31).

“...: I am pleased with the tourism development because my very old house was taken by the government. They government gave me money, asked me to build a new one. I was lucky, because my old house was very dangerous to live in, but I had no money to build a new one. Now the government has taken my house, and gave me lots of money. As a result, I can afford to build new one. However, some residents were not happy, because their houses were very new, and good quality, it is really a pity for them to be destroyed...” (No.8).

These observations indicate that in any assessment of the impacts of government enforced development need to both recognise that while the current system does mean significant

inequality in the treatment of individuals, this general statement needs to be mediated by a consideration of resident's personal circumstances. Xu (2007) argued that in China, one of the most critical issues in creating a sustainable tourism economy is that today local authorities face increasing pressure to improve the social and economic well-being of the local community. Currently the situation in Qiyunshan and the surrounding villages is not unlike many such cases, and that is that while dissatisfaction over many facets of development exist, very few deny a need for development and see tourism as a means of a better quality of life. The demand is not to halt development, but rather to ensure it is both effective and equitable. If this can be achieved, the paradoxically the local authorities and its partnerships with private enterprise that currently cause concern will be effectively legitimised and future resistance to development will be inhibited.

6.37 Some suggestions for further development

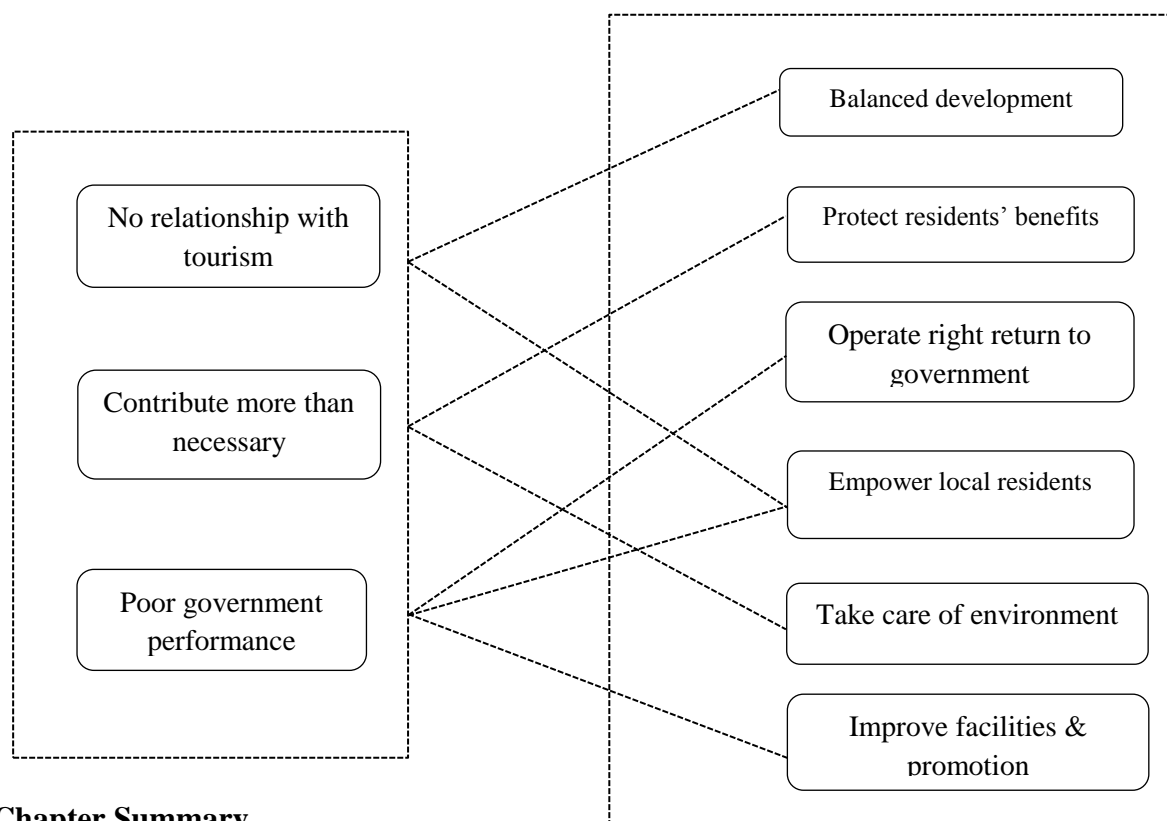
Although the majority of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with current tourism development when asked whether they like living here or would prefer to move out of the current village, 27 out of 36 respondents clearly stated that they liked living in their village and would never think about moving outside. The reasons behind this sentiment included 'good environment', 'harmonious neighbourhood relationship' and 'have lived here for several years'. However 4 out of 36 respondents mentioned that they did not like the current living environment and wanted to move; while the most interesting finding was that 5 respondents expressed the view that they liked living in their village, but they would accept a move if the government would help them build a new house. When respondents were asked to provide suggestions to further sustain local tourism development, most respondents had several useful proposals. By thematic technique, those suggestions were classified into 6 themes: 'balanced development', 'protect residents' benefits', 'operate the right return to government', 'empower local residents', 'take care of the environment', 'improve facilities, and better promotion'. With reference to the theme of 'balanced development', it is indicated that tourism development needs to consider both the mountain and below the mountain. At present, tourism development only focuses on developing the mountain area, and brings significant benefits to residents on the mountain; while as seen in this chapter, this is not the case for the villages below the mountain. Thus, many respondents pointed out that they hoped in that in the future, the government could give them opportunities to become involved in the business of tourism like the people on the mountain. Some respondents commented that: "...I

hope tourism could bring some economic benefits to the below villages as well. Don't forget there are many villages under the mountain that need to be taken care of" (No.4). Again, "...bring the local residents below the mountain together to make us all rich. Create more job opportunities for us, especially if someone loses land..." (No.4) And again, "Don't only focus on the residents on the mountain... our village also should be considered" (No.22). Regarding the second theme, 'protect residents' benefits'; this is a recurring theme emerging from this study. Most respondents always acknowledged that 'residents' benefits' should be the priority. Whenever or whatever, residents' interest should be protected. Conversations with residents confirmed that many local residents do worry that their interests will be hurt in the future because of tourism development. The most sensitive issue, for example, is losing farmland. As one respondent said: "Do some real things for us, don't hurt residents' benefits to help external company make money" (No.9). Again "developing tourism is a good thing, but to sell residents benefits to make money! The government will fall from favour with the people" (No.14). From a classic Taoism theory view, "祸兮福之所倚, 福兮祸之所伏" (huo xi fu zhi suo yi, fu xi huo zhi suo fu, from << Lao tze.58 chapter>>), it warns that good fortune and misfortune come in turn; misfortune, that is where good fortune is required; good fortune, that is where misfortune may be found. This theory is fully shown in the Qiyun study. For example, it seems that the government sells a large area of farmland to an external real estate company to develop tourism facilities, which attract visitors to come, which in turn helps to increase government revenue and the local economy; which can be seen as a good fortune. Meanwhile, local residents suffer strife because they lose the land on which they depend on forever, and thus the sales of land can be seen as misfortune for residents. As such, along with the happiness, misfortune also comes.

Again, with reference to the suggestion of returning mountain operational rights to the government, this was mentioned by respondents many times. Some respondents even pointed out the 'operating rights problem' is the root cause of slow tourism development in Mt Qiyun area. Thus, respondents proposed that it was government rather than an external company that should be responsible for operating tourism on the mountain in the future. For instance, one respondent pointed out that: "I hope the Mt Qiyun can return to the government and residents' hands, don't sell to the private company...because they (company) won't truly develop Mt Qiyun, they only seize much land to develop tourism real estate" (No.11). Additionally, the fourth suggestion made by respondents was 'empowering local residents to express their opinion'. Therefore, several respondents expressed their concern that if the

government can give residents opportunities to express views when making the decision, then they should do this. One resident mentioned that “ ...I hope the local government and authority can ask us for suggestions when they want to make something related with our interest...take us to develop things together...”(No.26). Finally, respondents perceived the importance of taking care of the environment and improving facilities and promotion in further tourism development. These two themes are illustrated in the following quotes: “I hope the government and tourism authority can consider the environment of Hengjiang river, it needs protection, to be more clean and more ecological” (No.6). Again, “... government and authority need to enlarge the attraction area, improve facilities, and do more promotion to attract visitors stay longer in the town” (No.31). A figure of the relationship between dissatisfaction reasons and further suggestions is summarized as follows to provide a summary of the prior discussion. Each source of dissatisfaction reason leads to suggestions from the residents.

Figure 6.7 Relationship between dissatisfaction reasons and further suggestions



6.4 Chapter Summary

Up to this point, two forms of dataset integrated well with each other to explore tourism impacts and residents' attitude toward Qiyun Mountain tourism. The result of this chapter

illustrated that most residents below the mountain expressed a low level of satisfaction with current tourism development in Qiyun area, as shown negative comments relating to unfair income distribution, the sacrifice of residents' interests, the few job opportunities, population changes, government poor performance et al. First point should be noted here is, residents especially complained the issues of economic impacts when compared with other impacts. The results from two dataset overall agreed with that current tourism provided limit opportunity for residents below the mountain to involve in tourism business as tourism haven't developed in the below mountain area. Thus only few respondents supported that tourism help them to increase family income, create job opportunities, and improve quality of life. Secondly, qualitative data provide more detail information to explain the various socio-cultural and environment impacts. The main reasons why those impacts occurred were also present in current chapter. For instance, with the increasing unfair income distribution, the relationship between residents on the mountain and below the mountain has been cold than previous year; the conflict between government and residents was escalating as government ignore residents' interest to expropriation of farmland, without resettlement et al. Thirdly, the results revealed that more than half of the respondents are unhappy with current tourism development because of three key reasons : 'no relationship with tourism', 'contribute more than necessary to tourism', 'poor government performance'. However, the majority of respondents still can tolerate negative impacts, and hoped Mt Qiyun could be developed rapidly to bring significant benefits to them. In next chapter, the thesis will focus on an analysis of residents living on the mountain, which will describe the tourism impact assessment and those residents' attitudes.

Chapter 7 Analysis of Qiyunshan Residents

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report findings derived from both interviews (formal and informal) with residents, the self-completion questionnaires, as well as from the researcher's daily observation. The structure of the chapter includes two parts. In the first part, quantitative data will be examined by SPSS 20.0 to provide general information of residents' perceptions of tourism development in their village. Later, in the second part, four main sections will be present to response to the overall research objectives and provide more evidence to support the results derived from quantitative data: a) access the degree of residents' involvement in tourism industry b) present residents' tourism impact perception from environmental, economic, and social-culture aspects respectively c) provide some detail about the level of community participation in this small village d) access residents' satisfaction of current tourism development, along with some key suggestions for further development.

7.2 Quantitative result - Socio-demographic information

A total of 75 copies of valid questionnaires were collected from 28 families that form the 120 total residents (including those returning family members) of the mountain village over a stay of 7 months. Table 7.1 shows that male and female respondents respectively accounted for 60% (n=45) and 40% (n=30) of the total sample. It was found that male respondents were more willing to participate, perhaps because the male residents are normally the person who opened an antique shop, souvenir shop and tea room, and thus they have more time to sit there and fill the questionnaires; while female respondents were always the person busy cleaning the street, selling the incenses or guiding the tour group, and hence they had less time. Another reason may be the result of male respondents had higher education levels than female respondents; they have more confidence to finish such a questionnaire. A third reasons was that if the females knew their partner had completed a questionnaire they saw no reason for themselves to also complete the form. The sample was classified into 9 groups. As might be expected that 24 per cent of respondents were aged 36-45 years old, followed by those between 26-35 years old, and 46-50 years old (both groups each accounting for 18.7 per cent of total sample) . Thus respondents between 26 -50 years were the major group in this sample. The results also showed that the respondents below 18 years (n=1), had low

participation in this survey; this is because nearly all of the schoolboys lived outside in the Xiuning County. As for the old residents, many are illiterate and as a result, there are only 5 respondents above the age 66 years old who helped researcher to finish this survey. Further descriptive analysis showed that the majority of respondents considered their income level as being of average level (41.3 per cent of total respondents), while 12.0 % of respondents reported they have little income, and more than 20% respondents pointed out they had above average income. Compare with the data from residents below the mountain, there were big difference with the above average income group and little income group, which confirmed that the gap of income between residents on the

and below the mountain was significant. In addition, respondents were asked to provide information about their years of living in this village. The results showed that 44% of respondents have lived there for 41-60 years, while 40% of respondents lived there for 21-40 years.

Table 7.1 Demographic of respondents			
Variable	Category	Frequency	Valid Percent
Gender	Female	30	40.0%
	Male	45	60.0%
Age	66 years and over	5	6.7%
	61 - 65 years	3	4.0%
	56 - 60 years	5	6.7%
	51 - 55 years	9	12.0%
	46 - 50 years	14	18.7%
	36 - 45 years	18	24.0%
	26 - 35 years	14	18.7%
	19 - 25 years	6	8.0%
	18 years and under	1	1.3%
Self-Perceived Income Level	Significantly above average income	2	2.7%
	Above average income	15	20.0%
	Average Income	31	41.3%
	Below average income	18	24.0%
	Little income	9	12.0%
years lived in mountain	61-80years	7	9.3%
	41-60years	33	44.0%
	21-40years	30	40.0%
	<20years	5	6.7%

7.2.1 Attitudes toward tourism development

A full set of mean scores for both tourism impact perception and residents' attitude toward tourism development at Qiyun Mountain village is shown in Table 7.2. Each question was evaluated using a seven point scale as before. The current data was first tested for its reliability. Cronhach's Alpha test was found to be 0.7509, which is deemed appropriate for analysis given the small size of the sample but its high proportion of the available population. As part of the survey, every respondents was asked to rate the level of agreement on economic impact. The results analysed by one sample test showed that the highest score is attributed to "I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in my village" (on the mountain mean=5.77 vs. below the mountain mean=4.25 $t=11.067$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$), followed by "the tourism industry is good for the village's economy" (on the mountain mean=5.59 vs. below the mountain mean=4.40 $t=7.362$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$), and "my income has increased with the introduction of tourism" (on the mountain mean=5.468 vs. below the mountain mean=3.43 $t=5.817$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$). Thus, those respondents who lived on the mountain have significant higher level of agreement with the economic benefits than residents who live in the below mountain villages. A similar exercise was done with items relating to social-cultural impacts as shown in Table ? The results revealed that, the majority of respondents in this survey showed a highest level of agreement with the statement "Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from all over the world" (on the mountain mean=5.813 vs. below the mountain mean=5.13 $t=4.312$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$), followed by the statement "Taoism encourages a wide variety of cultural and activities" (on the mountain mean=5.27 vs. below the mountain mean=3.75 $t=7.676$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$); while the lower score will be related to the item, such as "I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the mountain"(on the mountain mean=3.03 vs. below the mountain mean=3.58 $t=-2.684$, $df=74$, $p=0.009$). It was quite interesting to find that residents below the mountain were more critique about the Taoist nature of the mountain than residents on the mountain. Further similar analysis also used to explore the environment impact from residents' perception. The highest score is attributed to "my village is now a lot smarter and clean" (on the mountain mean=6.03 vs. below the mountain mean=4.96 $t=7.79$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$), followed by "the development of tourism facilities is a threat to the natural environment" (on the mountain mean=4.76 vs. below the mountain mean=4.17 $t=2.832$, $df=74$, $p=0.006$). While the lowest score is the item "I fear that too many tourists may spoil the mountain" (on the mountain

mean=3.24 vs. below the mountain mean=3.75 $t=-2.264$, $df=74$, $p=0.027$). Final section explored that there were

Table 7.2 Descriptions of tourism impacts			
Economic impacts	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in my village	75	5.77	1.19
The tourism industry is good for the village's economy	75	5.59	1.4
Tourism and the cable car has created job opportunities in the village	75	5.12	1.79
My income has increased with the introduction of tourism	75	4.68	1.86
Encouraging tourism will mean prices will increase in the village	75	3.97	1.85
The benefits of tourism get distributed widely through the village	75	3.6	1.86
Social-culture impacts			
Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from all over the world	75	5.81	1.37
Tourism encourages a wide variety of cultural and other activities	75	5.27	1.71
Tourism is one way of protecting the traditional houses and courtyards	75	5.15	1.77
The tourists that come to the my village are usually very friendly	75	4.97	1.61
There are already some things I do not do in my village at certain times because of the tourists	75	4.47	1.5
I sometimes feel tourists do not respect the local traditions	75	4.05	1.87
I think visitors are far too intrusive in our everyday lives	75	3.47	1.56
I feel the sacred nature of the mountain will be spoilt by tourism	75	3.28	1.84
I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the mountain	75	3.03	1.79
Tourists intrude upon the time I spend on my religious duties and prayers	75	2.65	1.54
Environment impacts			
My village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism	75	6.03	1.19
The development of tourism facilities and attractions is a threat to the natural environment	75	4.75	1.76
Tourists create crowding in the village	75	3.64	1.75
The tourists are far too noisy for my liking	75	3.41	1.95
I fear that too many tourists may spoil the mountain	75	3.24	1.95
Community attachment			
I really enjoy living in my village	75	6.41	0.87
I would like to see my village demolished and more modern houses for local people to be built	75	2.23	1.7
With the changes I would like to move out of my village	75	1.52	0.94
Attitude toward tourism			
The mountain is a special places and should be protected	75	6.6	0.89
The money spent locally to attract more tourists is a good investment	75	6.0	1.4
I think it important that the new Mt Qiyun road will allow more visitors	75	5.77	1.64
The tourism planning authorities pay little attention to the views of local residents when making decisions about Anhui tourism	75	5.73	1.61
Tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future	75	5.57	1.54
I would prefer it if visitors stayed overnight in the village	75	5.17	2.06
I would like to have a job in tourism	75	5.07	1.8
I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on my village	75	4.77	1.83
I feel that tourism is growing too fast for the mountain to cope with	75	2.52	1.45
I feel that the village should restrict the growth of tourism	75	1.84	1.43
Note : 7 point Likert Scale where 7 is the highest score			

significant different perceptions about tourism from two types of residents. For example, the item “mountain is a special places and should be protect” were both seen as the highest score in two groups, but the residents on the mountain have more active participation.”(on the mountain mean=6.6 vs. below the mountain mean=5.81 $t=-7.728$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$), followed by “I really enjoy living in this village” (on the mountain mean=6.413 vs. below the mountain mean=5.51 $t=8.978$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$). At the lower end of the scale are attitude relating to “I feel that the village should restrict the growth of tourism” (on the mountain mean=1.84 vs. below the mountain mean=3.55 $t=-10.33$, $df=74$, $p < 0.001$). With the references to the results derived from descriptive analysis, it indicated that the residents on the mountain were significantly affected by tourism than those residents below the mountain; they are happier with tourism and hope mountain could be further developed. Overall, current result can be seen an evidence to support Keogh’s finding, who proposed that residents living closet to the tourism develop area would have stronger feelings about tourism than those who live father (Keogh, 1990).

A stepwise regression was done to test if there was a particular relationship between the “ I really enjoy living in my village” and other scaled item variables (see Table 7.3). Findings of the present study showed that the respondents who enjoy living in their village, had positive relationships with 2 particular positive statements of “ the tourism industry is good for the village’s economy”, and “I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on my village”; while also with 3 negative variables of “with the changes I would like to move out of my village”, “there are already some things I do not do in my village at certain times because of the tourists”, “I feel that the village should restrict the growth of tourism”. With an R-square value of 0.32, which means the effect of these five statements had a 32% contribution to total dependent variable. Accordingly, this results revealed that residents were happy with tourism and its impact on their village, especially good for village’s economy. Although there are already some things residents do not do because of the tourists; residents still not willing to move out of the village, and hope tourism could be further developed in the future.

Table 7.3 Regression of “I really enjoy living in my village” on other scaled item variables							
Coefficients(a)	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	5.923	.416		14.229	.000		
With the changes I would like to move out of my village	-.176	.094	-.189	-1.875	.065	.860	1.163
The tourism industry is good for the village's economy	.189	.061	.302	3.086	.003	.912	1.096
There are already some things I do not do in my village at certain times because of the tourists	-.204	.061	-.353	-3.323	.001	.776	1.289
I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on my village	.180	.050	.379	3.564	.001	.775	1.291
I feel that the village should restrict the growth of tourism	-.136	.059	-.224	-2.300	.025	.918	1.089

a Dependent Variable: I really enjoy living in my village

Overall, the results of the quantitative part revealed that Qiyun Shan residents show more positive perception to the tourism impacts than residents below the mountain. Only three negative tourism impacts were slightly agreed by Qiyun residents, included ‘the benefits of tourism get distributed widely through the village’, ‘there are already some things I do don’t do in my village because of tourists’, ‘facilities is a threat to the natural environment’. Undoubtedly, residents’ positive attitude is reflected by the widely shared agreement with the statement of ‘tourism is the only way the mountain can survive’ (mean=5.57), ‘I am happy with tourism and its impacts on my village’ (mean=4.77), ‘the village should restrict the growth of tourism’ (mean= 1.84). Using the thematic analysis, following qualitative data will be used to evidence above statements, and give detail information about tourism impacts in this small village, along with residents’ attitude toward tourism development.

7.3 Qualitative analysis of residents' semi-structured interviews

7.3.1 Respondents' demographic information

The sample for the formal semi-structured interviews consisted of 28 residents on the mountain, of whom 17 were males and 11 females. Most were middle-aged and older people. The oldest respondent is 78 years old; while the youngest one is 20 years old. The average age for this sample is 51.14 years. The jobs reported by those respondents were: Taoist (7 respondents), Cleaner (2 respondents), Incense seller (4 respondents), Small business owner (9 respondents), Fortune teller (2 respondents), Tour guide (2 respondents). In this sense they are representative of village residents for all other than the very young held some job of some description, generally in a small family business or in some capacity licensed by the village committee. The responses to general categories of questions are described below by reference to the primary leading question. As previously described, the responses came from respondents with whom the researcher was familiar, and from a conversational context as respondents often wanted to provide examples drawn from personal or family histories.

7.3.2 “Do you work in the tourism industry, and if yes, do you like your job? Do you like your family to be involved in tourism jobs here?”

There are 28 respondents who answered this question. It would appear from the data that at present, nearly every respondent worked in the tourism industry (27 out of 28 respondents). Only one respondent reported that he worked as a Chinese teacher in Qiyun middle school; other jobs reported by respondents were: ‘cleaner’, ‘incense sticker seller’, ‘restaurant owner’, ‘fortune teller’, ‘souvenir shop owner’, ‘tour guide’, ‘ticket office staff’ as well as ‘Taoist priests’. Among them, 20 respondents expressed without prompting that they liked their current tourism related job. Among the reasons mentioned frequently by respondents for this state of affairs were “*the job is quite relaxing*”, “*it is enough for a living*”, “*easily earn money at home*” “*see lots of visitors, make connection with outsiders*”, “*be my own boss, freedom*”, “*can earn money even at old age*”, “*contribute something to mountain development*”. On the other hand, 5 respondents did not like their job because they insisted that their current job had low status and an unstable income that involved hard, work and long hours. The remaining 2 respondents had no specific view, just considering their job as a means to make a living that was better than any other alternative. When respondents asked whether they want their children or other family members to be involved in tourism, 15 out of the 28 respondents

commented that they hoped their family would stay at home together and be involved in the local tourism industry. Respondents in this group always believed that working outside the village was much harder than working within Qiyunshan. However, 7 out of the 28 respondents supported their partner to remain at Qiyunshan and work in its tourism business, but did not expect that their children would return home. The main reasons given for this were that such respondents believed Qiyun Mountain was too far small for a young person to stay, with little opportunity to obtain a ‘fortune’.

7.3.3 Thematic analysis of environment impact on the mountain

With reference to one objective of the current study, the respondents were asked to describe how tourism affects the village and mountain environmentally. Most respondents agreed with a view that their living environment was much better than in the years before tourism development. Among them, 11 respondents pointed out that mountain was ‘clean and tidy’ without any environmental problem being present in Mt Qiyun. They believed that factors like ‘few visitors’, ‘the presence of hard working cleaners’, ‘the increased environmental awareness of residents’, and a ‘strict environmental protection policy’ all contributed to an improved environment. Some words reported by this group included “the environment here becomes much better. Before the 1980s the environment on the mountain was really bad, ... lots of rubbish here, and no green trees...because the residents cut wood to sell for money” (No.1) “The environment is good, fresh air, clean, and there are cleaners to keep (it) clean everyday” (No.2) “The environment always good, because there are only small numbers of visitors who come to mountain, and (they) stay for only a little while” (No.3). Additionally 14 respondents mentioned that the environment on the whole was good, but little problems still existed, while 4 respondents simply mentioned that the environment became worse with the increasing number of visitors, while only 1 respondent thought the environment on the mountain had shown no change in these years. The transcripts of the interviews revealed 4 dominant themes in the current data, namely: ‘the village becomes clean and green’, ‘increased environmental awareness’, ‘destroying the landscape’, and ‘visitors bring trouble for the environment’. Accordingly, these four themes consist with previous quantitative results that residents showed agreement with the village environment become smarter and cleaner because of tourism; along with the agreement of tourism facilities is a threat to the natural environment. While, residents give low means to the negative environment impact, like noisy and crowding.

7.3.3.1 The village becomes clean and green

When respondents were asked to describe how they perceive the mountain environment, many respondents commented that both the mountain and Yuahua Street had become cleaner and greener, because both the tourism authority and the company showed concern about the environment. For instance, cleaners play a very important role in protecting a clean village. There were 8 cleaners employed in 2012 who were responsible for the environment of the main attractions of the village and mountain. Every day, those cleaners worked for 8 hours to keep the area free from litter and other problems. The Qiyun tourism company supervisors conducted investigations of the area, and if they found some places were dirty fines were imposed on the cleaners. However, two respondents commented that cleaners only clean the core attractions, and many more secluded places such as the back of the mountain had been ‘dirty’ for years. Additionally, some respondents noted that because of tourism development, the mountain had become greener through natural re-afforestation and new plantings. In prior years, especially before tourism development, most residents on the mountain lived by cutting wood and selling it to outsiders. As one respondent said: “At that time, you nearly rarely saw a big tree, because all of the big trees were cut by us, anyway, no one controlled this. Sometimes, residents below the mountain would cut the trees as well” (No.1). After tourism development commenced in the early 1990s, government, on one hand, prohibited residents from cutting trees on Qiyun Mountain, and, on the other hand, to encourage residents stop using firewood for cooking purposes, provided a liquid gas oven to every family on the mountain in 1996. In addition the government was active in tree planting and other environmental enhancement policies. For example, in year 1985, Xiuning County government asked 1000 middle school students come to the mountain and they planted over 2,000 trees on both sides of the mountain pathway. The following photo indicates the current state of afforestation around the village.

Photo 7.1 Clean village surround by green



However, a more general observation relating to the village environment was frequently mentioned by respondents. They commented that although the village had become cleaner and greener, there remained no good way for waste disposal, which was imposing enormous demands on the environment. Currently, there are two ways to dispose waste. First, cleaners collect the rubbish, then directly burn it on the mountain; and second, residents throw waste food directly onto the mountain. Because there is no sewage system in the village and government forbid raising pigs on the mountain to eliminate unpleasant smells from piggeries the waste food from restaurants and families cannot be disposed of immediately. Many residents just threw away waste food at some secluded place on the mountain. It is a serious problem, especially in summer, as the waste food not only creates unpleasant smells but also attracts mosquitoes. After heavy rain, rubbish is even washed down the hill, directly to Hengjiang River, and so adds to pollution in the river. The current findings provided further evidence to support previous observations made by Shinde (2007), namely that a pilgrimage centre in North India faced significant pollution because of the lack of a sewerage system there. Two respondents expressed their views as follows:

“ ... the environment, generally, it keeps good, but the major problem is that there is no sewage system on the mountain. There is much waste water from restaurant every day, but they have to pollute stuff directly into the mountain. When the weather becomes hot, there were horribly smells” (No.4).

“... It is not so good in environment aspects. Now we can't raise pigs, and our waste food can't be disposed, especially for those restaurants. Every day, there are many foods left. And there is no sewer cleaning system on the mountain, so we have to drop all the waste food in the mountain. .. we know it is not good for our environment, but we have no idea. Every summer, the stink of the food turned my stomach. 10 or 20 years ago, there are no mosquitoes and flies, but now, so much in the summer season. Years before, there was a small ancient temple site in this hollow. However, because we throw too many rubbish in this hollow, that stops us to get there. Now, no one will come to this place” (No. 11).

Indeed, a sewage system is much needed at Qiyun Mountain. Without this, it will almost certainly damage the mountain environment. Fortunately, this problem has already attracted the government's attention. In 3/12/2011, the author followed some research institute staff to make an on-the-spot investigation and prepare a feasibility report for a Qiyun Mountain sewage system.

With regard to rubbish, a few residents also pointed out that many construction staff stay at mountain for years, and they prefer to throw rubbish in the mountain, which makes the environment dirty and unpleasant. Indeed, from the author's observation, temporary houses built for those construction staff at the back of the mountain were found; however, those staff normally have a low level of awareness of environmental protection, and dispose their rubbish inappropriately. Some throw rubbish into the mountain valley; some just leave rubbish on the ground. The following photo illustrates the state of a temporary hostel for construction workers, with much rubbish left on the surrounding ground.



Photo 7.2

**Rubbish near the
hostel for
construction workers**

7.3.3.2 Increase environment awareness

Another positive environmental impact frequently mentioned by respondents was that the government had, through continuous efforts, helped residents increase their environmental awareness through a series of policies and action. In the past 10 years, the government has initiated several ways in which to work with residents to protect the environment. For example:

- Government prohibited local residents raising chicken and pigs in the village to both avoid smells and present a better tourism product. From 2000, the tourism authority gave 40, 000 RMB to the village as meat subsidies.
- The authority also prohibits residents from cutting trees, permitting wood collection from only dead trees. Additionally, the authority promotes the use of garbage bags and the disposal of waste barrels, an initiative that began in 2010. Each month, the company provides families with garbage bags.
- The tourism authority has initiated a 'family responsibility system' to ensure a 'clean environment', 'green covering', and 'good social order' outside each residential building.
- Notices about forest fire prevention are distributed to residents and the government

has signed agreements with every temple and Taoist house allocating responsibilities for fire protection policies.

With these strict but community and tourism oriented policies, the environmental awareness of residents has been significantly improved. As such, one respondent stated that: “Residents have an increased awareness of environmental protection. We residents now begin to dispose use garbage, as in the city. We don’t cut fresh wood, if we want to use some wood, we only pick some dead trees. There is one example, I can tell you, one time our headman cut one small tree, which was seen by another resident. Later nearly all of the 27 families wrote a letter of complaint jointly to the tourism authority. Finally, the headmen had to make some compensation payments” (No.16). Another mentioned that: “We begin to learn we should protect our environment, because, no visitor wants to come to some dirty place”(No.1). This finding supports those of Kuvan and Akan (2005) who stated that “... development of tourism in an area may be beneficial for the environment because of an increased awareness about the value of the environmental resources in establishing demand into the area” (p.704).

Indeed, the author observed during her stay that it was quite normal for many residents, who are not cleaners, to pick up rubbish if they see it on the ground. The above comments and observations indicate that residents on the mountain have quite a strong environmental protection consciousness (but this arguably also consistent with Taoist notions of harmony with nature). This result, therefore, confirms the previous case study of Jiuzhaigou, China, conducted by Li et al., (2005) that found local residents’ environmental awareness increased and they fully participated in the protection of the tourism environment. The following photos illustrate the ‘fire protection responsibility’ documents signed with the tourism authority, and every family has a ‘family responsibility brand’ on the wall of their buildings.

Photo 7.3 Fire protection responsibility

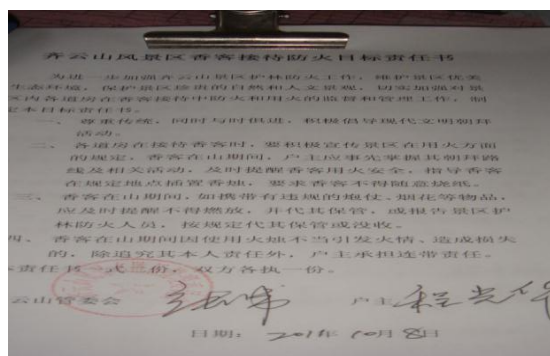


Photo 7.4 Family responsibility brand



7.3.3.3 Destroy the landscape

The interview transcripts revealed that the construction of some tourism facilities on the mountain destroyed the parts of the natural landscape. The most representative examples mentioned by respondents were the ‘mountain road’ and its accompanying ‘tunnel’. Starting from February, 2005, the Xiuning Government invested 29.16 million RMB to build the mountain road, which is of 14.14 kilometres in length. At the end of 2011 the road was successfully completed and opened to traffic. Additionally, in May, 2011, the government invested 10 million RMB to build the Nantianmeng (南天门) Tunnel which is 124 meters in length, 6.5 meters wide, and 4.5 meters in height. Both were obviously considered as a good thing for the village because of the improved accessibility to the village. However, a few respondents pointed out that those rocks have not been moved for hundred years, but the blasting and mountain excavation damaged the natural landscape. Furthermore, some respondents mentioned that after the mountain road had been built, landslides had become more common if it had been raining heavily for couple of days, which naturally impeded traffic, sometimes for days. Various comments on this issue included:

“...constructions destroyed some natural landscape, when they build the tunnel and mountain road, those ancient rocks were destroyed” (No.20)

“...overall, the environment here is good, but building the tunnel and mountain road brought a somewhat negative impact for the natural environment. Workers do lots of hard-rock drilling and blasting operation during their construction...once, when there is blasting in construction site, it even affected a cliff in the core attraction” (No.15).

The following photos indicate the mountain road construction work and landslides.

Photo 7.5 Mountain landslides



Photo 7.6 Mountain road construction work



7.3.3.4 Visitor negatively impact the environment

Many respondents mentioned that mountain environment was somewhat affected by the increasing number of visitors. One of the more obvious phenomenon described in the transcripts were ‘visitors throw rubbish everywhere’, ‘some descriptions have been weathered or fade in colour by the countless touching’, ‘pilgrims burn yellow paper and incense outdoor, and create hidden fire hazards’ and visitors ‘crowd and (are) noisy in high season’. When the author asked some cleaners to describe their impression of the relationship between ‘visitors’ and ‘environment’, it was clearly seen that most cleaners were dissatisfied with some forms of visitors’ behaviours like spitting in public areas, picking plants, drawing pictures on walls, and throwing litter on the ground. One cleaner even surmised that: “I think the environment has a close relationship with visitors’ behaviour. It is normal that after visitors have left; there is much rubbish on the ground. They (visitors) prefer spitting in the street, playing cards on the ground, talking loudly...if they can improve their behaviour, I think our environment will be better” (No.10). As early as in the beginning of 1990s, Liu (1991) had begun to research the environmental impact of tourism and Chinese environmental conservation. He found that for both Taishan Mountain and Huangshan Mountain, the garbage left by tourists all over the mountain slopes seriously polluted the environment, while the rubbish was difficult to clear up.

With regard to other impacts caused by visitors, respondents pointed out that many ancient descriptions and dinosaur footmarks have been weathered and faded in colour by visitors’ touching them. In response to a question posed by the author to the head of the Geography Department of Qiyun Tourism Authority, Mr Wu explained that: “Nearly every visitor will use their hand to touch them; the hand will bring perspiration and temperature to the descriptions, year after year, which leads to damage...” (Personal communication, 2/2/2012). To protect those descriptions, local government started to repair the damaged descriptions in July 2012.

The following figures illustrate the appearance of the description ‘寿’, which means long life in Chinese. Normally, as a means of increasing fun for their clients, a tour guide will ask visitors to touch this description, saying the higher one reaches the longer your life will be. The left photograph (Photo 7.7) was taken in 2012 by the author, while the right one was taken 8 years previously by a local resident. It can be seen that at the bottom of the inscription, at the point where visitors have touched the calligraphic character, the colour is

lighter in 2012 when compared with 2004. This result replicates the case of the ‘Dunaghuang Murals of the Buddhist Grotto’ reviewed in chapter 2, that is, the murals and characters in the grotto have been affected by the huge influx of tourists, because of tourist behaviour and the higher induced temperatures (Zhang et al., 2007).



Of particular note was some residents highlighted pilgrim’s actions such as the burning of yellow papers, incense and lighting fireworks as creating potential fire hazards. In the early 2000s there was a big bushfire on the mountain caused by such actions and the fire even burned a corner of Taisu Palace. Subsequently the government took the hazard so seriously that it provided dry-chemical fire extinguishers to every family and to the Taoist temples. The following photo illustrates the warnings posted by the Qiyun Tourism Authority that forbid the lighting of fireworks and burning of incense in given areas. This issue also replicates the findings of Wong at Putuoshan as described in her doctoral thesis of 2010.

Photo 7.9 Warnings of forbid the lighting of fireworks and burning of incense



While, when compared with other attractions in Anhui and Huangshan Municipality, Mt Qiyun attracts relative few visitors nonetheless at the time of major festivals such as National Day and Labor Day, Yuehua Street will be crowded with noisy visitors. According to Qiyun Mountain Tourism Plans 2011-2030, the average environment carrying capacity of Yuehua

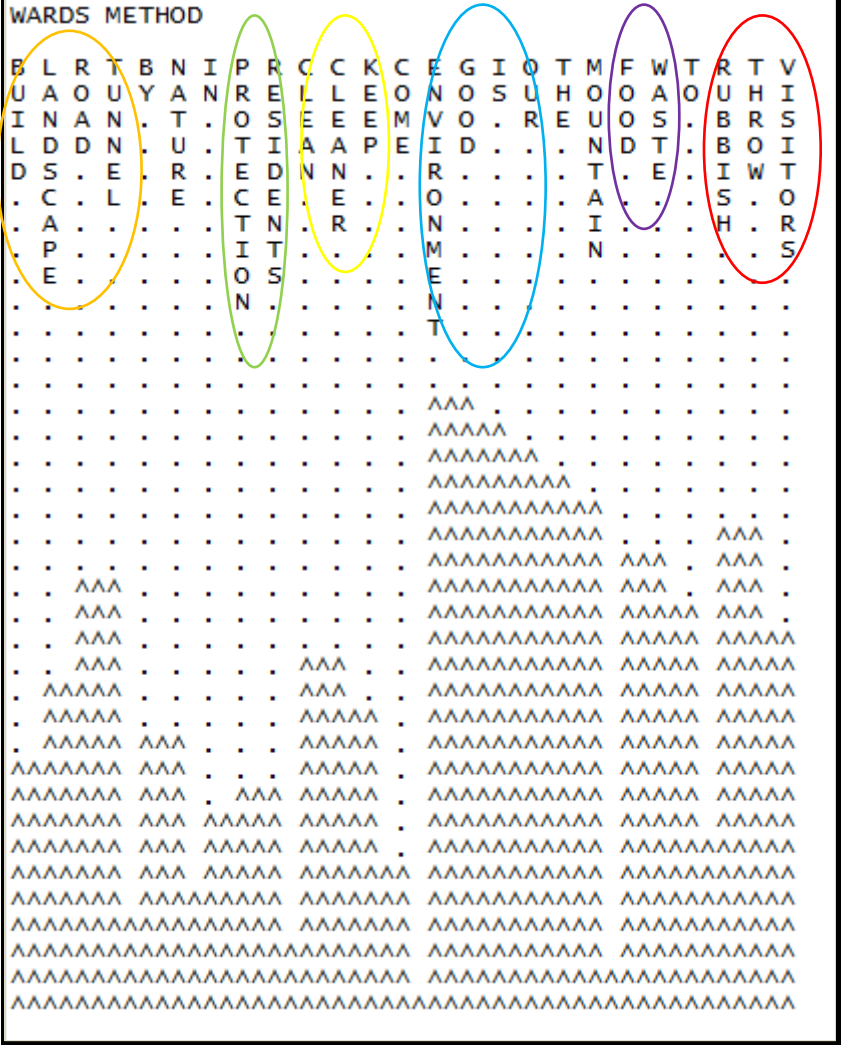
street was only 368 person per day; and 92000 numbers per year (Xiuning Government, 2011); yet for those big festivals, visitors will number 3000 to 4000 per day, which is well beyond the basic carrying capacity. For example, in 2008 Labour Day, the mountain received 9807 visitors in three days; while in 2009, by only the second day of the Labour Day holiday period, the number of visitors had already reached 4423 (Xiuning government, 2009). Consequently, some respondents felt that during such peak periods that the intrusion by such crowds was too much. However, notwithstanding the noise such crowds generated none hoped for a reduction of the number of visitors because the extra income that was being generated. One grandma said: “When there were many visitors in the Yuehua Street, I get a headache...but because I can have better business at that time, so I can bear (it)”. One new mother said: “Every time, when lots of visitors come to my houses to have lunch, I have no time to look after my babies... my babies began to embrace to be embraced by visitors...my babies were frightened and cried, I don’t like it...but for the money, have no idea what else to do”.

Overall, tourism brings significant environmental and economic impacts to the mountain. The findings mirror those of the villagers living below the mountain, and comments generate a consensus of themes based upon ‘becoming cleaner’, ‘greener’, ‘improve residents environment awareness’, and ‘destroying the landscape’; but, residents on the mountain go further in feeling additional impacts that included ‘being crowed’, ‘noisy’, ‘much rubbish’, ‘causing damage to inscriptions’, and ‘fire hazards’, while residents below the mountain were more likely to suffer the pollution from the seemingly constant building that negatively affected their daily life. In the next section, the analysis is confirmed from findings that emerged from the use of the textual analysis program CATPAC.

7.3.3.5 CATPAC analysis of tourism environment impact

The original transcripts relating to environmental impact questions were entered into CATPAC software. From the word frequency statistics, it was found that the most frequent words mentioned by respondents were ‘Environment’, ‘Mountain’, ‘good’, ‘Visitors’, ‘Clean’. Using Words Method to analysis the results, 6 different themes emerged as shown Figure x with different colour coding. Group one (circled in red) showed a relationship between the words ‘visitors’ and ‘rubbish’, indicated that visitors throw rubbish during their visit, which is an increased environmental burden for the local village. The second group of words (circled in purple) has two words ‘waste’ and ‘food’. Reverting to the original text, this set of

words indicated that because there was no sewage system on the mountain and residents were forbidden to raise pigs; thus the waste food was always directly deposited directly on the mountain, which increased the environmental problem. The third group of words (circled in blue), showed a strong relationship between the words ‘good’, ‘mountain’, ‘our’. The original text revealed that most residents considered their overall mountain environment to be good. Furthermore, the fourth group, consisted of the words ‘cleaner’ ‘clean’ and ‘keep’, indicating that every day there were cleaners to keep the mountain clean, which theme was used to support a notion of a good mountain environment. Group five (circled in green), has the words of ‘protection’ and ‘residents’, and by checking the original text, it could be found that residents’ increase environment awareness had led them to be more involved in environmental protection. Finally, the sixth group (circled in orange), showed a close relationship between the words ‘tunnel’, ‘mountain’, ‘build’ ‘landscape’. The original data, therefore, easily to revealed that some residents thought building the tunnel and mountain road may somewhat affect the natural landscape. A comparison of the results identified from the thematic analysis and CATPAC software showed a high level of similarities. Both forms of analyses reaffirm that environment on the mountain was perceived as being ‘good’. Two reasons primarily account for this, namely the fact that cleaners clean the attraction every day and residents have improved and act upon their environmental awareness. However, negative aspects exist such as visitors littering the place, residents having nowhere to properly dispose of waste food, and the feeling that construction may destroy landscape were also well marked.



7.3.4 Thematic analysis of economic impact

One research objective was to explore how tourism influences Mt Qiyun economically. The majority of respondents approved tourism's positive role in the local economy. Respondents readily identified the economic benefits generated for the local village generated by tourism. Because of tourism, residents could find jobs, increase their family income, and improve their quality of life. As one restaurant owner said: "We, residents on the mountain, had a very tough time before tourism development. At that time, we only have forest land, no farmland; thus we only live by cutting the wood and working for residents below the mountain. But today, we won't work outside, and can earn money at home...everything changed, the residents below the mountain work for us" (No.16). However, some respondents pointed out that tourism development also brought some disadvantages. Accordingly, important themes in the analysis of economic impacts are mixed and can be summarised as follows: 'more job opportunities- increase family income', 'improve the quality of life', 'change traditional jobs', 'increase business competition', and create 'unfair income distribution'. Consequently, these five themes provide further support to evidence the quantitative data that was residents showed their high level agreement with the statements like 'tourism improve the quality of lie in my village', 'good for village's economy', 'create job opportunities', 'increase income'. The five important themes above and their sub-themes will be detailed and discussed in the following parts.

7.3.4.1 More job opportunities –increase family income

'Job opportunity' is the most frequently mentioned phrase used by respondents during the interview. Nearly all respondents agreed that because of tourism, they, no matter old or young, male or female, can now find suitable jobs on the mountain, such as being a cleaner, tour guide, incense seller, small shop owner, Taoist priest, or ticket officer. Especially for older residents, they can also be involved in the tourism industry and earn money. Unlike the older residents below the mountain, who have to stay at home and raise their grand-children; older residents on the mountain can easily find jobs to fend for themselves, or even financially support their children. For example, one old grandma proudly mentioned that: "Thanks to tourism, I think my life is much better than those elder ones who lived below the mountain. You see, like me, 78 years old, but I can sell incense to visitors to earn my own money...I don't depend on my children...unlike others below the mountain, they have to depend on their children..." (No.17). Additionally some respondents stated that they had

more than two jobs, which are used to provide local residents with opportunities to diversity sources of their income. For example observation revealed that some cleaners also had a souvenir shop at home and some Taoist priests also operated a restaurant. As such, residents are kept busy every day. For example, two respondents stated their multiple job roles:

“I work as a Taoist, but the job was very relaxed, so I can do some other jobs at the same time. For example, when I take time off my Taoist time, I will help in my restaurant” (No.1)

“I should do a lot of work every day. I sell incense to visitors; I opened a souvenir shop, and also should take care of my restaurant. It was really tired, but in my heart, I was glad, because the more busy I am, the more money I earn. I want to thank tourism here”. (No.12)

The following table 7.4 describes the general expenditures of visitors’ in their trip. It could be seen that residents on the mountain are one of the main beneficiaries. Residents were easily to find opportunities to earn money from visitors.

Table 7.4 Economic impact in village		
Items	Visitors’ expenditures	The beneficiaries
Entre ticket	75 RMB (High season) 55 RMB(Off season)	Qiyun tourism company / Qiyun tourism authority
Cable car ticket	26 RMB for up 14RMB for down	Qiyun tourism company
Tour guide	60 RMB each time	Tour guide (resident on the mountain)/ Qiyun tourism company
Chairman	Depend on distance (100RMB-200RMB)	Chairman (residents below the mountain)
Fortune teller	Depends (normally below 100 RMB)	Fortune teller (residents both on the mountain and below the mountain)
Incense sticker	10 RMB for a package	Incense sticker (residents on the mountain)
Restaurant	Depends (normally 15 -20 RMB per person for tour group)	Owner(residents on the mountain)
Hostel	40RMB per night	Owner(residents on the mountain)
Souvenir	Small things normally below 10RMB, but some antique may cost hundreds of RMB	Owner(residents on the mountain)

Despite this, several residents claimed that tourism development only generates basic job opportunities, while the higher position jobs always given to outsiders. Many residents complained their jobs are those with a low social status, low wage, long working hours, and

seasonal income. This phenomenon also has been identified in the case of Fenghuang Ancient County, China, by Feng (2008) who also observed that the higher paid jobs always went to outsiders. By communicating with general manager of Qiyun Tourism Company, author found local residents were hardly to find high position job as shown in Table 7.5. From table, it could be seen that in some important departments, like marketing and Finance department, staff were normally came from outside; while in some labour-intensive or low technique departments, tourism company prefer to employ local staff.

Table 7.5 Job position in Qiyun Tourism Company

Department	Job categories	Total Staff number	Non-local	Local
Executives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● General manager ● Vice manger 	3	3	0
Marketing department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Network Planning Engineer ● Logistics Officer ● Marketing executive ● guides management ● Visitor Centre 	12	10	2
Integrated department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sourcing Leader of admin ● Logistics ● Driver ● Security ● ticket-taker 	25	15	10
Cable car Department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Driver ● Maintenance Engineer ● Receptionist 	16	10	6
Finical Department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Accountant ● Cashier ● Ticket seller 	3	3	0
Environment affairs department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cleaner ● Afforestation 	9	0	9
Total number		68	41	27

Two respondents were very unhappy with their seasonal jobs as illustrated in the following quotes:

“... the seasonality remains a major problem, you see in the winter season, no one will come, we only stay at home for rest. If there are some events held in winter to attract more visitors, I think our income will increase a little bit” (No. 4).

“ The business in this mountain is too seasonal . There are several days when we are so busy, too busy to do other things, while some days in the off-peak time, no one will come. Sometimes, I can’t sell things for 15 days. Normally, we work for half the year, and rest a half year” (No.6).

Indeed, the author experienced the seasonal features during her 7 months of living in the village. When the author came to the village on November 2011, the off-season had just commenced. Especially during December, January and February very few visitors came to the mountain because of the cold weather . Even in the 2012 Spring Festival, visitor numbers were still limited due to the heavy snow that occurred at that time. Most permanent residents rest at home, some young residents may stay in elsewhere in Xiuning County if they have house there. At the end of March, when spring comes, only then do the numbers of visitor increase. The high season starts in April, and every family on the mountain will have a very busy month. Because April is also the month for harvesting, normally, residents will employ several women from other villages to pick tea; and the residents will host visitors during the day, but roast tea in the night. They will normally keep working until midnight. The following figures illustrate the off-peak period, which is very quiet, with no visitors and many shops closed. Many residents climb the mountain to find dead trees to cut wood for next year.

Photo 7.10 Shops are closed in the winter



Photo 7.11 Residents prepare wood in the winter



Akin to residents of the villages below the mountain, residents on the mountain again emphasized the importance of *guanxi* when they looked for jobs. Indeed, during the author’s observation, other than for cleaners, incense sellers, tour guides, and other jobs like cable car station attendants, and ticket office staff, the tourism company preferred to look for employees from outside the local villages. Jobs in marketing, human resources departments in Qiyun Tourism Company or the Tourism Authority are simply not open to local people. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

“The residents below the mountain always say we are the most fortunate ones, because everyone can find job. However, most jobs we have are low level ones, low wages, seasonal, and with long work hours. It is not so good. We also complain that the higher level jobs are left to outsiders. Actually, I thought Tourism Company and Authority can consider local residents, because most of us are more familiar with the mountain than are outsiders.”(No.3)

However, there are three respondents who suggested an opposite view, noting they enjoyed their job which fitted their abilities, as shown in two quotes below.

“ although the job here is not very good, for us , it is enough, because we have nothing, only energy ...so this job fits me...” (No.22)

“We have no other special skills, and no educational qualification, so I am really satisfied to open a small restaurant on the mountain...” (No.10).

Overall, there is no doubt that tourism development in the mountain has brought opportunities for every resident to find jobs and increase their family income.

7.3.4.2 An Improving Quality of Life

Many of the residents who had been interviewed agreed that tourism development could help to improve their quality of life. Two factors led to this perception. First, the government has improved some facilities in recent years to make residents' life more convenient. For instance, every family now can access the internet; young residents on the mountain can drive a car directly to home, even at midnight, and it is easier to visit home and family more easily because the mountain road and tunnel has now been built in 2011. Second, respondents pointed out that tourism has increased their family income, which directly leads to better living conditions than in previous years. These comments confirm Kala's (2008) and Chazapi and Sdrae 's (2006) finding that tourism leads to direct economic benefits for local areas by increasing employment, family income, and improved living conditions (Kala, 2008; Chazapi & Sdrali, 2006). In particular, those respondents were willing to compare their living standards with other residents who lived below the mountain. Some specific quotes as follows:

“I am a Taoist (priest), my wife work as a tour guide. We have a daughter who goes to school in the Xiuning County. We also operate a small restaurant, if my wife can bring some visitors.

Anyway, we have a good life. Every year, my family have an average income of 80,000 RMB...Although it can't compare with other families, but for me, it is enough" (No.14).

"Our life should much better than those families under the mountain; at least we don't have to find work outside. The majority of residents have (now have a) house in Xiuning County. Now the mountain road opens, my family is considering buying a car" (No. 21).

"It is very good for us to live in the mountain, because everyone can find jobs, while the residents below the mountain only have work outside (their village). We are lucky. Families on the mountain have become quite rich, we begin to travel, begin to buy houses in the county, also we begin to send our children to good schools; some residents even have their private teacher" (No. 23).

Indeed, during researcher's period of observation, it was found that many families had LCD TV, a computer, air conditioning, private cars etc., as shown in the following photo shows with an old wooden house the hi-tech TV on the wall.

Photo 7.12 Appearance of old house



There is a field note written by author to describe local residents' high standard of living in 13/3/2012.

"Today, I was invited to attend a baby's full moon wine(满月酒), which celebrates the baby who was born after a month. Firstly, I just thought that his parent will set up some simple tables in their own restaurants to host guests. However, they asked me go to Xiuning County, and have a big meal in a 4 star restaurant. I was a little surprised, because I never thought the residents on the mountain were so rich, and willing to spend so much on celebrating a baby moon wine."

Indeed, the good living standards on the mountain were well known in nearby towns and even in Xiuning County. Some local visitors told author that: “Don’t look at their old houses, they are very rich. This small village can almost be said to be the richest village in Xiuning County”. Anyway, it is tourism that is creating such ‘a magic’ to allow the residents on the mountain to gather a fortune.

7.3.4.3 Increased competition

The transcripts revealed that respondents interviewed were aware of increasing high competition within the village in recent years. One reason that must be taken into account was with the increasing number of visitors last year; the remaining families were also opening restaurants or accommodation in 2011. At present, no matter its scale, the total number of restaurants had reached 23, which means only 5 families currently did not operate a restaurant. The other 23 families all provide a food service for visitors, even if their place can only place 2 or 3 tables. No doubt, the restaurant business competition is high in this small village. When author asked one respondent that whether his mini-restaurant can make any money (his restaurant only has 2 tables), he told me: “Don’t look down upon it, although it is very small, the profit is high. Because my wife is a tour guide, she will bring some high level of tour group to our home and we host those visitors. They are very generous: their expenditure is normally up to 600 to 700 RMB. You see, I only do one table and it can earn that much. I think it is better than those restaurants who host low levels of tour groups, which involves a lot of work, but low profit...”.

With regard to the competition, another resident pointed out that: “There is a keen competition between different restaurants. You can find there are only 5 out of 28 families who do not operate restaurants. So every day, they have to pull visitors using many stratagems; the direct way is ask the tour guide to bring visitors to your restaurant. If your family don’t have a tour guide, that means your business won’t be good. Sometimes, the owner will directly pull visitors in the street” (No.26). Thus, it could be supposed that the most profit way to earn money in this village is the formula of “Tour guide + Restaurant”, and it is not surprising to be found that many girls who have already married outside the village return home to be a tour guide. The following photographs describe two restaurants that represent small scale and large scale restaurants.

Photo 7.13 Mini-restaurant with two tables Photo 7.14 Biggest restaurant



Another factor leading to increased competition was that outsiders were being attracted to the mountain to do business. From 2010 to 2012, Qiyun Mountain attracted 7 outsiders to do start businesses in the village, and these included 4 fortune tellers, 1 tea seller, and 2 small hotel owners. Although 7 is not a big number, however, for this small village, the growth rate is rapid. In the 10 years prior to 2010, only two outsiders had come to start a business. One operated a bamboo carving shop, and another operated an antique shop. Local business owners, of course, were not willing to see many outsiders taking their business. This was especially so among fortune tellers, and shouting matches frequently erupted between local fortune tellers and the new ‘outsiders’. As one fortune teller mentioned: “Last year, 4 new fortune tellers came to Qiyun Mountain for their business, so our competition became quite high. You see, this small mountain has 7 fortune tellers. Lots of them prefer to pull visitors to their places. One interesting thing is, each of them tells visitors that other 6 tellers were fake. One day, two fortune tellers even fight because of losing business.” Finally, few respondents thought that the new Tourism Company would bring outside staff to Qiyun Mountain, which fact was also increasing competition. Thus finding a job is likely to be increasingly difficult. Even current staff in Mt Qiyun might be threatened. For example, the original marketing manager who had done this job for 10 years was facing competition because several new marketing staff were invited by the new tourism company to compete for managerial position.

7.3.4.4 Unfair income distribution

Like the residents below the mountain who reported that an unfair income distribution exists between the village on the mountain and those below the mountain so too residents on the mountain also complained that the income distribution in their village was unfair. This confirms previous literature (Sirakaya, Teye & Sönmez, 2002). Many local residents mentioned that a few families who had a close relationship with the government and

company have the better business because the government and company always named their restaurants as fixed-point reception places. Every time, if government guests and staff come to the mountain, they will have lunch in the fixed-point restaurants. As a result, even in the off-peak season, those restaurants still have business from official receptions; while other normal families' business just languish no matter how good the service or food, especially in the off-peak period. As one female respondent stated: "The distribution of income in my village is also unfair. The family who has a close relationship with government always earn more, such as our headman. He is our leader, and the richest man in our area. He had many relationships with local government; thus his restaurant always has more visitors than other restaurants. Even in the winter season, they have visitors from government to eat lunch in the mountain..." (No.7). Indeed, based on author's personal experience, it was evident that in the winter many restaurants just close their door to stop business while the headman always hosted his specific visitors from government, the photography club, calligraphy association et al. No wonder, residents on the mountain always joke that the headman "No matter how few the visitors, headman still can find business". The following photograph shows a famous calligrapher from Nanjing doing his work at headman's restaurant one winter's night. The author is accompanying the artist.

Photo 7.15 Artist



Another sub-theme that can be noted is that some respondents commented that it was unfair the major part of income generated by tourism went to the government and company while residents gained only the smaller share. One respondent argued that: "We contribute lots to tourism, but we get only a little. We don't have dividends; while the company uses our resources to make big money" (No.3). Over all, it seems that economic benefit is still the most important point residents care about; but how to make it more a fairly distributed is also a major challenge.

7.3.4.5 Changing a traditional job structure

One of the most distinctive economic impacts created by tourism development is that tourism is changing the local traditional job structure. Before tourism development, most residents on the mountain mainly depended on planting tea, cutting wood, and working outside in agriculture such as growing tea. The income derived from these activities was supplemented by some older residents preparing vegetarian food for pilgrims attending festivals. This continued until the end of 1980 when Mt Qiyun was opened to outside visitors as a tourist attraction. The village headman was the first resident who opened a farmer-restaurant to host visitors in this village; later with guidance from the headman, many other families began to be involved in tourism businesses. At present, as mentioned previously, all 28 families are now involved in tourism, and very dependent on the income it generates. One older respondent said: “Because of tourism, we gave up farming for many years. The residents on the mountain will do some farming, hunt animals, and cut wood as in previous years. But now, except for some tea harvesting we do nothing seriously about farming or hunting” (No.7). The author attempted to compare 6 families’ income resources both before and after the tourism development to illustrate how tourism has changed the local traditional job structure for those families (see Table 7.6). For example, Family A (that of the village headman) previously depended on making tea, farming, cutting wood, as well as some building work; while now, involved in tourism business, they have opened a restaurant and own some accommodation to provide services to tourists, and their two children are also working in the Qiyun Tourism Authority after their graduations.

Table 7.6 Change of job structure		
Family	Income resource	
	Before tourism development	After tourism development
Family A	Make tea; farming; cut wood; some building work	Family operate the biggest restaurant and accommodation on the mountain, two children work in Qiyun Tourism Authority
Family B	Make tea; farming; cut wood	The grandfather works as a cleaner, grandmother sells incense, daughter- in-law works as a tour guide, the son works in the Taoism Association
Family C	Make tea; farming; cut wood; hunting	The wife works as a cleaner, while husband works in ticket office
Family D	Make tea; farming; cut wood; work for residents below the mountain	Their family opened a souvenir shop, a big restaurant; the wife works as tour guide , and the grandmother sells incense, the son also works in ticket office
Family E	Make tea; farming; cut wood	This family operates a small antique shop, two daughters work as tour guides, the mother is a cleaner, while the father works in the Taoism Association
Family F	Make tea; farming; cut wood; teach in primary school	Operates a tea shop, provides accommodation, opened a restaurant, two daughters-in-law work as tour guides.

In short, current results confirm that tourism definitely affects the local area economically. Unlike residents below mountain, who perceive economic impacts more negatively than positively; these respondents living on the mountain have gained more benefits than cost. To an extent, this is caused by the residents on the mountain having more opportunities to directly gain economic benefits from tourism development. As Esaterling (2005) and Lankford (1994) noted, residents who are highly dependent on tourism industry tend to hold more positive attitudes about tourism; while residents who receive little economic benefit may not see tourism in such a positive way (Martin et al., 1998).

7.3.5 Thematic analysis of social-culture impact on the mountain

Investigating social impacts is quite complicated, for it is a process to find how tourism influence locals' daily routines, social lives, value systems, individual behaviour, family

relationships, life styles *et cetera*. The author spent several months on the mountain to personally observe and experience local life there, using different ways to collect data including personal communication, participative observation, interviews, and photo taking. Indeed, as Deery, Jago and Fredline (2012) highlight, the “quantitative focus from previous social impact research has led to a narrow understanding of the issues surrounding social impacts and ... a new research agenda based on ‘layers’ of social impact understanding through the use of ethnography or phenomenology (is required)” (p.64). Current transcripts could be thematically classified into 8 themes, which consist with previous quantitative results, namely ‘Easy to see people outside’, ‘Improve women and elder residents’ family level’, ‘Change residents’ traditional life’, ‘Improve facilities’, ‘Influence residents’ values’, ‘culture benefits’, ‘Taoism becomes commercial’, and ‘conflicts between residents and visitors’. Each of them, with their sub-themes, are described respectively in the following sections.

7.3.5.1 Easy to see people from the outside world

‘Easy to see people from the outside world’ is the most frequent theme mentioned by the residents interviewed in the current study. It seems that the majority of respondents do gain a clear appreciation that, because of tourism, they could be easily in touch with people outside the village, and from different places, social levels, and backgrounds. By summarizing the transcripts, respondents list three sub-themes to explain the influence of seeing such people. First, local residents become more open to others than before. Through visitors, most residents could broaden their views, and get to know many new things they have never seen before. As Lee and McCormick (2002) found, residents become educated about the outside world by tourists without leaving their homes, and through the tourists make a connection with the outside world. One restaurant owner said: “I like those excellent professional cameras, although I have no money to buy...I will ask those visitors who have lunch in my restaurant about their cameras...those visitors always very kindly tell me something about cameras or photography” (No.1). Another elder grandma who sells incense showed her great interest in talking with visitors. She mentioned that: “I like to communicate with tourists, I like to tell the story about the mountain and my life to those persons...because they also will tell their story to me...it is great for me to know so many visitors in my old age” (No.8). By constant communicating with visitors, the residents, no matter whether an old lady or little children, have begun to acquire very good communication skills. It was the author’s personal

experience that when she interviewed residents on the mountain and residents below the mountain, differences could be easily found. For example residents on the mountain, especially old ladies, preferred to talk a lot, with high levels of confidence; while residents below the mountain always seemed to be a little shy when they gave an opinion. Additionally, the author also found residents on the mountain can more frequently speak Mandarin than those people below the mountain. Some respondents agreed with the observation that, because of receiving visitors, they, sometimes, were able to establish friendships with some tourists. Those visitors always helped them in many ways. Thus, residents felt very proud to receive some renowned visitors, like a famous painter, a university professor, big bosses, or high level government officials. Residents also advertised this honour to other residents or visitors. One resident carefully collected all the name cards of those renowned persons he had contact with. These name cards were framed and hung in his restaurant to attract visitors to come to his shop. For example, two respondents stated that: “I have some relationship with visitors, some of them help me sell my tea in their cities, which makes very good money” (No.18). Again “One of my visitors, who is a very big boss in Shanghai, helped me find a very good hospital for my ill daughter last year” (No.10). Indeed, tourists bring many things to this old mountain, and help residents open their eyes to the outside world. Especially for those elder residents, who only very infrequently go down the mountain over several years, tourism has brought knowledge of changes in the wider world. Similarity, Su and Teo (2008) investigated tourism development in Lijiang , China, found that local residents happy with tourism because residents can fully obtains the information about many places ; and residents agreed with that “tourism is a good form of communication between people and people, place and place, nation and nation” (p.160). However, not everything that visitors have brought is good, for with some visitors there may be an unhealthy atmosphere due to heavy drinking and gambling. A few respondents pointed out that many visitors prefer to gamble together and drink heavily as relaxing activities during their visit to the mountain (see following photo). This has proven to have a demonstrative effect as local residents have also commenced gambling recent years. In the village, there is a stable night life. Every day, at 7pm, many residents will sit together in a family unit to gamble until 12 pm. A middle-aged waitress in the headmen’s restaurant likes to gamble every night, and she told the author that she liked having this night life, because it avoided having boring nights; and, she said, she always had good luck to win money.

Photo 7.16 Visitors play cards



Additionally, as Mason (2008) observed, local residents had noted the superior material possessions of the visitors and have begun to aspire to own similar items. Indeed, the from author's observation, it was known that some young tour guides wanted to buy the new I-phone 4s on their release as they sought to catch up with the latest fashions, just like most of their younger visitors. This concurs with the theory of demonstration that behaviour patterns are transferred form one group to another (e.g. a host population copies tourists' behaviour), especially for those younger aged respondents, who are the ones more likely to imitate tourists behaviours including dress and fashion accessories (Fisher, 2004).

7.3.5.2 Improve the standards of living for women and older residents

From the transcripts, it could be found that tourism has helped women and elderly residents to be independent. Before tourism development, most women and elderly persons only stayed at home, taking care of family. Normally, they just did some housework and farming while the males always did some heavy labour to earn money. The women were also more likely to have a passive and lower status in family decision making. For the older person, they had to depend on their children, and if their children were not imbued with filial piety, those older persons may have lived a difficult life on a very low income. However, after tourism development, the life opportunities for women and elderly residents became essentially different when compared with previous circumstances. A major reason for this is that both groups had begun to be involved in tourism business and were able to earn sufficient money to support themselves. With the growing economic role of the women and elderly, their family status also duly increased. As one incense seller said: "Tourism development helps our women and elderly ones to walk out of the house and communicate with outsiders... We begin to earn money like men. I think I have more power to support a family. We are not like

previously, only dependent on a husband or children” (No.8). This result is supported by the research of Tatoglu et al. (2002), who pointed out that the impacts of tourism on women were seen more positively because tourism provided more job opportunities for women to earn money, led them to feel more confident and increased their status within the family. As well as Keyim, Yang and Zhang (2005) expressed a deeper concern about the women’s important role in promoting tourist destinations’ culture, values, and protecting local environment. There was a long conversation between the author and a female resident in her 50s which is summarized here to illustrate how a local woman was able to improve her status.

Middle aged woman: *In previous years, I lived a quite bad life, not happy...actually, not only me, many other women in this rural places have quite hard life...*

Author: *Oh, I am really interesting to listen your story, can you tell me more about the life 20 or 30 years ago...*

Middle aged woman: *Yes, of course, I have nothing to do now, I can tell you something...now, I am 56 years old, I have 2 daughters, but no son, this is the most important reason why I lived a hard life previously. You know, when I was young, like your age, every family in the rural village hope the daughter – in – law can have a boy, if you can’t have a boy, your family will look down upon you⁸. For me, after 2 girls born, my husband and his family still asks me to keep having a baby until I have a boy even though this poor family can’t afford the food for whole family. However, because of my health problem, I was not able to have a baby anymore. They treated me very badly, even though I worked all day and night...sometimes, my husband was even violent to me ...(this) kind of life lasted many years, until in the late 1990s, my husband and me operated a restaurant on the mountain, I responsible for cooking and cleaning, and he is responsible for buying materials and servicing guests... our life became better, and my husband also recognised my value, because guests always give high value to my cooking. Now, he has changed a lot, never shouts at me or uses violence, because I contribute a lot to this family...I earn money as well, I want to tell you that a woman should have her own job, make her money, and not be wholly dependent on her husband...*

This is a particular story about a women in this small village; tourism, indeed, change their life. These female residents consider tourism as a right way to help them walk out of the house, see different people, make money like their husband. They became confidence, and strong enough to improve their family status.

7.3.5.3 Changes in residents’ traditional life patterns

The transcripts also seem to suggest that tourism has gradually changed the way local residents live in this ancient village. To protect the tourism environment, some residents’ living habits had been changed. As pointed out previously, gas is now used to cook food

⁸ Chinese traditional ‘son preference’ concept (重男轻女)

instead of burning wood; garbage bags and garbage collection into provided barrels are now used; meat is purchased from the market instead of rearing animals and so on. As one respondent said: “Our traditional lives have been greatly changed. In our time, our life was changed to fit the visitors. For example, in order to develop tourism, we, residents, are not allowed to raise chickens, or pigs, which is very different from with our past country lifestyle” (No.7).

Other special changes mentioned by respondents should be noted here as well. For example, except for off-peak times when residents will go outside the mountain, the residents generally stay at home waiting for the business tourists bring. This is now done even in the Chinese Spring Festival, and it is not popular among the residents to visit their relatives. This contrary to past practice and the traditional Chinese custom that, in the Spring Festival, which is at the beginning of each lunar year, people will normally stop working, stay with their families, and visit relatives, (in Chinese this called ‘Zuoke’(做客)⁹. However, on the mountain, this custom is in danger, because in order to make money, residents are not willing to give up even one day. Generally, parents will ask their children to visit other relatives as representatives of their parents. One restaurant owner told me that she had not visited relatives in Spring Festival for 6 years.

Another change in the quality of living was associated with heritage and conservation policies. Residents stated that it was normal in the local area that when families had enough savings, then they would build new house with new facilities. However for them, it was impossible, because the houses on the mountain are managed by the government, and residents cannot overtly or secretly reconstruct them. A female respondent therefore, stated that: “Because we live in the tourism site, we can’t build house, even just simply repair them. Now, we become rich, we want to live in a good house with high standard. You know it is really wet in our old wooden house, and lots of mosses. (It is) not good for our health, especially for elderly people. We have money, but can’t use it” (No.24). This is a commonly observed conflict in many Chinese heritage tourist destinations. On the one hand, with an increasing of annual income, local residents are eager to enhance living conditions; on the

⁹ Zuoke(做客): it is a traditional Chinese customs. During Spring Festival, people need to be a guest, bring some gifts to visit their friends and relatives. It means guest bring new wish to those families.

other hand, as a tourism resource, residents have to protect and preserve the ancient heritage and architecture. Indeed, as Arlt and Xu (2008) discovered in Ganzi, China, a heritage and culture travel destination, with the development of tourism, local household income grows. Many new houses are built. However, Arlt and Xu note those new modern buildings never represent traditional architectural styles. Similar comments and observations have been made in the writings of Ryan and colleagues with reference to his past research in other Anhui locations and in Guangdong (Gu & Ryan, 2010; Ryan, Zhang & Deng, 2011). The following photo taken by the author in 2010, describes the design of the headman's planned new cottage and restaurant. The headman finished his design 4 years ago, and applied annually for permission to the country government and local tourism authority to build new houses, but it have never been approved. He has said he will not stop applying until he obtains government permission.

Photo 7.17 Design of new cottage and restaurant



Another interesting change that needs to be considered was that tourism development, in improving the quality of life for residents has also helped to solve issues surrounding marriage for many young people. Indeed, in the earlier years, for young people on the mountain, especially for males, marriage was difficult because of the problems of finding a potential spouse. This was because the mountain families had a poor standard of living and patterns of life inconvenient for courting or sustaining marriage. As a result, male residents had to find a young female neighbour to get married or just marry into and live with a bride's family in other villages below the mountain. In China, this phenomenon is known as “Ruzhui”¹⁰(入赘). This is the main reason why the majority of residents on the mountain had relatively

¹⁰ Ruzhui (入赘): it means that man marry into bride' family , and their children should use mother's family name. It is different with the Chinese tradition that women marrying into her husband's family and giving child father's family name. Ruzhui is common in some Chinese families when the bride's family is wealthy but no son, and want to pass on family assets under the same family name.

problematic relationships as already mentioned in chapter 3. However, at present, things have totally changed; it was very easy for local young boys to find outside girls to get married, and they could even find city girls. Indeed local young girls were asking some boys to “Ruzhui” at the mountain. There is a field note recording a small chat between a local tour guide and author at 23/12/2011 afternoon that provides some support for this phenomenon:

Author: I hear from your mother that you will get married next year...happy for you ...

Tour guide: Yes, next May...

Author: And where do you live after you will get married, in Huangshan city or Xiuning County, or just in the town?

Tour guide: Actually, my husband's home is located in the Xiuning County, but I won't live there ...

Author: Why? But normally when the girl gets married, she will be staying with her husband?

Tour guide: Yes, it is, but for me, I think it should be much better to stay at the mountain , and I will ask him to quit his job and stay at the mountain with me...you know, my parent only has one daughter, and if I live outside, who will take care of the family and business...and it is very difficult to find a job outside. My farther operates a restaurant , I work as a tour guide, every year, we can earn quite a lot; while his family is poor, his parent work on the farm, and he also do some service in a hotel, very low wage...anyway, he is please to stay at mountain , do family business, and be my father's son in a 'Ruzhui' way.

Author: Ye...it sounds very good for you, you can stay with your parents, and keep your job, and your husband can become 'half' boss

Tour guide: Yes, you see other local girls, most of them still work in the mountain even if they married outside, they can live other places, but won't give up their job. Because everyone knows it is good to stay here.

As such, it seems that local residents now have a good life, which even attract those outside ‘sons-in-law’ willing to stay at mountain become a member of the fortunate “Qiyun people”. Finally, some respondents pointed out that their children have a different after-school life compared with children who live below the mountain. Normally, children should help their parent to take care of family business. For example, children may help parents sell tea, souvenir or incense. There is a field note written by author in 24/03/2012, at Yuehua Street to verify this point:

“Today is the birthday of Zhenwu God, lots of pilgrims come to mountain for pray. Today also is the Saturday, many children back home to help their parents in the business. When I walk past the DingFuxian Taoist House, I was a little surprised that two little girls stop me, they want me to buy some chrysanthemum tea. It is quite cheap, 5 RMB per bag...I, of course, buy one, and took a photo with two cute girls. They also told me that their parents sell souvenir in the front of Taisu Palace, they are required to look after the home and sell the tea to visitors”

Photo 7.18 Children sell tea



Indeed, this finding provides further support for the suggestion by Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) that in an Indonesian village, many parents are involved in tourism activities, especially in high season, parents nearly have no time to look after their children, which easily to change in traditional child-rearing patterns. Overall, from above findings, it can be clearly seen that tourism development has influenced residents' lives to a great extent.

7.3.5.4 Improve facilities

By using thematic analysis it was found that the majority of respondents showed high levels of agreement with the concept that 'tourism development could improve facilities for locals'. Indeed, from observation when the author compared facilities present in 2010 with those of 2012, it was found that three new path ways and balustrades had been built, the tunnel was open to residents, one ecological mobile toilet had been built near the ticket office, and new street lighting had also been installed. One respondent said: "There is much improvement in the facilities. (In the past) current two years, we build the tunnel, build balustrade, and car parking..." (No.19). This theme potentially confirms previous literature that tourism contributes to an increase in recreational and general facilities (Lankford & Howard, 1994, Williams & Lawson 2001; Settina & Richmond, 1978; Pizam, 1978). The following

photographs show the ecological toilet block, the new small road that connects the tunnel and residents houses, and a new path way.

Photo 7.19 New ecological mobile toilet



Photo 7.20 New path way



Additionally, there is a field note recorded by author at 12/04/2012, midnight, to verify how important these new facilities are to this small tourist-destination village.

“Over the past several hours, I deeply understand the importance of the tunnel to this small village. 10pm in the night, everyone try to get to bed. I also watch TV on the bed, suddenly, a foreign visitor who lived overnight in headman’s hostel knocks my door. He said to me something is very urgent, as his girlfriend has been vomiting all night and trembled all over. They want to go down the mountain and go to the hospital. He hopes I can be a translator, tell headman to help them, no matter how it costs...headman asks his son help to carry the girl go to the tunnel, because his son’s car stop there. As such, we four go to country hospital, until that foreign girl get better, we then go back to the mountain. They very much appreciate our help, and the doctor also praised us for sending the patient in a timely manner...I am thinking about the tunnel all the way, as I imagine if they come to mountain in 2011that day , the tunnel and mountain didn’t open to the residents , how about the result then? Maybe we need to knock neighbour’s door to ask some young man to carry stretcher, and walk down the mountain in the midnight ...maybe doctor will say it is too late to send the patient, and things become worse...anyway, I am pretty sure that the tunnel and mountain road is amazing thing at that moment.”

Regarding the facilities, respondents’ were asked their feelings about governmental policies in attracting external companies to invest in facilities in the local area, and whether they support such policies. Of the respondents 28 answered this question and 14 supported the idea of external companies coming to Mt Qiyun with the hope of attracting more visitors, improving local facilities, and increasing their own small businesses. On the other hand, 9 out of 28 respondents did not support their coming, as those respondents believe that Qiyun town

will be controlled by outside investors as a tool to make money for investors external to the village and its community. Moreover, these respondents insisted that when investors build big hotels, and restaurants, below the mountain, their family business will be adversely affected a lot. As the hostels and restaurants on the mountain remain unsophisticated they fear visitors may choose to eat and stay below the mountain. Additionally, 5 respondents pointed out that they need time to see whether those companies will bring more visitors and increase their small business. If so, they will support such a policy, and if not, they would not support their coming (see Table 7.7 for indicate comments from respondents).

Table 7.7 Summary of reasons to support /against external companies invest Qiyun mountain

Benefits	Attract more visitors to increase my business... Improve our facilities... Make our town busier... Attract many young residents back home... Provide more job opportunities for local residents... Help Qiyun town to be urbanization... Push our economy...
Problems	Destroy farmland, destroy ecosystem... Money all go to those company's pocket... Our family business will affected a lots by those big business ... Construction destroyed our "fengshui"... Keen competition... Our area will be controlled by external companies... External company compete nature resource with local residents... Qiyun mountain becomes a tool used by external companies to make money...

7.3.5.5 Influencing residents' values

Another significant recurring theme that emerged from the current data was that tourism development plays a significant role in influencing residents' value systems, beliefs and social lives (Dogan, 1989; Kousis, 1989). This facet of changing residents' values was evident in current data as well. Many residents mentioned that because of tourism, local

people had become quite commercial; money and business were the first two things they thought about. The previous harmonious relationships between neighbours had become weaker. Instead of past harmony and tolerance among neighbours it could be found that residents had become more selfish, relationships had become colder, and everyone only cared about how to increase business. Tour guides would argued with each other every day over ‘stealing’ the guests; restaurant owners prefer to monitor other shop’s numbers of customers, and prefer to say something negative about the other restaurants. All of these, in the author’s personal experience, seemed to bring petty ‘squabbles’ to this small village. To obtain evidence of this sub-theme, author asked “Do you think tourism development affects the local residents’ relationship?” of 28 respondents. It was found that 20 agreed with the notion that tourism somewhat adversely influenced residents’ relationships, and this is quite different to the result derived from villagers below the mountain. Fan, Wall and Mitchell (2009) also found a similar result in the small water town of Luzhi, Kunshan, China, where they stated that a certain proportion of local residents in this small town felt tourism destroyed the local neighbourhood’ friendly atmosphere. The following quotes illustrate this theme in the data.

“Many other residents envy my business, because my business is the top one in this mountain. It is an indisputable fact that my restaurant is clean, has low prices, delicious food and good service and thus many visitors are attracted to my restaurant. However, many residents always tell negative things to visitors to spite me. I never mind what they said, I just do things myself” (No.26, headman in village).

“The relationship between residents become very cold, every family only focus on their own benefits. They are not like early years, (when we) worked together, and prefer sharing things with each other. Now there is very high competition among residents” (No.5).

This finding provides some further evidence to support an earlier study conducted by Dogan (1989), who found that with the development of tourism, human relations came to be commercialized while non-economic relationships began to gradually lose their importance.

One filed note written on 24/11/2011 may provide some support to evidence the nature of the relationship between local residents.

Author: Yesterday, I hear from other residents that you fight with some visitors? what’s happened?

Young restaurant owner: Ye, 5 local visitors refuse pay the money after they finish the lunch, because they think the price is too expensive...but , I tell them the price before they order the food...anyway, they are 'gangster', make me angry, they broke many chairs and tables...

Author: I feel sorry about this, it is hard things when you face some unfriendly visitors... but what's the result?

Young restaurant owner: I was hurt, my wife also hurt, because they have 4 men...we only two... and policemen came to my house stop us...

Author: Ye...but why your neighbour didn't help to stop all of you, you have many neighbours...

Young restaurant owner: I tell you, those neighbour just 'neighbours', they are my relatives, they won't help you, it is none of their business, they like to see your 'big joke'...people in this mountain became 'selfish'.

...

Additionally, the transcripts also seem to suggest that local residents place a new emphasis on children's' education and their own learning in recent years. Unlike their parents, who had to spend 2 to 3 hours climbing the mountain every day to go to school in Qiyun town, today, nearly every child on the mountain went to school in Xiuning County. Many children even have private teachers to help them with core lessons or for supplementary interests like piano playing, painting etc. Expenditure on education has become a significant expense for the mountain families. One respondent, who is a middle school teacher, felt very proud of his son. He pointed out that: "My son is now in the Xiuning Middle school. I asked private teacher to teach my son painting for 8 years. Now, he has many certificates from lots of high level of competition" (No.11).

That things are changing can be gauged by other comments. For example, in conversation with 3 local Taoist priests, between the ages of 30 to 40s years, who had continued their father's occupation as a priest, when they asked whether they wanted their children to follow their footsteps, none of them wished to do so, and thus they do not teach their children about Taoism. The main reason was that those informants thought the best way for the future is go to a good university, and get a decent job outside. For example, as one Taoist mentioned: "I spend lots of my revenue to give my child the best education. I hope he can go to some first class university and do a high level of job in big city. Don't be like me, never do a great thing in my life" (No.10). This finding provides further support for the results found in Lijing, China, by Sun and Teo (2009), namely that because of globalization and Hanization, local Naxi residents no longer place an emphasis on educating children about traditional Naxi

culture and language, and they always encourage children to learn English and Mandarin . These Qiyun Taoists, like their Naxi counterparts feel that “... a university degree is undoubtedly a sign of recognition in mainstream society, whereas Naxi culture and language are forms of ‘Otherness’, at best privileged in the tourism sector” (Sun & Teo, 2009, p.156). Accordingly, it seems that these culture and heritage tourist destinations may face a growing gap in the cultural continuum between past and present practices.

Furthermore, some respondents stated that because of tourism, they felt encouraged to learn many new skills. For example, several respondents have begun to learn English, and hope to provide services for foreign visitors; some respondents have learnt how to drive a car, and want to find a job in transportation after the tunnel opened the mountain to visitors; a few respondents also very interested in attending e training courses in learn how to make milk tea, make snack foods fit for visitors, and generally improve their catering and food preparation skills. For example a souvenir shop owner stated that: “Some residents on the mountain begin to learn simple English words, for me, I opened a souvenir shop, and at least I need to learn how to say numbers in English” (No.9). The following photograph shows the souvenir shop owner who has started to make shredded cake for visitors using a second-hand machine he purchased two months earlier. He spent some days learning this technique from a master cake maker in Huangshan city. Every cake he sold visitors was at 5RMB, which was 2 RMB higher than outside the village. All in all, wherever one looked, it was possible to see the influence of tourism on local residents’ value systems and occupations.

Photo 7.21 Resident make shredded cake for visitors



7.3.5.6 Cultural benefits

The interview transcripts revealed that more than half of the respondents pointed out that tourism development played a significant role in preserving and promoting local traditional culture. Tourism, therefore, disseminated some cultural understanding and customs to the

visitors arriving from other places. For instance, the form of Taoist rite will be introduced to visitors, the story of every inscription in Mt Qiyun temple may be told to the visitors, Taoist food will be tasted by visitors, and the process of making tea will be showed to visitors. Collier (2003) provided a previous study to provide evidence that tourism can revive local customs and traditions. Especially, for those residents on the mountain, who are the descendent of the ancient Taoists, there was a growing pride in their rich and unique culture. One respondent expressed the view that: “We are very proud about our mountain and village. Because of its special feature, so many visitors spend lots of money to come here only for a look. But we can stay here for generations, we are lucky” (No.22). The comments, while requiring further substantiation, potentially confirm previous studies like those of McDowall and Choi (2010), and Ap and Crompton (1998), who both found that tourism could lead to a greater sense of pride in a community. Every year, the tourism company organises a growing number of festivals to attract visitors to the mountain, and to promote the Taoism culture in a heritage site. The following photographs show one resident in the process of making tea for the visitors; and the second displays the cultural activities held in the Spring Festival 2012 on Tourism Company’s bulletin board. However, some respondents mentioned that they had no interest to attend those events. They thought those events were only for visitors, had no special meaning, but were a good way to attract visitors.

Photo 7.22 Resident show how to make tea Photo 7.23 Cultural activities held in Spring



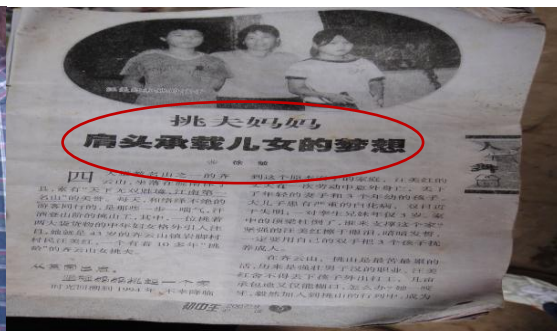
One local story that illustrates how tourism transfers local culture to a wider outside world is provided by the history of a local woman, Hongmei Wang, who lives at the foot of the mountain. She has been a porter for 20 years. Every day, she carried heavy stuff for families on the mountain like rice, gas cylinders etc. Every trip took several hours, but she would only earn 20 to 30 RMB (4-6 NZD). Her husband died 20 years previously, and she raised three children on the income derived from this laborious job. One day, her exploits was noted by

visitors, and promoted online. With the help of subsequent media attention, she became famous, and won the ‘2008 Top 10 Outstanding Mother’ reward in Huangshan city. Currently many visitors come to mountain with the special purpose of seeing this “great mother”, which reflects that through a ‘tourism window’, visitors can find local spiritual things, and promote such personal histories. The following two photographs describe this outstanding mother who has now received donations from many visitors, and the article about her story published in a journal.

Photo 7.24 Meihong Wang accept visitors’ donations



Photo 7.25 Meihong Wang’s story published in a journal



7.3.5.7 Taoism become commercial

This theme suggests that after Qiyun Mountain opened to visitors as a tourist destination, local Taoism has gradually evolved into a commercial product. Such an evolution is evidenced by Kala (2008)’s finding that tourism will perceive traditional culture as a product, sell it to visitors, all of which leads to commercialization. A few respondents quietly told the author that some young Taoists were not ‘professional Taoist’, that ‘... they don’t know Taoism. They just wear special Taoist cloth, and sit in the temple, to work as a Taoist’. To assess the truth of this claim, the author prepared some simple Taoist questions to put to one such young Taoist.

Author: “... I hear about in Taoist, there are 72 fairylands, can you give me some of their stories , make me more understand...”

Young Taoist (said with smile): “Don’t ask me those questions. It is not because I don’t want to tell you, but actually I don’t know it as well...”

Author: "...I can't understand...but you are a Taoist ...you work in the temple...you also do the Taoist rite..."

Young Taoist (laughing): "Actually, I want to work outside, but my father think it is a stable job to work on the mountain ...so I find a job as a Taoist...but that does not mean I know Taoism..."

Author: "I see, but if visitors want to ask you something, what will you do..."

Young Taoist: "It is fine, normally they just ask me what's the name of the god in this temple, of course, I can say something about this god...other difficult question, I just say no time..."

Indeed, the Qiyun Taoism Association chairman mentioned that: "Putting on Taoists' cloth, wearing Taoists' shoes is not a real Taoist, you (Taoists) have to learn 'Taoism', 'say Taoism'...we need to send our Taoists outside to communicate with Taoists in other mountains ...". Additionally, some respondents also pointed out that some incense sellers and fortune tellers' action may also lead to Taoism cultural commercialization, which is already commented on in Chapter 5. It is a common thing that visitors are pulled by both fortune teller or incense sellers to have a fortune telling and buy some incense sticks. Moreover, one respondent mentioned that those tour guides also play a role in commercial way. Many tour guides will cheat tourists that there is no more attraction in front, or just say the front scenery is very boring. They then lead the tourists back to the cable car. As such, a tour guide can get the money and then guide a new group for extra income. Those actions both bother visitors and also lead to high level of visitors' dissatisfaction. Indeed, from the author's observation, many tour guides prefer to bring to an end a tour after they visit the Taisu Palace with the reason that there is no further special attractions in the village. Actually, there are an extra 5 or 6 attractions open to visitors in a further 10 minutes' walk. Two respondents' statements provide some evidence of these issues as follows:

"I think Taoism here has already become a commercial product. You see there is no professional Taoist here. Being a Taoist priest here is just a part-time job, when they have time, they just sit in the temples; if they have no time, they can stay at home and see to other business. Taoism is not promoted to visitors deeply, the company tried to use those temples to prove it is a Taoist place. Also, there are many fortune tellers here; they all have been committed to a Taoist culture (for income reasons). However, they prefer to pull visitors, which disturb visitors and it has been greatly negatively to the local Taoism culture" (No.6)

“The Taoism on the mountain is very weak in its cultural quality and professional skills. Some Taoists only sit in the temple and play on their cell phones. They don’t know how to do Taoist rite, how to do prayers. Five years ago there were some female Taoists invited to Qiyun Mountain, but after only 2 months they quit, because the local Taoists did not welcome their coming. Others, like those old ladies who sell incense, they prefer to keep following the visitors, asking them to buy her incense” (No.27).

In an attempt to overcome some of the worse abuses associated with a perceived over-commercialisation of the mountain, in 2011 the tourism authority issued a notice of governance. This forbid a range of activities like begging, ‘hard’ selling, selling fakes, cheating, and ‘rip offs’, and enacted a series of potential punishments if people were found to be involved in these activities.

7.3.5.8 Conflicts between residents and visitors

There was little evidence of conflicts between residents and visitors in the current data. Only a small number of respondents mentioned the existence of any disputes between residents and visitors. Those respondents complained that some visitors of a ‘low level of cultural quality’ might engage in some anti-social behaviours. Examples included a few visitors will directly entering residents’ homes without permission, throwing rubbish on the ground after they left, finding some reason to refuse payments, for example claiming the service is slow, the dishes are dirty and some were thought to steal things from residents’ shops. As one antique owner said to author: “In recent years, the number of visitors who have low culture quality is increasing...those visitors always steal my antiques, I lose lots of money this year...they always have a group, normally, two or three people stall me, they ask me this, that... while another person will steal my product...” (No. 23). Additionally, respondents also argued that tourists may destroy the local Taoism atmosphere. Some tourists were not respectful of the Gods of Taoism, they may speak loudly in the temple, take photos of themselves with God icons, and scribble and mark their names on the temple’s wall. As Shackley (1999) found in her case study of tourism’s cultural impacts at Himalayan religious places, many local people thought that photographing religious ceremonial is inappropriate, yet for the visitors, it is a strong motivation to acquire some interesting photographs. This may lead to culturally inspired tensions between host and visitors. As Qiyun Taoist Association President Zhang noted: “...some visitors respect Taoism, some visitors didn’t; you see, some visitors prefer scribbling on the temple’s wall, carve their name to show they have been here...visitors may

just want to satisfy their curiosity, but some of their activities hurt Taoism”. The following left hand photograph shows a temple wall which is marked by visitors; and the right hand figure shows some pilgrims ignoring the notice that ‘It is forbidden to burn paper in this censer, only burn incense stickers’, in that they still burn yellow paper in the censer.

Photo 7.26 Temple wall marked by visitors Photo 7.27 Pilgrims’ inappropriate behaviour



A field note recorded in 12/04/2012 provides material to describe how visitors may disturb local residents’ life:

“As tourism high season comes, today lots of visitors come to the mountain...I spent 2 hours on the visitors’ questionnaire in the lunch time...after 2 pm, I just back to my small house to have a rest. I open my window to allow the air to circulate. However, when I lied on the bed, I hear some voice of photographers...I hurray to get up, and found one man holding his camera...I was really unhappy, argued with him. While he told me he just wanted to take a photo of local residents’ inside house ...and found my window opened ...I was angry and ask him to delete this photo”.

Indeed, these embarrassing events did not only happen to author, but were not uncommon experiences for residents. One female resident said of her personal experience: “I hate visitors coming into my houses directly without knocking at the door. You know our door is always open in the daytime. We are not like residents in the city, need to close the door. However, once when I want to change cloths in my bedroom, one male visitor come in...I was really angry, but he coolly explained that he just want to see my house” (No.24). Interestingly, the research of Cervený (2007) reports similar findings, in which he found that tourists to Hoonah, Alaska, think that because they paid for a tour, everything in tourist destination is open to them for exploration and sightseeing.

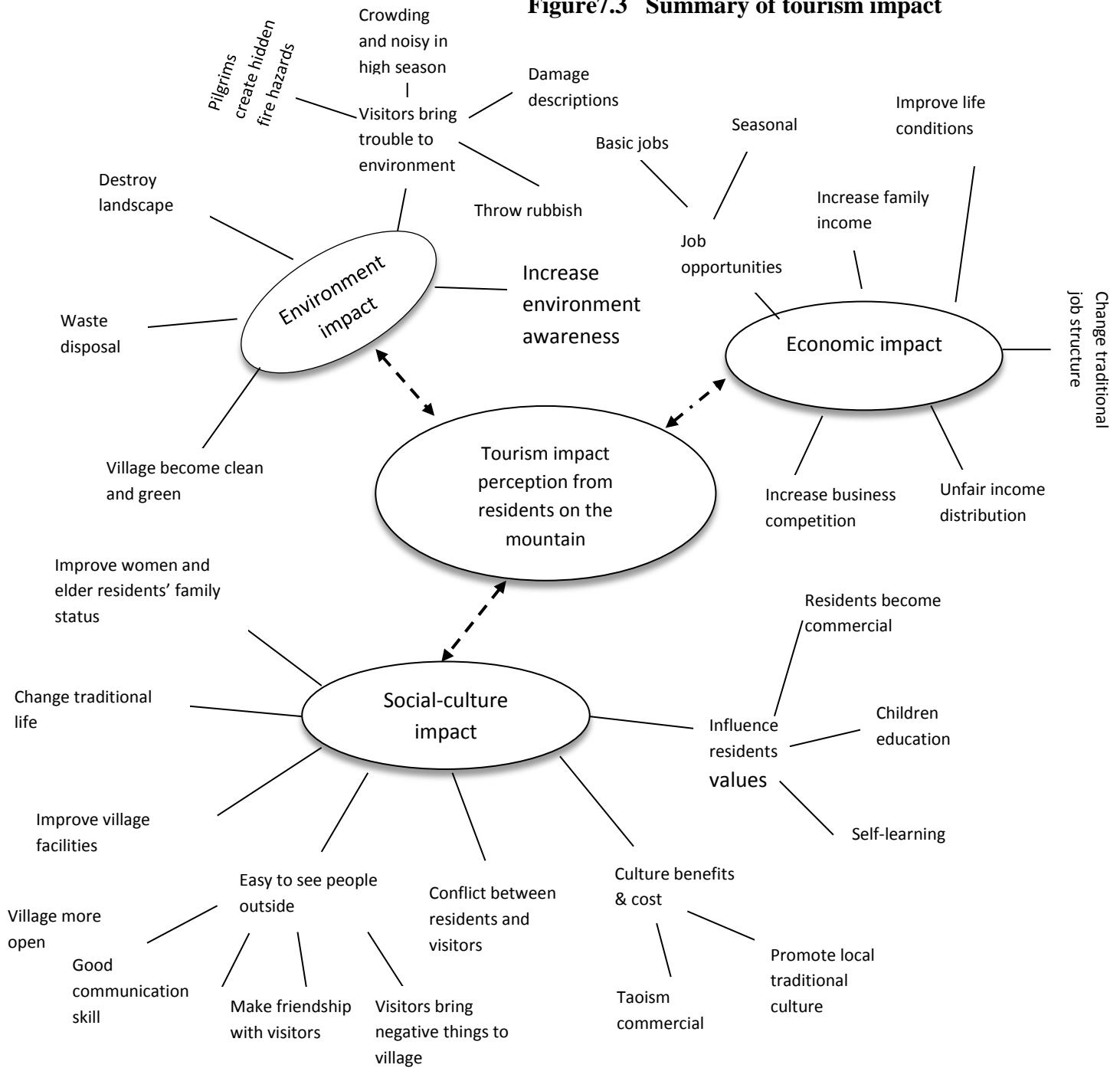
In summary, based on the above thematic findings, it could be certainly seen that tourism development has helped local residents to see people from the outside world, and to improve the status and income of women and older residents. Tourism has also influenced residents' values; helped to keep and promote the local culture; but equally has also had somewhat negative influences in the commercialism of Taoism, and creating at least minor conflicts between residents and visitors. In the next section, CATPAC analysis will be employed to provide some extra support to evidence the above results.

7.3.5.9 CATPACT analysis of tourism social-culture impact

Again, the original transcripts for social-culture impact question were entered into CATPAC software to provide more evidence to support the themes derived above. Using word frequency statistics, it could be found that the most frequently words by descending order were: 'visitors', 'residents', 'Taoism'. Additionally, the results revealed the existence of 6 different grouping words as shown in Figure 7.2 by the Wards method. Group one (circle in green) showed some relationship among the words 'see', 'many', 'things', 'new', 'know', which indicated that tourism gave local residents to see many things and know new things. This grouping reflects the first theme mentioned in the thematic analysis, that is through tourism residents can broaden their worldview to know many new things never seen before. The second group of words (circled in red) consisted of 5 important words, 'visitors', 'residents', 'more', 'good', 'communicate'. Reverting to the original text, this set of words indicated that through tourism, local residents can find more opportunity to communicate with visitors, and thus acquire good communication skills. Regarding the third cluster of words, these comprise of two words, 'change' and 'life', which means that tourism development in this small village has changed local traditional life. The fourth group of word showed a close relationship between words 'Promote' and 'Taoism'. The original test revealed that residents agreed that tourism has played a significant role in promoting Taoism culture and local custom, which reflects the fourth theme of 'cultural benefit' in the thematic analysis. The following group (circle in black), consisted of the words 'build', and 'noise'. Although this clustering does not possess a strong relationship between the words, it does highlight that tourism and tourists are responsible for additional noise in the local village. By checking the original transcripts, it could be found that, residents noticed their village would be faced with noise and crowding during the high season. Finally, the last group (circled in blue) showed a close relationship between the words 'relationship' and 'cold' which referred

reference to social-cultural impacts, it was clearly seen that tourism had already influenced local residents' values, life as well as affecting local culture through both supporting a traditional belief system but doing so through monetary evaluations.

Figure7.3 Summary of tourism impact



7.3.6 Thematic analysis of community participation in Mt Qiyun area

Twenty-eight respondents were asked the questions “Have you participated in the decision making to make a good tourism plan for the mountain”, and “Do you think government should listen to the local community during the tourism planning”. These questions measure the level of local participation in the planning process. From the transcripts, it was found that only 3 respondents who were mountain village leaders had any participatory experience, with the other 25 respondents (up to 89.28% of respondents of the total households) stating that they had no opportunity to enjoy any form participation. Indeed, 75 residents gave a high mean value of 5.73 when they evaluate the statement of “the tourism planning authorities pay little attention to the views of local residents when making decisions about tourism”. The current finding is quite similar with the results reported by Zamani-Farahani and Musa (2008), who found that in Masooleh, Iran, that local residents felt that the tourism authorities failed to consider residents when they were planning and managing tourism in Masooleh. In Qiyun mountain, residents on the mountain, like the residents below the mountain, were also places in a passive position as to planning as illustrated in the quotes below.

“...No , I don’t have kinds of experience. We residents only passively receive any decisions. We never know the next step that the government and tourism company will do to develop tourism...” (No. 26).

“...Never, tourism authority and company make new policy by themselves, then we are told about those new policies. After that we residents should follow them strictly. If we have some different voice, then they will threaten our jobs” (No. 22).

“Never, I have written some letters to government about how to develop our Taoism in this mountain, but they never give me feedback. I have been a Taoist for 60 years, I also visit other famous Taoism mountains ... I know how to develop Taoism in Qiyun mountain. But government ignores me” (No. 28).

Additionally, some respondents pointed out the reason why they had no opportunities to have a say in the decision making process. For example some respondents mentioned that “... government and company prefer carry out planning using strong hard way” (No.8), “We are normal residents, not the village leader, (and have) no right” (No.10), “Government thinks we are the people with low culture quality, (and know) nothing about tourism” (No.17), “... both

government and local residents don't have enough democratic consciousness" (No.24), "Government is at a high level, we residents are at a very low level, they don't need to listen to low level one" (No.25). From the above responses, it might be said that the China's strong centralism of government participation has a major role in the attitudes of this small village community. Additionally, Ying and Zhou (2007) stated that residents in many rural places in China had a relatively low level of democratic awareness.

When respondents were asked to describe whether or not government need to listen to the local community during the tourism planning, most respondents (19 of the 28) agreed that government should listen to their suggestions; while 9 respondents held the opposite opinion. Possible reasons for supporting community participation that were mentioned by respondents mainly related to 5 aspects, namely: "we are the right group that can affect tourism directly" (No.1), "Government should respect us" (No.4), "We have lived on the mountain for many generations, we know lots of things about the mountain, with residents' help, they can make a good plan"(No.5), "We are the real master of the mountain, our place was developed as a tourism site, we have to participate"(No.8), "If they can give us an equal opportunity to participate, I think we can change the negative relationship with government" (No.20). As noted, 9 respondents thought there was no point in participating. This is not because they do not thought community participation is important, but because they felt that even they should provide suggestions to the government, the government would not listen to their suggestions. As two respondents pointed out that: "I don't care about participation, because I know, even if we participate, we can't affect the final decisions" (No.10), "We provided some methods of protecting our environment in previous years. But no one listens to our suggestions. Now, we are not willing to do those kinds of things which waste our time and energy" (No.13). Current finding was consist with Wang's (2011) result, who found that even local residents didn't happy with the government's decision, but no one complained about the decision. Because residents thought it was no use to complain about government decisions, as government had higher social status which leads to create the gap between government officials and host community.

In summary, the above results provide findings similar to those revealed in the residents below mountain sample. Community participation in Qiyun area is low, and only the village leaders have some participation experience. Despite this, the majority of residents in Mt Qiyun still expect they can be involved in decision making one day. However, it should be

clearly noted that although the residents on the mountain cannot participate in decision making, they still fully participate in tourism business and income distribution. As Timothy (1999) suggested that community participation always occurs at two levels: benefits sharing and participate in decision-making. As such, these findings from the present study provide some support for previous research findings that, in China, the local communities only participate in the economic activity, but with a low degree of participation, and even non-participation in decision making decision (Wang & Wall, 2006; Bao & Sun, 2007). However, Li et al., (2006) argued that "...at the initial stage of tourism development , local people are only concerned their income increase, but in the future, community participation in decision making might be a necessary requirement when they want to guarantee their quality of life" (p.579).

7.3.7 Satisfaction or not? A Need further Development?

Again, like residents below the mountain, respondents on the mountain were also asked to evaluate their satisfaction with the current level of Mt Qiyun tourism development, indicate whether mountain need further development or not, and to give some suggestions about how to develop mountain in a more sustainable way. From the transcripts, it could be found that all of the respondents answer the questions. Among them, 16 out of 28 (57.1%) respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with current development; 10 out of 28 (35.7%) respondents indicated their overall satisfaction while 2 out of 28 (7%) respondents had no idea. Additionally, with reference to the question 'Does Mt Qiyun need further development or not', all 28 respondents supported the concept of further development. To confirm this, results from quantitative analysis revealed that there was a very low mean value '1.84' of the statement 'I feel the village should restrict the growth of tourism'. However, only three respondents felt that tourism development should be only under the premise of environmental protection; while others hoped the mountain could be developed without constraints, and the quicker the better. If Doxey's (1975) Irritation Index is applied, then the findings here suggest that at present Qiyun Mountain is little beyond the stage of "Euphoria". As such, there is evidence to suggest that residents on the mountain remain enthusiastic about tourism and want more visitors, and hope tourism can bring yet more benefits to the community. It is more than likely that residents believe a higher level of development may bring higher incomes and profit for them. A similar study conducted in the Chinese Water Town Luzi by Fan et al., (2008) discovered that almost all respondents (94 per cent) hoped that government

could continue to promote further tourism in their local place. However, this result is somewhat different to the findings obtained from residents below the mountain. As analysed in Chapter 6, in the total sample, there 71.8% of respondents supported further development, and 15.4% of respondents were against further development. Thus, the current result provides some evidence to support Hardy's (2005) statement that "...stakeholder groups perceptions are affected by both the context in which the stakeholder groups is situated and also by geographical boundaries in terms of proximity" (p.126). This difference may point to the fact that residents on the mountain are personally experiencing the benefits of tourism development, and are driven by commercial profits, all of which leads to the support of tourism development to a large extent.

According to the transcripts, 10 respondents who are satisfied with current development level were more likely to mention reasons like 'facilities improve, which is convenient for residents to live on the mountain', 'more visitors in current 2 years, bring more visitors', 'had a better business now, which improves family life'. Some important quotes provide some evidence as follows:

"...the level of tourism development in the mountain is better than in the last two years. There are several walkways repaired, we also connect internet, have running water, also the voltage become more stable than before" (No.1).

"It is better than in previous years. The company spent a lot to promote in some new markets, which helps to increase (the numbers of) visitors. I hope the company can keep these kinds of trends, because I know the more visitors, the better our business, and the better our life." (No.23).

"Yes, I am quite happy with the current development. Because the number of visitors increases, my restaurant increases its business. You see, we enlarge our restaurant scale, we mainly receive low price consumption tour group, such as older groups, student groups. I still hope the visitors could be more. I plan if the government allow us to rebuild our old house, I will decorate some rooms to become an accommodation to receive visitors" (No.24).

On the other hand, the current findings also revealed many causes of dissatisfaction to explain why residents on the mountain are still unhappy with tourism development, even they are always seen with jealousy and envy by residents below the mountain. For example, most respondents complained that although tourism on the mountain had developed for more than

20 years; yet, during those years, there were no big changes on the mountain. On the other hand, many respondents pointed out they dissatisfied with the seasonal characteristics, which lead to an unstable pattern of business and income. Actually, further thematic analysis found that the dissatisfaction reasons were most likely to be related with ‘government & company poor performance’, and a little related with more general factors of ‘tourism’ or ‘visitors’.

7.3.7.1 Government & company poor performance

The majority of respondents expressed the view that governmental poor performance could lead to a low level of tourism development. There were grounds for concerns. First, the government had sold selling operational rights to external companies 5 times in the past two decades, which had led to frequent changes in the tourism plan and management system. Thus, most respondents interviewed hoped that the operating rights could return to governmental control as soon as was possible. This endorses the views of residents below the mountain, and both were not unwilling to see companies external to the vicinity having management and operational rights in the immediate area. For example, one respondent pointed out that: “... of course, I am not satisfied with the current development level. The biggest reason that has stopped development is that the mountain had been sold to private companies five times. She (mountain) is like a product; we also have been managed by different companies. There is no stable plan for Mt Qiyun, because every 2 or 3 years, the company changes, the plan changes as well” (No.5) Again, another respondent, mentioned that “ There is no stable plan for mountain development, the company always changes, and the new leader always has his different plan for the mountain...except for the first company that did some real things for us, the other 4 companies, they don’t do anything, only prefer changing the street light, and rubbish bins, because they are cheaper...” (No.7). Those statements reflected a classical Taoism theory “治大国如烹小鲜 小鲜”, (Zhi da guo ruo peng xiao xian), which indicates that governing a large nation is like cooking small fishes, we should not frequently stir-fry the fish, otherwise, the fish will break. This theory suggested that when a leader rules a nation, the correct policy is one of continuity and stability. If the structure and policy are always changing, the nation will be brought down by inner instability. Thus, this classical Taoism theory also fits the case of Qiyun. The government should keep to a stable policy and to continuity; however, in the past 10 years, the government did precisely the opposite. The frequent change of Tourism Company and policies has led to inconsistency and arguably serious damage to the sites development.

The second point that needs mentioning is that the government has not shared dividends with the local residents. As mentioned previously, the dividends were only given to the tourism company and tourism authority in the ratio of 8:2. However, most residents thought that they contributed their own environment to the tourism product and hence queried why they could not get a share, even just a little. Indeed, residents preferred to compare their status with the residents of nearby Hongcun and Xidi ancient villages where everyone in those two villages received some ticket revenue share each year. As Song (2008) stated, residents in Xidi ancient town, Anhui obtained 1139 RMB per month in 2004. Actually, residents on the mountain have continued to apply for many times in the past ten years for such treatment, but without even receiving a formal reply. As one respondent mentioned: “I am not satisfied with the development here, because the government and company don’t give us our dividends, it is unfair...we ask many times, but they (government and company) always ignore us...” (No.7).

Third, it was stated that the government and company did not invest money in the mountain to improve basic facilities and repair old attractions. Many respondents suggested that ‘those old disreputable toilets’ and the temples need to be rebuilt, and required a priority for tourism development. As one respondent pointed out that: “Our mountain actually has many nature attractions, but at present, only develop 40% ...which needs lot of capital to develop others” (No.6) Other respondents pointed out that it was necessary to build a proper sewage system to solve daily problems of rubbish and waste as well as to improve the water supply system in the winter season. For example, one respondent commented that “... government didn’t provide the basic facilities for locals and visitors, such as shortage of water in winter season, no sewer systems. As a result, the waste water always direct drain through mountain into Hengjiang River, which bad for river and soil quality...” (No.11).

Additionally, a respondent who is former Qiyun Taoism Association chairman expressed disappointment with the government and Tourism Company, and he suggested that “the government and related authority should provide financial support to grow Taoism”. This respondent stated that early in 1992, the government gave the Taoist Association 23.3% of total ticket revenue to develop Taoism each year but only continued for 3 to 4 years. Since then there had been no funds for the Taoism Association, which survived only by pilgrim’s donations and the Taoist rite earnings. Consequently the need to make a daily living is considered as the most important need for the Taoist priests and they have no more energy to devote to the research of Taoism.

Fifth, some respondents complained that the government and company prohibits the repair or decoration of old houses. Many residents expressed the wish to repair their old houses to improve their living standards and also in the hope of building some standard rooms for visitors. However, in order to protect the ancient houses, the government maintained a policy that forbids personal construction. This study supports the findings of Gu and Ryan (2008) that residents in Hongcun ancient village, Anhui Province also complained about the local government and tourism company imposing restrictions on home building and home improvements.

Finally, residents showed their dissatisfaction with the new ticketing policy. Before February, 2012, when outside relatives and friends came to see local residents, local residents could prove their identities to obtain a free entrance ticket and a residents' cable car ticket (normally, for visitors, the cable car ticket is 40 RMB for return, while for residents it is 10 RMB for return). However, after the introduction of a new ticket policy now, when residents' relatives or friends come to the mountain, they need to pay the entrance fee, and if they can be proved their identities they can receive a 20% discount for admission but must pay the full price for the cable car. In this case, many residents complained that the current ticketing policy was unreasonable because their relatives were not willing to pay so much to visit them.

7.3.7.2 Visitor variables

With reference to the visitors, respondents mainly complained that visitors visit Mountain for only a short time, just a couple of hours; and the majority of visitors come to mountain belonged to groups that spent very little in the village. Thus, some residents pointed out that although the numbers of visitors increased in 2012, business had not improved very significantly. By author's observation in the mountain, the majority of visitors, especially for those tour groups, normally stayed mountain for 3 to 4 hours; while private tourists will stay a little longer, for 5 to 6 hours. During their visit, having a lunch in a farmer-restaurant is the biggest source of tourist expenditure. Normally, for a tour group, the average meal for each visitor is 12 RMB/person. Hence a table consisting of 10 visitors generates only 120 RMB (24 NZD). However, for some private visitors, they prefer to have good wine and good dishes, and normally a table of 4-5 private visitors will net 200 to 300RMB. Thus, local residents preferred to receive private visitors rather than tour groups. This finding endorses that of Su, Cao and Lin (2005). In their study, they explored the low expenditures and short duration of tourists stays as two significant problems for Xidi ancient village (in Anhui Province) and

Zhouzhuang water town (in Jiangsu Province). Most tourists visiting Xidi and Zhouzhuang were day trippers with an average spend of 238.9 RMB and 296.4 RMB individually.

Two important quotes illustrate this problem:

“This year, it looks like the visitor numbers increase, but those visitors are always from low price tour group, they didn’t spend. My income has not increased with the increasing number of visitors..” (No.8)

“I am not satisfied with the development here. Because my business always bad. The visitors have low consumption. We need development, not only bring more visitors here, but also increase their spending and attracting them to stay longer” (No.12).

Thus, it is interesting to find that despite the views of many residents below the mountain that tourism only bring benefits for those residents who lived on the mountain, and thus those people should appreciate what they already had, in practice the responses above highlight that mountain residents still have a high level of dissatisfaction with the current situation.

7.3.8 How to develop a more sustainable tourism in the future?

In response to the above problems, respondents were asked to give some suggestions to further sustain tourism development. From the transcripts, it 5 main themes emerged, namely: ‘Operate right return to government’, ‘Promote Taoism culture’, ‘Need good management & plan’, ‘Give residents’ dividends’, and ‘More investment in mountain’. With reference to the theme of ‘operate right return to government’, both residents on the mountain and below the mountain provided this suggestion for the further development of Qiyun Mountain, which was seen as a priority for all. As one respondent mentioned that: “...the national tourist area shouldn’t be sold to private company, to develop as a market way” (No. 26).

Regarding the second theme ‘Promote Taoism culture’, it is a recurring theme emerging from this study. Most respondents believed the rich and deep Taoism culture was ‘a magic weapon’ to win visitors. Therefore, respondents pointed out that for further development, how to promote Taoism to visitors is the key thing. Those people also suggested that current Taoists need improve what was on offer and acquire more ‘professional knowledge’ in order to better transmit Taoism cultural knowledge. As one respondent said that: “I think it needs to develop Taoism here more deeply. It can’t depend on some small temples, and then we tell

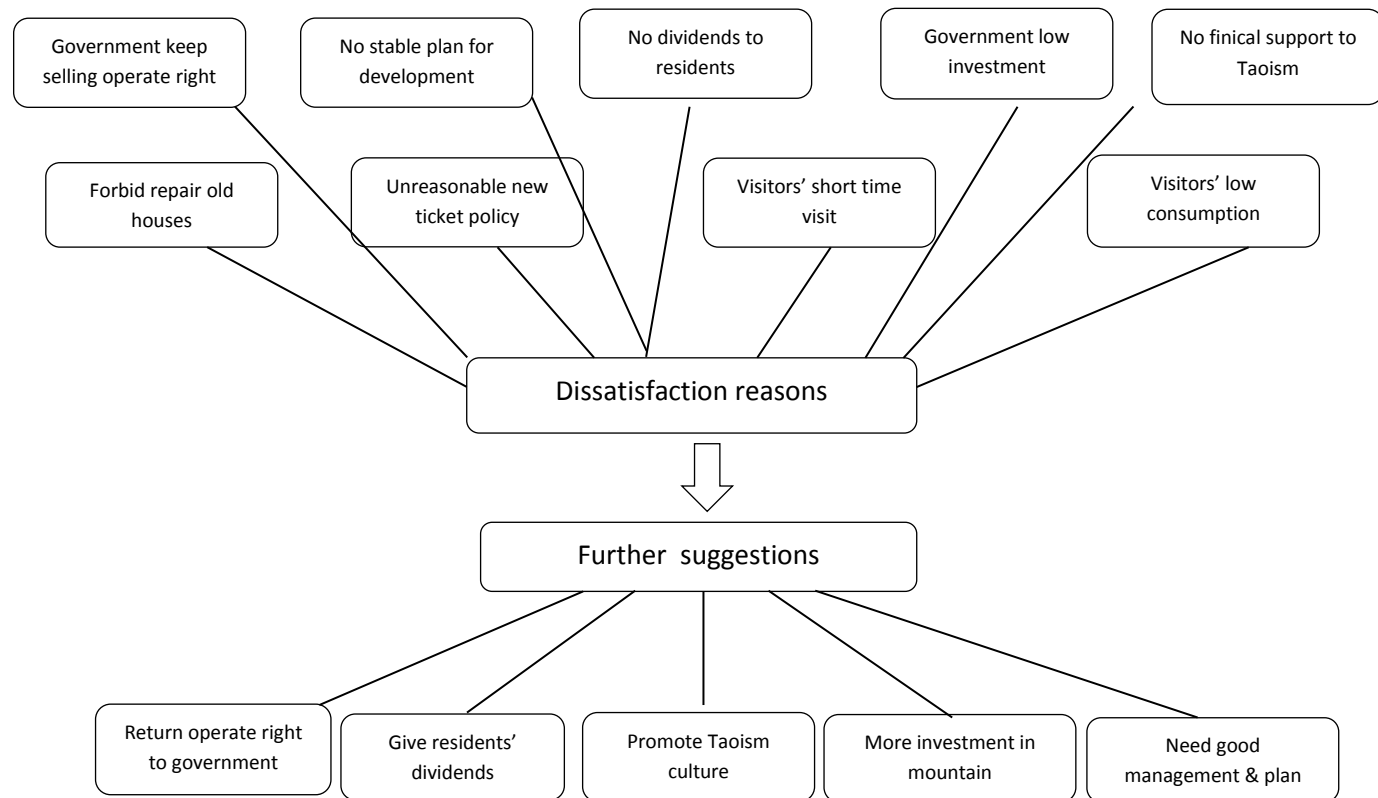
visitors this is a famous Taoism mountain. We need to improve our Taoist's cultural quality, which (requires) an improvement of their professional skills" (No.8).

With reference to the third theme 'Need good management and plan', respondents suggested that the mountain has long lacked a clear and long term plan. Even when such a plan might exist, the residents do not know what is involved. Also, respondents thought mountain should be better organized and managed. For example, it needs to solve Yuehua Street's disorderly business environment and there is a need to train local residents to provide a better service to visitors. As a respondent explained that "The Yuehua Street should be unified planning, the building style, the shop should not be so massed. The staff, such as people selling incense, fortune tellers, shouldn't hassle visitors, and force visitors to spend. The tourism authority and company should give residents some training about how to operate a tourism business. Especially for those tour guides, they should be chosen by companies, not everyone can be a tour guide. Because instead it is the local residents to directly interact with visitors" (No.3).

Additionally, the theme 'gives residents dividends' is one of the most important things that respondents cared about. More than half of the respondents strongly expressed a view that the local government and company should pay residents some dividends. Two respondents even specifically mentioned that the Qiyun Taoism Association needs some percentage of the ticket price as a financial support to develop Taoism. They thought that if Taoism associate had enough financial support that would permit the Taoists more time to study Taoism. The following quotes may provide some evidence to support this theme: "they (government & company) should give us dividends. The village is our village, not the tourism authority, why they can earn money without loss, but we can't get any dividend even if we spend a lot. I think if the government can provide some dividend, even a little, which could encourage residents become more active" (No.6).

Finally, respondents considered that the government and company had to invest more in the mountain to improve facilities and develop new product to attract visitors stay longer. Some respondents suggested that "enlarge tourism area, to make many small points as a line...to improve facilities, give visitors a safety, and comfortable experience' (No.29); " build public toilets, provide a more stable electricity supply, solve water shortage problem in winter days..."(No.27); "invest more to repair old temples, enlarge tourism attraction area, to attract visitors stay longer" (No.17). The following Figure 7.4 summarises residents' causes for dissatisfaction as well as their suggestions for mountain further development.

Figure 7.4 Residents' dissatisfaction reasons and further suggestions



7.4 Chapter summary

Both the qualitative data and quantitative data presented above in Chapter 7 were analysed with the aims of exploring tourism impacts and local residents' attitudes toward Mt Qiyun tourism, as well as achieving the goal of exploring the level of community participation, and examining the degree of residents' satisfaction and suggestion of further development. The first important point made by respondents was tourism development in Qiyunshan, indeed, bring significant economic impacts for all of the villagers on the mountain. Residents from two forms of dataset agreed with that tourism help them to increase family income, create job opportunities, and improve quality of life. It is found that economic benefits have attracted much attention compare with environment or social-culture benefits. As Ying and Zhou (2007) explained that in rural China, how to make a living is still a main concern for residents; thus community is more concerned with economic benefits. The results of the quantitative

and qualitative analysis imply that although parts of residents on the mountain dissatisfied with current tourism development and its impacts on their village; residents still enthusiastic about tourism and want more visitors, because they believed a higher level of development may bring higher incomes and profits for them, which confirm that economic benefits have significant positive relationship with residents' attitude toward tourism; residents who highly dependent on tourism employment are more likely to support tourism development (Lankford, 1994; Easterling, 2004). Overall, when compared with residents below the mountain, residents on the mountain expect further tourism expansion to gain significant economic benefits, even though they also perceived negative impacts of tourism (Puczkó & Rátz , 2000). Secondly, with respect to social and cultural impacts, the results of chapter 7 illustrate that residents are aware of the benefits, as well as the problems caused by tourism, included: 'provide opportunity to see people outside', 'improve women and elder residents' family level', 'Change residents' traditional life', 'Improve facilities', 'Influence residents' values', 'culture benefits', 'Taoism becomes commercial', and 'conflicts between residents and visitors'. Many interesting findings were revealed in this part which confirmed previous socio-cultural literatures. For example, residents can see many interesting outside people, to know new things, and even make friendship with visitors. Many female residents are able to find tourism jobs to earn money to support family. Female residents in Mountain Qiyun now become more confident and much stronger to improve their family status (Lama, 2000). Additionally, a recurring theme emerging from this study is tourism help to improve local facilities (Pizam, 1978; Williams & Lawson, 2001), such as mountain road, tunnel, running water, internet et al. However, on the other hand, residents also recognize the negative social-culture impacts of tourism like residents on the mountain become commercial because of business competition. The previous harmonious relationships among neighbours it could be found that residents had become more selfish, relationships had become colder. Thirdly, to address the research questions of how tourism brings impact to the village environmentally; residents are asked to indicate their perception of environment impact. It clearly shows that most respondents agreed with a view that their living environment was much better than in the years before tourism development. Only half of the residents pointed out little environment problems, such 'facilities constructions destroy the landscape', and 'visitors bring trouble for the environment'. It seems that Qiyun people are more likely to perceive the economic and social-cultural impacts, while provided little information about negative environment impacts (Li, 2002). Several reasons could be provided for this concept:

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- a) Qiyun mountain still at the early stages of the tourism area life stage, the total number of visitors come to the mountain are limited when compare with other nearby tourists attraction
 - b) Local government and tourism company have a strong environment protection policy , such as ‘ government prohibited local residents raising chicken and pigs in the village to avoid smells’, ‘ government prohibits residents from cutting trees’ ‘encourage residents to use of garbage bags’, ‘create family responsibility system’ et al.
 - c) Qiyun people have inadequate environment knowledge to realize the environment impact (Nyauoanbd & Thapa ,2006)
 - d) Qiyun people prefer to focus on individual economic benefits, while ignore collective negative environment impact (Nyaupane & Thapa ,2006)
 - e) Many Qiyun people are not willing to admit some of their activities may damage nature environment such as burning rubbish, throw waste food into the mountain et al.

Regard with residents’ satisfaction of current tourism development in Qiyun Mountain, the research found that more than half of respondents were not happy with tourism. The majority dissatisfaction reason related to government and company’s poor performance, such as ‘ government sell mountain operate right to private external company’ , ‘forbid residents to build new house’ , ‘ no dividend to local residents’ et al. To solve problems, residents , therefore, give 5 main ways to guide further development, included ‘Operate right return to government’, ‘Promote Taoism culture’, ‘Need good management & plan’, ‘Give residents’ dividends’, and ‘More investment in mountain’. With reference to the theme of ‘operate right return to government’. Next chapter, author will investigate the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from the viewpoint of government officials using the data derived from 20 semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 8

An Analysis of the Views of Government Officials

8.1 Introduction

This chapter has the purpose of investigating the nature and degree of tourism impacts in Mt Qiyun from the viewpoint of government officials using data derived from 20 semi-structured interviews. A total of 16 male officials and 4 female officials were selected on a snowball principle. Among them, 3 respondents came from Qiyun township government, 4 from Xiuning County government, 12 respondents from Qiyun Tourism Authority, and 1 respondent from Huangshan municipal government. Each interview lasted approximately 40 minutes to discuss six main questions and some more important officials were interviewed twice, these being the officials from the municipal and county governments. Accordingly, the structure of chapter will be based on the themes of: a) the stage of tourism development in Qiyun mountain, b) the goals of tourism development and whether they are being achieved, c) an analysis of the environmental, economic and social-culture impacts of tourism, d) the officials' perception about the need for and level of community participation in local area, and e) how might villagers benefit from tourism and what future means exist for the further development of Mt Qiyun.

8.2 The stage of development

Government officials were primarily asked to evaluate two questions at the beginning of the interview: whether tourism is a leading industry in the local area, and what is the current life stage of its development. Of the 20 respondents 12 agreed that tourism played a leading role in local area; and among them 2 respondents said tourism was a leading industry, not only in Qiyun Town, but also in Xiuning County. This is due to the fact that most officials in this group believed that except for agriculture; tourism was the only industry of potential in Qiyun Town. Like Sofield and Li pointed out that in many Chinese tourist destinations, tourism is considered as a keystone industry, which is the mainstay of nearly all economic activity(Sofield & Li, 2011). Yet they also recognised that tourism was not yet well developed. As one respondent stated: “Yes, it is a leading industry in Qiyun town, because there are no other industries here, other than a little agriculture. The majority of young people actually work outside (Qiyun town)” (No. 8). Again, another respondent said: “If we use

some standards to measure the leading industry, I think tourism is not a leading industry. But the reality is except for tourism, our residents only do a little farming, we don't have a factory here, and therefore only depend on tourism" (No.19).

On the other hand, 8 respondents expressed the view that although tourism was the most important industry in Qinyun Town; however, it couldn't be seen as a leading industry. Perhaps the major reason for this apparent paradox was that the current level tourism development was unable to bring significant economic impacts for the local area. For example, it was stated that it would not generate much tax revenue for the government (e.g., according to the statistics, the direct tax from Qiyun tourism, on average, amounted to 5% of local GDP in 2011); it could not create many jobs for local residents (e.g. tourism created just 55 direct employees in 2011); and it could not help to motivate other industry to develop. Hence government officials made comment such as:

"I don't think the tourism here is a leading industry, because Qiyun tourism still remain at the stage of ticket generation, it doesn't promote other industry development. What's more, the government's only gets a small part of its tax revenue from the tourism industry" (No. 2)

"I don't think the Qiyun tourism can be considered as a leading industry, because the tourism does not bring significant benefits to local government and residents, the money generated in primarily taken by the external company. The tourism industry cannot motivate other industries to develop with it, which is a disappointment to local residents" (No. 3)

Regarding the second question 'At what stage of its development do you think tourism is at currently', most government officials (14 out of 20 respondents) believed that although the mountain was more developed than 20 years previously, it was still at an early stage because of its poor facilities, few visitors, low quality, high seasonality, weak promotion, as well as its unsatisfactory state of management. These views were expressed thus:

"...I think the development is still at a low level, because of few visitors, and weak facilities' (No. 15)

"...30 years and it is still in an initial stage, I think the majority of problem stem from the lack of a plan, and the leaders are always changing" (No. 14)

“...I think it is still at the early stage, because only few visitors come here. If you compare with other nearby attractions, such as Xidi, Hongcun, our total number of visitors in major holiday even can’t catch up with their normal numbers” (No.9).

There was a countervailing view expressed by 6 respondents who pointed out that tourism had currently began to transition to a development stage from an initial exploratory stage because the number of visitors had increased recent two years, and some external companies had begun to enter into Qiyun Town to establish much bigger facilities. If using TALC model (Tourism Area Life Cycle), then currently Mt Qiyun was still in the Involvement stage, but trends had emerged pointing to the Development stage. In summary, the above comments illustrated that from the government officials’ perceptions, tourism in the Qiyun area was still at the early involvement stage. Many aspects like tourism products, services, facilities, and a business plan still remained at the initial stages of development.

8.3 The goals and purposes of tourism in Qiyun

In terms of examining the government officials’ satisfaction with current Qiyun tourism development, it was found that the government officials expressed less satisfaction than other stakeholders. Of the interviewees 16 out of the 20 respondents expressed disappointment with the way tourism had developed, although of these 16, 3 agreed with that view but expressed a view that some progress had been made in the past two years (2010 to 2012). The remaining four expressed some satisfaction, albeit at a low level. The reasons why the hoped for development had not progressed was because of several reasons, which could be classified as ‘unsuitable management system’, ‘weak sense of Taoism’, ‘lack of promotion’, ‘lack of investment’, ‘poor resident support’, and again ‘poor management at the local level’.

8.3.1 Unsuitable management system

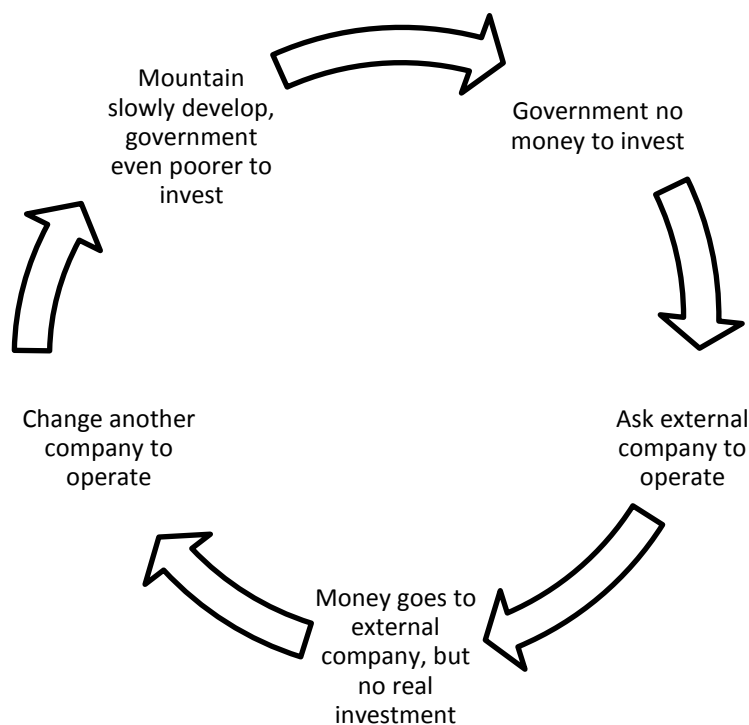
A major problem was the allocation of responsibilities for development, and 12 of the 20 respondents, to a varying degrees identified the current management system as the key to the mountain’s slow development. Some officials, especially from Qiyun Tourism Authority, thought the mountain should be directly controlled by the Huangshan Municipal Government, like Mt Huangshan, rather than being controlled by Xiuning County government. They explained that having a low level administrative status, the Xiuning County government found it difficult to obtain funds and support from the Anhui Provincial Government or

Central Government, and some developmental schemes seemed to take a long time before being approved by the Provincial Government, which potentially reduced planning efficiency.

Secondly, many respondents stated that because Xiuning County lacked money to invest in Qiyun Mountain the alternative policy was one of inviting external companies to operate the mountain, with the hope of securing investment in facilities and developing the local area. However, the history of such initiatives was one of things constantly occurring that were contrary to government's desires and wishes, with the consequent frequent change of the companies failing to bring significant benefits to Mt Qiyun, while further delaying development time and opportunities. Past problems included a failure to deliver promised targets, and under-investment. Hence every time when new company arrived, a new development plan was again made. This lack of a stable and long term plan also slowed development. At present, the Qiyun Tourism Company undertook the main role for developing the mountain, and so the Qiyun Mountain Tourism Authority was losing its power to implement changes. This in itself was a potential reason by which tension was increased between the Tourism Company and local government. Some officials in the Tourism Authority pointed out that: "... because the government lacks capital to invest in the attraction, so we need to invite external companies to operate the mountain. However, those companies had different targets, standpoints and strategies, which were opposite to government wishes. For example, they want to develop a modern commercial tourist destination, while government want to keep its traditional things" (No.2). Again, another respondent mentioned that: "...it is a good way to invite company to invest in the mountain, but I am opposed to giving full operational rights to the company. It is a big problem, because the company only focus on profit, while the government may consider the social benefits" (No.11). As Ying and Zhou (2007) suggest, "the possession of the right for tourism development and operation will eventually influence the power relations among the key stakeholders...". Indeed, in the current Qiyun area, the Tourism Authority has already suffered a reduction its authority while the Tourism Company now has control of most things. Interestingly, one respondent described a vicious circle to describe the mountain's difficult situation. From Figure 8.1, it can be seen that due to the government's lack of money to invest in the mountain, the Xiuning County Government had to invite external companies to operate the mountain, hoping they could do some things to develop tourism industry. However, most companies only focus on ticket revenue generating, neglecting the desired real development of the community and contributing to a development of its social capital.

As a result, government had to terminate the contract, and look for another new company to continue. During the process, both time and capital are often wasted in changing between activities.

Figure 8.1 Vicious circle of mountain development



8.3.2 Weak Taoism

Many government officials realized another serious problem of was the weak state of Taoism in Qiyun Mountain. Although, Mt Qiyun was famous because of its high status in Taoism culture since ancient times; the current mountain has a weak Taoism atmosphere, and cannot promote a deeper Taoism culture to its visitors. A number of respondents critiqued that local Taoism had its appearance without reality. For example, one respondent mentioned that : “I felt Mt Qiyun only has its past history in Taoism, but doesn’t have substance.” (No.17) Additionally, respondents insisted that the culture of the mountain was the biggest advantage for further mountain development. One official even argued that: “Qiyun mountain view can’t catch up with Mt Huangshan, so we need to dig into the deeper culture for our competitiveness. The only way for the mountain to survive is ‘how to grow the Taoism culture’. I can predict that if the Taoism doesn’t develop, even if the mountain develops for

another 20 years, there will still be no big changes here' (No.17). The current results highlight some reasons for the weak Taoism atmosphere as shown by following quotes:

“The majority of Taoist priests don’t know Taoism, there is a lack of professional skills; the priests are apathetic, without enthusiasm” (No.1)

“ There are no or fewer Taoist priests in the temples. The temples are quite dilapidated; there are no Taoist activities in the temple...there are fewer pilgrims and incense” (No.8)

“ Qiyun mountain only has its history in Taoism, but don’t have its substance. All the Taoists on the mountain are local residents. Those residents only focus on how to make a better living, and have no motivation to improve their skills or cultural quality” (No. 17)

Indeed, another respondent who was responsible for Qiyun Taoism stated that before the Culture Revolution, the daily number of pilgrims was in the thousands while now; the total number of pilgrims was usually for no more than 10,000 per year. Of those pilgrims, 80% were from Wuyuan, Jiangxi Province, and others normally from Zhejiang Province, and local people. Usually, they visit Mt Qiyun in the March and July for different pilgrimage activities (Xianghui¹¹, 香会). Consequently, it would appear from the data that at present three stakeholders (government officials, visitors, and residents on the mountain) have identified as important the weak state of Taoism, which indicates that three groups have already reached a common consensus to some extent.

These comments reinforce the views expressed by different writers that the Maoist period represented a significant period of hubris in Chinese culture from which China has still not fully recovered. This is evidenced by the implementation of religious practices that are based upon a ‘folkloric’ understanding of past religious belief systems based on the past Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist traditions of China, and not a more profound understanding. For its part the State very cautiously condones these belief systems, but only in ways to ensure a social harmony that does not threaten the position of the Chinese Communist Party (Ryan & Gu, 2010), a position itself that inhibits a fuller exploration of these belief systems.

¹¹ Xianghui (香会): Temporary folk pilgrim association make pilgrimages together in some special days

8.3.3 Lack of promotion

The interview transcripts revealed that Qiyun Mountain promotional efforts were insufficient. As one of four major Taoism Mountain, Mt Qiyun received the fewest visitors compared with other three mountains (Mt. Wudang, Mt. Qingchen, Mt. Longhu). From the following Figure 8.2 which was obtained from the Qiyun Master Plan 2011 to 2030, it is indicated that in 2010 there was a wide gap between Mt Qiyun and other three Taoism Mountain in terms of visitor numbers.

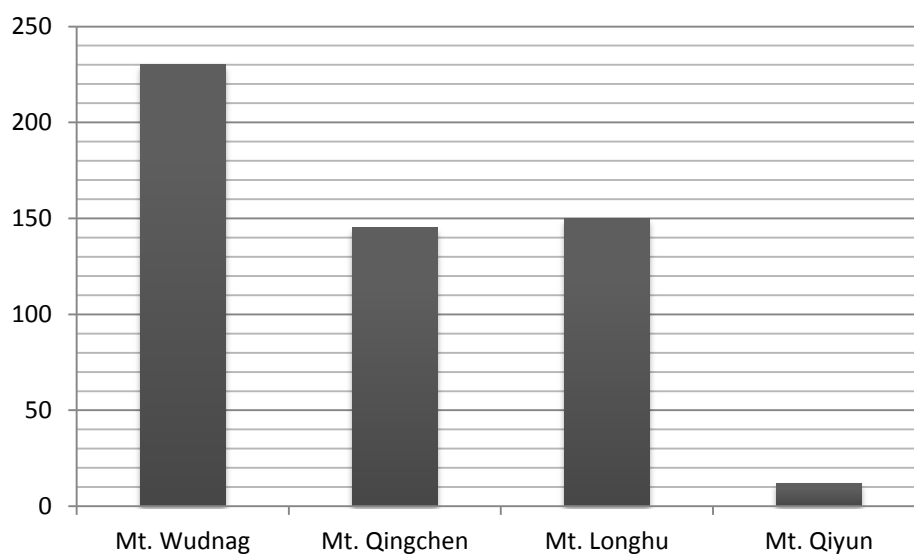


Figure 8.2 Visitor number for four Taoism Mountains in 2010

From the transcripts, four main reasons for the weak promotion were found. Firstly, Mt Qiyun was not the main promotion target for travel agencies in many cities. For example, one respondent pointed out that “In 2011, at Nanjing Market, only two travel agencies sold Qiyun mountain tickets”. Secondly, every year, The Qiyun Tourism Company invested little in direct marketing, only a few 100,000 RMB. Thirdly, the area in which promotion is directed is small. Currently, Mt Qiyun is only promoted in the closer regions of Shanghai, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi, but little is done in further places. Additionally, the mode of promotion in those areas was also “dull and unexciting”. On the other hand, some respondents pointed out that in 2012, the new Mt Qiyun Tourism Company had made significant progress, and had invested more to promote Mt Qiyun, including:

- From 12/05/2012, Mt Qiyun tourism advertisements had begun to be shown on the CCTV1 (China Central Television) and CCTV4 for 10 seconds every day;
- The Company also invited a spokesperson, Qianya Xu, who was a famous folk singer in China, to record a tourism song.
- Corporation had commenced with some well-known online agents to promote Mt Qiyun on Sina.com and yahoo.com

The following photograph 8.1 shows the singer Qianya Xu and her staff working at the recording scene on Mt Qiyun.



8.3.4 Lack of investment to improve facilities

Some respondents stated that another serious problem facing the mountain development was that there was no money to invest in the mountain. Many facilities were too old or not enough to fulfil the needs of an increasing number of visitors, such as the small capacity cable car, some low security mountain roads, the poor condition of accommodation, and some dirty and broken public toilets. The following quotes were provided to the author:

“...lack of capital to invest the mountain, our facilities are still at the very low level...” (No.2).

“...the major problem is a government lack of money to invest in the mountain, many basic facilities need to be built or repaired” (No.4).

“ we can’t receive enough capital from Xiuning County to invest, while the tourism company , they won’t put real money in to invest...”(No.7).

Indeed, from the visitors’ perception, the poor facilities were a major problem leading to visitors’ low satisfaction. Based on the current position, how to improve the facilities is

obviously a major and urgent concern. As with the two resident groups, the author again asked officials to express their feelings about the role of external companies, such as some of real estate companies now in play in Qiyun tourism. It is interesting to find that government officials have more enthusiasm for external investors than the two residents' groups. Almost all of them support the notion that external investors should come to Qiyun town to build larger facilities like hotels, restaurants, conference centre etc. The majority of officials insisted that those large real estate companies investing in the mountain area may drive local economy development by attracting more visitors, increasing job opportunities, improving facilities, bringing new management concepts, as well as increasing government revenue. Only smaller number of officials mentioned some possible negative impacts brought by those external real estate companies, including local residents may lose their lands, external investors may generate and retain the majority of revenues, or perhaps, there will be more outsiders coming to live in the area in what will be only partially occupied holiday homes.

8.3.5 Residents' low support

Several respondents specifically mentioned that the relationship between government and local residents was currently very fragile. The main reason was related to the land sales and housing demolition. As mentioned previously, in order to establish larger and more modern facilities, the government had sold land to external companies. In this matter, those affected peasants had banded together against the government and had stopped construction team entering the Qiyun area. Indeed, at most times, when government came planning for regional development, officials often find themselves in somewhat of a quandary, because conflicts of interest frequently arise over how land will and should be developed (Madrigal, 1995). One respondent even critiqued that: "Our government, indeed, did a bad job in tourism development, which lost a lot of public support. Many residents now do not believe government, and we lose their support" (No.15). Some officials confirmed that residents now distrust the government; many of members of the public no longer actively cooperate with the government. For example, some residents will, contrary to public policy, continue building illegal constructions. This problem can be solved by one classic Taoism theory, namely "圣人无常心，以百姓心为心" (Sheng ren wu chang xin, yi bai xing xin wei xin), which means the sage is without own fixed mind, they always make the people's mind as their own mind. In modern society, this theory proposes that government leaders should consider the residents' mind as their mind, rather than using their own minds to restrict the minds of

subjects. Leaders need to want people's thoughts and need and solve people's requirements to eliminate the distance between leaders and the people. In the Mt Qiyun area, government leaders may adopt this theory, considering residents' concerns as the most important mind to develop the mountain, and so obtain people's trust and support.

8.3.6 Poor management

The transcripts revealed that government officials were not satisfied with current management in the mountain. The most frequent reason mentioned by respondents was the poor performance of staff and residents in the core attraction. For instance, most residents lacked service skills, did not possess good service attitudes; and some of them did hard selling with visitors, hassling them to purchase things while the prices on the mountain were far from uniform and on occasion residents argue with each other to 'rob' the visitors. One respondent pointed out that: "Residents on the mountain have quite bad service attitudes, the pricing on the mountain is a mess...staff in the attraction are dissatisfied with their wages, they have no high motivation to perform well...they need some regularized training..." (No.2). Again, "I want to mention that the residents on the mountain have low quality of culture awareness, they do not have nice service attitudes, and they are not willing to work with us. For example, we ask them not dry clothes on the main street, but they still did!" (No.5). And again, "Poor management in the mountain, such as residents who sell incense like to adopt hard selling techniques to visitors, and (there is) unreasonable pricing in some family restaurants" (No. 8). Indeed, those management problems have also been identified by visitors as noted in chapter 5, and these were considered to be the main reasons that reduced visitors' satisfaction.

The above six themes have already been identified by the other three stakeholders. But officials' analysis gave the author a more profound understanding of current development problem. For example, both residents on the mountain and below the mountain mentioned the management system problem, but they only focus on frequently changing tourism companies; while government officials also expressed doubt about the low status of the local level of administration and its ability to properly coordinate and control policies, especially with reference to the private sector.

8.4 Tourism impact analysis from government officials' perceptions

With reference to the impacts that result from tourism, it was found that respondents were more likely to affirm the positive effects, as shown by the following quotes: "I think the positive impacts should be more than negative impacts" (No.6). Again, "Tourism brings both positive and negative impacts to locals, but the positive aspects are more than the negative ones" (No.14). And again, "Yes, lots of benefits that tourism brought to the local area, especially over those two years, while the negative impact was not significant at present" (No.20). Those statements are consistent with Byrd, Bosley & Dronberger's (2009) finding that government officials always had the most positive perception of tourism than any other stakeholder. However two respondents considered that the negative impacts were more obvious than the positive impacts. Those respondents thought the current tourism development was not sustainable and would create serious negative impacts. As one respondent explained that: "We, the government, have sold much land to a private company to develop a hotel and holiday cottages, which is not good for sustainable tourism. We can't use the residents' resources and our natural environment to simply get short term benefits" (No.12).

8.4.1 Economic impact

Respondents affirmed that tourism brought significant economic benefits to local area. Firstly, officials thought that because of tourism, many job opportunities were created for local residents. This was especially true for residents on the mountain, where everyone can find a tourism related job. Even for the residents below the mountain even though tourism had not developed in the below mountain area yet, some of them still could find jobs, like opening a restaurant, a food shop, and finding jobs in construction sites. Two respondents mentioned that: "Residents below the mountain can work as construction workers, enter the transport business, and they can easily sell their farm product to the restaurants on the mountain" (No.4). Again, "Tourism development has helped residents on the mountain to become rich, and also provided many job opportunities for residents below the mountain, such as opening a family restaurant in the town, sell farm products, enter the transport business" (No. 7). However, an official further pointed out that local residents only could find some small and temporary jobs, but had nearly no opportunities to apply for some higher level jobs in the tourism company or authority because most of them were without higher qualification or appropriate working experience. Indeed, this result is consistent with the previous finding derived from residents'

chapters that the most jobs for residents were of low status, and involved heavy workloads and low wages.

Secondly, respondents confirmed that residents' quality of life had improved a lot in recent years, because government had helped residents to have a better living environment. Indeed, respondents preferred to illustrate how residents on the mountain had improved their lives in recent years. "Tourism here brings significant economic benefits to residents on the mountain, every family on the mountain becomes rich, and they are even considered as the richest village in Xiuning country. They buy houses, cars; even the married daughters still return to the mountain and work there" (No.5). With reference to residents below the mountain, respondents did not talk too much about their standard of lives. Just a couple of respondents thought the government should help residents construct a new peasant village, and give those residents a new living environment.

Thirdly, few respondents considered that the income distribution was properly balanced. Tourism has brought direct economic benefits to residents on the mountain, while most residents below the mountain only get a little. Additionally, respondents thought the New Qiyun tourism company obtained the majority of ticket revenue, while government only got a small share. As one respondent explained: "I think tourism only benefits residents on the mountain and Qiyun Tourism Company...the tourism company generates 80% of the ticket revenue and total cable car revenue, while the government nearly get nothing" (No.14). Up to now, the three sets of stakeholders' perceptions (residents on the mountain, residents below the mountain, and government officials) confirm the problem of an imbalanced income distribution. It can be concluded that it is a great challenge to ensure an appropriate distribution of income among the stakeholders in the local area (McDowall & Choi, 2010).

Fourthly, some officials thought because of tourism development here, many factories are not able to enter the town. Currently the town only depends on tourism and agriculture, which leads to a possible unhealthy dependence on these two industries. Some quotes like "Any factories which may damage our environment, we won't ask them come in. We don't want to destroy our environment in order to develop the economy" (No.10). Again, "To develop tourism, many factories are unable enter Qiyun town, which restricts development of the secondary industry" (No.7). Finally, government officials proudly boasted that last year, because of the large tourism construction projects being initiated, their tax revenue, for the first time, had significantly increased. Overall, from government officials' perception,

tourism economic impact was much in evidence in the Qiyun area. However, officials were more likely to confirm that the main economic benefits accrued to the external tourism company and those residents who lived on the mountain.

8.4.2 Social-cultural impact

With reference to social-cultural impacts, respondents believed that the progress in tourism accelerated rural infrastructure development and Qiyun Town had experienced some level of urbanization. As mentioned previously, both the town and mountain had experienced some improvement of facilities, which was illustrated by one respondent: "... tourism has helped the local area to build basic facilities such as a new road, street lights, new bridge..." (No.15). Again, another one said: "...tourism has brought lots of benefits to the local area, especially in those two years when some external companies come to invest here and improve our facilities" (No.20). Respondents frequently mentioned that because of the arrival of visitors every day, this small society has become more open; residents, therefore, are able to see different people from all over the world, and know many new things from various fields. Especially for the residents on the mountain, who often deal with visitors, their communication skills have improved significantly, and their horizons have been widened broadly. Thus, "Residents have an opportunity to communicate to visitors from all over the world, open their eyes and improve communication skills. Especially for residents on the mountain, most of them begin to learn to drive and English to meet the visitors' needs" (No.14). Government officials also regarded tourism as a good way to build a reputation for Qiyun Town. Many famous people had visited Mt Qiyun, included central government leaders, well-known entrepreneurs, famous artists, writers, and geographers. Additionally, respondents pointed out that because of tourism development, their local culture and customs could be maintained and promoted to outside visitors. Consequently, tourism is able to revitalize and preserve traditional culture (Siriporn & Youngsoo, 2010; Cohen, 1984).

The following quotes provided some support for current findings.

"...I think tourism keeps the local traditional culture, such as reviving native traditional craft" (No.15).

"(Tourism) helps to preserve the Taoism culture and ancient buildings...if there is no tourism here, most ancient building will be removed by residents" (No.16)

“ ... tourism helps the locals to develop traditional culture, such as lion and dragon dances, bamboo carving craft, Taoist music, Taoist ritesbecause of tourism development, the company and authority will operate many festivals, which enriches residents' lives” (No.20).

When respondents were asked to describe possible negative social-cultural impacts, most respondents thought there were none other than tourism development had made some residents become too commercially minded. As one respondent stated: “I found they (residents on the mountain) are more profit orientated than before; they are not easily satisfied. They always complain the government doesn't care about them. You can see we created many facilities for them; every job was first given to them. If we the government had not developed tourism here, the residents would still be very poor and have to seek work outside. They should be satisfied with the current status” (No.8). In short, officials considered social-cultural effects of tourism more positively than other stakeholders.

8.4.3 Environmental impact

With reference to environmental impact, nearly every official interviewed affirmed that, overall, the environment was better, cleaner and greener than before. Some quotes obtained stated that: “... the environment before was filthy, noisy, dirty, and disordered...residents threw rubbish everywhere, on the road, in the river...dirty scrawling on the streets, defecation on the land...through our hard work, Qiyun town has a new look” (No.5). Respondents, therefore, listed the many measures they had put in place to protect the environment. Respondents stated that:

“The government did a very good job in protecting the environment. We employ many cleaners to clean the attraction and town every day... we established a domestic refuse treatment site in every village... also forbid raising pigs in the core attraction. This year, we will start a program to build a comprehensive sewerage system” (No. 2)

“Our authority has some environment policies, such as the fire protection contract with local residents; sent garbage bags to every family” (No.5)

“We always obey the development rule ‘Protection first, development second’. We regulate construction on the mountain; and strictly protect the ancient buildings” (No.10)

“We did a good job in protecting the natural environment, for example, added many new recycle rubbish bins in the attraction; increase the number of cleaners; encouraged residents

to use rubbish bags to dispose rubbish; disposed the rubbish for every village; more farmland was returned to forests; we plan to control the pollution of Hengjiang river; fire protection; and moderate fishing in the river” (No.7)

The majority of respondents also mentioned that with government on-going efforts, residents’ environmental protection awareness had gradually increased. As one respondent stated: “... it is a big change that residents have stopped throwing rubbish in public places. Their environmental awareness has improved a lot during those years” (No.6). When the government officials were asked to describe their assessments of possible negative environmental impacts, only 5 of the 20 respondents identified any, these being the ‘Hengjiang river has become dirtier’, ‘Construction has destroyed some of the natural landscape’, and ‘Mountain descriptions were damaged by visitors’. One reason for the comparative lack of negative impacts was the small number of visitors coming to the area, although at peak times there were noise, crowding and excessive rubbish creation. So far, the current findings indicated that government officials were more likely to have a stronger feeling of positive environmental impact than the other three stakeholders.

8.5 Role of stakeholders in developing Mt Qiyun

Government officials were asked to assess their feeling about how important it was to consider different stakeholders’ opinion during the planning of tourism at Mt Qiyun. It became quickly clear that most respondents did not feel every stakeholder should be considered, especially local residents. Their reasons included the view that residents did not know how to develop tourism; being only concerned with short-term profit maximisation. As one respondent pointed out: “I don’t think the local residents have anything useful to suggest. Most only have some peasant mind; they don’t know tourism at all” (No.1). Indeed, it is argued by Bao and Sun (2007) that many Chinese local governments have long-standing mistaken ideas that community residents are weak and foolish, and government could freely made decisions for them. Some respondents further explained that Chinese rural society fits well with a highly centralized system, which enables quick and efficient decision-making. As such, in China, the government has played simultaneous roles in tourism development, including being an operator, regulator, investor, stimulator, promoter, and coordinator as well as educator (Qiu, Zhang & Ap, 1999). Regarding the highly centralized system, one respondent stated that: ““China is a highly centralized system, and especially for our small town, the democratic system is not mature. I think the centralized approach will be more

useful to manage” (No.12). Additionally, a few government officials were of the view that local residents, normally, are not of a high level of education or cultural awareness, and lack an awareness of democratic responsibilities. Thus it was felt they are not willing to actively participate in decision making when required (Ying & Zhou, 2007). A specific quote was revealing: “Actually we used to try to listen residents’ ideas. But they are not willing to participate. Two years ago, I send a survey to local residents to ask for their ideas of tourism development. But they don’t finish it; they just threw my paper away! Actually, I think those residents don’t have enough ability to participate in the planning process” (No.2).

Nine out of the 20 respondents were more prepared to listen to suggestions from external companies or some research institutes. The reason for this was that respondents thought external companies had the financial capital, and research institutes the professional skills, both of which play an important role in making tourism decision. Wang (2011) mentioned that because of Confucian principles of “Graded love” and “Virtuous life” wherein people need to respect scholars and their teachers; the views of tourism experts always influences officials’ decision making. Again, Bao and Sun (2007) stated that government dominates everything and only make decisions with property developers because they are main stakeholders who hold the power and resources, while the community lacks the right to know about plans and policies. Some frequently made statements by officials support those views, including: “The investor should be considered, because we need their money to invest in our place” (No.4); “Normally, we only discuss things with investors, because we government have the natural resource while investors have the capital” (No.11). On the other hand, 5 respondents had the opposite view. They expressed their feeling that government needs to consider other stakeholders’ suggestion. For them it was necessary to actively listen to residents and visitors’ opinion, due to the fact that they had the closest relationship with the mountain. One respondent stated: “I think if we can consider their suggestions, they will trust us. The relationship between residents and government would not then be so difficult” (No.17). Another respondent, again, said that: “Yes, we need to ask for suggestions from residents, visitors and other stakeholders. In that case, we can generate rich information to make a better plan” (No.10). When asked to describe how they encourage community participation in local area planning, two respondents stated: “We undertook a survey of residents on the mountain” (No.10) and “... government will ask the village headman to discuss things, then the headmen will return to the village and discuss things with his villagers. For the visitors, we sometime will use a survey to measure their satisfaction and

pick up their suggestions” (No.9). Lamberti, Noci, Guo and Zhu (2011) suggested that community participation is very beneficial for planning processes because such consultation will contribute to the cultural development of the community, and empower the main stakeholders involved in negotiation, problem solving and development management. The following photograph shows a review meeting relating to the Qiyun Mountain Ecological Tourism Master Plan; the representatives participating in this meeting came from Xiuning County government, the Huangshan Municipal government, and a research institute.

Photo 8.2 The meeting of Qiyun Mountain Ecological Tourism Master Plan



Overall, from the majority viewpoint of government officials, community participation is not deemed appropriate for the Mt Qiyun area. Normally, the government made all the decisions with the help of external companies and research institutes, because they control both the resource and capital and residents' suggestions are rarely considered. The current results, therefore, provide strong evidence to support the previous findings derived from residents' (both on the mountain and below the mountain) perceptions that except for some village leaders, they had no opportunities to contribute to the tourism decision making process. This conclusion replicates research in many other Chinese rural areas. As Su, Cao and Lin (2005) stated, at present in China, the government develops the macro planning in regional tourism development, external investors carry out the operational management but the local communities are always excluded. Further, as described in literature review chapter, Bao and Sun (2007) stated that in China the government and private property development companies are the dominant stakeholders; they are the primary groups in the tourism planning process because they possess the power and resources. Residents only realize that their community is going to be developed into a tourist attraction only when they notice the enterprise's entry into the process, but they will still not know the company's plans (Bao & Sun, 2007).

8.6 How might a local community share in the benefits of tourism development?

It has been a view that although residents may not participate in planning, they should participate in the benefits of development. In Qiyunshan this question has been an issue for quite a long time. Early in the 2000s, residents applied for a share in dividends to the government and company, but without success. However, in response to this question most expressed the view that it was impossible to give residents this type of share. Only four respondents felt it was possible to give residents some share in the future if the mountain developed to a higher level. The main reasons for government to deny residents' requests seemed to be related with four points. Firstly, government officials thought the government owed everything, like the mountain, the land, the forest; while residents only had the right of use. It emerged from the discussions that many of the residents' houses on the mountain were belonging to the Taoism Association, which itself was also controlled by the government. As a result, it was seen as reasonable that government had the right to use those resources. Some respondents mentioned: "...it is unreasonable to give them a share...because the forest, and the mountain belong to the government...they (residents) just have a right of usage...now the government needs to use the mountain, and they have to return (those assets)..." (No.12). Secondly, officials thought the government had already done many things for residents on the mountain, for example, helping them to start businesses and improving their living environment. At present, the residents on the mountain had become the richest group in Qiyun Town; and therefore this was another form of 'giving a share in benefits'.

"We, the government have built facilities for the local residents on the mountain, and have given them many chances to earn money. They are the richest village in our area, even in the whole Xiuning area. I think that is enough" (No.4)

"Absolutely not, even we have much profit, I also against giving a share to residents. Because we have already invested a lot to improve their quality of life. Their welfare is also better than those of residents below the mountain" (No.6)

"The residents on the mountain are very rich, they are earning more than me! We government invest in the tourism industry. They are the luckiest one, all the families can be involved in the tourism industry. They are much better off than other villagers; it is so hard to meet their demands" (No.11).

Additionally, some respondents pointed out that because tourism is still at an early stage of development it has not yet created significant economic benefits. The existing revenue is needed for investment in the mountain for further development. If parts of the revenue were given to the residents; the investment, then, will be reduced correspondingly. “I don’t agree with the view that the local residents should have some share. Because we are still at the early development stage, we don’t have so much capital to provide shares. We need the money to invest in the mountain” (No.5). “We government should invest money in mountain each year. If we give them part of revenue, that will decrease our investment. We are in the developing stage, many facilities should be improved” (No.19). Finally, a few respondents mentioned that currently, the Tourism Company controls everything, and they would not allow giving a share to residents. “It is very complex to solve problem, because our mountain is always sold to a private company to operate. The private companies are not willing to give shares to residents. Even the government only has a 20% share of total revenue” (No.20). At present, it could be easily seen that a consensus has not been reached on the ‘share issue’ between residents (on mountain) and government, which may become a key for future relationships.

8.7 Further suggestions for developing Mt Qiyun

There is no doubt about that most respondents interviewed showed their confidence about future development. As previously described, government officials, again and again confirmed the future direction of Mt Qiyun, and its development as ‘China’s leisure and health giving capital’ by promoting its ecotourism and cultural tourism feature. In the following years, the government and company will place an emphasis on developing the below mountain area, while protecting on the mountain, to achieve an atmosphere that tourists will visit the mountain, while eating and living below the mountain. At that time, residents below the mountain can also be involved in tourism business to the same extent as those living on the mountain. Then, they too can find job in their home town and will not need to work outside, which may then lead to a harmonious society with a common prosperity.

When respondents were asked to provide some suggestions to achieve that future scenario, most were able to provide helpful advice on developing Qiyun tourism. One of the most notable suggestions was that Yuehua Street needs to move down the mountain, which indicated that residents should not live on the mountain. Hence government officials said: “I think the residents on the mountain should move down. In that case, we or the company can

manage the attraction easily. You see those residents on the mountain lack cultural quality, and have poor service skills. In 2009, we had planned to move them down the village, but it was not successful. Because we lacked capital, and the residents strongly resisted, so we gave up. But this is the trend of tourism development; they will move down one day” (No.1) “ I think if we want to manage the attraction efficiently, the village on the mountain should move down. You can see many mountains, such as Mt Lushan, the residents on the mountain have now been asked to move down. In that case, the government can easily manage the site. Those residents lived on the mountain, will create many waste materials which increase the burden on the environment. They lack the cultural quality to receive visitors” (No.9). However, one respondent expressed an opposite view to this statement, and he pointed out that if Yuehua Street moved down the mountain, the tourism development may become even worse. He noted: “Some government officials suggest that Yuehua Street should move down the mountain. But I am disagreeing with what they said. Firstly, if there is no villagers stay there, the mountain will become very commercial, because lots of modern shops will be opened, and the visitors will not experience the ancient village atmosphere. Secondly, if those residents move down the mountain, how can you solve their daily life problems, their job, their house? Thirdly, if they move down the mountain, the Taoism mountain may lose its “nature and humanity” of Taoism theory” (No.16).

Secondly, many respondents argued that to further development, many facilities still need to be built; otherwise, the mountain village cannot compete with other tourist destinations, and not be able to meet visitors’ needs. They suggest that: “(we need to) invest more in Qiyun town, to build big hotels and cottages, golf courses, spring and spa etc.” (No.2); “We will attract another company to come here to build more hotels, more leisure places, conference centres, theatre, spa....we plan to focus on five different themes for developing Qiyun tourism: ‘Sightseeing’, ‘ Leisure activities’, ‘Conference’ , ‘Health’, and ‘Experience culture’” (No. 7). But, conversely, two respondents critiqued the facts that to build many western style buildings here was unrealistic. Those buildings were very different from the local traditional cultural tradition, and were not a match for Mt Qiyun, a very ancient town.

To develop ecotourism and culture tourism in Mt Qiyun, some respondents, therefore, recommended that the protection of the environment and how to better excavate, protect and restore the Taoist cultural traditions should be two priorities for all parties. As one respondent mentioned that “We need to protect our natural environment. This is the most important thing.

As there already have some negative things, like the mountain road, new holiday cottages - both of them have destroyed the ecology to some extent”(No.10). Additionally, two respondents added that without the residents’ support, it was impossible to build a successful tourist destination. Consequently, they proposed that the government needs to win residents’ trust and support by ensuring residents’ interest and bringing real benefits to them. These quotes provide support for this theme. “I think the most important thing for developing tourism is bring real benefits for local residents. We, the government, should win trust from our residents; otherwise, nothing will be a success” (No.3) “I think the first thing to develop tourism is to ensure that the residents benefit! We can’t sacrifice residents’ benefits to develop the economy. In my mind, I think the tourism should be a good industry to help the local community to become rich together! At present, some government activities hurt residents’ benefits, which maybe caused us to lose residents’ favour. Without the support of local residents, how can we achieve success?” (No.15).

Finally, three respondents from the Qiyun Mountain Tourism Authority, did not support the view that the Xiuning County Government should sell operating rights to external companies, and they believed that if operational rights could not be returned to government control, there would be no future for Mt Qiyun. For example, one respondent pointed out that:

“I think the management system should change, I am always against the view that a private company can operate a national attraction. What I guess is that the new company takes lots of local land to build real estate, but does nothing for our mountain. Then, the government stops the contract, and give company lots of payment, then changes to another company! This is a funny process, but it has been repeated four times in the past ten years. I think if we don’t change our management system, Qiyun mountain won’t be a success, even if lots of visitors come here, the money goes through to the company’s pocket, not to our government and local residents” (No. 5), and again, “I am really worried about its future, I have worked here for more than 16 years, I personally saw four previous companies come and quit, quit and come! Every company that comes here will make a very beautiful tourism plan, but no one achieves a thing. Actually, I think the main problem is the management system. But we are not the core leader of Country government, and have no right to say anything. Every time, when the core leader changes, the company will change” (No. 18) Overall, based on the current developmental problems, there exist a number of differing views among the various government officials on how to develop tourism in future.

8.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter describes the local government officials' perceptions of tourism development in Qiyun mountain area. The chapter summarizes many aspects that have already have been mentioned in the previous chapters, and confirms many of the views of tourists and residents. Their views indicate a belief in the positive impacts of tourism, and are informed by careful considerations of current and past situations, but also by a lack of consensus. In the next chapter, the four stakeholder groups will be compared with each other to identify the differences and similarities in their attitudes toward tourism development, perceptions of tourism impacts, suggestions for further development and the idea of community participation.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis adopted an ethnographic research method to explore stakeholders' perception of tourism impacts, along with their attitude toward tourism development in Mt Qiyun. Six main objectives of this thesis were to generate a typology of visitors at Qiyun Mountain, present views of how tourism is perceived by the local residents (both from on the mountain and below the mountain villages), and government officials, as well as exploring relevant stakeholders' suggestions of developing sustainable tourism in the future. This research was important because: a) it can be argued that much tourism impact research to date has been predominantly quantitatively oriented; and the lack of ethnography to explore tourism impacts is notable, b) very limited research has been conducted to compare multiple stakeholder groups' perception of tourism development in a rural Chinese community, and c) this research explored another detailed case to provide a wider conceptualisation of tourism impacts on Chinese rural communities. This final chapter will begin with a summary of the research objectives, followed by discussions of key results; and later, implications for management and a contribution to literatures will be discussed.

9.2 Summary of findings

In response to the first research objective, Chapter 5 presented findings from both quantitative and qualitative dataset that investigated the nature and degree of tourism impacts found at Mt Qiyun from the perspective of visitors. It also reported findings relating to their motives for visiting the village, and assessed the satisfaction gained from those visits. As visitors' perceptions, motivation and attitudes to Qiyun Mountain Tourism may have some effect on the strategies proposed by officials and developer's (Li, 2004), such findings possess importance. It was found that most visitors come to Mt Qiyun with the purpose of relaxing by sightseeing, and to learn something of what to many is a new culture although the objective of Taoist pilgrimages was little mentioned. Additionally, results revealed that visitors had a negative perception of environmental impacts caused by three reasons; namely 'residents' unsuitable daily behaviour', 'visitors' actions', and 'developer's constructions'. With regard to social-cultural and economic impacts, visitors perceived these quite positively. Chapter 5 ended with assessing questions about the level of visitors' satisfaction; finding that

visitors expressed dissatisfaction about ‘poor facilities’, ‘host attitudes’, ‘service attitudes’ and doubt about the authenticity of a ‘Taoist’ attraction.

The answer to the second research objective was presented in chapter 6, in which the impacts of tourism as perceived by residents in other villages below the mountain were examined along with their attitudes toward tourism development in their own villages. Again, quantitative and qualitative results derived from the data indicated that most residents below the mountain were not satisfied with the current level of development. The main reason is that the residents were not involved in the tourism industry to any extent; indeed the majority of residents below the mountain felt excluded from tourism businesses. In other words, as residents stated “We don’t have a close relationship with tourism...our lives don’t depend on tourism, but depend on working outside...”. In fact, residents below the mountain complained that they were negatively affected by tourism in many ways. The impacts mentioned most frequently included complaints such as ‘farmland were taken by the government’ ; ‘our living environment and landscape is disturbed by new constructions’ ; ‘people can’t find a job and have to work outside’, ‘(tourism) increases the costs of living’, and ‘(tourism) increases a gap between the rich residents on the mountain and those living below the mountain’. Yet in spite of these issues the majority of residents still hope that the government and Qiyunshan Tourism Company can develop the area below the mountain with the hope of encouraging residents to become involved in tourism for their betterment.

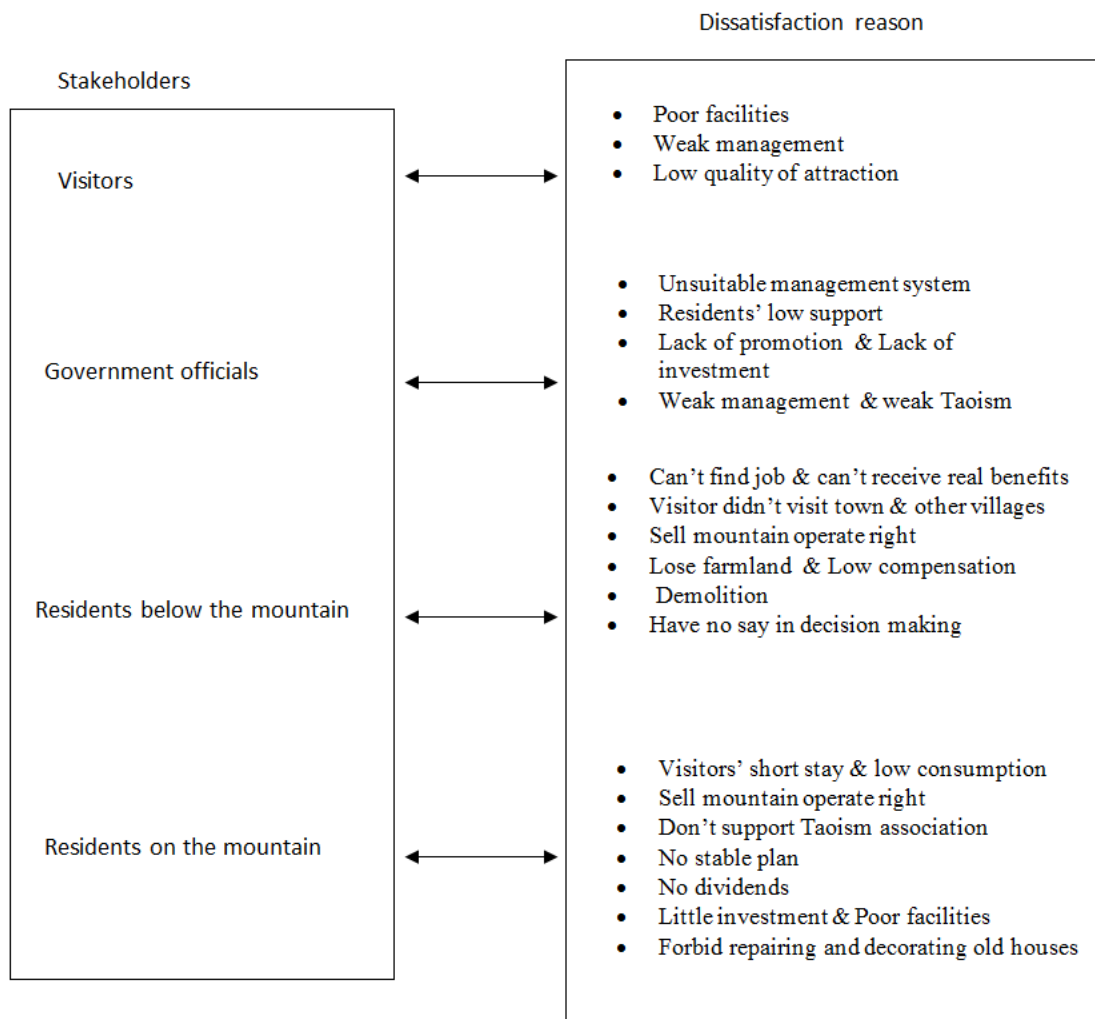
With reference to the third objective, described in Chapter 7, this is quite similar to the second objective, in that it investigates tourism impacts from local residents’ perception, but this time from those living in the core tourist attraction, namely in the mountain village. In this thesis they are labelled ‘Qiyun people’. Chapter 7, therefore, found many different results to those reported in Chapter 6, and it could be concluded that residents on the mountain benefitted most from the direct economic benefits of tourism development. Nearly all of the families on the mountain are involved in tourism related business. In consequence, over the past years every family has improved their income and standards of living. On the other side of the coin, the residents on the mountain also identified problems associated with the development of tourism. These included ‘high levels of business competition’, ‘a change in neighbourhood relationships’, and ‘life being disturbed by visitors’. Currently, Qiyun people hope mountain could be quickly developed to improve the quality of tourist product that would help increase the duration of visitors’ stays and hence expenditure.

In addition, chapter 8 investigated the nature and degree of tourism development in Mt Qiyun from the viewpoint of government officials in response to objective four. It revealed that more than half of the officials believed that Mt Qiyun tourism is a leading industry in the local area; yet it remains at an early stage because of its poor facilities, few visitors, low quality, and seasonality, even though the mountain has been developing for more than 20 years. Like the Qiyun people resident on the mountain, officials cited dissatisfaction with Qiyun Mountain tourism for reasons of ‘unsuitable management systems’, ‘a weak sense of Taoism’, ‘the lack of promotion’, ‘a lack of investment’, ‘poor resident support’, and again ‘poor management at the local level’. Nevertheless, when officials were asked about the impacts of tourism in Qiyunshan and local villages, most had more positive perceptions in each of the economic, environmental, and social-cultural aspects than the other three stakeholder groups (Byrd, Bosley & Dronberger, 2009). The final fifth and sixth objectives are discussed with the purpose of comparing stakeholders’ different perceptions and attitudes toward tourism impact and explore their suggestions for further development; as well as seeking to contribute to the wider literature of tourism impacts on Chinese rural communities.

9.3 Compare four stakeholders’ attitude toward tourism in Mt Qiyun

Generally, it seems that all four stakeholders groups were not wholly satisfied with the current state of tourism development in Qiyun Mountain. The previous qualitative results reported in chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 indicated that 45% of visitors, 62.16% of the residents below the mountain, 57.1 % of Qiyun people, and 80% of the officials interviewed expressed varying concerns and degrees of dissatisfaction with Qiyun tourism development. Yet all hope the mountain could be developed yet further rather than simply sustain the current level of tourism activities. For example, using the statistical dataset of visitors it could be verified that Qiyun visitors would like to see more tourism develop in the future (mean=6.03). When comparing each stakeholder’s reasons for dissatisfaction (as listed in Table 9.1), it is seen that the groups of residents are the more sensitive when expressing their views about tourism when compared with the other two groups.

Table 9.1 Four stakeholders' reasons for dissatisfaction

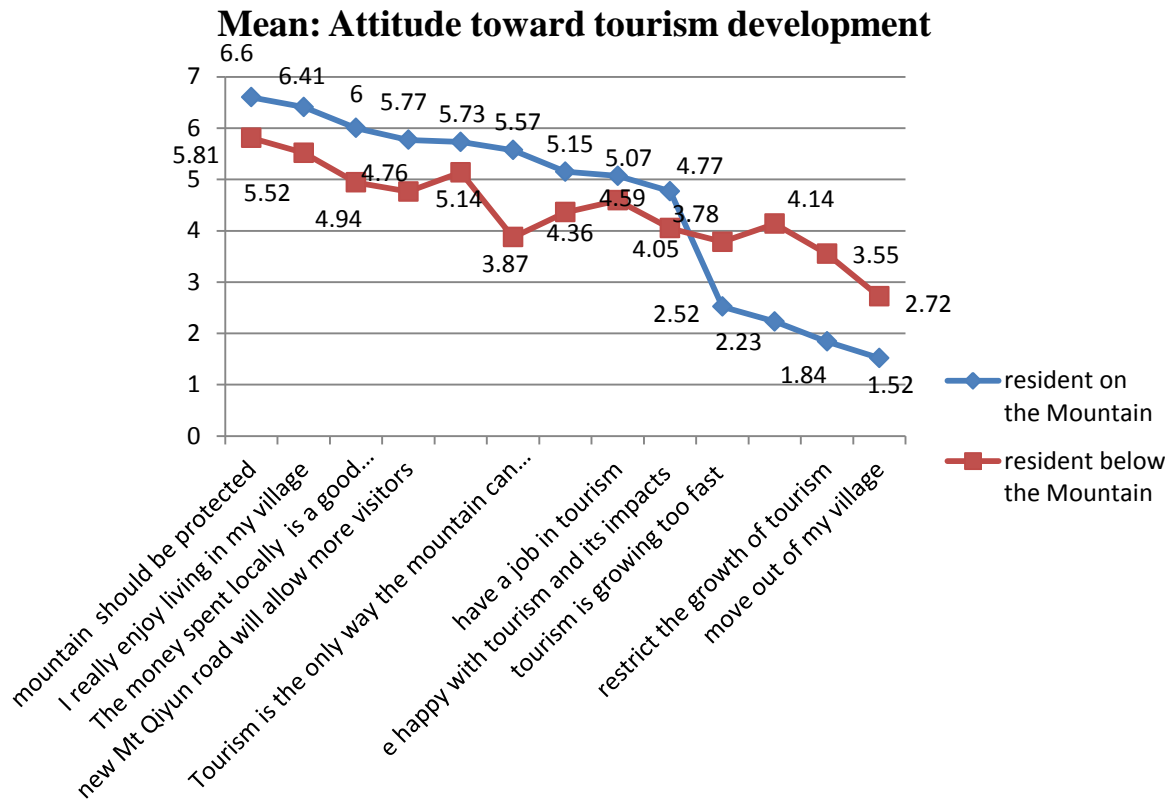


Residents below the mountain focussed their complaints on issues such as the lack of tourism development in the areas below the mountain and the fact that most of the residents are unable to find jobs that permit many to stay in their home villages. Akin to the findings reported by Zhang et al., (2008) who found that normally tourist spending occurs in a limited geographical area, it was found that the villages adjacent to Qiyunshan have few opportunities for direct participation in tourism. This inability to access jobs significantly reduces any real economic benefits from the current levels of tourism. In addition residents below the mountain have lost farm land in compulsory purchases for which they received, in their eyes, low levels of compensation while having little say in decision making. Li (2004) critiqued that “many villagers had sacrificed not only the land but also a livelihood to which

they had been attached for generations” (p.183). For instance, many middle-aged residents below the mountain have had to leave home and their farmland to find jobs in other cities. On the other hand, with reference to the residents on the mountain, they are more likely to complain about the quality of the tourism product. These include poor facilities, poor Taoist cultural interpretation, the short duration of visitors’ stays and hence the low levels of tourist expenditure. Additionally, they also complained about the government and tourism company policies that denied the payments of dividends to local residents and the repairing old houses, and also they complained about the lack of a stable plan of development.

Chapters 6 and 7 compared the two groups of residents’ attitudes toward tourism development based on statistical data. Figure 9.1 indicates the significant different perceptions of tourism between the residents on the mountain and below the mountain. Residents on the mountain were more likely to have confidence in the gains to be made from further tourism development for they believe ‘tourism is the only way the mountain can survive’; and scored low on the item that ‘tourism is growing too fast and there is a need to restrict the growth of tourism’. However, residents below the mountain gave a higher mean on those negative attitude statements than Qiyun people. For example, residents below the mountain scored 3.78 on the item ‘tourism is growing too fast’, while Qiyun people only scored 2.52. Similarly, resident below the mountain scored 3.54 on the item ‘restrict the growth of tourism’ while Qiyun people scored a mean of 1.84. Evidence exists that, when compared with residents in other villages, Qiyun people were highly dependent on tourism, had a more direct relationship with tourism, and because of tourism, their life is better than previously. As such, even though dissatisfied with current development, they still believe tourism to be important in their lives, and thus have a more positive attitude to tourism than residents below the mountain who receive far fewer direct economic benefits from tourism.

Figure 9.1 Mean scores – comparison of resident groups



With reference to tourists, many are dissatisfied for reasons that reduce the quality of travel and their experiences, including weak site management, poor facilities, and a perception of the attractions poor quality. In the Mt Qiyun study, many visitors complained about problems like the small capacity of the cable car, the lack of cleanliness of the public toilets, the sanitary conditions of the locally owned restaurants, and the quality of accommodation. Overall, the current low level of facilities has already been perceived as a main problem that reduces most visitors' travel experience (Shi, 2009). However, the findings reported in Chapter 5 showed that different types of visitors have different perception of facilities. For example, pilgrims, along with some painters, are not overly bothered about the physical environment; these visitors focus more on the real 'connotation' of the mountain. The issue of poor management mainly referred to the 'lack of management by local residents', the 'lack of business management skills' such as problems regarding the 'begging problem', 'commercial problem', 'hard selling problem' and others. Additionally, visitors also expressed doubts about the authenticity of Taoism attractions. Many visitors have high expectations for Qiyun Taoism, but felt very disappointed about Taoism after their visit because many heritage artefacts are not well preserved and it is difficult to

experience a Taoist atmosphere. As a result, the differences between expectations and performance lead to a high level of dissatisfaction. Government officials, who might be said to be the most significant stakeholder in Qiyun Mountain, showed the highest levels of dissatisfaction with the level of current development, and that in itself may have important future implications for policy and decision-making. In Chapter 8 the sample of officials provided the most comprehensive set of reasons why the desired development had not materialised. Their reasons included an ‘unsuitable management system’, a ‘weak sense of Taoism’, the ‘lack of promotion’, a ‘lack of investment’, ‘poor levels of resident support’, and again ‘poor management at the local level’.

When comparing the views of the four sets of stakeholders, it could be found that visitors, government officials and residents on the mountain all mentioned the problem of ‘limited investment and poor facilities’ as one of concerns. Only the residents below the mountain failed to mention this and this maybe because currently their villages fail to attract many visitors and thus, thus far, the peak time overcrowding issues have not been experienced. Secondly, these former three stakeholders also noted the poor quality of attractions, especially the ‘weak state’ of Taoism. Again, residents below the mountain did not mention this aspect. Again their lack of involvement in current tourism patterns can explain this view. On the other hand all stakeholders identified as a key issue an ‘unsuitable management system and the sale of operating rights to Qiyun Mountain to outsiders’. Indeed, from the transcripts of interviews, it was found that most respondents in each of the three stakeholder groups hoped the management system could be improved, and the operating rights could return to the government.

9.4 Compare stakeholders’ perceptions of tourism impact

9.4.1 Environment impact assessment

One of the research objectives for this thesis is to find whether stakeholders differ with each other in their perceptions of the impacts of tourism. In previous relevant studies, such as that of Puczko and Ratz (2000), it had been found that there were statistically significant differences between the visitors and local residents’ perceptions of environmental impacts. Lankford (1994) investigated three stakeholder groups’ attitudes and perceptions toward tourism and rural regional development and found that residents differed from entrepreneurs and government officials in many aspects. Byrd et al., (2009) also studied stakeholder

perceptions of tourism impacts in rural places, and also found residents differed from government officials on some negative impact items. By summarizing the previous four chapters, it was found that tourism environmental impact variables mainly consisted of 16 items when viewed from the four stakeholder groups. Table 9.2 indicates that different stakeholders have different perception of environment impacts.

Table 9.2 Comparison of environment impact stakeholders' perception				
Variables Environment impacts	Visitors	Residents below the mountain	Residents on the mountain	Government officials
Residents' life behaviour negatively affect environment	√√	√	√	×
Visitors increase litter	√√	√	√√	×
Mass painting and carving on the wall	√√	×	√√	×
Inscription and Dinosaur footprints weathering by constant touching	√	×	√√	√
Damage trees, flowers, and plants	√	√	×	×
Pilgrim make smoke and rubbish in the temple	√	×	×	×
Pilgrim create hidden fire hazards	×	×	√	×
Destroy landscape	√	√√	√	√
Construction make street dirty dust and noisy	√	√√	×	×
River damaged by construction	√√	√√	×	√
Clean	√√	√√	√√	√√
Improve residents' environment awareness	×	√√	√√	√√
Reforestation	×	√√	√√	√√
Noise	×	×	√	×
Crowd	×	×	√	×
Lose land	×	√√	×	√
√√= important mentioned √= few mentioned ×=rarely mentioned				

By comparing these views, it can be clearly seen that government officials are more likely to focus on the positive environmental impacts than the other stakeholders. For example, officials prefer to mention variables like 'become clean', 'reforestation', and 'improve environmental awareness' while few negative aspects are noted. Indeed most officials failed to mention any potential negative impact, and only 5 mildly referred to some negative effects. Additionally, as already described in chapter 8, most officials interviewed affirmed a view that the local environment had improved because of tourism, although it is also interesting to note that many of the improvements related to issues of cleanliness and aesthetics rather than more significant factors with the exception of afforestation. As Su et al., (2005) explained, government authorities often pay more attention to the local economy and employment opportunities rather than other aspects such as the environmental, social and cultural impacts. As for the two resident groups, both clearly realized the benefits and costs which tourism had brought to the local community. However, Table 9.2 indicates within these groups, only few agreed their own activities could potentially prejudice the local environment; while most

preferred to blame facilities construction and visitors. Certainly the mountain residents frequently mentioned the negative impacts created by a number of visitors' activities, like 'visitors increase litter', 'mass painting and carving on the wall' of 'inscriptions and 'dinosaur footprints weathering by constant touching'. As Zhong, Deng, Song, & Ding (2011) stated, "Tourists' activities and environmental conditions interact in a way that the former can damage or promote the latter while the latter can affect tourists activities or tourism development negatively, leading to a decline in tourists numbers" (p.2980). Indeed, in Chapter 7, residents on the mountain mentioned that the village environment was becoming somewhat affected by the increasing number of visitors, and they even proposed that if the visitors could improve their behaviour, the local environment would be better. On the other hand, residents below the mountain were currently feeling significant negative consequences through the building and construction works that '... make streets dirty, dusty and noisy', the 'loss of land', and 'river damage by construction', but residents on the mountain rarely mentioned these items. This can be explained by the mountain residents gaining economically at present without the costs of disruption caused by construction while those below the mountain are currently facing many problems that threaten their life styles. As reported in chapter 6, residents below the mountain have realized that tourism facilities construction in local places lead to poor air quality, a muddying of river waters, the presence of noisy machinery, and even safety problems. Many are of the view that tourism development is hurting the landscape, and destroying local "".

It is of interest that visitors perceive environmental impact of tourism even more negatively than the other three stakeholders. From Table 9.2 it can be seen that visitors are concerned about how the role of visitors and local residents influence the local environment. However, in going back to the transcripts, visitors are concerned about the possible negative impacts that arise from the behaviour of *other* visitors and second activities of residents such as 'washing in the scenic pool', 'drying cloths and vegetables on the main tourists street', and 'throwing waste food into the forest'. However, visitors also cared about the effect of the new constructions; maybe because a dirty river or damaged landscapes reduce the quality of the visitors' travel experience. However residents and visitors confirm the official view of positive impacts such as an improvement in 'cleanliness', 'improving residents' environmental awareness', and 'reforestation'. It might also be mentioned that while the literature often refers to the issues of 'visitors being noisy' and 'over-crowding', in the

current study both these issues had a fairly low profile, and only a few of the mountain residents mentioned their existence during the high season.

9.4.2 Social-cultural impact assessment

The same procedure is used to assess the views of the four groups with reference to social-cultural impacts, and these are explored in Table 9.3. Firstly, it can be seen that residents on the mountain are the most affected group when compared with the other three stakeholders. For example, with the exception of one item ‘population structure change’, all the other 21 items are mentioned by Mt Qiyun residents. The specifically mentioned 13 tourism social-cultural impacts, including ‘visitors conflicts with residents’, problems with ‘maintaining Taoism culture, traditional custom, and heritage’, ‘see people outside, know new things’, ‘improve facilities’, and ‘residents’ relationship change’. Without question, residents on the mountain have experienced more than 20 years’ of continuous and growing contact with tourists, and it has gradually changed the way they live. Also Table 9.3 identifies three items mentioned only by residents on the mountain, of which ‘Improve women and elders’ family status’ is representative and indicates that vulnerable people in the core attraction area are encouraged to engage in tourism businesses and do improve their economic and family status. Residents on the mountain also have significantly different perceptions about the impacts of the ‘forbid building’ regulations. In order to develop heritage and culture tourism, the ancient buildings on the mountain are protected by the government and Tourism Company and residents are not permitted self-build or repair their houses. On the other hand the residents below the mountain are not subject to these regulations and can build houses as they wish. This is one reason why mountain residents will, when they can afford to, build more modern homes in surrounding villages – an exercise made all the more easier with the construction of the road direct to the village.

Secondly, it seems that both government and visitors have low perception of social-cultural impacts. For visitors who come for but a couple of hours, it is really difficult for them to deeply experience how tourism influences local life, culture, and value systems. For most government officials, they lived in Xiuning country, and just worked in Qiyun town; and most travel to the mountain only a few times per year. Although they have the ability to make policy on development, they may be fail to personally experience how those policies may affect residents’ daily life. Additionally, the government prefer to care about positive impacts

and indeed, as present in chapter 8, when officials were asked if they could describe negative social-cultural impacts, most thought there were no such significant negative effects.

When assessing the residents below the mountain it was found that this group have more favourable perceptions than government and visitor groups, but lower than the residents on the mountain. From the table 9.4, there are only two items shown where residents below group have stronger feelings than residents on the mountain. For example, they mentioned ‘population structure change’ and ‘government and residents’ conflicts’ as possessing importance, while residents on the mountain have but few mention or no mentions of these items. From chapter 6, it can be seen that most young people below the mountain tend to work outside, leaving only the elderly and children at home. Unlike residents on the mountain whose young people can become tour guides, or find other tourism jobs; young residents below the mountain do not have these opportunities. As such, young residents are encouraged to be rural migrant workers in the ‘big’ cities. It was said to the author that the villages below the mountain are quiet, lonely and ‘dying’ little by little. These villages are also, as noted above, are facing legalised land expropriation and hence loss of farming employment and income.

Table 9.3 Comparison of social –culture impact from stakeholders' perception				
Variables Social-culture impact	Visitors	Residents below the mountain	Residents on the mountain	Government officials
Residents become commercial	√√	×	√	√
Taoism become commercial	√√	×	√	×
Visitor disturb residents' daily life	√	×	√	×
Visitors conflict with residents	√	×	√√	×
Maintain Taoism culture , traditional custom, Heritage	√√	√	√√	√
See people outside , know new things	√√	√	√√	√
Improve residents' communication skill	√√	√	√√	√
Make friends with visitors	√	×	√√	√
Improve women and elder residents' family status	×	×	√√	×
Improve facilities	×	√√	√√	√√
Change resident traditional life	×	√	√√	×
Influence resident values	×	√√	√√	×
Population structure change	×	√√	×	×
Residents' relationship change	×	√√	√√	×
Feel proud of community	×	×	√√	×
Visitors bring bad effect , like gambling	×	√	√	×
Forbid building	×	×	√√	×
Children's life change	×	√	√√	×
Broke Taoism atmosphere	√	×	√	×
Family relationship change	×	√	√	×
Government and residents conflicts	×	√√	√	√
Get reputation	×	×	√	√√
√√= important mentioned √= few mentioned ×=rarely mentioned				

9.4.3 Economic impact assessment

As indicated in the following Table 9.4, the four stakeholder groups have significantly different perceptions of economic impacts; and the distinction between the two residents is especially clear.

Table 9.4 Comparison of economic impact from stakeholders' perception				
Variables	Visitors	Residents below the mountain	Residents on the mountain	Government officials
Social-culture impact				
Increase job opportunities	√√	√	√√	√√
Increase family revenue	√√	√	√√	√√
Decrease family income	×	√√	×	×
Improve life quality	√√	×	√√	√√
Easy sell native products	√	√	√√	√
Attract investors	√	×	×	√√
Investors take away the majority of revenue	√	√	√	√
Seasonal job/income	√	×	√√	×
Unbalance industry structure	×	√√	×	√
Unfairness of income distribution	×	√√	√	√
Change traditional job structure	√	√	√√	√
High living expenses	×	√√	×	×
Start tourism real estate	√	√√	×	√
Raise rich gap	×	√√	×	×
Increase competition	×	×	√√	×
Generate tax revenue	√	×	×	√
√√= important mentioned √= few mentioned ×=rarely mentioned				

Generally, residents on the mountain agreed with the statements that tourism ‘increases job opportunities’, ‘increases family revenue’, and ‘improves life quality’, which confirmed the positive role of tourism in benefitting the village economically. These views were not reported by residents of the other villages. For example, those respondents stated that ‘tourism development may decrease family income at present’. The core of the question is the ‘land problem’. Some residents below the mountain have both land and farming jobs, and not been able to find other employment locally. Additionally, residents below the mountain showed their dissatisfaction over many other economic items. They strongly agreed with a view that tourism development leads to an ‘unbalanced industry structure’, ‘unfairness of income distribution’, ‘higher living expenses’ and ‘increases the income gaps between rich and poor’. Indeed, as discussed in chapter 6, many residents below the mountain expressed their concern that tourism is bringing many negative economic impacts to their village; while only residents on the mountain can enjoy the real benefits. Indeed, it most likely that because of an inequitable distribution of economic benefits, the community is easily being divided into two different groups. One is the group who very dependent on tourism, the other is one currently excluded from tourism. Yet residents on the mountain also faced some unique issues such as ‘seasonality of jobs and income’ and ‘increased competition’. All 28 families on the mountain host visitors; they are very dependent on tourism. In their eyes, the number

of visitors decides their life quality. As a result the issue of ‘competition’ arises spontaneously. From chapter 7, it can be seen that the competition in this small village has increasing in current years as many outsiders begin to arrive in Qiyun Mountain to engage in business. It is possible to discern 5 classifications of local residents as shown in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5 Types of residents		
	Feature	Example
Type A	Frequent contact with tourists; Totally depend on tourism business	Residents on the mountain who do the tourism business
Type B	A little frequent contact with tourists; most of their income from tourism	Residents below the mountain who open restaurants
Type C	Irregular contact with tourists; only small part of income from tourism	Residents below the mountain who do some temporary heavy work
Type D	Irregular contact with tourists; don't depend on tourism	Residents below the mountain, who lived by farming
Type E	Don't contact with tourists; and have no economic dependence on tourism	Residents below the mountain, who work outside or local school teacher

Type A could be considered as the residents who live on the mountain, engage in tourism and have very frequent contact with tourists; they totally depend on tourism. One example is a restaurant owner or Taoists priests. Type B may be the residents who contact with tourists a little less frequently; but derive most of their income from tourism; such as the residents who lived in other villages but have opened a small business in the town. Type E refers to the residents who do not have contact with tourists, and have no economic dependence on tourism; such as the residents who work outside the mountain.

Both visitors and officials similarly saw positive economic impacts; especially for visitors, who strongly believed that their visit surely improved the economy for both local government and village, as they both tend to enjoy their stay and of course spend money in the local economy. Government officials, for their part, insisted that tourism could help local residents find jobs, increase family income and improve the quality of life, as well as attracting outside investors to invest in businesses in the mountain area. Although, officials agreed that tourism economic benefit were unevenly distributed, such as the Qiyun Tourism Company retaining the majority of revenues, they felt that residents on the mountain seized the majority of the

tourism jobs. They adhered to a view that tourism can more or less improve community wellbeing.

9.5 Community' participation

In order to understand the degree of community' participation in tourism and policy making in a rural Chinese community, this thesis also investigated to what extent the Qiyun local government provided a platform for local residents to enjoy participation both in the decision making process and the sharing of tourism benefits, both of which are, according to some commentators, are desirable in terms of equity and product improvement (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1986; Timothy, 1999). Both qualitative and quantitative data analysed in Chapter 6, 7, and 8 provided some support for the notion that the Qiyun community had a low level of community participation, especially in the decision making process. Only few village leaders had some level of participative experience; yet as Simpson (2009) indicated, community leaders are one of the more important stakeholders. However, the role of village leaders in most rural Chinese community almost always focuses on conveying the message from government to residents, and to help government and residents arrive at a consensus. They have insufficient power to influence final decision making. In other words, a village committee is an intermediary to make a connection between government and the local community, but often little more. Li and Rozelle (1997) argued that village leaders used resources under their control to induce villages to behave in ways that are consistent with the government's objectives.

From the transcripts of the two residents' groups' interviews, it was found that 81.25% of the respondents who live below the mountain and 89.28% of the Qiyun people stated they had no chance to say anything during the tourism planning process. Most residents passively got to know of the decision through the village leader after government officials had made the new plan. Indeed, two quantitative datasets also provided some evidence to verify this result. Residents below the mountain scored a mean of 5.14 on the statement of 'The tourism planning authorities pay little attention the views of local residents when making decisions about tourism'; while Qiyun people even scored higher at 5.73 on the same statement. A possible reason why Qiyun people express higher levels of dissatisfaction about being excluded from the policy making process is that they live in the core destination which is strictly controlled by the government and Qiyun Tourism Company, and where even their daily lives have to conform to certain criteria. Thus, Qiyun people are more likely to feel

‘trapped’ than residents below the mountain. These residents therefore made statements such as: “...government and company prefer carry out planning using a strong hard way...”, “...Government thinks we are the people with low culture quality, (and know) nothing about tourism...”, “... both government and local residents don’t have enough democratic consciousness...”, “...the government and tourism authority ignore residents’ suggestions, unless they want our land, and they will tell us before...” et al. These potential reasons are consistent with previous studies (Qiu, Zhang & Ap, 1999; Bao & Sun, 2007; Ying & Zhou, 2007; Timothy, 1999; Wang, 2011). In addition, the perception of the government officials toward the role of stakeholders’ participation in tourism development lends supports the residents’ complaints. Most officials did not feel residents were an important group that should be considered during decision making. In officials’ eyes, residents did not know how to develop tourism, and only focussed on their own benefits. Based on this attitude of the inferior position of farmers, management teams at most Chinese tourist destination have not yet recognized the important role of community residents in tourism development (Bao & Sun, 2007). Furthermore, many officials believed that the highly centralized approach is the most efficient way to make decisions that will be fit for their community. However, some officials suggested that external companies and research institutes should play a role in making tourism decisions as they hold the financial resources and research skills (Bao & Sun, 2007). What was lacking in any of the conversations with officials was any notion of training local people and encouraging the development of social capital within local communities. Yet despite this, when the author asked local residents to whether or not government needs to listen to the local community during the tourism planning, most respondents still expressed their willing to participate in decision making (e.g. McDowall & Choi, 2010). Some reasons given to support community participation included: “...we are the right group that can affect tourism directly...”, “...Government should respect us...”, “...If they can give us an equal opportunity to participate, I think we can change the negative relationship with government...”, “...we are more familiar with something than those officials who come from other places...” ; which were quite different with Li’s finding in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve of China, where local residents were not concerned with how decisions were made; did not care about their weak participation in the decision making process, and only cared about the improving their living standards (Li, 2006). One possible reason for the different responses from Qiyun Jiuzhaigou residents was that local residents in Qiyun area had suffered past troubles because of government’s dictatorial manner and the many changes of

operational management in recent past years, while residents in Jiuzhaigou , still received satisfactory benefits from tourism even though not integrated into the decision-making process. However, Li (2006) concluded that low local community participation in decision making is a serious issue that hampers tourism sustainability; especially when local residents want to guarantee their quality of life in the future. To increase community participation in rural Chinese community, Sun and Bao (2006) therefore suggested that residents in the community could be mobilized and organized to form a united force for community participation. Such a community association “can increase the community’s social capital and its effectiveness in negotiating with government” (p.140). Chen and Chiang (2005) encouraged government to undertake public forums, opinion polls, public meetings, tourism promotion exhibitions et al, to help local residents better understand the tourism industry and its impacts. In addition, the authors emphasized the essential role of the community elite, and encouraged community leaders to set a good example to other residents in community participation (Sun & Bao, 2006).

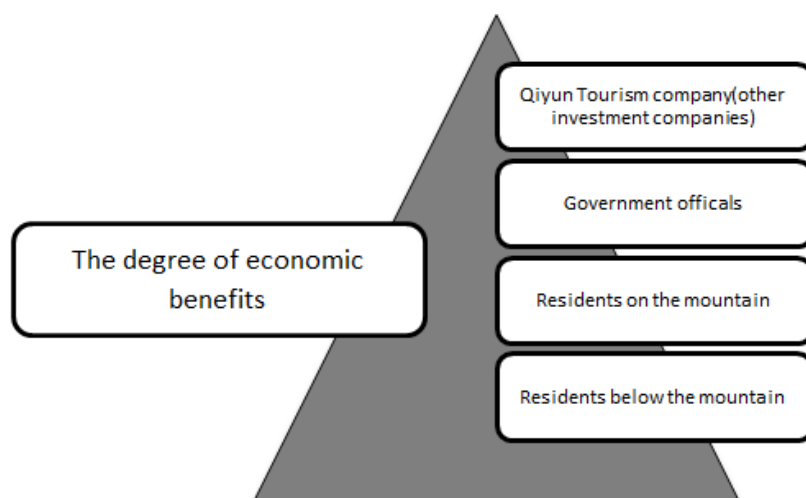
With reference to participating in the sharing of tourism benefits, this is almost always through employment. Tosun (2000), Wang and Wall (2006), as well as Bao and Sun (2006), stated that in many developing countries, such as China, community participation has been mainly used to help local residents to obtain economic benefits by providing many job opportunities, rather than give residents opportunities to make decision. The four stakeholder groups are compared to assess their degree of participation in tourism development as illustrated in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6 Main stakeholder economic participation in tourism development				
Participation model	Government officials	Residents on mountain	Residents below mountain	Qiyun Tourism Company/ other outside investors
Tax	★			
Entry ticket revenue	★			★
Cable car revenue				★
Restaurant		★	★	★
Accommodation		★	★	★
Tour guide		★		
Souvenir shop		★	★	
Minibus			★	
Incense stick seller		★		
Electro-tricycle			★	
Chair man			★	
Fortune teller		★		
Taoist		★		
Construction worker			★	
★ : strong participation ★ : Low participation Blank : No participation				

It could be seen that the Qiyun Tourism Company and other real estate companies are likely to be the dominant power in Qiyun tourism because they control important economic resources like the entry and cable car tickets and pricing. Additionally, with the current boom in tourism, two outside real estate companies are currently building star classified hotels and restaurants. These imply movement in the new direction of enlarged scale and standardized management practices. Those investments, obviously, will create a new level of competitiveness to the local family businesses. At present, as noted the residents on the

mountain are more highly involved in tourism businesses than residents below the mountain and currently they almost monopolize small business enterprises. On the other hand, residents below the mountain currently gain only a small part of the economic benefits from tourism. From table 9.6 the residents below the mountain show strong participation in just three areas: electro-tricycle, sedan chairmen, and construction workers. However, those jobs are heavy duty work, time consuming and unstable. Additionally on completion of the construction projects, those temporary workers will be unemployed again. Indeed, from previous analysis, it can be seen that Qiyun tourism brings benefits only to the mountain village but has failed to produce meaningful develop for the area below the mountain. As such, it is difficult to retain visitors to stay any length of time in the towns, which reduces opportunities for involvement in tourism for residents below the mountain. As for the government, it seems that after selling operational rights to an external company, the government can gain additional revenues each year. The Qiyun tourism authority can get 20% of the ticket revenue; while the Qiyun township government may obtain additional tax revenue from investment undertaken by outside governments. Government officials need to use that money to invest in public services like building roads, hospital facilities, bridge maintenance and managing the environment. To summarise, the four stakeholders' economic participation in Qiyun area can be seen in Figure 9.2. The external investor is the new but most powerful party that benefits from tourism. This result is not uncommon in Chinese tourist destinations. Feng (2008) concluded that in Fenghuang ancient town, the tourism company that had a monopoly right for core attraction operation, along with other outside investors, that had the highest share of tourism and economic benefits; followed by local officials and local residents.

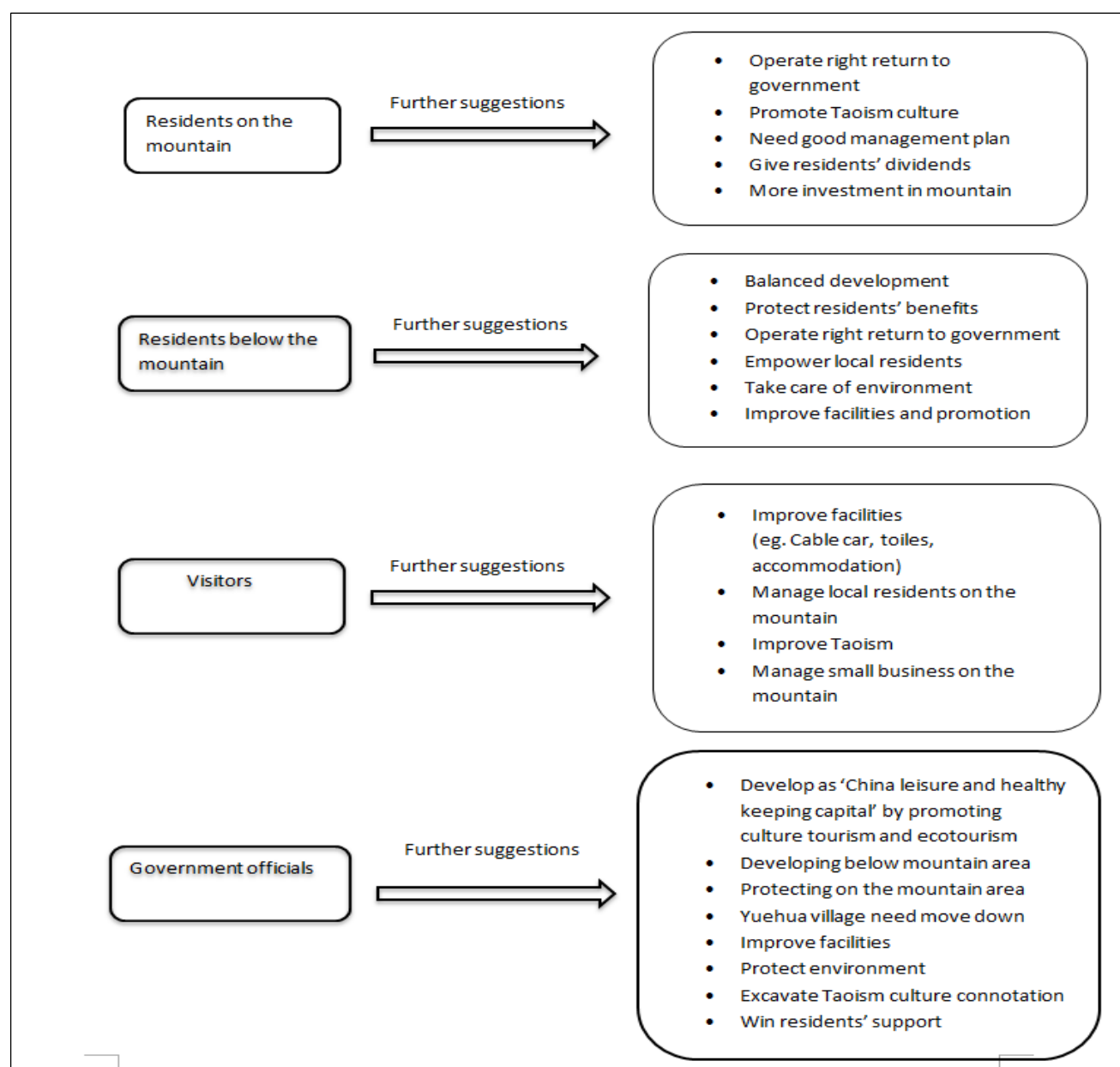
Figure 9.2 The degree of economic benefits in Qiyun community



9.6 Implications for management

Based on Qiyun Mountain's 2011-2030 development strategy, five important goals are identified to achieve the status of "National AAAAA Tourist Attraction". As presented in Chapter 3, the first goal relates to an increase in economic growth through increasing total visitors' arrivals and improving facilities; the second goal is related to social benefits, such as providing enough job opportunities and improving the local residents' quality of life; the third and fourth goals then focus on protecting local cultural and natural resources; the final goal is improving the current management system and improve the quality of tourist products (Xiuning Government, 2011). In response to those goals, this thesis provides an insight to better understand how a sustainable means of developing Qiyun Mountain might be planned. The four stakeholders, therefore, provide detailed suggestions to increase relevant stakeholders' satisfaction, improve community wellbeing, all with a purpose of building a harmonious society, as illustrated in Table 9.8. Comparing the suggestions from the four groups, it is possible to identify five important conclusions and management implementations as briefly described below.

Table 9.7 Stakeholders' suggestions of further development



9.6.1 Need to return operating rights to government

Both government officials and the resident groups indicated that a need existed for taking power back from external companies in order to return operational rights to government and so improve management systems. Most respondents believed that the external companies would not really develop tourism and only use community resources to earn their ‘own money’, to squeeze out more profits. As already described in Chapter 3, from 1999-2011, Qiyun Mountain had experienced 6 changes in its management system. The main reasons for these sceptical beliefs are related to external companies’ past opportunistic behaviours, such as fake promises and no real investment occurring. Most companies only focussed on ticket revenue generation, neglecting the desired development of the community and contributing to its social capital. During the process, both time and capital were often wasted in changing between different companies. It was Bao and Zuo (2012) who stated that in many Chinese rural areas, local government attempts to realise ‘capitalising resources’ meant a transfer of managerial rights to external investors in return for cash (Su, Wall & Eagles, 2007). Whether or not the transfer of operating rights to outside companies is good for rural areas is closely debated by many Chinese tourism academics and government professionals. In some supporters’ eyes, such as Wang (1999), they believe that transferring operating rights to external investors does not change ownership, is not against the law and helps to generate financial resource to develop poor areas. However, Xu (2003) argued that it was the government’s obligation to manage these resources, and to make use of them to benefit the local communities. Right now it seems that in Qiyun, the transfer of operates right has not produced the desired outcomes. These outside investors did not undertake real investment in the mountain yet extracted significant revenues. Thus, although the mountain has been developed more than 30 years, it remains at an early stage of development. Consequently, the suggestion of returning operational rights to local government is in favour with the general public in the region of Mt Qiyun.

9.6.2 Need to increase investment and improve facilities

All four stakeholders have always been of the opinion that Qiyun Mountain needed government investment to improve facilities both for residents and visitors. Although previous chapters 6, 7, and 8 indicate that most residents and officials agreed that tourism contributed a lot to increase and improve facilities such as new bridge building, the

installation of underground cables, and a new road, however the overall low level of facilities was still the main challenge that stymied development. Visitors complained that their travel experience was affected because of poor facilities, like ‘small capacity of cable car’, ‘dirty toilets’, and ‘less than secure guard rails’. Thus, the quality of facilities should be improved to meet visitors’ needs. Residents below the mountain complained that some villages did not have tap water at present and a need for a good sewage system was apparent. Similarly, residents on the mountain also questioned the problem of shortages of tap water in winter, the lack of a sewage system, and unstable electricity supply. As such, it seems that government still has a long way to go in the provision of a well-developed infrastructure. Interestingly, some residents expressed dissatisfaction over the architectural styles of facilities built by outside investors as not fitting a ‘Qiyun style’. In this case, it is worth noting that the facilities also need to reflect the community character (Kreag, 2001).

9.6.3 Improve Taoism

The theme of improving Taoism always emerges in this thesis. Stakeholders believed that Taoism is the biggest advantage for Qiyun Mountain to win visitors. One official even critiqued that : “...I can predict that if the Taoism doesn’t develop, even if the mountain develops for another 20 years, there will still be no big changes here”. However, currently in Mt Qiyun, the weak state of Taoism is another serious problem that delays development. Most visitors expressed the feeling that it was difficult to experience the ‘True Taoism’; few Taoists seemed willing to introduce the Taoism culture to visitors using their knowledge. Most Taoists have their own business at home, and are more likely to focus on making money rather than exchange views on Taoism. Additionally, from many visitors’ perceptions, Taoism has now become a little too commercial. Visitors complained that they had to experience the ‘hard selling’ by both fortune tellers and incense sellers. Some visitors even doubt the authenticity of Qiyun Taoism. However, it is worth noting that the Mt Qiyun is promoted as one of the four main Taoist Mountains in China; what will be a Taoist mountain without significant Taoism culture? This problem deserves all the stakeholders’ full attention. The former chairperson of Qiyun Taoist Association, suggested that if the government can provide some funds to support Qiyun Taoism, then it would be possible send Qiyun Taoists to other Taoism mountain to visit and on exchange programs, or perhaps invite a famous Taoist Master to give a class, which will provide opportunities for local Taoists to devote time for research into Taoism.

9.6.4 Need for good management

Stakeholders also suggested that Qiyun Mountain needed to improve the performance of staff and local residents in the core attraction. To be more specific, contributing to the perceived current poor performance of residents and staff were factors such as ‘begging money from visitors’, ‘charging high prices’, ‘residents arguing with each other to ‘rob’ visitors’, ‘poor service skills and attitudes’, and ‘hard selling’. From the evidence presented in Chapter 5 many visitors felt their overall satisfaction was negatively affected by these factors. Indeed, this phenomenon also concerned officials. From semi-structure interviews with local government officials, it was verified that officials were not satisfied with the current business operations at the mountain. A few suggested that residents and staff on the mountain needed training to improve their service skill and attitudes. Perhaps, there is a need for regulations to adjust relations and better order behaviour. However, this problem was also recognised by some informants resident on the mountain who, in Chapter 7, suggested that: “the people who selling incense, and fortune tellers shouldn’t hassle visitors and force visitor to spend; and those tour guides, they should be chosen by companies strictly, and not everyone can be a tour guide”. As He, Ma and Li (2004) proposed, it is essential for governments to promote a system of educational programmes to train rural residents for both managerial and marketing knowledge, and the capability to provide a better service. Additionally, enhancing education and skills training may also help to increase the level of community participation (Sun & Bao, 2006).

9.6.5 Need a more balanced development

Both officials and residents below the mountain strongly advocated that development needed to be properly balanced. Currently, only the area on the mountain has been developed as a core attraction; other villages, including Qiyun Town had not been developed at the time of the study, although new resort complexes were being built at the foot of the mountain. As late as 2012 it was true that only few visitors visited the area below the mountain. At the time of the study, tourism was just a beautiful ‘mirage’ without reality for local people other than those resident on the mountain. However, as seen, from late 2012 and in 2013 the government and tourism company will emphasise development below the mountain area, while protecting the mountain. This development strategy will help to achieve a process where tourists will visit the mountain, while eating and living overnight below the mountain. At that time, residents below the mountain will be able to find jobs in their home town, but

given the nature of the resort developments questions may be asked as to retention of profits in the region, and nature of the jobs that local people may gain.

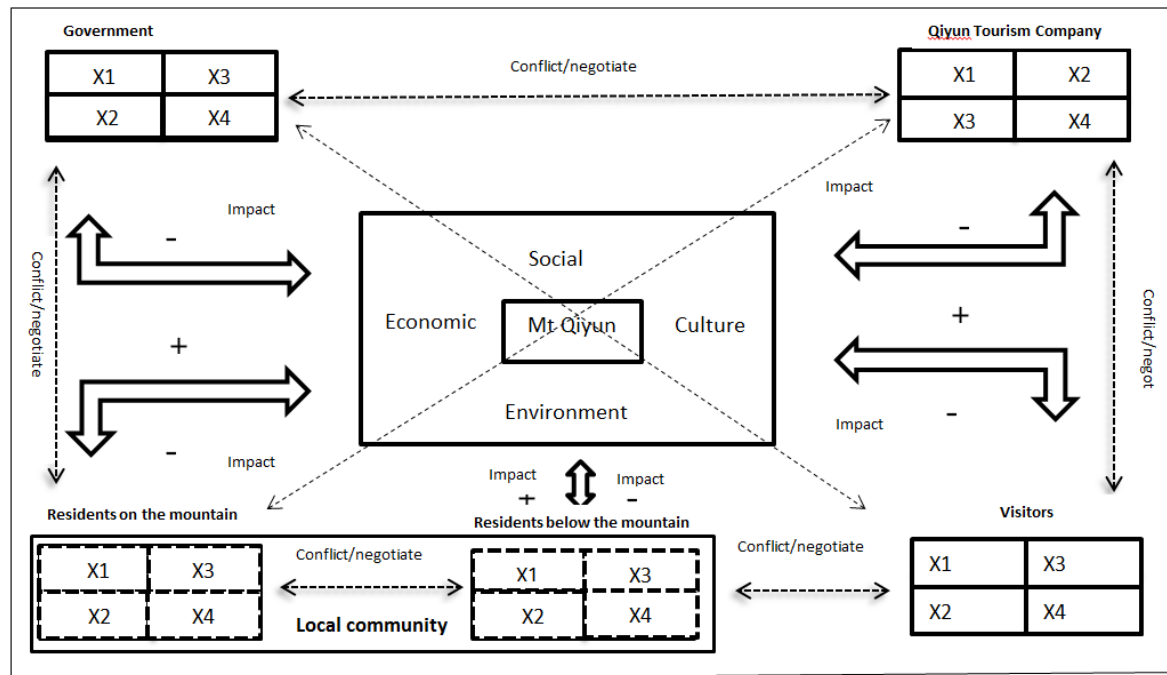
9.6.6 Need to promote social harmony

From the early 2000s, the Chinese central government has identified ‘social harmony’ as an important national development goal, that helps to achieve the sub-goals of ‘people first’, social equality, social stability, and social cohesion (CCPCC, 2005; Li & Chui, 2011). The concept of social harmony in the Chinese context is essentially about achieving a balance or social equilibrium through an effective coordination between differing elements in society to settle conflicts and contradictions among people (Ai, 2008; Chau & Yu, 2009). These gaps include uneven economic and social development across parts of China, huge income gaps that are continuing to grow even whilst many are lifted from poverty because the rich become yet even richer, and growing tensions between government and local residents as an increasingly knowledgeable society becomes less tolerant of injustices within China, and certainly less tolerant of corruption. For its part ‘Pro-Poor’ community based tourism in less-developed rural places has been seen as an important driving force for poverty elimination, sustainable development, and developing a harmonious society (Ryan, Gu, & Zhang, 2009). This thesis, therefore, based on the context of Qiyun Mountain, implies a practical model for ‘social harmony’ for local communities as illustrated in Figure 9.3.

Figure 9.3 is based upon the model proposed by Hardy (2005) that examines the role and nature of different stakeholders. Hardy bases, in part, her theory on Hunter’s observation that “in reality, trade-off decisions taken on a day to day basis will almost certainly produce priorities which emerge to skew the destination area based tourism/environment system in favour of certain aspects. (Hunter, 1997: 859). Based on grounded theories research in the Daintree area of Australia, Hardy proposes 14 propositions with reference to community based developments, and these are:

- a) As scale increases, stakeholder overlaps decrease;
- b) Sustainable tourism requires recognition of stakeholders;
- c) Stakeholder groups are heterogeneous;
- d) Stakeholders’ perceptions of tourism are characterised by convergences and divergences.

Figure 9.3 Stakeholders' interactions and Social Harmony



- e) Conflict and disempowerment indicates non-sustainability;
- f) A sustainable tourism system exists where conflict is minimised by understanding stakeholder perceptions and involving them in decision making;
- g) Context and boundaries influence perceptions;
- h) Interaction allows convergent and divergent opinions to be managed
- i) Feedback is an inherent component of sustainability
- j) Stakeholders must determine whether sustainable tourism involves trade-offs or balances;
- k) Sustainable tourism occurs when outputs are predominantly convergent;
- l) Prioritisation and labelling of stakeholders must be recognised
- m) The strength of stakeholder analysis lies with its longitudinal application;
- n) External actions produce internal reactions.

In this case it is suggested in Figure 9.3 that:

- a) The four-corner rectangle boxes stand for four different stakeholders, including ‘government’, ‘Qiyun Tourism company’, ‘local community’, and ‘visitors’.
- b) A dotted line stands for the relationships between different stakeholders groups; they have conflicts with each other but also need to negotiate. For example the Government compulsorily purchases farmland from local residents to build tourism facilities (thereby creating conflicts between government and residents); there is an unequal income distribution between two groups of residents (potential tensions between residents on and residents below the mountain); and there is no share in profits or dividends for residents on mountain from license revenue paid by operators to the local government (hence tension between the government and residents on the mountain).
- c) The community box contains two small boxes which indicate that two sub-groups within the one stakeholder group entitled ‘residents’. In the current case, residents on the mountain form a primary community stakeholder, while residents below the mountain may be conceived as a secondary community stakeholder. They exist as a unified stakeholder in that:
 - i) Both groups are subject to the impacts of tourism;
 - ii) Both groups occupy the lower strata in the political structure and hence are relatively less politically powerful when compared with the corporate and governmental stakeholders, and also possess less functional *guanxi* (Allen, Qian and Qian, 2005). This is important and it may be noted that Luo (1997) comments that the two Chinese characters that make up the characters of *guanxi* are derived from the pictographs for ‘gate’ and ‘to connect’ – and thus *guanxi* can be interpreted in a mode of ‘gate keeper’ and hence as ‘gate opening’. Residents do not possess such ‘gate opening powers’.

However, while alike in this respect, the two groups differ in that currently of the two the residents on the mountain are the primary beneficiaries from tourism, while in 2012 there was little benefit being derived by the residents in the villages below the mountain. Thus there are primary/active and secondary/passive stakeholder positions (after Clarkson 1995). However, in July 2013 when the author visited the area after submission of the thesis to examiners, new initiatives were being put in place by the

government that offered retail opportunities to residents in the villages below the mountain. Hence, as Hardy (2005) noted, convergence occurs – although it can be noted this appears contrary to the first notion that, as scale increases, overlaps decrease. It is suggested that a temporal dimension is important, and this may be particularly important for a society such as China's which may be regarded as a transformative society and economy.

iii) The nomenclature $x_1, x_2 \dots$ stands for the levels of agreement and disagreement among members of the same stakeholder group or sub-groups, where levels of tension may be temporary and at other times congruency between parties may emerge dependent on the issue involved. Some examples of divergence and disagreement among members of the same stakeholder group would include the following:

1. Visitors :

Some visitors want more development in Qiyun mountain while others may wish to maintain the current level of development.

Some visitors thought the residents on the mountain make a lot of money from tourism while others were of the view that the government and company take the majority share of the revenue generated.

Some visitors questioned the authenticity and/or depth of understanding of the Doaist practices, while others revered the temple and its tradition. In this instance context possessed importance given at least two possible conditions; namely a) the knowledge of the priest to whom they spoke and b) whether the visit was during or outside of a time of significance to Daoists. During the latter older priests were always present and their age and experience lent an air of authority to the occasion.

2. Residents below the mountain.

There is the divergence of attitudes between the view that "tourism here is good for us" vs. "it is not a good thing for our current life style."

Should the old village be demolished and replaced with more modern houses vs. the view that the old houses and villages should be retained for heritage values.

Another source of divergent views is the “Want to stay here” vs. “Want to leave the village”.

3. Residents on the mountain. Competing views that have been identified include the following:

“The environment has become better because of tourism” vs. the environment is getting worse because of tourism”.

“Support ‘external’ companies to invest here” vs. “not supporting their coming”.

In addition comments were made about the advantages possessed by some restaurants that enjoyed better *guanxi* with local government personnel.

4. Officials were also found to have divided opinions, and these could be classified as:.

“Move the village from the mountain top” or “Permit the village to stay”.

“Give residents on the mountain dividends” or “not provide dividends or share of revenues”.

A further divide existed between those officials who wish to provide at least an opportunity for local villagers to express an opinion, and others who regarded the villagers as poorly informed, uneducated and who need to be guided by the local government authorities.

In addition, some people play multiple roles within their stakeholder group. For example, one resident, Mr Wang, has been a middle manager for a couple of years in Qiyun Tourism company; and on one occasion when he was being interviewed he commented about one of his personal dilemmas. As a manager in the tourism company, he has participated in various decisions including the ‘2013 new ticket policy’ under which residents’ relatives pay 80% of the ticket price when they come to the mountain. Hence, when representing the company he has to try to achieve acceptance of this policy by those residents in the village, yet as a local resident, he also does not want to increase the price for his relatives and friends. Indeed he has to accept being blamed for the policy by his fellow villagers, which increases his own resentment of the policy – but a policy that he has to enforce. Thus, it could be seen from this

example that there indeed exists cases of “one stakeholder is in two different groups” as Hardy (2005) postulates.

Two further examples exist in that the local village headman also occupies a position of ambiguity and equally as a conduit of information. At the one end of the scale he represents the views of the villages in meetings with local government, and equally he is the mouthpiece of local government resident within the village. He therefore treads a path between enforcing local government policies in the mountain village, but also having to indicate to government the ease with which such policies can be implemented. The second example is that of the Daoist priests. They occupy simultaneously a position of both the sacred and the secular, maintaining the religious beliefs of their faith and yet needing to secure an income from the performance of Daoist ritual. Ironically their position may be further complicated if plans for World Heritage Site accreditation were to be granted as that would tend to place responsibility for temple maintenance and refurbishment even further within the ambit of local and national governmental bodies rather than the local community and priesthood.

In short, there are examples of tensions consistent with the proposal suggested by Hardy and a fluidity congruent with the changes being suggested. However the process of change in China may be deemed to be subject to a ‘dampening’ factor that reduces the extremes of the various cycles of change, and this is the notion of ‘social harmony’. To achieve ‘social harmony’ in the Qiyun Mountain area, it should proceed with respect to social-cultural, political, economic and environmental issues. With reference to the social-cultural aspect, it requires reaching a high level of community well-being; residents accepting their social obligation, working together, and promoting social rights; in addition, the local culture will be exchanged with outsiders, and Taoism could be revived because of the introduction of tourism. Here the commodification of the product generates a need for revival to add an ‘authenticity’ to the product – and a congruency between the secular and sacred emerges, at least at this stage of the Mountain’s development. In addition, social harmony requires finding an effective way to ease potential conflicts among various stakeholders, such as the officials, the Qiyun Tourism Company, real estate investment companies, tourists, residents below the mountain, as well as Qiyun people. This is specifically required in the case of Qiyun Mountain where tensions among stakeholders’ exists and may become worse with the current projects being introduced by the external property developers entering the area. For example, the conflicts between residents below the mountain and government are due to the

appropriation of farmland, selling the land to external companies at high prices while residents below the mountain have had to accept any decision made by government, without any say in the decision making, a situation exacerbated by the low level of compensation. Another example indicating a lack of ‘social harmony’ existing between the government and Qiyun Tourism Company is due to unbalanced income distribution, unbalanced power structures, and different standpoints as well as past companies’ low investment in mountain. As Hardy (2005) pointed out, tourism (and society) is not sustainable if a system contains significant conflicts among stakeholders; while “a sustainable tourism system exists where conflict is minimised by understanding stakeholder perceptions and involving them in decision making, to reduce conflict and maximising their empowerment” (p.126).

To achieve political harmony, the current research indicates that every stakeholder needs to recognize each other’s interests and rights. Residents need to recognize private sector interests; government must recognize the rights of residents, and both the private sector and government need to recognise residents’ roles, if only to protect long term profits if not the dictates of ‘green hotel’ initiatives and benchmarking against best practices in corporate socially responsible policies (Gu & Ryan, 2013). For example, government officials and developers should understand the general interests of the community, and those with such interests should be considered in tourism development planning (Liu, 2000). This may increase the residents’ support of tourism development. In that case, a better understanding of each stakeholder group’s interests and rights will help reduce mistrust and conflict among stakeholders, and lead to strengthening social harmony. At this point in the thesis, community participation, as well as stakeholders’ cooperation possesses managerial implication, because consultation mechanisms are a means that empower stakeholders to negotiate with each other, and avoid the potential cost of longer-term conflict and also are a means of improving the performance of stakeholders (Yuksel, Bramwell & Yuksel, 1999).

Paradoxically, negotiating with residents may also ease a transition phase, because as noted in the neighbouring villages of Xidi and Hongcun, as residents acquire wealth, so too they tend to move toward zones where they can buy more modern houses that possess modern plumbing and other conveniences, and that too generates changes that potentially can include the introduction of better educated groups to run services on the mountain itself. As tourism develops, the social as well as financial capital changes, and the points of convergence and

divergence suggested by Hardy (2005) will become increasingly fluid until a point of stasis is reached (Yang & Sun, 2013).

Economic harmony has the ultimate aim of promoting the utilization of tourism as a strategic tool to alleviate poverty. It requires government to carefully select tourism projects and successfully develop them; and perhaps government may develop small scale enterprises to enhance local social capital to solve the problem of a high dependency on tourism. Additionally, He (2006) argued that because of the small scale of businesses, most family tourism businesses in rural places find it difficult to secure bank loans. Consequently, a lack of financial capital has proved an almost insurmountable obstacle for family business in many rural destinations. As a result, governments need to enhance social and financial capital through training, loans and a more effective land policy to support rural residents' interests and business. Thus, government may seek to provide good quality paid employment for local communities, and try to guarantee local residents' living standards, all of which may help to ensure a fairer income distribution in the whole of society. Furthermore, economic harmony implies a call for strong corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies where both government and tourism companies in the Qiyun Mountain area should integrate economic, social-cultural, environmental and political elements in their respective activities to achieve more positive outcomes for all stakeholders. One means of doing this is to build hotels in Qiyun town that can meet visitors' needs, be beneficial for society by creating jobs for local people, and be beneficial for the companies themselves by creating profits, as well as aiding government by generating tax revenue. This can also be achieved by policies that feature local culture and thereby create a specific place for local people through sales of locally made items and featuring entertainments based on local culture along with educational programmes for visitors and hotel staff. It should be noted that on completion of this research, in a visit to the area by the author in the summer of 2013, evidence was found of state sanctioned building of retail strips for use by local residents in the local surrounding villages that would permit local residents to commence retail businesses selling to tourists from the new resort hotels. Finally, to achieve environmental harmony, there is a need to enhance stakeholders' awareness of the importance of the environment and the need to protect and improve the environment. Equally policies should not sacrifice the environment to promote economic growth without any form of compensatory programmes. It is not reasonable for Qiyun Mountain to follow the mentality of "pollute first, control later" (Xian wuran, hou zhili: 先污染后治理) (Sofield & Li, 2011, p.502); but it is better to be environment-friendly from the

outset in tourism development. In addition, as a tourist destination, the mountain also needs to build upon a unique environment to further improve visitors' experiences.

Table 9.8 Comparisons of current society and future harmonious society

	Current society	Social harmony (Future trend)
Environment Empowerment	'Half way' position, environment overall has improved because of tourism development inducing aesthetic appearances of cleanliness plus afforestation. But, current practice ignores negative effects on landscape and water/river because of construction techniques not mitigating impact on environment. Government and external companies prefer to gain economic benefits and use environment as a resource to lower costs	All stakeholders have strong environment protection awareness; do not use environment to gain short term economic benefits. Construction is strictly planned and controlled. Build and keep a healthy environment for all stakeholders
Economic Empowerment	Only proportion of residents can direct obtain economic benefit from tourism development. Most profits go to external company and government. Unfair income distribution is quite serious in local communities. Most residents below the mountain cannot find a way to share in economic benefits	It needs to bring significant economic benefits to all stakeholders, not just benefit one or two. Secure equitable income distribution, and reduce the income gap between villages to achieve common prosperity
Social-culture Empowerment	Social conflicts occurs between stakeholders; community divided into different groups; resentment and jealousy are created between stakeholders; residents highly dependent on tourism become commercially minded; local culture also has trend of commercialization that risks its veracity.	Local community should become more harmonious ; every stakeholder's interest should be recognized; reduce the conflicts among stakeholders; keep the traditional culture and its authenticity
Political Empowerment	Residents nearly have effectively no say in decision making process or planning process; government and external company decide everything; communities are the 'passive recipients of decisions'.	Give opportunity for community to represent the needs and interests of all communities; provide more information about tourism development in local area; if possible, can encouraged community to be involved in decision making process

Based on Scheyvens's (1999) framework for determining the tourism impacts on local communities, the current social status of Qiyun Mountain is shown and compared with a potential social harmonious future as revealed in Table 9.8. The gaps between the two states are quite clear. For instance, although Qiyunshan's environment has currently significantly

improved because of tourism development, some aspects of local landscape have been destroyed by large scale constructions. Under this system the government and external companies have achieved economic benefits at the expense of sacrificing the natural environment. Yet again and again, from an economic aspect, currently, only a small proportion of residents directly gain economic benefits from tourism. Most profits go to the external company and government. Consequently inequitable income distribution is becoming a serious issue in the different villages. In the scenario of a future harmonious society tourism brings significant economic benefits to all of the stakeholders, and not just benefits for one or two stakeholders. The income distribution becomes fairer, and the income gaps between people are also reduced, all of which helps to achieve a common prosperity.

9.7 Contribution to literature

This thesis has borrowed in part from stakeholder theory for an exploration of the impacts of tourism in Mt Qiyun. One contribution of the thesis has been an integration of Chinese and English literatures in examining the issues by contextualising the study in a not uncommon Chinese situation of top down policies that on site favour external property development companies.

From a methodological aspect, an ethnographic study of 7 month's duration in the mountain was employed. The author became a 'temporary resident' in a local village to personally experience the life there. Various data collection methods were used, including participative observation, writing field notes, maintaining a diary, taking photographs, accessing secondary documents, having conversations, semi-structure interview, as well as a more formal survey. However, few studies about tourism impacts in Chinese rural communities have adopted such an approach. As Deery, Jago and Fredline (2012) maintained that "... a new research agenda based on 'layers' of social impact understanding through the use of ethnography is required" (p.64). As a result, the study provides a practical ethnographic research to fill such a gap.

From a theoretical level, study adopts theories on tourism impacts. As Chapter 2 noted, tourism impacts has been researched for more than 60 years. In each decade, the focus of research has changed. For example, researchers focussed on the economic effects in the 1960s; examined the socio-cultural impacts in the 1970s; the environmental impacts in the 1980s; and integrated all aspects in the 1990s. Interestingly, in the first decade of the 21st-century, the majority of tourism impact studies have again focussed on exploring local

residents' perceptions (Tosun, 2002; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Sharma & Dyer, 2009). However, only a few studies can be found that have included multiple stakeholders in an integrated tourism impact study, especially in the context of Chinese literature (Byrd et al., 2008). Therefore, this study helps to build on the existing body of knowledge about stakeholder perceptions of tourism impact in a rural Chinese community.

In addition, using stakeholder theory, the study succeeds in exploring the role of stakeholders in developing community tourism. An integrated model that identifies different stakeholder and their respective role were designed in the study derived from the study of government officials, external investors, visitors, residents who depend on tourism, and residents currently excluded from tourism development. Not only were their perceptions of tourism impacts explored, but also their attitude and suggestions for tourism development were examined. Indeed, the study found there was a significant difference between two resident groups. It provides evidence to that residents highly dependent on tourism were more likely to have more positive perception of tourism's impacts and more positive attitudes towards tourism development (Lankford, 1994; Pizam, 1978; Easterling, 2004). Several core tourism theory were also verified in the current study, including Doxey's (1975) Irridex Model, Butler's (1980) Tourism Destination Lifecycle Model, and Ap's (1992) Social exchange Theory.

The study also provides some practical evidence for the wider tourism literature as to the low level of community participation in developing countries, and reinforces prior findings that communities in most developing countries had little or no opportunities to participate in any decision making process (Linton, 1987; McDowall & Choi, 2010; Xiao & Li, 2004). As Tosun (2000) stated, community participation in some developing area had been used to help local residents obtain economic benefits, rather than involve them in decision making and thereby contribute to local social capital by enhancing local skills and understanding. Residents have to passively receive decisions made by government and external companies as the latter two stakeholders hold the power and resources (Bao & Sun, 2007). In the wider tourism community impact literature perhaps what is omitted is any appreciation of the power of the powerless that has informed other studies such as those of sex workers (Ryan & Hall, 2001). Furthermore, the study also uses the Chinese notion 'social harmony' in the spirit of a scientific understanding of the Chinese market economy to identify policies that permit policy objectives to be achieved. The thesis suggests integrating rural tourism policies into

social harmony and corporate social responsibility that are now being currently enacted on a large scale by the Chinese government, and which has been informing changes in rural communities that were being proposed in December 2012.

9.8 Further research

Ethnography is a scientific and powerful research approach to discover social and cultural phenomena in the tourism field. This thesis provides a first attempt for author to conduct an ethnographic study, which has helped the author to learn about this approach. However, in the future research, experience has highlighted points for further attention. First, longer stays at the villages are required to obtain more information. A longitudinal approach must also be adopted. Additionally, in the current study, the author chose to live in the village on the mountain, and visited the villages below the mountain a couple of days in every week. It is expected that in any future research, the author, or other researchers need to live in the villages below the mountain for a period of time to personally experience life there. That would ease comparison between the two residents' groups. Secondly, although current research had a sample of government officials for the study the majority of them came from the Qiyun Tourism Authority, and it is suggested that more officials from Xiuning County Government and Huangshan Municipal government should be chosen in any future research with the hoping of providing more in-depth views about Qiyun Tourism from different levels of government. Thirdly, this study only interviewed a few outside investors and when more outside investors come to Mt Qiyun, their view would require attention. Fourthly, the current study has a gap that it has not deeply explored understanding of how the Taoists of Qiyun perceive Taoism and visitors as well as the contribution made by Taoism to their community. To achieve this requires the author to learn more about Taoism to better understand a typical Taoist community. Finally, the author found data deficiencies when collecting Qiyun economic data from governments and companies. Because the companies have been changed 6 times in the past 10 years many data obtained by previous companies were missing. Therefore, the author may encounter some challenges when she wants to collect more comprehensive information. In the next 12 month, the author plans to return to the mountain and continue her Qiyun research as a longitudinal to fill the gaps present above.

Finally there remain a potential limitation identified by the examiners, and that is the difference in the age classifications used in the questionnaires pertaining to residents and visitors. This was an oversight, but in going through the thesis there was little age comparison

made between visitors and residents. The major section on comparisons between stakeholders is made in chapter 9 but here the comparisons are of an aggregate nature and based upon themes such as economic and environmental impacts. There are no comparisons based upon age classification. Similarly in sections 7.2.1 which draws comparison between the residents on and below the mountain, the data are again compared at an aggregate level and not by specific age classifications. On the other hand the identification of this point by the examiners does point to another potential within the data set, which is the possible differences between respondents based on age groups. This is of interest, but in practice it is suggested that it would need other variables not covered in the thesis for this to be correctly conducted. As is common in rural China, families and communities become divided by the time spent by those of working age being away from the home, often working in larger cities. Those remaining at home are dependent to a greater or lesser degree on the income received from such family members, but the patterns and frequencies of home visitation will depend on many variables including distance, type of occupation and actual income earned. Indeed it is in this direction that China's Pro-Poor Tourism initiatives often generate social benefits by the generation of jobs that permit families to stay together.

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Appendices – English translations of Questionnaires

Questionnaire for Residents of Qiyunshan

This survey is about change in the village and the influence that tourism might be having. Your name and address is not required, your answers are kept confidential and you can refuse to answer any questionnaire. Only aggregate data will be used in reports and the work is for academic purposes.

Section 1 Your usual place of residence

Are usually you resident in the village of Mt Qiyun? Yes ____ No ____

If yes – for how many years have you been resident? _____

If no – do you live near the village? Yes ____ No ____

Do you often visit this area? Yes ____ No ____

Section 2 Changes in the Village since the construction of the cable car

Using a few key phrases, what do you think are the special characteristics of the village?

Using a few key phrases, what changes have you observed in the village **in the last 2 years**

Which of these changes do you think are beneficial?

Which of these changes do you think are disadvantageous?

People say the village is a special place to live? Do you feel this way? Please tick which box indicates your feeling.

Yes ☐

No ☐

Why did you answer in this way?

Section Three Importance of tourism to the village

Below are a series of statements. Can you please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by using a 7-point scale where **7 represents the most positive response** – e.g. I very strongly agree, or this is very important to me, and where 1 represents 1 very strongly disagree, or this has no importance. If you have no opinion, then circle the '0'.

For example – if you thought having restaurants in the village was fairly important you might ring the figure 4 as shown below

It is important to have restaurants in the village to deal with tourism. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Tourism and the cable car has created job opportunities in the village 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

The tourism industry is good for the village's economy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

My income has increased with the introduction of the cable car 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Tourists create crowding in the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism gives you the opportunity to meet people from other countries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The tourists that come to the village are usually very friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I would prefer it if visitors stayed overnight in the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism encourages a wide variety of cultural and other activities by people in the village (making and selling crafts, pottery, music, festivals etc)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I think visitors are far too intrusive in our everyday lives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I think it important that the new road will allow more visitors.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Encouraging tourism will mean prices will increase in the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The money spent locally to attract more tourists is a good investment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
There are already some things I do not do in the village at certain times because of the tourists	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The tourism planning authorities pay little attention to the views of local residents when making decisions about the future of the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The village is a special places and should be protected	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourists intrude upon the time I spend on my religious duties and prayers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I feel the sacred nature of the village will be spoilt by tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The development of tourism facilities and attractions is a threat to the natural environment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism is one way of protecting the houses and courtyards of the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I feel that tourism is growing too fast for the village to cope with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Personally, I would like to see the village demolished and more modern houses for local people to be built.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The benefits of tourism get distributed widely through the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I feel that the village should restrict the growth of tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I fear that too many tourists may spoil the mountain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The tourists are far too noisy for my liking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
With the changes I would like to move out of the village.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I would like to have a job in tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism is the only way the villages can survive in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I really enjoy living in the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I sometimes feel tourists do not respect the Taoist traditions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Section Four A few demographic details

Please tick the box that best describes you:

Are you Male ☐ Female ☐

Which best represents your age

18 years and under ☐ 19 – 25 years ☐ 26 – 35 years ☐
36 - 45 years ☐ 46 – 50 years ☐ 51 – 55 years ☐
56 – 60 years ☐ 61 – 65 years ☐ 66 years and over ☐

Would you describe yourself as having

Little income ☐ Below average income ☐ Average Income ☐
Above average income ☐ Significantly above average income ☐

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND HELP

Questionnaire for Residents of Other Villages

This survey is about change in the village and the influence that tourism might be having. Your name and address is not required, your answers are kept confidential and you can refuse to answer any questionnaire. Only aggregate data will be used in reports and the work is for academic purposes.

Section 1 Your usual place of residence

Are usually you resident in the village near Mt Qiyun? Yes ____ No ____

How many years have you been resident? _____

Do you often visit Qiyun Mountain? Yes ____ No ____

If yes- what's your purpose?(multiple-choice)

Travel ☐ See friends or relatives ☐ Do some jobs ☐

Other (please specify) _____

Section 2 Changes in the Qiyun Mountain and your village

Using a few key phrases, what do you think are the special characteristics of the Qiyun Mountain ?

Using a few key phrases, what changes have you observed in the Mountain **and your own village in the last 2 years**

Which of these changes do you think are beneficial for your village?

Which of these changes do you think are disadvantageous for your village?

People say the village near the mountain is a special place in which to live? Do you feel this way?
Please tick which box indicates your feeling.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Why did you answer in this way?

Section Three Importance of tourism to YOUR village

Below are a series of statements. Can you please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by using a 7-point scale where **7 represents the most positive response** – e.g. I very strongly agree, or this is very important to me, and where 1 represents 1 very strongly disagree, or this has no importance. If you have no opinion, then circle the '0'.

For example – if you thought having restaurants in the village was fairly important you might ring the figure 4 as shown below

It is important to have restaurants in the village to deal with tourism. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

The growth of tourism in Anhui is generally a good thing 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

The tourism industry is also good for MY village's economy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

My income has increased with the introduction of the tourism 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Tourists create crowding in the local area 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Tourism gives me the opportunity to meet people from other countries 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

The tourists that come to the my village are usually very friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism encourages a wide variety of cultural and other activities by people in our area (making and selling crafts, pottery, music, festivals etc)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I think visitors are far too intrusive, and negatively affect our everyday lives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I think it important that the new Mt Qiyun road will allow more visitors.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Encouraging tourism will mean prices will increase in my village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The money spent locally to attract more tourists is a good investment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
There are already some things I do not do in my village at certain times because of the tourists	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The tourism planning authorities pay little attention to the views of local residents when making decisions about Anhui tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The mountain is a special places and should be protected	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My village is now a lot smarter and cleaner because of tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I feel the sacred nature of the mountain will be spoilt by tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The development of tourism facilities and attractions is a threat to the natural environment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism is one way of protecting the traditional houses and courtyards	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I feel that tourism is growing too fast for the mountain to cope with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I believe the tourism industry can improve the quality of life in my village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Personally, I would like to see my village demolished and more modern houses for local people to be built.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The benefits of tourism also get distributed through other villages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I think tourism will spoil the Taoist nature of the mountain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I feel that the mountain should restrict the growth of tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I fear that too many tourists may spoil the mountain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

The tourists are far too noisy for my liking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
With the changes I would like to move out of my village.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I would like to have a job in tourism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Tourism is the only way the mountain can survive in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I am quite happy with tourism and its impacts on my village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I really enjoy living in my village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
I sometimes feel tourists do not respect the local traditions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Section Four A few demographic details

Please tick the box that best describes you:

Are you Male ☐ Female ☐

Which best represents your age

18 years and under <input type="checkbox"/>	19 – 25 years <input type="checkbox"/>	26 – 35 years <input type="checkbox"/>
36 - 45 years <input type="checkbox"/>	46 – 50 years <input type="checkbox"/>	51 – 55 years <input type="checkbox"/>
56 – 60 years <input type="checkbox"/>	61 – 65 years <input type="checkbox"/>	66 years and over <input type="checkbox"/>

Would you describe yourself as having

Little income <input type="checkbox"/>	Below average income <input type="checkbox"/>	Average Income <input type="checkbox"/>
Above average income <input type="checkbox"/>	Significantly above average income <input type="checkbox"/>	

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND HELP

Questionnaire for Visitors

We are interested in your reasons for visiting **Mt Qiyun** and your reactions to the village. This questionnaire will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. Your name and address is not required, and your answers are totally confidential. Thank you for your help in completing this study.

Section One

Can you please list up to **FOUR short phrases or words about your EXPECTATIONS prior to your visit to the Village**

Can you please list up to **FOUR short phrases or words about your ASSESSMENT of the Village now that you have seen it**

Using a scale of 1 to 10 – where 10 represents the maximum level of satisfaction with your visit – can you please provide an assessment of your **OVERALL LEVEL OF SATISFACTION**

PLEASE TURN OVER THE PAGE

Section Two

REASONS FOR VISITING MT QIYUN

Using the scale below, can you please indicate how **IMPORTANT** to you are the following reasons for visiting Mt Qiyun village by drawing a circle that best represents your opinion.

Extremely Important to me	7
Very Important to me	6
Important to me	5
Of some importance to me	4
Of little importance to me	3
Of very little importance to me	2
Of no importance to me	1

I had heard about the beauty of the village and wanted to see it	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I made a pilgrimage to the mountain because it is sacred	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I am generally interested in the history and heritage of China	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This place was recommended to me by friends	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
It is simply a nice place to visit	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I wished to pray at the shrines and temple for specific reasons	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I am interested in seeing places that can inform me of antiquity	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I really came just out of curiosity	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This is a peaceful place I wanted to enjoy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This is one of the 'must see' places in Anhui Province	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I like this mixture between scenery and history	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This place was one reason I choose this tour/holiday	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please turn to the next page

Section Three Your stay in the Village

Section Three Your stay in the Village

Did you stay overnight in the village? Yes ☐ No ☐

If 'No' – how many hours did you stay in the village?

Can you please indicate which of the following activities you undertook at the village. Did you

Pray at any of the shrines? Yes ☐ No ☐

Pray at the temple? Yes ☐ No ☐

Participate in a religious service at the temple? Yes ☐ No ☐

Have a meal at a restaurant? Yes ☐ No ☐

Buy any arts and crafts? Yes ☐ No ☐

Buy any incense sticks? Yes ☐ No ☐

Take photographs? Yes ☐ No ☐

Take a guided tour? Yes ☐ No ☐

Stay in a hotel? Yes ☐ No ☐

On this trip today – how many adults and children accompanied you?

Adults _____ Children _____

On this trip today – how much did you approximately spend on YOURSELF at the village?

RMB

Section Four

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION WITH YOUR VISIT

This section asks how satisfied you have been with your visit to the village. Please state your level of agreement with the following statements. Please use the scale where

I very strongly agree	7
I strongly agree	6
I agree	5
I neither agree nor disagree	4
I disagree	3
I strongly disagree	2
I very strongly disagree	1

The village was as scenic as I expected	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I truly felt that the mountain is a sacred place	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I found the history and heritage to be of interest to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would recommend this village to my friends as a place to visit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I found this a nice place to visit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I was able to pray at the shrines and temple in peace	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I learnt a lot about the village and its role in Chinese heritage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My curiosity was fully satisfied	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I found the local people to be friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I agree that this is a 'must see' place in Anhui Province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like this mixture between scenery, faith and history	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I would like to see more tourism develop here	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I think the present level of tourism is as much as the village can sustain	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Section Five

Can you please give me four words or short phrases that indicate your thoughts about Tourism, Taoism and this village as a result of your visit.

Section Six

For purposes of simply creating categories in the results, can you please provide the following information by TICKING the appropriate box

I came here by myself ☐ with family ☐ with friends ☐

 with family and friends ☐

Are you male ☐ female ☐

What is your age? Under 16 ☐ 17 to 21 ☐ 22-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐

 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ over 60 ☐

Do you have a post graduate qualification ☐

 a degree or equivalent ☐

 other post school qualification ☐

 school leaving qualifications ☐

 other ☐

Would you describe yourself as having

Little income ☐ Below average income ☐ Average Income ☐

Above average income ☐ Significantly above average income ☐

What is your usual place of permanent residence? _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP