https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.11.007 This is the Pre-Published Version.

FEELING SUPERIOR OR DEPRIVED? ATTITUDES AND UNDERLYING MENTALITIES OF RESIDENTS TOWARDS MAINLAND CHINESE TOURISTS

ABSTRACT

The exponential increase in the number of Mainland Chinese tourists (MCTs) and their sudden influx to popular destinations worldwide have resulted in increasingly frequent media reports on their behaviours and encounters with hosts. However, the academic literature has inadequately analysed resident attitudes towards this surging and, in a few destinations, dominant group. The current study addresses this gap by examining the attitudes and mentalities of Hong Kong (HK) residents towards MCTs and revealing their underlying psychological mechanism. A total of 39 semi-structured interviews demonstrate that unfavourable attitudes towards MCTs have exceeded neutral or positive attitudes. Moreover, HK residents share two intertwined mentalities – sense of superiority and feeling of deprivation. Findings are discussed under the social identity meta-theoretical framework, and a cyclic psychological mechanism of 'social categorization–social identity–social comparison' is identified underlying resident attitude and community mentality formation.

KEYWORDS: Resident Attitude and Mentality; Social Identity Theory; Dominant Source Market; Mainland Chinese Tourists; Sense of Superiority; Relative Deprivation.

© 2017 This manuscript version is made available under the CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

1. INTRODUCTION

The importance of the Mainland Chinese market to the Hong Kong (HK) economy, particularly to the city's tourism industry, cannot be overstated. Given the Individual Visit Scheme launched in 2003, arrivals from Mainland China had a five-fold increase and accounted for 76% of the total arrivals in the city in 2016 (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2017). The influx of Mainland Chinese tourists (MCTs) has added constant and considerable burden to HK, which is one of the world's most densely populated cities. HK's 7.3 million residents share their living spaces with five times as many tourists in 2015 as in 2003 (see Figure 1).

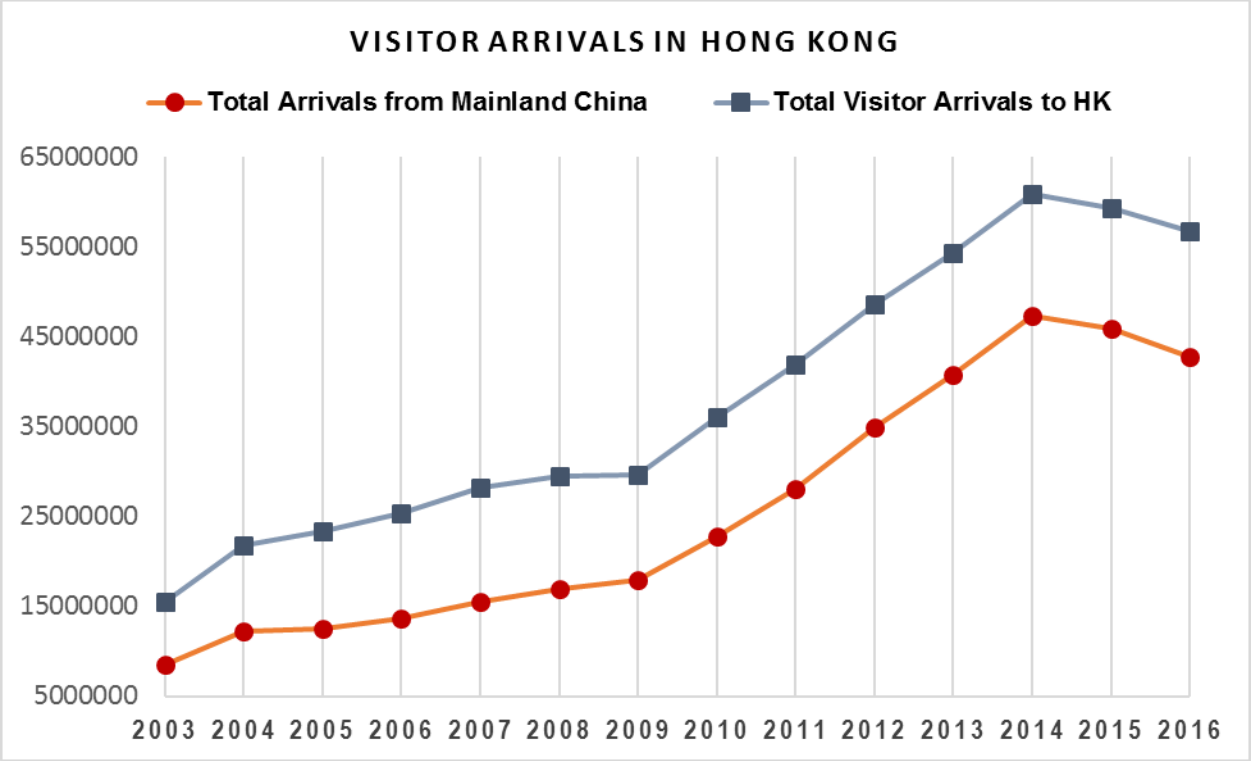

Figure 1. **Number of MCTs who visited HK from 2003 to 2016**

The tension between HK residents and MCTs has substantially increased along with these growth figures (Ye, Zhang, Shen, & Goh, 2014), and the negative public opinion on MCTs reached its peak with a series of 'anti-locust' protests in early 2014 (Rowen, 2016). Protesters

staged satirical rallies to urge MCTs to go back to Mainland China. The ensuing Umbrella Movement has been regarded as 'a panoply of identity politics and civic passions, some of which was anti-China and anti-Chinese' (Rowen, 2016, p. 389). The MCT arrivals in 2015 declined for the first time in over a decade and the downward trend continued in 2016, thereby corroborating that the hostility of residents towards tourists could restrain tourism development because tourists are often reluctant to visit places where they do not feel welcome (Yoon, Gursoy, & Chen, 1999).

When a destination is faced with an influx of a dominant tourist group, monitoring the perceptions and feelings of the local community towards this specific group becomes necessary. The reason is that such sentiment could affect the overall support of residents for local tourism development. MCTs, as the largest source market for many international destinations in recent years, such as South Korea, Thailand, Japan, Russia, Vietnam and the UK, have become crucial to the sustainable development of the local tourism industry, and even the overall economic health of these countries. Therefore, examining the attitudes of local residents towards MCTs and identifying the underlying psychological mechanism will facilitate the understanding of host–tourist interactions and sustainability of tourism development. Subsequent policies can be formulated to minimise the negative impact on the host community and the dominant tourist group.

Host community is an essential stakeholder of tourism development and tourist experience creation; thus, local resident perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism development have attracted considerable research since the 1970s (Sharpley, 2014). However, most studies have either focused on the perceived impacts of tourism/tourists (e.g., Brunt & Courtney, 1999) or examined the influence of host–tourist interactions on tourist experience (e.g.,

Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000). Limited research has investigated resident impressions of, or attitudes towards a specific group of tourists (Monterrubio, 2016), and even less on identifying why and how residents form/develop such attitudes (Sharpley, 2014). On the other hand, research on MCTs mainly focused on their travel motivations or constraints (e.g., Huang & Hsu, 2005; Sparks & Pan, 2009), cultural values (Hsu & Huang, 2016), perceived destination images and marketing effectiveness (e.g., Kim, Guo, & Agrusa, 2005), experience evaluation (Lee, Jeon, & Kim, 2011), and involvement in special leisure activities (e.g., Wong & Rosenbaum, 2012). Few studies have examined MCTs from the perspective of a host community (Keating, Huang, Kriz, & Heung, 2015). Therefore, the research objectives of this exploratory study are three-fold: (1) to reveal the attitudes of HK residents towards a dominant tourist group (i.e., MCTs), (2) to identify local community mentalities that underlie these attitudes, and (3) to examine the psychological mechanism for developing such attitudes and mentalities.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Tourism Studies from the Host Community Perspective

Tourism research conducted from the perspective of host communities can be generally divided into two categories. The first category aims to identify resident perceptions of various tourism impacts, thereby predicting their support for local tourism development. This group has been recognised as one of the most systematic and well-studied fields in tourism (McGehee & Andereck, 2004), within which the two popular approaches are to (1) identify resident perceptions of impacts and test influential factors of the perceptions, and (2) segment residents based on their support for tourism development (Sharpley, 2014). Perceived tourism impacts are commonly discussed in a recognised framework of triple bottom line (Almeida-García, Peláez-

Fernández, Balbuena-Vázquez, & Cortés-Macias, 2016). Among the three types of impacts (i.e., economic, sociocultural, and environmental), sociocultural impact covers most influences from tourists. However, tourists were mostly viewed as a homogeneous group in sociocultural impact studies. This view is fundamentally problematic because no tourism destination receives only one type of tourists (Monterrubio, 2016).

The second category examines host–tourist interactions and considerably focuses on tourist experience satisfaction (Luo, Brown, & Huang, 2015) rather than the resident experience and feelings of the interaction. The analysis of the host–tourist interactions from a unilateral perspective is apparently biased. Research that considers the role of residents' cultural and psychological features in determining their attitudes and behaviours towards tourists is scarce (Zhang, Inbakaran, & Jackson, 2006). The impressions of tourists from a specific ethnic or national background have only received limited attention from stereotype researchers (Griffiths & Sharpley, 2012; Moufakkir, 2015). For example, Evans-Pritchard (1989) conducted an anthropological study that focuses on the effect of Anglo–American stereotypes held by the native Indian community on tourist–host interactions. He introduced two important terms in anthropology and psychology – 'others' and 'us'. This conscious differentiation between in- and out-groups by natives and tourists empowers both sides to exercise substantial control over frequently uncomfortable interactions. Unfortunately, most studies on tourist stereotypes have yet to reveal the reasons for and the significance of variations in the manner that a particular group of tourists is perceived because of their generally descriptive nature (Luo et al., 2015; Monterrubio, 2016).

To comprehensively reveal the HK resident attitudes towards the dominant MCT market, the current study defines resident attitude as a tripartite construct comprising three main

components – cognition, affect, and conation (Breckler, 1984). Cognitive attitude represents the beliefs, opinions, and knowledge held by the HK residents towards MCTs. Affective attitude comprises feelings stimulated by MCTs. Conative attitude includes the predispositions, intentions, and commitments of the HK residents to act or behave in certain ways towards MCTs. Furthermore, social mentality, a loosely defined concept in psychology, anthropology and sociology, is used as a more in-depth and collective concept than attitude to explain how specific motivations direct attention, recruit relevant cognitive processing, and guide emotions and behavioural outputs (Liotti & Gilbert, 2011). The shared social mentalities among local residents are defined in the present study as the consciousness that members of a host community possess collectively; such consciousness is formed by confronting objective conditions (e.g., dominant source market and local economic situations) in complex social interactions (Möhwald, 2004). Community mentalities may reflect, but are not completely congruent with, the objective conditions because various psychological processes and figurations are believed to operate in the direction of sustaining or transforming the objective conditions (Möhwald, 2004). The current study attempts to identify the mentalities shared by the HK community when facing a dominant source market, thereby explaining specific attitudes and inferring the underlying psychological mechanism to answer the why and how questions.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Social exchange theory (SET; Ap, 1992; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004) and social representation theory (SRT; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000) are the most popular theoretical frameworks adopted by resident attitude studies. SET assumes that local residents who perceive more benefits than costs from tourism are more likely to support tourism development, thereby becoming actively involved in social exchange with tourists (Yoon, Gursoy, & Chen, 2001).

SRT focuses on the content of social knowledge and the manner by which this knowledge is created and shared by members of various groups, communities, or societies (Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996). Such focus highlights social influences (including inter- and intra-group interactions and the media) on individual attitudes (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Suess & Mody, 2016).

SET and SRT have received criticism although these theories have provided prevalent theoretical guidance for understanding resident perceptions and attitudes. SET simplifies the host–tourist interaction as a form of transaction, in which tourists and hosts undergo a process of negotiation or exchange (Sharpley, 2014). Most resident attitude studies that adopt SET have overlooked the role of social interactions in forming perceptions (Pearce et al., 1996; Woosnam, 2011). Moreover, the predictive power of SET is questionable because of mixed empirical findings (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012). SRT emphasises the role of social interactions in forming resident perceptions but could not explain why a particular perception is commonly held (Sharpley, 2014).

Given the aforementioned limitations, resident attitude researchers have explored other potential theoretical frameworks, such as integrated threat theory (Monterrubio, 2016), identity theory (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012), contact theory (Luo et al., 2015), emotional solidarity theory (Woosnam, 2011), or a combination of these theories (e.g., Ward & Berno, 2011). Despite several attempts to ground research in theory, most studies tend to be exploratory and descriptive in nature (Sharpley, 2014), and the newly adopted theoretical frameworks remain fragmented and untested (Monterrubio, 2016). Therefore, identifying a comprehensive and robust theoretical framework remains necessary, particularly when analysing resident attitudes towards a specific tourist group.

This study introduces social identity theory (SIT) into the host–tourist research domain, with the dual objectives of proposing a suitable theoretical paradigm to explore resident attitudes and community mentalities towards a specific tourist group, as well as providing an empirical setting to test the external and ecological validity of a popular socio–psychological theory on intergroup relations and group processes. SIT was established by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and is the most influential socio–psychological meta-theory on intergroup relations (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). This theory acknowledges that 'groups occupy different levels of a hierarchy of status and power, and that intergroup behaviour is driven by people's ability to be critical of, and see alternatives to, the status quo' (Hornsey, 2008, p. 207). SIT suggests that social groups provide the characteristics that define the self-concept of group members by providing normative values and emotional attachment associated with the group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Once individuals internalise the membership of a social group, their self-concept encompasses the social identity derived from the group, as well as the emotional and evaluative significance attached to this membership. Thus, the psychological separation between the self and the group is blurred; this cognitive process of depersonalisation shifts the self-identity from the personal self to the collective self (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Thereafter, the collective self-perception will determine subsequent perceptions, inferences, affective and behavioural reactions towards the in- and out-groups.

Moreover, SIT views identity as a 'dynamic construct that responds to changes in both long-term intergroup relations and immediate interactive contexts, and elaborates the underlying socio-cognitive mechanism' (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 266). To strive for a positive social identity, individuals are inclined to make favourable comparisons between the in-group and relevant outgroups, thereby leading to further intergroup differentiations. Tajfel and Turner (1979) firstly

integrated three interrelated cognitive processes underlying an array of intergroup phenomena, namely, social categorisation, intergroup comparison and self-evaluation, through social identity into a coherent theoretical framework of SIT. SIT appears to be a suitable framework for host–tourist research because of its inherent relevance to intergroup relations, and its strong predictive power for out-group attitudes and behaviours (Hornsey, 2008).

The use of such a broad meta-theoretical framework facilitates the systematic integration of theories, such as SET and SRT, for a range of disparate phenomena that emerged from intricate host–tourist interactions (see Figure 2). Elejabarrieta (1994) suggested that social representations provide materials and principles for the construction of social identities through the positioning of individuals and groups in a specific social structure. The social exchange and social identity processes may also interact in affecting resident attitudes towards tourists. The better the perceived quality of the exchange relationship is, the more motivated individuals are to exert themselves on behalf of the host community and remain within the relationship. Therefore, SET and SRT can work effectively under the meta-theoretical umbrella of SIT. The adoption of SIT as the theoretical framework of the current study may bridge the gap between SET and SRT by highlighting the community membership of individual residents, and facilitate the understanding of community mentalities that belong to each of the community members but transcending the sum of individual attitudes.

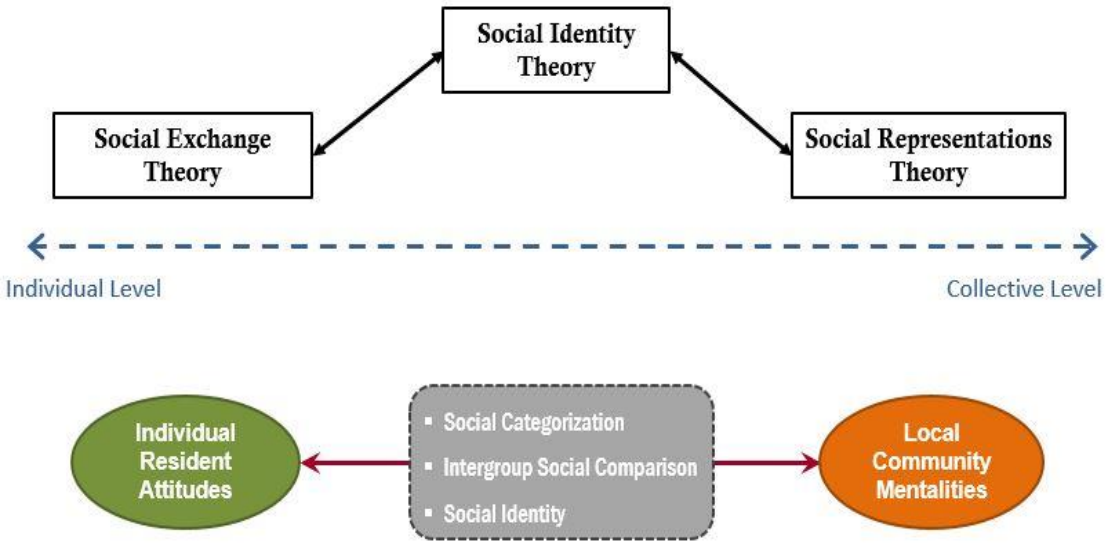

Figure 2. Theoretical Framework for Resident Attitude and Community Mentality

Nunkoo, Gursoy, and Juwaheer (2010) suggested combining identity theory and SET into one joint conceptual framework to improve the predictive power of host attitudes in explaining their support for or opposition to tourism development. Identity theory analyses choices and behaviours of people by viewing them as multifaceted individuals embedded in the social structure (Stets & Biga, 2003). This view provides an 'important link between individuals to the larger social structure, a conceptualization which is missing in attitude theory' (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012, p. 247). However, Nunkoo et al. (2010) only considered three dimensions of self-identity when examining residents' support for tourism: *occupational*, *environmental*, and *gender identities*. Other dimensions of dynamic self-identity should be considered to obtain an improved understanding of the role that self-identity plays in determining resident responses to tourism development. Moreover, identity theory is different from SIT in terms of foci (i.e., intragroup vs. intergroup relations), activation mechanism, and cognitive and motivational processes (Stets & Burke, 2000).

SIT has been occasionally adopted by studies on ethnic (Abrahams, 2015), heritage (Gieling & Ong, 2016), and sports tourism (Shipway & Jones, 2007). This line of research has focused on a few aspects of SIT but not systematically incorporated the latest theoretical development. Recent conceptual advances of SIT, such as optimal distinctiveness and collective self-esteem (Hornsey, 2008), have immense yet generally unexplored potential for the understanding of host–tourist relations. The new development has expanded SIT into a comprehensive research paradigm called the 'social identity approach' (Abrams & Hogg, 2004), which is utilised to guide the current investigation into the psychological mechanism underlying resident attitude and mentality formation.

2.3 HK Chinese and Mainland Chinese

Studies concerning the relationship between HK and Mainland Chinese (MC) are mostly conducted in various disciplines, such as sociology, intercultural studies and media studies (Cao, Chen, Huang, & Lo, 2014; Guan, Deng, & Bond, 2010). Previous tourism studies examining MCTs in HK have mainly focused on their motivations (Huang & Hsu, 2005; Zhang & Lam, 1999), unfavourable behaviours (Loi & Pearce, 2015), and experience evaluation (Song, Li, van der Veen, & Chen, 2011). Local residents' perceptions of MCTs have been generally neglected with scattered findings. Siu, Lee, and Leung (2013) found that HK residents have recognised the economic benefits and negative sociocultural and environmental impacts generated from the influx of MCTs. Prendergast, Lam, and Ki (2016) revealed that HK residents held negative views of MCTs because of the perceived negative impact of the latter on the daily life of the local community. The antipathy towards MCTs was even transferred to the image of certain luxury brands that they endorse. However, neither of the two studies has explored why and how such perceptions were formed.

While most relevant studies remain atheoretical, Ye et al. (2014) examined the attitudes of HK residents towards the relaxation of the Individual Visit Scheme by referring to social distance theory and SIT. Their findings verified a few basic assumptions of these established theories, such as in-group favouritism, and negative relationship between perceived cultural distance and inter-group attitudes. Although the preliminary conclusion has demonstrated the utility of SIT, more in-depth studies are needed to understand the deep-seated psychological activities that determine the formation of the resident attitudes. Therefore, the current study attempts to explore the psychological mechanism underlying the attitude and mentality formation of HK residents towards MCTs (i.e., to address the why and how questions).

3. RESEARCH METHODS

To obtain insights into the reasons for/origins of resident attitudes, an exploratory interpretive approach was adopted (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012). The constructivism–interpretivism research paradigm enables the researchers to gather socially constructed knowledge to understand the meanings that people construct in particular social contexts (Jennings, 2005). A qualitative approach was employed to collect data through semi-structured in-depth interviews, thereby providing flexibility, adaptiveness, depth, and realism that a quantitative approach cannot provide (Deery et al., 2012).

The interview protocol (see Appendix 1) was semi-structured with a flexible agenda to focus on the responses of the interviewees and encourage open and free-flowing dialogue (Jennings, 2005). The interviews were conducted by an HK-born, Cantonese-speaking research associate due to two considerations. First, the local dialect is Cantonese. A native speaker can encourage participants to express their views and share their experiences freely in their mother

tongue. Second, the research topic is sensitive. The interviewees may not share their true thoughts/attitudes with an 'outsider' interviewer, but can regard and build mutual trust with a local researcher as an 'insider' who shares a similar cultural background.

A combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques was used to recruit permanent residents of HK. Eighteen participants were selected to provide the most information-rich data because they have considerable direct contacts with MCTs at work or because of where they live (e.g., in tourist areas). Thereafter, they were asked to recommend acquaintances (e.g., family members, friends or colleagues) to participate in this study – mainly based on residential locations and age, in order to obtain a representative sample of residents living in all 18 districts of HK. Age was considered an important factor because HK residents in different age groups tend to hold different viewpoints and levels of sentiment towards Mainlanders. Hong, Chiu, Yeung, and Tong (1999) explained that older people who were born in China and emigrated to HK felt more strongly that they were Chinese compared with the younger generations, most of whom were born and raised in HK. Effort was exerted throughout the sampling process to recruit a demographically representative sample with diverse backgrounds and involvement levels with the tourism industry. The recruitment of interviewees ended when information saturation was reached (Jennings, 2005). A total of 39 qualified respondents were interviewed in 2015. The average duration of the interviews was 30 minutes. All interviews were recorded with the consent of the informants, transcribed verbatim in Chinese and translated into English thereafter. Portions of the English transcripts were back-translated into Chinese to ensure accuracy (Prendergast et al., 2016).

Interview transcripts were analysed following an inductive logic because the potential subject themes are expected to be drawn from the raw data rather than from prior knowledge

(Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The coders followed a standard procedure of 'open coding–creating categories–abstraction' to analyse the interview data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Open coding means that notes and headings are written in the text whilst reading the interview transcript to describe all aspects of the content. Thereafter, the codes were collected and compiled on a coding sheet for further clustering into high-level themes and meta-themes. Synonyms were unified and the words with multiple meanings were clarified. Categories were generated by grouping these themes under higher-order themes. Lastly, the abstraction process proceeded repeatedly to formulate a general description of the research topic by generating multi-layers of categories (e.g., sub-category, generic category, and main category) as far as the categories are conceptually and empirically grounded. This procedure can effectively reduce the number of codes and categories by collapsing terms that are similar or dissimilar into substantially broad higher-order categories/themes (Dey, 1993).

To ensure the accuracy and confirmability of the coding results, three coders with different backgrounds analysed the interview transcripts independently and developed three coding sheets. The classification results input by the three coders were iteratively compared to improve consistency. The differences in the three separate coding sheets were noted and discussed among the coders and the project leader. A consensus was achieved after several iterations. An external auditor was invited to evaluate the accuracy of the interpretations of and conclusions drawn from the interview data. Thus, the trustworthiness of this research was established through investigator and theoretical triangulations (Decrop, 1999). The thick description of the findings and discussion in the following section also contributed to the credibility and dependability of this study.

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Profiles of the Participants

Appendix 2 presents the profiles of the 39 interviewees. Accordingly, 20, 15, and 4 informants reported negative, neutral, and positive attitudes, respectively, towards MCTs. In the further analysis of the relationship between demographic characteristics and overall attitude (see Table 1), age, gender, education, income level, and previous contacts with Mainlanders (working or living) play a role in their overall attitudinal patterns. Female, highly educated (with an associate degree and above), young (20–35 years old), and low household income (below HK$19,999 per month) groups reported more negative attitudes than others did. In addition, the respondents who did not spend their entire lifetime in HK (either studied overseas or emigrated from the Mainland) and respondents who recognised the Chinese citizenship were more likely to evaluate MCTs from a neutral standpoint. Unlike previous research findings, informants working in tourism-related industries indicated higher rate of negative attitude than respondents working in unrelated industries. Similarly, informants living in tourist areas reported lower rate of negative attitude than those living in non-tourist areas. Evidently, the comparisons are made based on patterns of responses rather than statistical analyses.

Table 1.

Overall Attitude towards MCTs by Demographics

Socio-demographics		Overall Attitude			Total
		Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Gender	Male	5 (33.3%)	9 (60.0%)	1 (6.7%)	15 (38.5%)
	Female	15 (62.5%)	6 (25.0%)	3 (12.5%)	24 (61.5%)
Age	20–35	15 (65.2%)	7 (30.4%)	1 (4.3%)	23 (59%)
	36–64	5 (31.3%)	8 (50.0%)	3 (18.8%)	16 (41%)
Education Level	Below Associate Degree	5 (38.5%)	5 (38.5%)	3 (23.1%)	13 (33.3%)
	Associate Degree and Above	15 (57.7%)	10 (38.5%)	1 (3.8%)	26 (66.7%)
Length of Residency	Life-long	20 (62.5%)	8 (25.0%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (82%)
	A few years overseas	0	3 (100%)	0	3 (7.7%)
	A few years in the Mainland	0	4 (100%)	0	4 (10.3%)
Citizenship	HKer	14 (56.0%)	8 (32.0%)	3 (12.0%)	25 (64.1%)
	Chinese	6 (42.9%)	7 (50.0%)	1 (7.1%)	14 (35.9%)
Employment	Tourism-related	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	0	9 (23.1%)
	Tourism-unrelated	14 (46.7%)	12 (40.0%)	4 (13.3%)	30 (76.9%)
Monthly Household Income	HK$ 19,999 and below	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0	6 (15.4%)
	HK$ 20,000–49,999	8 (50.0%)	7 (43.8%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (41.0%)
	HK$ 50,000 and above	8 (47.1%)	6 (35.3%)	3 (17.6%)	17 (43.6%)
Residential Area	Tourist	2 (33.3%)	3 (50.0%)	1 (16.7%)	6 (15.4%)
	Non-tourist	18 (54.5%)	12 (36.4%)	3 (9.1%)	33 (84.6%)

4.2 HK Resident Attitudes towards MCTs

4.2.1 Cognitive Attitudes towards MCTs

The overall resident attitudes were supported by a variety of specific impressions that the informants generated from previous direct or indirect (e.g., heard from acquaintances or news report) contacts with MCTs. The unfavourable impressions shown in Table 2 exceeded neutral or positive impressions. All reported impressions were associated with the behaviours of MCTs, which can be grouped into three categories: (1) manners and verbal/sound acts related to personal and interpersonal etiquette or public morality (e.g., noisy and lack of self-discipline, parvenu and disrespectful); (2) consumption-related acts in various venues (e.g., shops, restaurants, and hotels); and (3) habits and customs perceived as inappropriate, wrong or different from the HK people (e.g., squatting and sitting everywhere). The most relevant behaviours were believed to derive from social/cultural norms, traditions or values, such as face-saving, showing off, and enjoying collective actions.

Table 2.

Cognitive Attitudes of HK Residents towards MCTs

Cognitive Impressions		Number of Informants	Manners and Verbal /Sound Acts	Consumption -related Acts	Habits and Customs
Negative	[1] Impolite	21	√		√
	[2] Uncivil (incl. lacking public spirit/ civic awareness)	15	√		√
	[3] Self-centred (never go native)/ Ignoring others / Selfish / Undisciplined	12	√		√
	[4] Rude / Ruthless / Savage	11	√		√
	[5] Unruly	11	√		
	[6] Negligence of hygiene	9			√
	[7] Parvenu / Bossy	6	√	√	
	[8] Noisy	5	√		√
	[9] Overbearing / Disrespectful / Haughty	5	√	√	
	[10] Uneducated / Ignorant / Less educated	7	√		√
	[11] Holding erroneous values	3		√	
	[12] Afraid of being taken advantage by others / Self-protective	3	√	√	√
	[13] Sequacious	1		√	
	[14] Demanding	1		√	
	[15] Foolish	1			√
Neutral	[1] High consumption power / Unconcerned about price	13		√	
	[2] Culturally different from us	12	√		√
	[3] Rich / Incredibly rich	10		√	
	[4] Massive / Stick together / In droves	4			√
	[5] Of diverse quality	3		√	
	[6] Generous in shopping	2		√	√
	[7] Hasty	2	√		√
	[8] Materialistic / Like showing off	1		√	√
	[9] Traditional (gift giving to gain face)	1		√	√
Positive	[1] Polite	9	√		
	[2] Outgoing	2			√
	[3] Friendly	1	√		

Negative Attitudes

Negative impressions reported by the interviewees have covered most of the unpleasant and unfavourable behaviours of MCTs, such as breaking regulations (e.g., public littering, spitting, smoking, urinating, and defecating), disturbing social orders (e.g., street blocking, jostling, jumping a queue, and speaking loudly), and being rude or insensitive to locals (e.g., being overly demanding, refusing to go native). Among these responses, the most reported negative consumption behaviour was the crazy purchase of luxury goods, jewellery, and watches whilst treating salespersons as servants.

> *They think their patronage is helping HK, so salespersons should always be at their beck and call. [#1]*

These manners and behaviours have been extensively denounced by the informants because they deviate from the norms, principles, and customs of the HK society.

A point deserving further attention is that the number of interviewees who reported negative impressions of MCTs is much higher than the number of informants who admitted a negative overall attitude towards MCTs. This discrepancy may be explained by the motivation to avoid prejudice (e.g., *#18*), which has been recognised as effective in inhibiting stereotype activation or suppressing the application of an activated stereotype (Kunda & Spencer, 2003).

Neutral Attitudes

Some informants probed into the sociocultural and environmental factors that moulded the behaviours of MCTs, rather than intuitively attributing to personal dispositions. For example, one-third of the respondents attributed the misconduct of MCTs to cultural differences:

> *I do understand that we have great cultural differences, but essentially we are not that different. Mainland China was not opened as early as HK… Why do we escalate these mental and verbal skirmishes into violent conflicts? [#8]*

Several interviewees considered the point of view of MCTs and defended their impoliteness and unsanitary behaviours:

> *Maybe the itinerary does not allow them to stay overnight, so they have to do a lot of things within one day. They do not intend to be impolite, but because they are in a hurry… While I heard about MCTs' public urination from others or news, I have never personally seen such behaviours. [#39]*

Moreover, the respondents often used 'being of diverse qualities' to describe the MCT group, and remarked that MCTs are not different from any other tourist groups, which comprise well and ill-mannered members. Moreover, approximately one-third of the respondents recognised the strong purchasing power and impressive wealth of MCTs. Several respondents appreciated the generosity of MCTs in shopping.

> *Actually, the spending power of tourists from Europe and America is weak nowadays. They normally are deliberate on their purchases. Thus, we have to spend more time doing business with them. The generous spenders are mostly MCTs. They make purchases quickly and straightforwardly. [#3]*

Another informant believed that MCTs' bulk purchase of daily necessities in HK demonstrated their desire for a higher quality of life:

> *They do not always buy big brands. They also purchase daily necessities. They lavishly shop daily necessities in order to enjoy the same living standard as HK people. [#6]*

Similarly, the attention of MCTs to product packaging (and not the product itself) was interpreted with the traditions of gift-giving and face-saving, rather than simply showing off (#5).

Positive Attitudes

A minority of the informants reported the polite behaviours of MCTs. Informant #22 stated that MCTs offered their seats to her in public transport when she was seen holding a baby. Eight informants reported that MCTs asked them for directions in a polite manner, thereby leaving them with good impressions. Several respondents clearly emphasised that the

misbehaviours of individuals should not be generalised to the entire group (e.g., #34). Moreover, occasional interactions with outgoing MCTs made the respondents feel they were culturally different from the shy Japanese tourists or locals who prudently maintain a distance from strangers. The active and enthusiastic manners of MCTs were highly appreciated by many interviewees who believed that pleasant tourist–host communications would facilitate the mutual understanding and goodwill between HK and MC.

4.2.2 Affective Attitudes towards MCTs

The reported negative feelings towards MCTs exceeded the positive ones. A range of negative emotions with varied intensities was explicitly mentioned, such as dislike, disgust, hate, despise, anger, and disregard. Most negative feelings were caused by the bad manners, annoying behaviours/habits, and poor hygiene practices of MCTs. The intensity of these emotions varied according to the events that elicited each emotion. For example, local residents may only feel uncomfortable, unhappy, or inconvenient when seeing MCTs jostle for seats in public transports. However, they may become angry and resentful if their feet were rolled over by large suitcases carried by MCTs and received no apologies. Several respondents believed that the ill-mannered MCTs were hopeless. Thus, they simply exhibited an indifferent attitude:

> *I have passed the stage of feeling exasperated with these (unpleasant) behaviours. Now, I only feel helpless… and have to accept. Sometimes, you may be willing to tell those young people that their behaviours are wrong because they are more likely to correct such behaviours. However, when you realize that they will never change, you have to ignore them because you cannot always be angry. [#27]*

Positive feelings towards MCTs included compassion and appreciation. Several informants expressed sympathy towards MCTs for the incorrect values that they hold or the shortage of high-quality products in Mainland China:

It is wrong to treat other people as inferior just because you are richer. Getting along with people is not done this way. I feel sad for the MCTs who only believe in money. [#28]

Poor MCTs! They have to come to HK to buy the things they cannot get in their country, even being scolded by us. [#34]

Appreciation mainly arose when local residents saw, had contact with (#21), or received help from well-mannered MCTs, such as seat-offering (#22). This reaction indicated that gaining the appreciation of hosts is possible if MCTs could show respect to the public order and customs of the HK community.

4.2.3 Conative Attitudes towards MCTs

The 39 interviewees were divided into four groups based on the varying degrees of future interaction/communication intentions with MCTs. The first group contains eight informants who expressed willingness to interact with MCTs for different purposes, including improving mutual understanding and showing friendliness. The second group has seven respondents, who indicated neither desire nor resistance but would allow encounters with MCTs to happen naturally. The third group is composed of 10 informants, who stated conditional interact intentions. For example, Informant #17 indicated that her intention to communicate depends on the education and courtesy level of MCTs that she meets:

I want to interact with those who are well-educated if it is necessary... I wouldn't say I reject communication with them, but I hope to only communicate with those well-educated and easy to communicate.

The last group consists of 14 respondents, who indicated no intention to interact with MCTs for different reasons, such as previous negative contacts or no need for communication. A few holding poor impressions of MCTs even indicated that they would avoid contact with them.

In conclusion, the general negative impressions of and attitudes towards MCTs reported by the interviewees reflected previous research findings (e.g., Prendergast et al., 2016). Similar negative impacts caused by MCTs have been identified, including disturbed public order, cultural conflicts, and frustrated locals (Loi & Pearce, 2015; Ye et al., 2014). Siu et al. (2013) observed that the bulk purchasing behaviour of MCTs made certain products unavailable for locals, and negatively affected the attitude and service quality of salespersons towards locals. To further explore how cognitive impressions, emotions, and behavioural intentions are organised into a consonant attitudinal system, mentalities shared by the HK community are analysed in the following section.

4.3 Mentalities of the HK Community towards MCTs

Two strongly intertwined mentalities were expressed explicitly or implicitly by the majority of the interviewees (n = 29): a sense of superiority and a feeling of deprivation. These two widely shared mentalities were generated from HK residents' comparisons with the MCT group, as well as the complex socioeconomic environment.

4.3.1 Sense of Superiority

A sense of superiority was reflected in contemptuous social judgements towards the quality of civilisation, education level, culture, values, and even morality of MCTs. As one informant claimed:

> *In general, the education level of Mainlanders is lower than that of HK people. Even those Mainlanders who belong to a higher class, who are rich and internationalised, their etiquette is still worse than their HK counterparts. [#25]*

Another informant criticised the value underlying the crazy symbolic consumptions of MCTs.

> *They don't know how to appreciate a handbag, so they just buy the most expensive one. Similarly, they just rush into the most expensive shops and buy*

expensive clothing that does not fit them at all… Why are there many long queues outside luxury shops? The more expensive the product is, the more people want to buy. This behaviour undoubtedly reflects their wrong values. [#9]

Moreover, many interviewees suggested that HK people should actively serve as role models that MCTs can imitate and learn from (#3).

Their visit to HK provided them with an opportunity to learn our culture, which will benefit them a lot. [#34]

When criticising the bad manners or misbehaviours of MCTs, almost all informants mentioned poorer education, less open and enlightened sociocultural environment of Mainland China compared with HK. All comparisons made between the in- and out-group conveyed a universal sense that 'we' (HK people) are more civilised, better educated, and more Westernised than 'them' (MC). As Brewer (1999) asserted, the recognised institutions, rules, and customs that maintain in-group loyalty will take on the character of moral authority along with individuals' increasing group identification. For a social group with strong regional identity, such as HKers, moral superiority is an effective tool to maintain/improve collective self-esteem and protect in-group boundaries. This observation is consistent with the findings of Poppe and Linssen (1999), in which members of higher status groups are likely to attribute superiority to their in-group on dimensions that reflect the nature of the status differences, such as moral or competence. Moreover, as one of the essential conditions of transforming in-group favouritism into out-group negativity, moral superiority becomes 'incompatible with tolerance of difference' when the in-group members see their moral order as absolute rather than relative (Brewer, 1999, p. 435). Therefore, the indifferent attitude of in-group (i.e., HK residents) will most likely be replaced by denigration and contempt if the out-group (i.e., MCTs) does not approve, or fail to obey the same social morality. Furthermore, superiority complex is occasionally interpreted as a psychological defence mechanism to counter or conceal individuals' sense of inferiority (Hoorens, 1995). The

concomitance of superiority and inferiority is completely supported in the current study. The pride and superiority of HK residents as locals diminish when they see a continuous influx of MCTs who lavish on daily necessities and luxury goods. Consequently, a strong feeling of deprivation spreads in the community.

4.3.2 Feeling of Deprivation

A feeling of deprivation was mainly conveyed through informants' complaints about MCTs' competition for and despoliation of valuable resources of HK, including public space (e.g., #12, 16), transportation (e.g., #36), leisure and dining venues (e.g., #4, 11, 36), daily necessities (e.g., #4, 9, 15, 17, 31, 36), and entrepreneurial opportunities (#9). One respondent claimed that:

I feel that MCTs visit HK not for travel or sightseeing, but for looting. [#15]

To cater to the consumption preferences of MCTs, numerous unique small shops were replaced by chain stores that sell jewellery, cosmetics, medicines, or luxury products. Many informants complained of the resulting diminished attractiveness of the city and endangerment to the local livelihood. For example, the entrepreneurial passion and opportunities of young people have been reduced by the increasingly high rent (#9), and local demands were largely suppressed by soaring prices or neglected by the retail industry (#17). The lifestyle of the local residents was forced to change to avoid contact with MCTs. Many interviewees stated that they do not visit shopping malls, popular restaurants, or tourist areas on weekends, but go hiking or explore the suburbs. When they see more and more MCTs in remote areas, they prefer to stay home during holidays.

Although HK is a small and compact city, and the influx of MCTs inevitably occupies public spaces and resources, the so-called 'being squeezed' or 'being stripped' is occasionally

just a subjective feeling of local residents and can be defined as 'relative deprivation'. For example:

> *Flocks of tourists are competing for resources with us. For example, I usually like going to Disneyland, which is a pleasant venue. However, the park is now full of MCTs, and they can enjoy many special discounts. We locals feel like the minority. Therefore, not going is better. I feel like this place has been taken over (by MCTs), similar to the popular areas. [#11]*

This sense of group relative deprivation is a general feeling based on the cognitive comparison of one's in-group with a reference group, which leads to a judgement that one's in-group is disadvantaged, and invokes frustration, anger, resentment, and entitlement (Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2012).

In conclusion, the feelings of superiority and deprivation co-exist in the minds of HK residents, which can be activated by a variety of stimuli performed by the same target group – MCTs. A social comparison process was observed underlying this pair of ambivalent mentalities. Correlated variables, such as intergroup differentiation and social identity that influence intergroup social comparisons, require further conceptual and operational refinement and a more systematic exposition under the SIT meta-theoretical framework.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Psychological Mechanism Model for Resident Attitude and Mentality Formation towards MCTs

The findings of this study provide an evidential basis for a conceptual model that describes the psychological mechanism for resident attitude and mentality formation towards a specific group of tourists (see Figure 3). A loop of 'social categorization–social identity–social comparison' (SCat–SI–SCom) identified from interview results could explicitly describe

psychological processes underlying the formation of attitudes and mentalities of the host community towards a specific tourist group. This tricyclic psychological process provides new evidence for the guiding theoretical framework of SIT that an individual may go through two mental processes (i.e., social categorisation and intergroup social comparison) whilst deriving a sense of SI (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The process goes further than the original SIT by identifying the operation of and interactions among the three mental processes.

As illustrated in Figure 3, the underlying psychological mechanism is triggered by the direct or indirect contacts of individual residents with MCTs. Firstly, individual residents are prone to classify themselves and MCTs into different social categories for ease of comprehension and identification (Schaller & Maass, 1989). As a cognitive basis for the social identification process (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), SCat facilitates the creation and definition of an individual's place in society by a systematic inclusion in some categories and exclusion from others (Kawakami & Dion, 1995). A result of SCat is the formation of the 'We/Us–They/Them' dichotomy (Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990). The frequent usage of these associative pronouns by the interviewees illustrates the affiliation of their self-concepts with their identified social group (i.e., HK community).

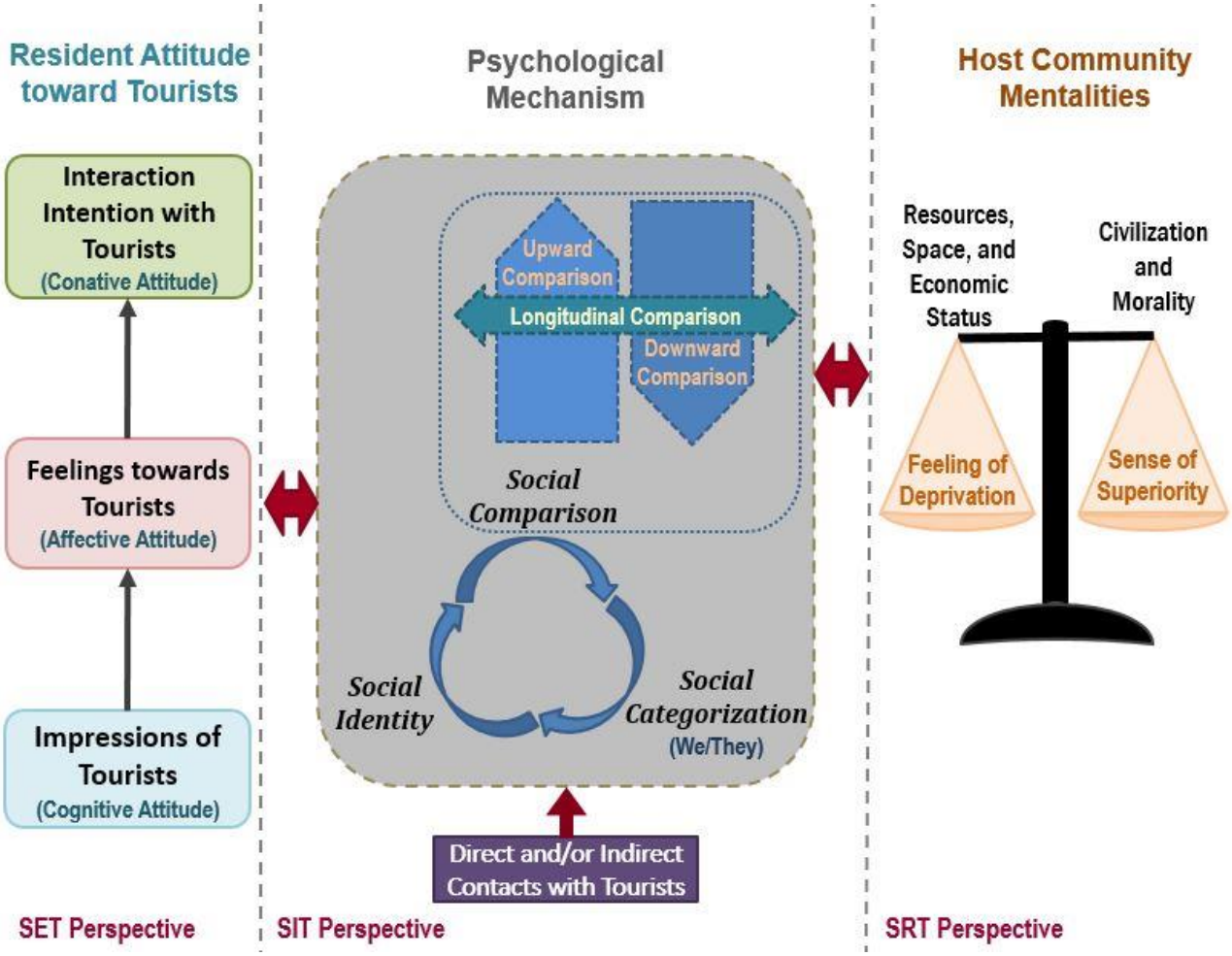

Figure 3. **Psychological Mechanism Model for Resident Attitude and Mentality Formation towards MCTs**

Moreover, SCat is not merely an act of self-labelling but also an adoption of normative behaviours, characteristics, and values associated with a particular category (Turner et al., 1987). HK people have regarded MC as 'others' (out-group members) in terms of traits, values, and beliefs, including culture, social status, democratic beliefs, social conscientiousness, and political expectations (Guan et al., 2010). These categorisation attributes can serve as salient dimensions in subsequent intergroup comparisons. Sometimes, this prototype-based depersonalisation of the

self and others alone could be sufficient to trigger intergroup attitudes, particularly bias and discrimination (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As informant #3 stated:

> *Actually, the divergence of political views between HK and MC has led to disagreements between the two parties on a wide range of issues, which then result in different actions and even generate mutual discrimination. Not only HKers discriminate against MC, but also MC discriminate against HKers.*

Secondly, individuals acquire one or more social group identity/ies based on categorisations. People can have as many social identities as there are groups they belong to, which may be overlapping and occasionally competing with one another (Hogg, 2006). Gender, race, political orientation, and profession are example forms of SI, and the self is reflected in the convergence of such multiple SIs. However, in any given situation only one SI becomes psychologically salient to govern self-construal, social perception, and social conduct (Hogg, 2006). Briefly, SI salience is situation-specific.

The interviewees of this study were asked to judge MCTs. This task has reduced the relative salience of personal identity or other SIs that cannot accentuate the differences between MCTs and the local community, such as race and profession. A unique regional identity (i.e., Hong Konger) was employed by most interviewees to differentiate the HK community from MC. The salience of this regional identity ideally reflects the two principles governing SI salience: *accessibility* and *fit* (Turner et al., 1987). Specifically, people draw on accessible SIs that are important, valued, and frequently employed for self-construal (*chronic accessibility*), or self-evident and perceptually salient in the immediate situation (*situational accessibility*). Thereafter, the salient SI is used to make sense of intergroup relations by investigating how well the identity accounts for similarities and differences between in-group and out-group (*comparative fit*), and how well the stereotypical properties of the identity account for why people behave as they do (*normative fit*) (Hogg, 2006). Generally, the SI that has optimal fit easily becomes salient in a

specific setting, and the salient SI changes with the changing situation or context. If HK residents were asked to evaluate Western tourists, then their Asian or Chinese identity, rather than the HK identity, may become salient.

Lastly, driven by a universal desire for a favourable distinct SI that could simultaneously maximise the likelihood of achieving connectedness and distinctiveness (Chiu & Hong, 1999), individuals engage in SCom to evaluate the relative status of and relations among groups, and select among three options: to maintain the status quo, assimilate with, or distance from the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The interviewees in the current study made three types of social comparisons: two latitudinal comparisons (i.e., comparing MCTs with themselves or with tourists of other nationalities) and one longitudinal comparison (i.e., comparing their current condition with the past). For example:

> *I usually meet a lot of tourists from different countries or with different ethnic backgrounds at scenic spots. Comparatively speaking, MCTs are the most undisciplined. [#13]*

> *Nowadays, HK people's economic situation is worse than that of MC. Many parvenus are in the Mainland… The sheer number of wealthy people has exceeded that of HK owing to its huge population base. [#32]*

Before the millennium, the majority of the HK community members perceived themselves as superior to MC and similar to other developed social groups in terms of socioeconomic status, Western outlook, democratic beliefs, instrumental values, and social conscientiousness (Hong et al., 1999). However, the preceding quotations indicated that HK residents have realised the demise of their economic advantage. When individuals compare themselves with a previously inferior out-group who is now superior, or compare with themselves at different points in time, the psychological unevenness may lead to ambivalent mentalities. On the one hand, they may feel that they do not possess what they deserve (Smith et al., 2012) and attribute their deficiency

to the out-group, thus leading to doubt, anger, and resentment. For example, the informants constantly questioned the source of wealth of MCTs when enviously describing their strong purchasing power.

> *MCTs' purchasing power is incredibly strong. Sometimes, I doubt how such rude and uneducated people can earn huge amount of money? [#18]*

The feeling of deprivation was thus derived from an 'upward' social comparison with economically advantaged MCTs.

On the other hand, HK residents may consciously or subconsciously make selective comparisons with the out-group of MCTs, driven by inner motives of self-esteem or self-enhancement (Tajfel, 1982; Wood, 1989). Thus, they look for the weaknesses of the out-group in other valued comparison dimensions, such as morality and culture. In the current study, the 'weaknesses' of MCTs in social morality and education level were frequently mentioned by informants to facilitate 'downward' social comparisons. While recognising MCTs' contribution to the HK economy, the respondents repeatedly criticised their rudeness and ignorance. Portraying MCTs as undereducated and uncivilised parvenus seems to have effectively reduced the psychological dissonance of HK residents, and placed the HK community in a better light, at least psychologically (Hong et al., 1999). Collective self-esteem and superiority were thus sustained/enhanced from downward social comparisons with the inferior/disliked others (Wills, 1981), which, in this case, are MCTs. Figure 3 depicts the mental equilibration of HK residents between the two ambivalent mentalities by a pair of scales, indicating that the HK community members have maintained their collective self-esteem and in-group identification which protect in-group boundaries and distinguish themselves from the Mainlanders.

From the preceding discussion, the direction and dimensions of SCom are mainly determined by the belief structure of individuals and in-group identification. It has been

recognised that individuals identify with social groups to meet two psychological needs: the need for inclusion and assimilation, and the need for differentiation (Brewer, 1991). The informants who identified themselves primarily as HK citizens made more downward comparisons by exaggerating the differences between MC and HKers in terms of sociocultural, education, and morality. The downward comparison strategy enabled them to safeguard/enhance the insecure, threatened superior HK identity, and further distinguish themselves from MC, who are perceived as the threatening out-group because of their rising spending power and influx (Rowen, 2016). By contrast, the informants who embraced Chinese citizenship tended to minimise intergroup differences by emphasising the similarities. For example, informants #10, 14, and 34 indicated that both Mainlanders and HKers are Chinese, belonging to the same ethnic group; therefore, the two groups should not discriminate against each other. Informant #34 further emphasised that many locals also have bad manners and exhibit uncivilised behaviours; in this regard, HKers are not that different from Mainlanders. Consequently, SCom processes added an evaluative component to the Us/Them dichotomy from the categorisation process.

The SCat–SI–SCom mechanism does not end at social comparison, because it operates like a spiralling cycle. The perceived differences and similarities generated from SCom may stimulate individuals to enter into a new round of SCat – either for affiliating to, or further distinguishing from the out-group, thereby leading to a weakened or strengthened SI. As Turner (1975) claimed, SI can only be evaluated relatively through SCom processes. For example, a feeling of shame derived from downward comparisons with MCTs stimulated a few HK respondents to differentiate themselves from MC:

> *I think they are very disrespectful. I am scared of being categorised into the same group with MCTs by foreign visitors because they may not be able to differentiate HK and MC. If so, I would feel really wronged. [#2]*

An extensive range of internal and external factors may influence the operation of the SCat–SI–SCom mechanism, such as individual belief structure (Hogg et al., 1995), socioeconomic environment, and group boundaries. However, identifying potential determinants and examining their influences are beyond the scope of this paper.

5.2 Implications and Future Research

Although this study is exploratory in nature, it offers theoretical and practical insights into resident perceptions and attitudes towards a dominant tourist group. The current study demonstrated for the first time that the overall negative attitudes of residents towards MCTs were not only determined by MCTs' misbehaviours, but also derived from the local community mentalities, social identities, and perceptions of the intergroup relationship. The proposed new concept of 'community mentality' could facilitate the transcendence of traditional resident attitude studies from the individual perspective to a collective level. As collective consciousness derives from but transcending individuals, shared mentalities inhibit the independent judgements of community members to varying degrees, thereby accounting for the collective attitudes and behaviours that the individual-based and self-reported studies cannot explain. Moreover, community mentality provides an implicit clue to understand and experience the relationship between 'self' and 'others'.

Moreover, this study revealed the psychological mechanism that underlies the formation of community mentalities and individual resident attitudes towards MCTs. The SCat–SI–SCom cycle, which was developed from SIT, can serve as a general analytical framework to understand the host–tourist relations, particularly beneficial in explaining the formation of resident mentalities and specific attitudes towards a particular tourist group. The main theoretical contribution of the current study is the use and re-interpretation of SIT, which is a relatively less

adopted socio-psychological theory in tourism studies. The findings not only clarified the psychological processes by which the host community developed attitudes and mentalities, but also integrated a series of social-psychological phenomena, including in-group superiority, relative deprivation, and intergroup comparisons, into one unifying theoretical SIT framework.

Practically, this study provided evidence to the argument that direct host–tourist contacts alone cannot reduce negative stereotypes and prejudice. Only under certain optimal conditions, such as equal status between groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and institutional support (from authorities, law, or custom), that host–tourist interactions may facilitate substantial reduction of intergroup bias and discrimination (Pettigrew, 2008). Thus, civic education should be enhanced as a long-term strategy for tourists and hosts. Respectful attitudes and civilised travel behaviours should be instilled in tourists to make them aware of cultural differences between home and destinations, and comply with social norms and customs valued by the host community. For hosts, civic education should highlight the malleability of personal/group qualities and dynamic intergroup relations to facilitate the change in the beliefs/stereotypes of residents towards the dominant tourist group (Hong et al., 1999). As informant #27 indicated, sticking to in-group identification and favouritism could severely hamper intergroup communications:

> *When I travel to a destination purely as a tourist, without the burden of an HK identity, I have open and free chats with MCTs. During my last trip to Turkey, I talked with many MCTs of various backgrounds. Sometimes we can discuss sensitive topics peacefully… My attitudes towards MCTs have changed… all because I had positive communications with them in overseas trips.*

Although this study has generated novel insights into host–tourist relations, several inherent limitations of qualitative research are observed. For example, the sample of this study over-represents the young and highly educated HK residents, and those with high income.

Subsequent empirical studies should ensure population representativeness. Additionally, the findings, which were drawn from a limited number of respondents in a single destination, and towards a particular group of tourists, may not be generalised to other host communities and other tourist groups. Future research should adopt a quantitative approach to systematically test the conceptual model proposed by this study by using a large sample to validate the findings. Future studies could also include other influential factors on the psychological mechanism that underlies resident attitude and mentality formation, such as values, cultural distance and environmental determinants. Meaningful empirical results are expected from longitudinal and comparative studies on resident attitudes towards a specific tourist group, such as MCTs, to improve the stability and generalisability of the proposed model.

REFERENCES

Abrahams, R. (2015). Tourism and the reconfiguration of host group identities: A case study of ethnic tourism in rural Guangxi, China. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 13*(1), 39-55.

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (2004). Metatheory: Lessons from social identity research. *Personality & Social Psychology Review, 8*(2), 98-106.

Almeida-García, F., Peláez-Fernández, M. Á., Balbuena-Vázquez, A., & Cortés-Macias, R. (2016). Residents' perceptions of tourism development in Benalmádena (Spain). *Tourism Management, 54*, 259-274.

Ap, J. (1992). Residents' perceptions on tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*(4), 665-690.

Breckler, S. J. (1984). Empirical validation of affect, behaviour, and cognition as distinct components of attitude. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47*(6), 1191-1205.

Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*(5), 475-482.

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*(3), 429-444.

Brunt, P., & Courtney, P. (1999). Host perceptions of sociocultural impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(3), 493-515.

Cao, B., Chen, Z., Huang, Y., & Lo, W. H. (2014). Conflict between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kongers: A social identity perspective in explaining the hostile media phenomenon and the third-person effect. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies, 3*(2), 225-240.

Chiu, C.-y., & Hong, Y.-y. (1999). Social identification in a political transition: the role of implicit beliefs. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23*(2), 297-318.

Decrop, A. (1999). Triangulation in qualitative tourism research. *Tourism Management, 20*(1), 157-161.

Deery, M., Jago, L., & Fredline, L. (2012). Rethinking social impacts of tourism research: A new research agenda. *Tourism Management, 33*(1), 64-73.

Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative data analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. Routledge: London.

Elejabarrieta, F. (1994). Social positioning: a way to link social identity and social representations. *Social Science Information, 33*(2), 241-253.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 62*(1), 107-115.

Evans-Pritchard, D. (1989). How “they” see “us”: Native American images of tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*(1), 89-105.

Fredline, E., & Faulkner, B. (2000). Host community reactions: A cluster analysis. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(3), 763-784.

Gieling, J., & Ong, C.-E. (2016). Warfare tourism experiences and national identity: The case of Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' in Oosterbeek, the Netherlands. *Tourism Management, 57*, 45-55.

Griffiths, I., & Sharpley, R. (2012). Influences of nationalism on tourist-host relationships. *Annals of Tourism Research, 39*(4), 2051-2072.

Guan, Y., Deng, H., & Bond, M. H. (2010). Examining Stereotype Content Model in a Chinese context: Inter-group structural relations and Mainland Chinese's stereotypes toward Hong Kong Chinese. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 34*(4), 393-399.

Gursoy, D., & Rutherford, D. G. (2004). Host attitudes toward tourism: An Improved Structural Model. *Annals of Tourism Research, 31*(3), 495-516.

Hogg, M. A. (2006). Social identity theory. In P. J. Burke (Ed.), *Contemporary social psychological theories* (pp. 111-136). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Hogg, M. A., Terry, D. J., & White, K. M. (1995). A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 58*(4), 255-269.

Hong, Y.-y., Chiu, C.-y., Yeung, G., & Tong, Y.-y. (1999). Social comparison during political transition: Interaction of entity versus incremental beliefs and social identities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23*(2), 257-279.

Hong Kong Tourism Board (2017). *A Statistical Review of Hong Kong Tourism 2015*. Retrieved August 29, 2016 from http://securepartnernet.hktb.com/filemanager/intranet/dept_info/private_20/paper/Stat-Review/StatReview2015/Statistical_Review_2015_0.pdf

Hoorens, V. (1995). Self-favoring biases, self-presentation, and the self-other asymmetry in social comparison. *Journal of Personality, 63*(4), 793-817.

Hornsey, M. J. (2008). Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 2*(1), 204-222.

Hsu, C. H. C., & Huang, S. (2016). Reconfiguring Chinese cultural values and their tourism implications. *Tourism Management, 54*, 230-242.

Huang, S., & Hsu, C. H. C. (2005). Mainland Chinese residents' perceptions and motivations of visiting Hong Kong: Evidence from focus group interviews. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 10*(2), 191-205.

Jennings, G. R. (2005). Interviewing: A focus on qualitative techniques. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice* (pp. 99-117). UK: CABI.

Kawakami, K., & Dion, K. L. (1995). Social identity and affect as determinants of collective action: Toward an integration of relative deprivation and social identity theories. *Theory & Psychology, 5*(4), 551-577.

Keating, B. W., Huang, S., Kriz, A., & Heung, V. (2015). A systematic review of the Chinese outbound tourism literature: 1983–2012. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 32*(1-2), 2-17.

Kim, S. S., Guo, Y., & Agrusa, J. (2005). Preference and positioning analyses of overseas destinations by Mainland Chinese outbound pleasure tourists. *Journal of Travel Research, 44*(2), 212-220.

Kunda, Z., & Spencer, S. J. (2003). When do stereotypes come to mind and when do they color judgment? A goal-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*(4), 522-544.

Lee, S., Jeon, S., & Kim, D. (2011). The impact of tour quality and tourist satisfaction on tourist loyalty: The case of Chinese tourists in Korea. *Tourism Management, 32*(5), 1115-1124.

Liotti, G., & Gilbert, P. (2011). Mentalizing, motivation, and social mentalities: Theoretical considerations and implications for psychotherapy. *Psychology and Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice, 84*(1), 9-25.

Loi, K. I., & Pearce, P. L. (2015). Exploring perceived tensions arising from tourist behaviors in a Chinese context. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 32*(1-2), 65-79.

Luo, X., Brown, G., & Huang, S. (2015). Host perceptions of backpackers: Examining the influence of intergroup contact. *Tourism Management, 50*, 292-305.

McGehee, N. G., & Andereck, K. L. (2004). Factors predicting rural residents' support of tourism. *Journal of Travel Research, 43*(2), 131-140.

Möhwald, U. (2004). Values and social mentality. In J. Kreiner, U. Möhwald, & H. D. Ölschleger (Eds.), *Modern Japanese Society* (Vol. 9, pp. 387-416). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Monterrubio, C. (2016). The impact of spring break behaviour: An integrated threat theory analysis of residents' prejudice. *Tourism Management, 54*, 418-427.

Moufakkir, O. (2015). The stigmatized tourist. *Annals of Tourism Research, 53*, 17-30.

Nunkoo, R., & Gursoy, D. (2012). Residents' support for tourism: An identity perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research, 39*(1), 243-268.

Nunkoo, R., Gursoy, D., & Juwaheer, T. D. (2010). Island residents' identities and their support for tourism: An integration of two theories. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 18*(5), 675-693.

Pearce, P. L., G. Moscardo, and G. F. Ross (1996). *Tourism community relationships.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Perdue, C. W., Dovidio, J. F., Gurtman, M. B., & Tyler, R. B. (1990). Us and them: Social categorization and the process of intergroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(3), 475-486.

Pettigrew, T. F. (2008). Future directions for intergroup contact theory and research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32*(3), 187-199.

Pizam, A., Uriely, N., & Reichel, A. (2000). The intensity of tourist–host social relationship and its effects on satisfaction and change of attitudes: the case of working tourists in Israel. *Tourism Management, 21*(4), 395-406.

Poppe, E., & Linssen, H. (1999). In-group favouritism and the reflection of realistic dimensions of difference between national states in Central and Eastern European nationality stereotypes. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 38*(1), 85-102.

Prendergast, G. P., Lam, H. S., & Ki, Y. P. (2016). Local residents' perceptions of an influx of tourists: A Hong Kong case study. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 1-11.

Rowen, I. (2016). The geopolitics of tourism: Mobilities, territory, and protest in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 106*(2), 385-393.

Schaller, M., & Maass, A. (1989). Illusory correlation and social categorization: Toward an integration of motivational and cognitive factors in stereotype formation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*(5), 709-721.

Sharpley, R. (2014). Host perceptions of tourism: A review of the research. *Tourism Management, 42*, 37-49.

Shipway, R., & Jones, I. (2007). Running away from home: understanding visitor experiences and behaviour at sport tourism events. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 9*(5), 373-383.

Siu, G., Lee, L. Y. S., & Leung, D. (2013). Residents' perceptions toward the "Chinese tourists' wave" in Hong Kong: An exploratory study. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 18*(5), 446-463.

Smith, H. J., Pettigrew, T. F., Pippin, G. M., & Bialosiewicz, S. (2012). Relative Deprivation: A Theoretical and Meta-Analytic Review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16*(3), 203-232.

Song, H., Li, G., van der Veen, R., & Chen, J. L. (2011). Assessing mainland Chinese tourists' satisfaction with Hong Kong using tourist satisfaction index. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 13*(1), 82-96.

Sparks, B., & Pan, G. W. (2009). Chinese outbound tourists: Understanding their attitudes, constraints and use of information sources. *Tourism Management, 30*(4), 483-494.

Stets, J. E., & Biga, C. F. (2003). Bringing identity theory into environmental sociology. *Sociological Theory, 21*(4), 398-423.

Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 63*(3), 224-237.

Suess, C., & Mody, M. (2016). Gaming can be sustainable too! Using Social Representation Theory to examine the moderating effects of tourism diversification on residents' tax paying behavior. *Tourism Management, 56*, 20-39.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations *Annual Review of Psychology, 33*(1), 1-39.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Turner, J. C. (1975). Social comparison and social identity: Some prospects for intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 5*(1), 1-34.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Ward, C., & Berno, T. (2011). Beyond social exchange theory: Attitudes toward tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(4), 1556-1569.

Wills, T. A. (1981). Downward comparison principles in social psychology. *Psychological Bulletin, 90*(2), 245-271.

Wong, I. A., & Rosenbaum, M. S. (2012). Beyond hardcore gambling: Understanding why Mainland Chinese visit casinos in Macau. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research, 36*(1), 32-51.

Wood, J. V. (1989). Theory and research concerning social comparisons of personal attributes. *Psychological Bulletin, 106*(2), 231-248.

Woosnam, K. M. (2011). Testing a model of Durkheim's Theory of Emotional Solidarity among residents of a tourism community. *Journal of Travel Research, 50*(5), 546-558.

Ye, B. H., Zhang, H. Q., Shen, J. H., & Goh, C. (2014). Does social identity affect residents' attitude toward tourism development?: An evidence from the relaxation of the individual visit scheme. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 26*(6), 907-929.

Yoon, Y., Gursoy, D., & Chen, J. S. (1999). An investigation of the relationship between tourism impacts and host communities' characteristics. *Anatolia, 10*(1), 29-44.

Yoon, Y., Gursoy, D., & Chen, J. S. (2001). Validating a tourism development theory with structural equation modeling. *Tourism Management, 22*(4), 363-372.

Zhang, J., Inbakaran, R. J., & Jackson, M. S. (2006). Understanding community attitudes toward tourism and host—guest interaction in the urban—rural border region. *Tourism Geographies, 8*(2), 182-204.

Zhang, Q. H., & Lam, T. (1999). An analysis of Mainland Chinese visitors' motivations to visit Hong Kong. *Tourism Management, 20*(5), 587-594.

Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Main Interview Questions	Research Objectives
[1] Would you please use three words/phrases to describe MCTs, and explain the reasons? ➢ *Probing Q:* Are MCTs different from tourists from other countries? If yes, how so?	1
[2] Would you please recall and describe your own experiences, if any, of direct interactions with MCTs?	2 and 3
[3] Please indicate your overall feeling of MCTs and explain the reasons.	1 and 2
[4] What are the positive and negative impacts that MCTs have brought to your life and the HK society? ➢ *Probing Q*: How do you describe the economic situation of HK residents compared with that of MCTs?	2 and 3
[5] How much do you want to interact with MCTs in the future? Why?	1

Appendix 2

Profile of Interviewees

No.	Gender	Age	Years of Residency	Reported Citizenship	Education level	Monthly Household Income (HK$)	Employment Industry	Residential Area	Overall Attitude
1	Male	58	58	HKer	High School	60,000–69,999	Management	Non-tourist	Neutral
2	Female	27	27	HKer	Undergraduate	60,000–69,999	Marketing	Non-tourist	Negative
3	Male	31	31	HKer	Undergraduate	20,000–29,999	Banking	Non-tourist	Neutral
4	Female	30	30	HKer	Undergraduate	30,000–39,999	Hotel	Non-tourist	Negative
5	Female	30	30	Chinese	Undergraduate	40,000–49,999	Hotel	Non-tourist	Negative
6	Male	32	32	HKer	Undergraduate	70,000 or above	Marketing	Non-tourist	Neutral
7	Female	60	60	HKer	Primary School	50,000–59,999	Housewife	Non-tourist	Positive
8	Male	63	63	HKer	High School	50,000–59,999	Accounting	Non-tourist	Positive
9	Female	55	55	HKer	Primary School	60,000–69,999	Housewife	Non-tourist	Negative
10	Female	25	21	Chinese	Undergraduate	30,000–39,999	Marketing	Tourist	Neutral
11	Female	25	15	Chinese	Undergraduate	60,000–69,999	Marketing	Tourist	Neutral
12	Female	26	26	HKer	Undergraduate	50,000–59,999	Garment	Non-tourist	Neutral
13	Male	38	30	Chinese	Undergraduate	70,000 or above	Construction	Non-tourist	Neutral
14	Male	32	32	Chinese	Undergraduate	70,000 or above	Construction	Non-tourist	Negative
15	Female	26	26	HKer	Postgraduate	40,000–49,999	Garment	Non-tourist	Negative
16	Female	26	26	Chinese	Undergraduate	30,000–39,999	Retail	Non-tourist	Negative
17	Female	27	27	HKer	Undergraduate	40,000–49,999	Civil Servant	Non-tourist	Negative
18	Male	34	34	HKer	Undergraduate	40,000–49,999	Civil Servant	Non-tourist	Negative

19	Female	28	28	HKer	Undergraduate	50,000–59,999	Education	Non-tourist	Negative
20	Female	26	26	HKer	Undergraduate	70,000 or above	NGO	Tourist	Negative
21	Female	28	28	HKer	Undergraduate	40,000–49,999	Administration	Non-tourist	Negative
22	Male	33	33	HKer	Undergraduate	60,000–69,999	Science	Non-tourist	Neutral
23	Female	32	32	HKer	Postgraduate	70,000 or above	Social Welfare	Non-tourist	Negative
24	Male	34	34	HKer	Postgraduate	30,000–39,999	Education	Tourist	Neutral
25	Female	25	25	HKer	Undergraduate	70,000 or above	Research	Tourist	Positive
26	Female	24	24	HKer	Undergraduate	50,000–59,999	Trading	Non-tourist	Negative
27	Male	25	25	HKer	Associate Degree	50,000–59,999	Tourism	Tourist	Negative
28	Male	22	22	HKer	Associate Degree	9,999 or below	Hotel	Non-tourist	Negative
29	Female	49	49	HKer	High School	20,000–29,999	Insurance	Non-tourist	Negative
30	Male	42	42	HKer	Associate Degree	20,000–29,999	IT	Non-tourist	Neutral
31	Male	62	62	Chinese	Some High School	10,000–19,999	Retired	Non-tourist	Negative
32	Female	59	43	Chinese	Some High School	10,000–19,999	Retired	Non-tourist	Neutral
33	Female	46	46	Chinese	Some High School	10,000–19,999	Accounting	Non-tourist	Negative
34	Female	50	50	Chinese	Some High School	20,000–29,999	Accounting	Non-tourist	Positive
35	Female	44	17	Chinese	High School	30,000–39,999	Bakery	Non-tourist	Neutral
36	Female	50	50	Chinese	High School	10,000–19,999	Clothing	Non-tourist	Negative
37	Male	43	30	Chinese	Junior High School	30,000–39,999	Car Maintenance	Non-tourist	Neutral
38	Female	40	40	Chinese	Some High School	10,000–19,999	Housewife	Non-tourist	Neutral
39	Male	42	27	HKer	Undergraduate	30,000–39,999	Retail	Non-tourist	Neutral

Note: Interviewees were numbered in the order of the actual interviews conducted.