ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Tourism Management Perspectives

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/tmp



Local cultural vicissitudes in regional tourism development: A case of Zhuhai



Liang Jingyi, Chan Chung-Shing*

Department of Geography and Resource Management, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Sha Tin, N.T., Hong Kong

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Behavioural culture Local cultural vicissitudes Material culture Spiritual culture Zhuhai

ABSTRACT

This study describes the multi-dimensional cultural impacts of tourism development in Zhuhai. In terms of material, behavioural and spiritual cultural changes, the results reveal the factors and causes of local cultural vicissitudes through a survey of local residents and interviews with stakeholders from the government, practitioners and the locals. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's cultural vicissitudes theory, the study proposes a conceptual framework in order to explain the relationship between political power, tourism development, foreign cultural break-in and local cultural changes. The framework was modified based on the empirical results in Zhuhai. A number of recommendations for cultural preservation and tourism development are provided in response to the observed roles, power and resource allocation among social groups.

1. Introduction

Culture is a complicated system that reflects the human mind, behaviour and the social environment. Local culture is the accumulation of the characteristics and spirit of local people after long-term development within a certain geographical area, which represents the standard means of differentiating one culture from another (Li, 2013). Local culture can be divided into three basic categories: material, behavioural and spiritual culture (Ding, 2007; Yao & Zhao, 2008). These facets of culture are subject to cultural vicissitude, which is the process of cultural change due to the inner development of a society and the interactions with other social groups. The impact and local reaction of such cultural interaction is determined by socio-demographic characteristics such as residence and occupation (Zhou, Zeng, & Zhou, 2011). In China, the Pearl River Delta is one of the areas undergoing vigorous cultural changes due to its tourism development in recent years.

As one of the main coastal economic zones in China, the Greater Pearl River Delta (GPRD) region has been regarded as an integrative developing area since 2008, when the regional tourism plan and the local development plan for Hengqin district in Zhuhai were issued by the national government. Bao and Zhu (1999) pointed out that destinations in the Pearl River Delta region require the promotion of westernization, aiming to catch up with the opportunities of cross-border cooperation. In terms of tourism strategies, Liu, Zhang, and Qiao (2007) emphasized that the main goal of tourism development in the GPRD was to establish an inter-governmental and multi-agency participation mode, which indicated that governmental cooperation would be the

main strategy for tourism integration. Moreover, the 'dot-axis' mode, which referred to the cooperation of two or three cities, helped connect different tourism destinations within the region and explore their opportunities for cultural interactions (Xu, 2012).

Regarding cultural tourism development, three main trends in the GPRD have been prominent: the combination of tourism and leisure culture, development of cultural tourism products, and cultural marketing (Liu, 2005). Thus, building a foundation of mutual acceptance will be the main theme of cultural vicissitudes in the area (Liu, 2010). Zhuhai has been greatly involved in regional changes after the government issued a new tourism plan for Hengqin district in 2009. This local policy aimed at improving cooperation between the GPRD and two special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macau) by promoting integrative tourism routes, branding new theme parks and improving the intercity transportation system. Moreover, the local culture also absorbs western elements, such as modernization and standardization (Zhao, 2010). Zhuhai plans to promote high-quality tourism products while diversifying the variety of tourism activities regionally (Bao, Zhu, & Chen, 1999; Liu, 2012; Xu & Xiang, 2007). Thus, Zhuhai has served as an intermediary destination in the GPRD, and its local culture can be easily influenced by other cities (Jiang, 2010).

Following the rationale and the theoretical basis of the cultural vicissitudes, tourism development in Zhuhai under the GPRD regional planning is a 'field' of cultural change. There are three main groups of local 'actors' who are competitors for capitals in the socio-economic arena of tourism development. They are stakeholders in regional tourism and actors in cultural change. Firstly, government and social

E-mail address: ccs_johnson@cuhk.edu.hk (C.-S. Chan).

^{*} Corresponding author.

elites are rule makers and implementers with the strongest political power, economic capital and social capital. Secondly, local tourism enterprises pay attention to economic return, social capital and social position. Lastly, local residents also compete for the right to a decent standard of living and self-development. Whereas these local residents in Zhuhai have been highly affected by such circumstance, they were largely undermined in the arena of tourism stakeholders both locally and regionally. Local reaction to cultural vicissitudes is yet well studied in China (Tang, 2014).

This paper presents the changes in local culture in regional tourism development, and explains the process and factors of cultural vicissitudes in the case of Zhuhai, based on the study of local perception. The research findings will propose a modified framework for studying cultural impacts of tourism, which considers the influential factors of political power and stakeholder participation. The study covers both the cultural impacts of tourists and the influence of tourism policies, which are of great importance to local cultural change but have not been studied in the context of China, especially the fast-developing GPRD region. Theoretically, this study applies Pierre Bourdieu's cultural vicissitudes theory to investigate the process and factors of cultural change by considering different influences from sociological and philosophical perspectives (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989). This research combines a quantitative analysis of local residents through questionnaire-based survey and qualitative in-depth interviews with representatives of the public sector, tourism practitioners and local residents or community leaders who are stakeholders in tourism development.

Empirically, this study examines local cultural changes in Zhuhai in terms of material, behavioural and spiritual aspects, while identifying the socio-demographic determinants to cultural vicissitudes across different social groups. The results will characterize the changing local culture and raise the awareness of cultural protection in the region. This study aims at discussing different reactions to cultural changes between social groups, and finding out the reasons and tendency of local culture vicissitude in Zhuhai.

2. Literature review

Wall (1996) pointed out that research about tourism impacts should evolve from 'impacts' to 'changes'. Currently, the scholarly discussions about tourism influences on local society have gradually moved from the study of phenomena to analyses of the mechanism of process and underlying factors (Sun & Ma, 2009). According to Liu (1999), the most widely applied theories of socio-cultural impact of tourism were the acculturation theory, social exchange theory, Doxey's irritation theory and Butler's tourist area life cycle. However, scholars began to notice the usefulness of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural vicissitudes theory that explains the essential factors of cultural change in tourism development, which regards culture as a continuous process of production and reproduction within vicissitudes (Zong, 2002).

2.1. Pierre Bourdieu's cultural reproduction and vicissitudes theory

According to Pierre Bourdieu, culture is the result of human creativity and adaption to social change. Firstly, culture achieves self-balance through continuous reproduction, while dominating interest groups claim their power through politic control on local culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Secondly, the culture being reproduced is not changeless. Conversely, it is the outcome of interactions between social elements such as time and space (Zong & Dai, 2005). Moreover, Bourdieu emphasized the dialectical relationship between individuals and cultural change. Culture also significantly influences an individual who acts as the carrier of cultural behaviour (Zong, 2002).

Through analyzing the relationship between individuals, social groups and material environments, Bourdieu's cultural reproduction and vicissitudes theory explained local cultural changes or reactions to

the competition among different social elements in an environment. Bourdieu introduced three main concepts in the understanding of cultural vicissitude: 'habitus', referring to an individual or a group's actions and disposition, 'capital', concerning class distinction, and 'field', which signifies a systematic structure where all the social elements interact and compete with each other (Bourdieu, 1971, 1980). Socialized individuals are 'actors' of social practice whose actions have a tendency to follow social rules and social structure (Bourdieu, 1980). However, the actions of actors are not only compliant with regulations, but also the result of incidental opportunities and the judgment of individuals' or societal interests with a degree of flexibility (Grenfell, 2012).

Habitus can be understood as a property of actors that is 'structured' by an objective environment while it is 'structuring' when actors' dispositions and choices shape their actions (Bourdieu, 1994). This 'structure' comprises a system of dispositions which helps to form perceptions and practices (Bourdieu, 1990). Habitus is group-based, consistent and integral to social practices, leading to social behaviour through its influence on language, communication, interest, value system and logic (Swartz, 1997).

The group-based nature of habitus implies a tendency to social class distinction, decided by 'capital' as a form of power or authority of decision-making of each individual in the society, which is defined as a substantial sum of resources in networks (Bourdieu, 1986). This is termed as social capital, which is affected by the characteristics of income, educational level, place of residence, occupation etc. (Bao, 1997; Park, Lee, Choi, & Yoon, 2012). Thus, the practice of human beings is both the cause and result of social structure. Communities and economic development need different combinations of types of capital (Flora, 2004). Integrating these three building blocks of cultural vicissitude, Bourdieu (1984) created an equation of cultural practice, which is a function of 'habitus', 'capital' and 'field' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989, 1992):

[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice

According to Bourdieu's equation, practices are the result of 'an obscure and double relation' or 'an unconscious relationship' between a habitus and a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). One's practice results from relationships between one's disposition (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989). Thus, the cultural practices of an individual or a group should not be explained merely as the result of habitus, it is the product of interactions between habitus and objective circumstances. In general, the notions of cultural reproduction and vicissitudes are new to tourism research, especially regarding tourism development as a changing cultural 'field', as well as discussion of the internal mechanism (Zong, 2002). At the same time, this theory also provided a sociological perspective in analyzing the factors of the cultural impact of tourism.

2.2. Studies on the cultural impact of tourism

Contemporary studies on the cultural impacts of tourism can be grouped into two main types based on their analytical approaches and research outcomes: studies on phenomena of cultural impacts, and studies on process and factors of cultural impacts. Research about sociocultural impact of tourism in China also showed a similar pattern since more diversified research approaches emerged in the 1980s (Zong & Zhu, 2004).

Yao and Zhao (2008) classified cultural impacts on tourism destinations into material, behavioural and spiritual culture, whereas Chen (2014) proposed a classification of the impacts on material, institutional and spiritual aspects (Table 1). However, these two groups of proponents held different foci of conceptualization in each type of culture. Yao and Zhao (2008) had a more ideological focus in the process of urban development, particularly in material and spiritual cultural forms, but Chen (2014) suggested a more explicit and visible

Table 1 Cultural types in Yao and Zhao (2008) and Chen (2014)

Author		Categories of cultural impact of tourism
Yao and Zhao (2008)	Material culture	Urbanization, social loss, commercialization, community development, social welfare
	Behavioural culture	Dress, architecture, language, diet
	Spiritual culture	Family system, value system, moral norm, religious beliefs, traditional customs, economic concepts
Chen (2014)	Material culture Institutional culture Spiritual culture	Production, dress, food, habitation, traffic Education, taboos, life and death, festival, etiquette, marriage and child-rearing Language, literature and art, beliefs

representation of culture in daily life (e.g., dress, food, traffic, language). Despite such divergence, local culture overall should provide various kinds of life resources and a living/material environment, social institutions, and spiritual/psychological elements such as concepts, value systems and ethnic characteristics. Some scholars focused on specific aspects of local culture, such as female social status, local participation and a sense of belonging (Sun, 2005, 2010), public hygiene (Xiao, Guo, & Tang, 2007), traditional craftworks (Zhou & Wu, 2004) and staged performance (Zhang, 2004).

Researchers also paid attention to the process and factors generating cultural impacts from tourism. Although economic impacts of tourism did not necessarily change the essence of local culture (Cohen, 1988), tourists still entered the authentic life of local society (Goffman, 1959). As tourism acts as an effective channel of intercultural communication, acculturation is the most frequent explanation to cultural vicissitudes (Xie, Zhong, Chen, & Yuan, 2006). Acculturation occurred when cultures mingle and merge, some cultural aspects would tend to adapt, adjust and fit to each other (Herskovits, 1938; Xie et al., 2006). Thus, acculturation is a long-lived phenomenon that represents the unequal interaction in tourism activities between foreign and local culture. Moreover, tourists are usually the major carriers and agents of acculturation (Theron & Nunez, 1963).

To study the 'give-and-take' interactions between tourists and local residents, Sun and Ma (2009) proposed a research framework for the cultural impact of tourism by emphasizing that tourism activities affect local culture through the intrusion of foreign culture, economic advantages and the demand for material environment. However, regarding cultural vicissitudes as a changing 'field', Kane (2010) pointed out that individuals of distinction, who were usually the most influential actors with a recognized point of view such as the tourism development authorities, had the strongest determining power of decision-making as they were the cultural 'taste-makers' or cultural policy planners. Thus, in the process of local cultural reproduction and vicissitudes, tourists and the 'taste-makers' were considered the most influential stakeholders.

Although policies and social elites played significant roles in local cultural vicissitudes in the context of tourism development, most of the previous studies failed to link tourists with the political aspect in understanding the cultural impact of tourism. Main factors that affect cultural impacts in the previous studies included residents' share of the tourism industry, the attitude and motivation of residents, the benefits residents gain from tourism, and residents' demographic characteristics (Tang, 2014). In the case of China, researchers seldom discussed the inner relationships between tourism industry and social elements, such as social capital and individual behaviour. This study, therefore, addresses the research gap of this linkage in regional tourism development based on Bourdieu's (1977) cultural reproduction and vicissitude theory, and formulates a conceptual framework in Fig. 1.

Based on the abovementioned theoretical constructs of cultural vicissitudes, several dispositions are suggested in Fig. 1. Firstly, tourists

have long been regarded as the core carriers of intercultural communication in tourism (Tang, 2014). Tourists with heterogeneous cultures formed a main force of local cultural change. Secondly, as culture has been used as a carrier for economic development and an ideal outcome of policy initiatives, the habitus and capital structure within a field will be influenced consequently. This changes cultural concepts as well as human behaviour and results in cultural vicissitude (Wu, 2006).

These two main forces of local cultural vicissitudes change the relationship between the tourism industry and the political field, and thus help create the affiliation positions between them. In this macro environment, the tourism industry is a developing field with its changing capital structure and social group distinction, which indicates that different actors in the tourism industry should have had their own resources for social competition. Under the driving forces of tourists and policies, habitus changes within related social groups, such as local residents and tourism practitioners, will be represented in forms of material, behavioural and spiritual culture. Ultimately, local culture will gradually evolve because of the changes in the three blocks of local culture.

3. Methods

3.1. Study areas

Three districts in Zhuhai were selected as the study area, including Xiangzhou district, Jinwan district and Doumen district. They differ in economic and tourism development levels, and each of them performs different functions for the city. Xiangzhou district is the economic, political and cultural centre with the highest district-based Gross Domestic Products. Tourism activities in Xiangzhou district are intensive and diversified due to years of urban development. Jinwan district is the main industrial and agricultural area in Zhuhai, where most of the light industries and local farms are located. Jinwan district also has abundant tourism resources, such as beaches, islands and hot springs. Doumen district is an important regional transport hub where most of the ports and highways are located. This district is a well-known resource supplier of Zhuhai.

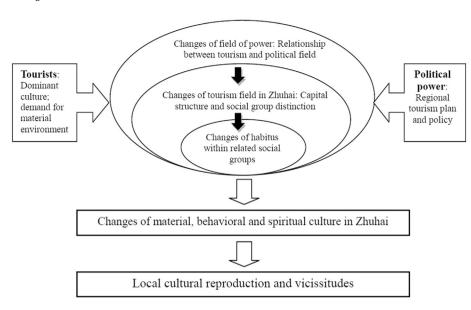
3.2. Research design

This study undertakes both quantitative (structured survey by questionnaires) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews) research approaches. The quantitative approach aimed at revealing the performances of cultural changes while the qualitative interviews further explained its occurrence in Zhuhai.

The questionnaire structure consisted of two main parts. The first part investigated respondents' perception of different types of cultural change, while the second part collected the socio-demographic information of the respondents. Compared to Chen's (2014) study, cultural variables in Yao and Zhao's (2008) research are more suitable for studying cultural change in a modern city as it takes vital factors such as urbanization and economic concepts into consideration. Therefore, based on the research by Yao and Zhao (2008), variables of cultural classification in Zhuhai were created in terms of spiritual, behavioural and material culture (Table 2). Each dependent variable was measured on a 5-point Likert scale by survey respondents when considering their perceptions of cultural change after the regional and local tourism development plan was implemented by the government in 2008. Before starting structured survey by each respondent, the researcher screened them by a leading question to identify those who knew about the tourism plan in 2008. Apart from the cultural change variables, there were questions to ascertain the levels of awareness of regional and local

Qualitative in-depth interviews with selected individuals or representatives of the 'actors' were designed to gather the information needed in the conceptual framework. Open-ended questions started

Fig. 1. Conceptual framework of this study.



with a number of leading questions, which were followed by detailed questions designed purposively and were related to specific types of interviewees. These questions aimed at understanding different stakeholders' points of view on the interrelationship between tourism activities, policies and local cultural changes. Three facets of questions were included: (1) attitudes towards policies and new cultural environments, (2) reactions and their reasons for the changing environment, and (3) factors leading to local cultural vicissitudes or changing cultural practices. This part of responses supplement detailed information for the more generalized survey.

3.3. Data collection

Based on the theoretical foundation, the government and local residents are the dominant actors in local cultural vicissitudes; whereas Wang and Sun (2001) suggested that local residents and tourism practitioners should be the main receivers of cultural impacts. The samples of both the survey and in-depth interviews in this study therefore covered representatives in tourism authority, tourism-related

practitioners and local residents in Zhuhai. The method of cluster sampling was used in the data collection process based on respondents' locations of residence in Zhuhai, including Xiangzhou, Doumen and Jinwan districts.

Samples in each cluster were randomly selected at the locations in each district based on criteria of age range, education level, years of residence and monthly income. Respondents were interviewed face-to-face at each sample-collecting site, which was chosen according to its daily flow rate of local residents as well as its distance to local communities (main residential area and streets). Interviews were conducted in rush hours as when it was the most suitable time for collecting respondents of varied backgrounds. In addition, the proportion of samples in Xiangzhou district was larger than the other two districts, as Xiangzhou district has the largest population with main economic and cultural centralized areas. Each cluster covered no less than 60 samples. 400 questionnaires in total were delivered to different sample clusters in the three districts in Zhuhai, of which 366 were collected (response rate of 91.5%) and 309 questionnaires were found to have been completed (effective rate of 84.4%). The samples in the three districts were

Table 2
Questionnaire structure of quantitative research.
Adapted from Yao and Zhao (2008).

Independent variables	Dependent variable	s		Justification of dependent variables		
Age, gender, location of residence, education, years of residence, monthly	Changes of spiritual culture	Economic concept	- Consumption - Investment	Refers to the ways in which residents use and manage their assets and funds		
income, occupation	(S)	Ethic	Moral normSelf-interest	Represents the standards of judging human behaviour		
		Traditional customs	EtiquetteHedonism	Describes the changes in local civilization		
	Changes of behavio	oural culture (B)	Dress	Signifies the material carrier of social and historical changes		
			Language	Refers to the communicative tool of human society that reacts to cultural interactions		
			Diet	Reflects the changes in local food and eating habits		
	Changes of material culture	Urbanization	- Entertainment facilities	Indicate changing entertainment facilities and transportation systems as the two main changes brought		
	(M)		- Transportation - Employment - Density of population	about by tourism development		
		Commercialization	- Price level - Variety of commodities	Reflects the levels of economic development regarding price levels, variety of commodities		
		Community	- Income level - Land price	Mainly articulates the living standard of local residents due to tourism development; land price is one of the main indicators		

Table 3 Means of the variables of cultural changes (n = 309).

Cultural change	Category	Variable (overall mean = 3.39)	Mean	Standard deviations
Changes of	Economic concept	Consumption	3.23	0.899
spiritual	(m = 3.21)	Investment	3.19	0.925
culture	Ethic $(m = 3.06)$	Moral norm	3.12	1.119
(m = 3.25)		Self-interest	3.00	1.041
	Traditional customs	Etiquette	3.64	0.959
	(m = 3.48)	Hedonism	3.31	1.029
Changes of behav	vioural culture	Dress	3.12	0.992
(m = 3.12)		Language	3.32	1.021
		Diet	2.92	1.035
Changes of	Urbanization:	Entertainment	3.81	1.003
material	(m = 3.66)	facilities		
culture		Transportation	3.64	0.978
(m = 3.59)		Employment	3.48	0.989
		Density of	3.69	0.882
		population		
	Commercialization:	Price level	3.69	0.981
	(m = 3.63)	Variety of	3.56	0.926
		commodities		
	Community:	Income level	2.99	1.061
	(m = 3.43)	Land price	3.87	0.994

combined in the analysis to represent an overall perception of the local residents in Zhuhai.

Interviewees of qualitative in-depth interviews were selected by a purposive sampling method. They were selected through direct contact to the relevant government office, random invitations sent to the available local tourism practitioners, and approach to representatives of local residents who were either the survey respondents or referred by some respondents as active community leaders. Participation in the study was voluntary so the researchers had not manipulated the selection of interviewees. A total of eight interviewees took part in the indepth interview, including one government representative (coded as G1), three tourism or related practitioners (coded as T1, T2, T3) and four representatives of local residents (coded as R1, R2, R3, R4). All of these selected interviewees have lived in Zhuhai for at least 15 years and are therefore believed to have a comprehensive understanding of history, urban development and local culture in the region. In particular, the government representative worked for Zhuhai Tourism Association; the selected tourism practitioners were managers or owners of travel agencies; the representatives of local residents were chosen based on varied socio-demographic characteristics such as age. educational level and occupation. Details of these interviewees are depicted in Appendix A.

3.4. Data analysis

IBM SPSS Statistics 22.0 was the primary tool of data analysis as it provided statistical applications that helped verify the relationship between (independent) demographic or socio-economic variables and (dependent) cultural change variables. Three methods of data analysis were carried out. Firstly, descriptive statistics provided a basic descriptive summary of respondents' demographic and socio-economic characteristics such as gender, age, years of residence. Mean scores described the degree of cultural change in Zhuhai, indicated by three areas of culture as mentioned earlier. Secondly, a Chi-square test compared the perceived cultural changes between social groups determined by their demographic characteristics. Thirdly, Spearman correlation analysis verified the presence of correlation between different types of cultural variables. This test identified if there was an interrelationship between material, behavioural and spiritual cultural changes. In addition, this analysis was able to confirm the presence of the relationship between the awareness of policies and the respective cultural changes.

For the in-depth interviews with stakeholders, a qualitative analytical method using comparative content analysis between each group of interviewees was conducted, which aimed at revealing their attitudes towards tourism development and the opinions about local cultural changes in Zhuhai. The researcher undertook a two-step process; firstly, recording and summarizing the textual responses of the interviewees, interpreting their opinions about tourism cultural impacts, and secondly, comparing the views of three groups of interviewees in order to reveal different determining factors to cultural change.

4. Results

The gender distribution of the respondents was relatively balanced between male (44.3%) and female (55.7%). The majority of ages ranged between 21 and 50 years (89.6%), with most respondents having an education level of post-secondary (32.7%) or undergraduate (37.5%), and a monthly income of RMB2,000 to 6000 (65.4% of the respondents). In terms of occupation, more respondents did not work in the tourism sector (68.6%) than those who did (31.4%). Approximately 41.4% of all the respondents have lived in Zhuhai for between 11 and 30 years, while 16.2% have resided there for over 30 years.

4.1. Local material, behavioural and spiritual cultural changes in Zhuhai

Table 3 shows the means of variables of local cultural changes in Zhuhai. Material culture change in Zhuhai was more apparent than other types of cultural change. The local respondents perceived the process of urbanization (m = 3.66) as being the most significant change after the implementation of regional and local tourism policies, which was reflected in the change in entertainment facilities (m = 3.81). Other variables also regarded as causing material impact were, for example, land prices (m = 3.87) and general price levels (m = 3.69). Overall, categories of material cultural change (urbanization, commercialization and community aspects) received relatively higher mean scores from the respondents.

Change to spiritual culture (m = 3.25) was the next highest scoring category, with a particularly high score shown in traditional customs such as etiquette (m = 3.64). This shows that the development of tourism has made local residents care more about their ideology in the form of civilized behaviour in daily life. In addition, hedonism and economic concepts are also the main changes of spiritual culture as local residents paying more attention to their living enjoyment and self-interest due to the changing of cultural environment. The changes to behavioural culture were the least recognized (m = 3.12) among the three categories.

4.2. Influencing factors of cultural change in Zhuhai

This study tests the phenomena that individuals or actors within the same social groups, or having similar social status, tend to have consistent habitus and behaviour based on Bourdieu's cultural vicissitudes theory. In other words, residents with similar demographic and socioeconomic characteristics tend to respond similarly to local cultural changes.

The results in Table 4 show some differences in the perception of cultural change between different social groups, which in turn support the argument by Tang (2014) that the background of respondents affects their perceptions of socio-cultural change. The '♠△' mark in Table 4 denotes not only a significant inter-group difference but also an ascendant tendency of change between two tested variables. For instance, residents with a higher monthly income tend to perceive greater change in land prices. Through a comparison of inter-group differences in the same cultural category, it was found that respondents of different age groups tended to be more sensitive in perceiving material environmental changes. The level of monthly income and years of residence also contributed to perceived material cultural change, but

Table 4
Chi-square test between different social groups and cultural change variables.

	Category of change	Age	Gender	Education level	Location of residence	Years of residence	Monthly income	Occupation
Entertainment facilities	M	•△		•△			•△	
Transportation	M	ullet				•		
Employment	M	•					•	
Density of population	M	ullet				ullet		
Price level	M	•				•	•	•
Variety of commodities	M	•					•	
Income level	M				•			•
Land price	M	•	•		•	•	ullet	•
Consumption	S							
Investment	S							
Moral norm	S			•			•	
Self-interest	S	ullet			•		•	
Etiquette	S							
Hedonism	S							•
Dress	В		•					
Language	В		•		•			•
Diet	В			•				•
Awareness of regional policy							ullet	•
Awareness of local policy							lacktriangle	•

Remarks: M = Material culture; S = Spiritual culture; B = Behavioural culture

gender, education level and location of residence appeared to be less relevant. Some elements in spiritual culture (moral norm and self-interest) and behavioural culture (language and diet) were more influenced by demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Residents who have a tourism-related occupation tend to have greater influence in perceived cultural changes than those people who work in non-tourism sectors. Tourism practitioners are more sensitive in perceiving some of the material (price level aspects), behavioural (language and diet) and spiritual (hedonism) cultural changes. In general, the phenomenon where tourism practitioners are more sensitive in judging cultural changes than others may be due to closer relationships with tourists, greater observation in host-guest interactions, and frequent exposure to foreign culture. Finally, the awareness of both regional and local tourism policies seems irrelevant to the demographic and socio-economic characteristics, but is determined by monthly income and occupation. Residents who receive higher monthly incomes and work in the tourism industry naturally pay more attention to tourism policies. On the one hand, local actors with different social status hold different capitals and information in the process of local development. On the other hand, they also represent the habitus of their social groups in judging local cultural changes in Zhuhai and might react collectively to the local cultural change.

The awareness of policies is another important determinant of respondents' perspective on cultural changes. Table 5 shows the correlation analysis between policy awareness and cultural change variables. The results depict significant coefficients between most of the variable pairs, which indicate a largely positive relationship in local people's perception of cultural change and policy awareness. This implies that respondents who know more about the regional and local tourism policies will be more sensitive to local cultural changes. Among all the correlations, spiritual cultural change, especially in the form of investment concepts, moral norms and self-interest, have stronger relationships with policy awareness though all the coefficients represent only a weak to medium correlation (Dancey & Reidy, 2011). There is also a strong association between the awareness of regional and local tourism policies though the result was merely a self-reported score.

According to Bourdieu's cultural vicissitudes theory, individuals or actors within the same social groups or who have similar social status tend to be consistent in habitus and behaviors. In other words, residents in the same social group usually feel similarly about cultural changes. The findings above therefore show that socio-demographic

Table 5The Spearman's Rank correlation on awareness of policies with cultural variables.

	Awarene policy	ess of regional	Awareness of local policy			
	Sig.	Coefficient	Sig.	Correlation coefficient		
Spiritual (Consumption)	0.000	0.343**	0.000	0.320**		
Spiritual (Investment)	0.000	0.388**	0.000	0.404**		
Spiritual (Moral norm)	0.000	0.484**	0.000	0.449**		
Spiritual (Self-interest)	0.000	0.472**	0.000	0.388**		
Spiritual (Etiquette)	0.000	0.244**	0.000	0.213**		
Spiritual_(Hedonism)	0.000	0.341**	0.000	0.304**		
Behavioural (Dress)	0.000	0.324**	0.000	0.328**		
Behavioural (Language)	0.000	0.363**	0.000	0.372**		
Behavioural (Diet)	0.000	0.424**	0.000	0.377**		
Material (Entertainment facilities)	0.061	0.107	0.001	0.192**		
Material (Transportation)	0.013	0.142*	0.001	0.185**		
Material (Employment)	0.000	0.315**	0.000	0.364**		
Material (Density of population)	0.133	0.086	0.016	0.137*		
Material (Price level)	0.055	0.109	0.003	0.168**		
Material (Commodities)	0.000	0.325**	0.000	0.373**		
Material (Income level)	0.000	0.303**	0.000	0.297**		
Material (Land price)	0.220	0.070	0.082	0.099		
Awareness of regional/ local policy	0.000	0.865**	0.000	0.865**		

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

characteristics are the major factors affecting individual perception of cultural changes. However, considering different group-based features and possessive social capital, individuals tend to think differently about the surrounding material environment and their daily actions.

4.3. Interrelationship between material, behavioural and spiritual cultural changes in Zhuhai

Through a series of Spearman's tests across pairs of cultural change variables, the study also examined the interrelationships between the three types of cultural change, i.e., material, behavioural and spiritual culture as presented in Table 6. There is a relatively weak correlation in connection with material cultural change, except there is a medium

^(★) indicates a significant inter-group (demographic and socio-economic characteristics) difference in the cultural variable. (★△' indicates both a significant inter-group difference and an ascendant tendency of change between two tested variables.

 $^{^{}st}$ Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6
Results of Spearman's tests among material, behavioural and spiritual variables.

	Spiritual	Spiritual											
	Consump	tion	Investment		Etiquette		Hedonism		Self-interest		Moral norm		
	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	
Ent. Facilities	0.131	0.021	0.215	0.000	0.280	0.000	0.220	0.000	0.154	0.007	0.172	0.002	
Population	0.146	0.010	0.150	0.008	0.226	0.000	0.061	0.285	0.073	0.200	0.134	0.019	
Transportation	0.259	0.000	0.233	0.000	0.278	0.000	0.104	0.068	0.076	0.185	0.220	0.000	
Employment	0.433	0.000	0.376	0.000	0.204	0.000	0.324	0.000	0.304	0.000	0.309	0.000	
Price level	0.178	0.002	0.103	0.070	0.190	0.001	0.134	0.019	0.028	0.620	0.094	0.099	
Commodities	0.355	0.000	0.288	0.000	0.302	0.000	0.187	0.001	0.185	0.001	0.324	0.000	
Land price	0.180	0.001	0.160	0.005	0.223	0.000	0.150	0.008	0.018	0.757	0.076	0.182	
Income	0.421	0.000	0.334	0.000	0.194	0.001	0.324	0.000	0.306	0.000	0.350	0.000	
Spiritual		Behavioural	l										
		Dress				Language					Diet		
		r	Sig.		r		Sig.			r		Sig.	
Consumption		0.523		0.000		0.409		0.000		0.415		0.000	
Investment		0.648		0.000		0.461		0.000		0.460		0.000	
Etiquette		0.410		0.000		0.379		0.000		0.204		0.000	
Hedonism		0.424		0.000		0.395		0.000		0.335		0.000	
Self-interest		0.490		0.000		0.403		0.000		0.597		0.000	
Moral norm		0.546		0.000		0.451		0.000		0.530		0.000	
Material		Behavioura	al										
		Dress	Dress			Language				Diet			
		r		Sig.		r		Sig.		r		Sig.	
Ent. Facilities		0.221		0.000		0.200		0.000		0.085		0.138	
Population		0.145		0.011		0.119		0.036		-0.004		0.948	
Transportation		0.268		0.000		0.144		0.011		0.087		0.128	
Employment		0.337		0.000		0.333		0.000		0.236		0.000	
Price level		0.145		0.011		0.193		0.001		0.096		0.093	
Commodities		0.288		0.000		0.251		0.000		0.208		0.000	
Land price		0.078		0.172		0.111		0.051		-0.055		0.333	
Income		0.398		0.000		0.229		0.000		0.314		0.000	

 $Bold\ items\ represent\ the\ relatively\ stronger\ statistically\ significant\ coefficients.$

level of correlation between employment/variety of commodities/income level and consumption as spiritual change, and between income level and dress as behavioural change. In general, it can be concluded that material cultural change in personal economic conditions, such as employment and income, has a closer relationship with one's spiritual or behavioural changes. While the improvement in employment market provides more opportunities for self-advancement, the increase in income also promotes individuals' social status. In other words, the enhancement of economic and social capitals tends to positively influence local spiritual culture.

The interrelationship between spiritual and behavioural cultural changes is comparatively stronger as shown in Table 6. Most of their Spearman's coefficients are higher than 0.4, indicating a medium level of correlation (Dancey & Reidy, 2011). The strongest positive relationship is shown between two pairs of variables: (1) investment concepts and dress, and (2) self-interest and diet. The findings support the theory that individuals' spiritual condition and cultural behavioural choices are closely linked together. The results support the postulate in Bourdieu's theory, where the judgment of an actor is usually affected by the external field or environment such as the material environment and social environment, and the acceptance or rejection of spiritual change can strongly influence their performing behavioural choices (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989).

All the pairs of variables are positively correlated, which demonstrates that tourism development has caused a multi-dimensional

cultural change in Zhuhai. The positive correlations in most of the cultural change variables, however, have not apparently proved Bourdieu's argument that the changing of material culture, which is led by policies and the resultant social development, is the determinant of the spiritual and behavioural changes of individuals. Furthermore, there is no confirmed causal relationship between spiritual and behavioural cultural changes; but perhaps it is more precise and reasonable to argue that these two types of cultural change are influenced by each other.

The spiritual and behavioural changes of local culture in Zhuhai show the strongest interrelationship between all pairs of correlation. Individuals who felt the changes in their spiritual concepts tended to change their daily cultural behaviour. Despite a suggested causal relationship between three types of cultural change in theory, the correlation analysis indeed does not reveal such a strong interrelationship in reality.

5. Discussions

According to Bourdieu's theory, cultural practice is the result of changing environment, group-based capital and habitus. As the quantitative findings reveal the performance of cultural changes in Zhuhai, the qualitative interviews also identified the social status, roles and social capital of these groups, and further suggest some possible reasons for local cultural vicissitudes through changing attitudes, reactions and

cultural practices of stakeholders in a new cultural environment. This part of the research includes one government officer, three tourism practitioners and four local residents.

5.1. Stakeholders' attitudes towards policies and new cultural environment in Zhuhai

The regional tourism policy and planning changed the relationship between tourism field and political arena in the GPRD area. Tourism development is under the political leadership, such that the social structure related to tourism field is changed by resource (re)allocation and socio-economic competition. In this changing socio-political environment, main tourism actors in Zhuhai can be classified according to their capital availability and status in tourism industry. Based on Bourdieu's equation of cultural practices, [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice, local government controlled the largest part of the social capital and resources in the field of tourism operation and development. The representative from the local government of Zhuhai (G1) pointed out that apart from policy-makers and leaders at the national or provincial level, local government authority also acted as the main coordinator and investor in regional and local tourism development, participating in social resources allocation and coordinating investment. When asked about the government's policies on tourism development, the representative (G1) mentioned that, 'policies and their implementation are the methods used by government to maintain its political and economic power in Society, and these (policies) also guarantee that the local government controls most of the social resources'.

However, tourism practitioners show a divergent attitude. They thought that they were driven into an arena of competition under the new political and social environments created by the regional and local tourism development plans. On one hand, tourism practitioners generally welcomed the new opportunities generated by the tourism policies. On the other hand, they felt that they were completely under the control and authority of the government. Practitioners and workers in tourism industries lost their autonomy but had to react to the top-down governance. Furthermore, most of the local residents who were interviewed were passive when facing the new social environment and cultural changes. They were both the actors and reactors in multi-dimensional cultural changes, and had less social resources and political power comparing with the public sector. Although most of the residents showed positive attitudes towards new tourism planning and development, they were largely affected by the influences exerted by local government and large tourism and non-tourism enterprises.

In general, most respondents in the three stakeholder groups showed positive attitudes towards the new tourism policies and the changing cultural environment, but the role of each group differed. Government, or the public sector, possesses strong power in policy implementation and tourism management as it has held the strongest political power, economic and social capitals, which cause it to become the leader in tourism development in Zhuhai. Tourism practitioners and local residents are often passively under the authority of the government as described by Church and Coles (2007). Due to the availability and the limit of capital and social position, such social class distinction has a great influence on their reactions to cultural change.

5.2. Responses to the changing social environment

Local government welcomes positive changes brought about by tourism planning, but the government still has its own arrangement and management plans to deal with the impacts of tourism on local culture. The government interviewee (G1) stated that, 'our government usually considers the possible influence caused by foreign culture at the early policy-making stage, and thus the policy itself has the function of adapting foreign cultural influence. Moreover, the management of policy implementation is indeed a process of controlling excessive foreign cultural influence'.

Most of the tourism practitioners and business owners choose to

adapt to the changing market environment and policy influence by generating new strategies or practices for business development and marketing. For instance, tourism enterprises will create new tourism products and design new itineraries for market competition. Furthermore, tourism practitioners also pay more attention to the preferences of customers and new market trends. Diversification of tourism products, themes and creative marketing are examples of strategies adopted by tourism enterprises to increase market penetration and expansion under regional and local tourism plans. A tourism practitioner (T1), for example, commented that, 'our company developed an electronic platform for tourists to book their tickets and accommodation. We also developed new tourism products such as photography tourism and modern agricultural tourism to attract new customers'.

Similarly, local residents tend to adapt to the new environment by following the socio-cultural trend, and changing their everyday lives and habits. People are more willing to absorb new ideas or concepts from their peers such as friends, colleagues and relatives. Nevertheless, local residents feel relatively negative about the changes of economic benefit, such as the income level was not matched with price level although the policy implementation provided a better material environment for local residents. This is depicted in lower scores of spiritual culture in Table 3. Higher income residents, however, are more likely to take advantage of the changing tourism policy, political environment and economic condition so as to reach a better social or economic position based on their privileged capital availability.

In general, the three groups of actors make their own responses to the intruding culture and devise ways to sustain their traditions in the changing cultural environment. Government authorities and tourism practitioners appear to be more proactive and positive when encountering change, whereas local people are more passive in adaptation. On the whole, all the three groups of actors have changed their original cultural perceptions and behaviour in the process of tourism development. There are several reasons for such different responses.

5.3. Reasons for responses to social changes

Firstly, facing the new cultural environment brought about by tourism development and its activities, local government appears to be more concerned about the protection of the local culture of Zhuhai in order to keep its special and prevailing status in the GPRD. As G1 pointed out that, 'in the context of regional development, local culture of Zhuhai tend to be more heterogeneous, which is good for local cultural development and need to be protected in the current competing environment', the government regards local culture as a capital, or a resource, in regional competitive environments. Local culture has become a valuable asset and the foundation for competitiveness among tourist destinations in the GPRD. Hence, the main reason for formulating policies to defend foreign cultural invasion is not only an inward preservation of local culture, but an outward strategic positioning of Zhuhai in the interdestination competition in the region.

Secondly, tourism practitioners have created new products and services in response to the changing political, social and cultural environments in an attempt to maximize economic return, to promote their businesses through word-of-mouth, to improve the destination image of Zhuhai as a whole, and ultimately to beat their business competitors and the other actors in the tourism industry. Some of these new strategies also aimed to, 'maintain a business-customer relationship, which we refer to as the 'stickiness'" (Tourism practitioner, T3).

Thirdly, in the case of local residents, however, the reasons behind the changing habitus in local culture are more complicated. Most of the locals explained that they were influenced by individuals, the communities and Society as a whole such that they believed that they should follow the 'new fashion' for change. For instance, one local resident (R1) claimed that, 'being in contact with people with new concepts is inevitable in daily life. Thus, after continuous communication with visitors from different places, one's behaviour and values will be influenced

gradually'.

At the same time, some locals also believe in adopting the new trends as a way of self-improvement and increasing social status. To these local residents, the change of individual habitus is a self-driven process. On the contrary, some argued against the adaptation to the new cultural environment because they thought everyone should keep their own lifestyle, choices and needs.

Overall, actors in the same social group tended to have similar reactions while facing a new cultural environment, but they also showed flexibility in judgment and choices (Bourdieu, 1980; Grenfell, 2012). The three groups of actors responded to the changing cultural environment basically to succeed in economic and social competition in the process of tourism development. They attempt to compete for more resources, greater power and a higher social status in Zhuhai. These objectives change the cultural practices based on the judgment of individual social conditions and available capitals, and eventually their behaviour is also modified by the changing society. It also helped support the concept of social class distinction by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1989, 1992) that capital/resource and social status limit the action of actors.

5.4. Local cultural vicissitudes and change of cultural practices

The government representative (G1) suggested that both regional and local tourism policies were the primary cause of local cultural changes, while the arrival of tourists and foreign immigrants deepened the vicissitudes of local culture. Likewise, tourism practitioners hold the similar view that tourism policies are a strong, visible hand to reshape the tourism market and indirectly manipulate the business strategies of tourism industries in Zhuhai. Policy is an invisible hand that allocates social resources to different stakeholders in the competition, and thus important to determine the macro cultural environment.

One practitioner (T2) described a cycle of policy, tourism market and tourists, 'firstly, the regional and local policies help to reshape the tourism market. Secondly, the consumption pattern of the tourists in the GPRD is influenced by this changing market condition, and hence tourists would have new expectations and greater demand for tourism products and services. Finally, the tourism sector and its enterprises would be driven to change and adapt to the competition'. Practitioner (T1) also emphasized that, 'the tourism policies actually have the power to change the current order and its future direction of the tourism market development'. He suggested a causal and mutual relationship between political power and tourist demand in tourism development in Zhuhai.

As for local residents, most of them thought that the influences of foreign culture and policies were the main reasons behind changing local culture. On the other side, they also noticed that self-improvement is a significant inner factor that leads to the changing of cultural practices.

New policies and changing local environment provide a new classification of social groups in tourism field. Individuals in different social groups hold different attitudes and react differently to the changing cultural environment in Zhuhai, and thus help to form the new cultural practices in their own social class. The motivations of reactions to new environment vary among three social groups, but all of them long to seek better social capital, social status and advantageous position in the competing environment. As for the main factors of local cultural vicissitude, the political power is regarded as the leader of changes, while cultural interactions and other social practices in consumer market help to deepen the changes of local tourism field.

6. Conclusion

This study applied Pierre Bourdieu's cultural vicissitudes theory in understanding the phenomenon of the cultural impact of tourism development in Zhuhai. Through both quantitative (survey on local residents) and qualitative (in-depth interviews with major stakeholder

groups) methods, Bourdieu's equation of cultural practices was verified in Zhuhai's context. This study proved that individuals in the same social group could show similar or 'consistent' judgment and choices. This indirectly supports the rationality of Bourdieu's equation of analyzing cultural actions: taking collective habitus and social capital into the field of play while judging the cultural practices of a social group or an individual. The research reveals several major findings about cultural vicissitude:

Firstly, there is an inseparable relationship between the three dimensions (material, behavioural and spiritual) of cultural change. Tourism development and polices in Zhuhai have led to a greater impact on material culture than the other two aspects, which is probably due to the visible progress of urbanization driven by the government and its policy. A greater correlation exists between variables in spiritual and behavioural culture, but no causal relationship is proven between the three dimensions.

Secondly, factors determining local perspectives on local cultural changes have been revealed. Across a list of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, age, income and occupation are significant determinants of the perception of local cultural change. This finding is considered to match a stronger recognition of material cultural change by local people. The prominent factors of perceived cultural change are largely relevant to economic return and the socio-economic backgrounds of the people. The awareness of tourism policies does not show an apparent influence on the perception of local cultural changes though there were some positive correlations confirmed in Zhuhai. This finding also proves that individuals in the same social group show similarity in judgment and choices, while people with different social status and capitals feel differently in a changing cultural environment. In other words, the idea of "consistency" is supported within the same social class, and this indirectly shows the rationality of Bourdieu's key equation of analyzing cultural actions.

Thirdly, regional and local tourism policies changed the social environment that provided an order of social groups in the field of tourism. The local government plays the leading role in controlling tourism development and cultural change, whereas tourism businesses and industries, and local residents are being 'ruled' by, and have to adapt to, new policies and foreign cultural break-in. Secondly, different social groups held different opinions and responded differently to the changing cultural environment in Zhuhai, and actors in the same social group tended to act consistently. They had their own forms of cultural practice in their own social class. Thirdly, the responses to the new social and cultural environment vary among the three social groups. Government and tourism practitioners are straightforward with a focus on regional competition and economic return, whereas local residents have more complicated interactions with the social and cultural changes. However, three main groups have demonstrated the tendency of changing their original habitus in the new cultural environment as they have long adapted to and taken an active role in different levels of social competitions. All of them primarily seek more social capital, a higher social status and an advantageous position both locally and regionally. Political power is the major factor driving local cultural vicissitudes, while socio-cultural interactions deepen the cultural changes. Tourism is clearly the field of these interactions and processes. The results modified the original conceptual framework in Fig. 1 to the one in Fig. 2.

The modified conceptual framework depicts the process of the cultural impact of tourism where tourism policies are the engine driving local cultural vicissitudes. Particularly, according to the main findings of qualitative interviews, policies reshape the consumer market and change tourists' behaviour and demand. Tourists carrying foreign culture are also the receivers of political power. In other words, the main social groups that become the actors of local cultural change include tourists, local residents and tourism enterprises, and the change in their cultural practices is the root of local cultural change. Therefore, it is more reasonable to suggest that in the context of political leading, the

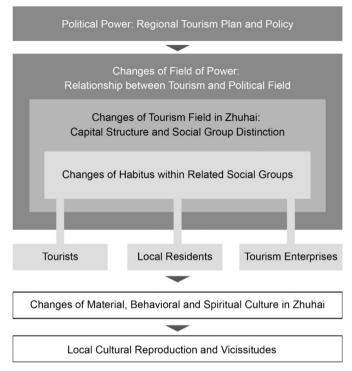


Fig. 2. Modified conceptual framework of the process of cultural impacts of tourism in Zhubai

changing habitus or cultural practices of consumer market, tourism practitioners and local residents are actually the results of policies implementation and government management.

There are some limitations to this study. Firstly, the selection of cultural change variables was restricted by the limited scope of the study. The variables were based on the classification of Yao and Zhao (2008) given that many elements of local culture could not be identified and measured. The authors suggested that a preliminary collection of cultural elements can be conducted through open-ended questions

before generating a comprehensive list of relevant variables. Secondly, the sample of qualitative interviews was small due to time and resource constraints.

Several recommendations for local cultural management are proposed. Foremost, the government should consider carefully the impact of its tourism policy on local culture and social change. The government should understand the reactions of the consumer market, local tourism enterprises and local communities while utilizing its political and economic power.

It is important to prevent Zhuhai from losing its local character. Thus, a study of the local culture before decision making and policy implementation is necessary. Policy makers should understand the trend of local cultural change, preserve unique and valuable cultural resources, and divert reasonable investment to local cultural industries and businesses. In addition, the municipal government, being both the planner and developer of local infrastructure and facilities, may have a detrimental effect on the change of material culture. In terms of entertainment facilities and transportation systems, the government may link these projects with local culture, keeping Zhuhai's material culture from becoming a serial reproduction of, or being homogenous with, other cities in the GPRD region.

Finally, there is a need to transform the role of tourism practitioners and local residents in the process of local cultural vicissitudes, from passive adaptors or receivers to proactive constructors of cultural change. Unlike residents, tourism practitioners are relatively positive in accepting new trends due to business or occupational requirements. They are usually the main receivers of behavioural cultural change, while the cultural practices of local tourism enterprises could influence the process of local cultural vicissitudes. Local residents are more passive to cultural change, but are still highly aware of the emergence of new concepts and the changing surrounding environment. As a result, it is important to motivate tourism practitioners and local residents in their awareness and responsiveness to protecting and managing local culture through promoting local participation in the tourism industry. Depending on the level of participation, they can be members of part of the decision making process such as information providers, cultural product creators and tourism ambassadors or policy advisors.

Appendix A. Information of interviewee

Code Brief introduction of interviewees

Government representative (G)

G1 Representative from Zhuhai Tourism Association. Mainly in charge of the communication between Zhuhai government and tourist agents, and the arrangement of yearly tour guide test in Zhuhai.

Tourism or related practitioners (T)

- T1 Owner and executive manager of Zhuhai Jielv Tourism Co., Ltd. The company mainly provides package tour services, ticket service, visa services and thematic tour for residents in the Pearl River Delta (mainly in Zhuhai).
- T2 Operation manager of Zhuhai Holiday International Travel Service Co., Ltd. Mainly in charge of marketing management and customer communication. The company is a state-own tourism service company in Zhuhai. Its services include domestic package tours and foreign package tours, covering various thematic itineraries and target customers.
- T3 Operation manager of Zhuhai Mountain Tip Travel Equipment Co., Ltd. (Jida Branch). Mainly in charge of sales service and arrangement of club activities. The company mainly sells travel equipment such as tent, camping bag, sport suit etc. There is also a sport club organized by the company and its main activities include organizing customers to participate in outdoor activities. Currently the company has 4 branches in Zhuhai and 1 branch in Jiangmen city.

Representatives of local residents (R)

- R1 Public servant of Zhuhai Food Supply Co.
- R2 Staff of Zhuhai Tax Bureau
- R3 Staff of Personal Finance Department, Bank of China, Zhuhai Branch. Mainly in charge of developing and marketing personal financial products, as well as managing the development of new branches in the Jinwan and Doumen district in Zhuhai.
- R4 Senior manager of International Trade and Finance Department, Industrial and Commercial Bank of China Ltd., Zhuhai Branch. Mainly in charge of the loan services to the companies in Hengqin district, and one of her clients is the Chimelong Ocean Park in Hengqin.

T2

Attitudes towards regional tourism policy/local policy and new environment

- Policies and its implementation are the method for government to maintain their politic and economic power in the local society, and they also guarantee that local government has the control on most of the social resources;
 - Government acts as the policy-maker, using policy and regulations to lead or control the development of local society. The two policies also could be regarded as preferential policies, which provide opportunities for local corporation to develop new business;
 - Government also serves as local coordinator in the context of regional development, leading more investors enter the local market with the provision of well-developed economic and cultural environment;
 - Government is the main investor in the implementation of the two policies. It has strong power in allocating social resources, however, the power of implementation is not enough for Zhuhai to compete with other cities in GPRD
- T1 Our company welcomes the new policy.
 - Firstly, it provides an opportunity for resource optimization and allocation. Local companies have the right to enjoy the advantages of preferential policies.
 - Secondly, the regional policy shortens the distance among cities in the GPRD, which brings us more business opportunities in itinerary development.
 - Thirdly, the two policies provide us more tourism resources due to the transportation development and cooperation between cities.
 - Our company is holding a positive attitude in the two policies.
 - Firstly, they provide us a better developing environment in economic, political and cultural aspects; secondly, the policies keep the local characteristics of Zhuhai, which makes Zhuhai more special in the GPRD. For example, the local development of Hengqin district is a great project in Zhuhai, which promotes the status of Zhuhai in the PRD.
- The new policies have expanded market for local company. For example, the new tendency of consumption leads our customers to have more requirements for new products.
 - The new policies also promote the development of entertainment and sport facility in Zhuhai, which brings us new business opportunities. For example, the building of green trail promotes outdoor biking, and this really provides us a new consumer market for sport equipment.
- I am more likely to be the passive type of dealing with changing environment in Zhuhai.
- R2 I am passive in dealing with the new environment and changes in life.
- I think the influence that the new environment and policies bring to local people is imperceptible. I do think that there are lots of changes among daily life of the local residents, but I don't think the policies change the whole local culture. Instead, parts of the local cultural might be exposed to new environment, while the other keeps its own features.
- Firstly, I think the new policies have provided the cities in GPRD a big opportunity to cooperate and develop, especially the cooperation between cities in PRD and two SAT.
 - Secondly, the new policies shorten the distance with Macau and Zhuhai. For example, the new policy of Hengqin district has promoted some new rules in improving Zhuhai-Macau relationship, such as the visa-free regulation for residents in Macau to enter Hengqin district will promote the tourism industry in this area, which also brings more benefits to local people.
 - Thirdly, the realty industry and tourism industry in Hengqin district has been developed dramatically these years due to the new economic environment. For example, the tourism agents from Macau and Hong Kong are now allowed to enter the tourism market in Hengqin district, and this will expand the target market for the local industry.

Reactions to the changing environment in local society

- Government welcomes the positive changes lead by the policies;
 - Government considers the influence from foreign culture at the policy-making stage, and thus the policy itself has the function of adapting foreign cultural influence;
 - The management of policies' implementation is a process of controlling foreign cultural influence. For example, the approval process of foreign companies is one of the methods of protecting local culture.
- T1 Tourism company needs to catch the politic opportunity for better development;
 - Our company design new tourism products to attract different types of customers, for example: 1. Design new itinerary within GPRD area; 2. Develop electronic commercial system for alternative tourists; 3. Be active in the price competition with other tourism companies; 4. Develop new tourism products such as photography tourism and modern agricultural tourism; 5. Improve professional skills of employees
- T2 Tourism corporations should notice the changing environment of local market and accept it actively.
 - Our company will design new products to match the changing environment of Zhuhai. For example, a new itinerary has been developed because of the opening of Hengqin Chimelong Ocean Park.
 - Furthermore, our company also seeks the opportunity to achieve cross-area cooperation. For instance, a new tourism product has been design to cooperate with Shenzhen and Macau.
 - As a tourism practitioner, I have to pay more attention to the newly released policies and regulations. Furthermore, I think local culture deserves more of my appreciation and I have the obligation to protect and maintain it.
- T3 In order to survive the new environment, our company tends to use new technique in marketing. For example, we use the Wechat to inform our customer the new products and the new activities in our sport club.
 - We also pay more attention to build and maintain the social network with our customers. For example, through the organization of our own sport club, we usually arrange outdoor activities for our customers in order to deepen our relationship with the customer market and learn more about what the target market needs.
- Most of the time I am following what others are doing when facing new environment. On one hand, I may change my habits if
 everybody is living in another style, because I want myself to catch up with the new tendency and be one of the modern and fashion
 girls with new concepts.
- I might follow the way my friends or colleagues act, and I am tend to like what they like when something new come up. Maybe this is because we are from the same life-cycle, and all the people in it tend to act alike.

- R3 I don't think I should change my habits to adjust the new environment.
- As a manager in financial area, it is a must to know, learn and understand the new policies.
 - Also, citizens have the obligation to observe what is happening around us. Thus as the social environment is changing, one should care
 about their city and catch up with the new tendency.

Reasons of reactions

- Compared with other cities in the GPRD, Zhuhai's local culture is valuable and special. There is a great difference between Zhuhai's local culture and the culture of Guangzhou, Zhongshan and Shenzhen.
 - In the context of regional development, local culture of Zhuhai tends to be more heterogeneous, which is good for local cultural development and need to be protected in the current competing environment.
- Understanding and matching the new requirement of modern consumers. For example, the development of photography tourism is popular currently, and our thematic package tour has professional photographer to teach every tourist how to catch the most beautiful scenery, which is attractive to more clients nowadays.
 - Maximizing the economic benefits of our company, as well as building words-of-mouth network around customers.
 - Adaption to new policies and the social environment, and be more active in the competition of tourism industry in order to make our business sustainable and profitable.
- The most important reason for tourism companies to react to environment changing is that they have to seek economic benefits among the market competition;
 - Moreover, tourism companies have to promote their popularity to attract more customers and expand market share.
- The main reason of these reactions to the new environment is we want to increase sales amount and maximize the economic profits for our company.
 - The other reason is to maintain the company-customer relationship, which we also call it the "stickiness". We think only in this way can we be more successful in the market competition.
- It is inevitable to get in touch with people with new concepts in the daily life. Thus when communicating with various kind of people from different places, one's behaviors and thoughts will be influenced gradually.
 - It is a process of assimilation when talking about the relationship between individuals and the changing environment.
- Although I tend to change my habits because of others are doing so, the most important reasons of my reaction to new environment is that I want to improve myself by learning from other and the new concepts.
- As people at our age have relatively stable monthly income and social status, it is not necessary to change the living style we have for half of our lives.
- Apart from promoting one's social status, I think knowing about the new concepts is good for self-improvement. On one side, it is
 beneficial for me to work in the bank. On the other side, it is necessary for me to adjust myself in the new society.

Factors that leading local cultural vicissitudes/changes of cultural practices

- The local culture of Zhuhai is at its stage of gradually changing. Firstly, it is the result of regional and local policies, which lead the general direction of local cultural development; Secondly, some local areas are under great influence from foreign tourists.
 - Thus, policies are actually the essential reasons to cultural changes while the entrance of foreign population deepens the vicissitudes of local culture. However, if comparing the influence of these two factors, foreign tourists have deeper effect on daily life of local residents than the policies.
- The most important factors that leading the local cultural changes is the influence from policies;
 - Also, the policies actually have the power to change the developing direction of consumer market. Thus it is not about which factors is the main reasons to local cultural changes, because both political reason and tourists' influence are equally influential and vital, and these two factors might have causal relationship.
 - In other words, the implementation of policy will affect the local market, which leads to the changes of local life style and culture.
- There is a circulating relationship among policies, tourism market and tourists, which I think are three main factors that influence local culture.
 - Firstly, the regional and local policies will help to reshape the consumer market; secondly, the consumption concept of tourists in the GPRD will be influenced according to the changing market, and hence modern tourists will have new requirement for tourism industry; finally, the tourism companies will be affected in order to survive the competing industry.
 - Thus the role of tourism companies in this changing environment is more like a mediator that coordinate the requirement from government and the needs from tourists.
- The most important factor that leads the changing of residents or consumers' concepts and behaviors is the power of policies.
 - Once the implementation of policies began, all people are involved even without consciousness, because it changes the general social environment of our society.
- I think the main factor that leads the local cultural changes is the influences from foreign culture. Nowadays the number of outsiders (both tourists and immigrants) in Zhuhai is increasing, so local residents actually have more contact with foreign culture, which has positive side that may attract the local residents to learn from it.
- I think the reason of changing cultural behaviors of the local residents in current environment is that people all want to improve themselves to get in a better place in the society. No one wants to fall behind, so we keep learning from the outsides and also from the new policies. It is a kind of inner motivation to let people change.
- The most important reason to local cultural vicissitudes is the leading of our government and the new policies. In addition, the investment from foreign companies also brings some new "rules" to the local society. However, essentially, I do think it is the government's actions control the development of local culture.
- I think both new policies and foreign culture are the reasons to local cultural changes. Because they cannot be separated in analysis. I think they are equally important concerning the changes of people's habits and concepts.

References

- Bao, J. G., & Zhu, H. (1999). Urban tourism development in Zhuhai. Human Geography, 14(3), 7–11.
- Bao, J. G., Zhu, H., & Chen, H. (1999). The win-win strategy for Macao-Zhuhai tourism development. *Tropical Geography*, 19(4), 348–352.
- Bao, Y. M. (1997). Wen hua zi ben yu she hui lian jin shu—bu di e fang tan lu [Cultural capital and social alchemy: Interview with Pierre Bourdieu]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House.
- Bourdieu, P. (1971). Intellectual field and creative project. In M. F. D. Young (Ed.). Knowledge and control: New directions for the sociology of education (pp. 161–188). London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a theory of practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980). Questions de sociologie. Paris: Editions de Miuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Greenwood. Bourdieu, P. (1990). In R. Nice (Ed.). *The Logic of Practice*Cambridge: Polity (Originally published as Le sens pratique (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit)).
- Bourdieu, P. (1994). In M. Adamson (Ed.). *Other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*Cambridge: Polity (Originally published as Choses dites (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit)).
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). Reproduction in education, society and culture.
- London: Sage Publications Ltd. Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1989). Towards a reflexive sociology: A workshop with
- Pierre Bourdieu. Sociological Theory, 7(1), 26–63.
 Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). In L. Wacquant (Ed.). An invitation to reflexive sociologyCambridge: Polity (Original work published as Reponses. Pour une anthropologie reflexive).
- Chen, L. (2014). Cultural impact of modernization and tourism on Dai villages in Xishuangbanna, China. Tourism Geographies, 16(5), 757–771.
- Church, A., & Coles, T. (Eds.). (2007). Tourism, power and space. London; New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 371–386.
- Dancey, C. P., & Reidy, J. (2011). Statistics without maths for psychology (5th ed.). The United States: Prentice Hall.
- Ding, L. (2007). Cheng shi xing xiang yu ben tu wen hua yan jiu [Research on city image and local culture]. Unpublished master's dissertation Zhong nan da xue she ji yi shu xue yuan, Hunan, China.
- Flora, C. B. (2004). Community dynamics and social capital. In D. Rickerl, & C. Francis (Eds.). Agroecosystems Analysis (pp. 93–107). Madi-son, WI: American Society of Agronomy, Inc., Crop Science Society of America, Inc., Soil Science Society of America.
- Goffman, E. (1959). The presentation of self in everyday life. New York: Doubleday. Grenfell, M. (2012). Pierre Bourdieu key concepts. Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited. Herskovits, M. J. (1938). Acculturation, the study of culture contact. New York: Augustin. Jiang, Y. Y. (2010). Zhuhai ly you ye fa zhan xian zhuang ji zhan wang [Current situation and future development of Zhuhai's tourism industry]. Ke ji zi xun, 27, 231.
- Kane, M. J. (2010). Adventure as a cultural foundation: Sport and tourism in New Zealand. *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, 15(1), 27–44.
- Li, X. Y. (2013). Jilin sheng ben tu wen hua de bao hu yu lv you kai fa [Local cultural preservation and tourism development in Jilin province]. Jilin sheng jing ji guan li gan bu xue yuan xue bao, 27(6), 26–28.
- Liu, B. X. (2012). Mian xiang "shi er wu" de Zhuhai lv you cheng shi ding wei ji cu xiao zu he ce lue [Zhuhai's position and marketing strategy under the leading of the 12th Five-Year Plan]. Shang chang xian dai hua, 8, 104–105.
- Liu, J. Z. (2010). Lun zhu san jiao wen hua yi ti hua de bi ran qu shi [The necessity of cultural integration in the Pearl River Delta]. Beijing xing zheng xue yuan xue bao, 3, 108–112.
- Liu, S. H. (2005). Yue gang ao da zhu san jiao qu yu lv you fa zhan zhan lue [The tourism strategy of the Great Pearl River Delta]. *Zhu jiang lun tan, 2,* 51–55.
- Liu, S. H., Zhang, W. Q., & Qiao, J. G. (2007). A brief discussion on construction of spatial layout pattern of tourism and recreation industry in Guangdong province. Tropical. *Geography*, 27(2), 164–168.
- Liu, Z. P. (1999). Lv you dui mu di di she hui wen hua ying xiang yan jiu jie gou kuang jia [The research structure on socio-cultural impacts on tourist destination]. *Guilin lv you gao deng zhuan ke xue xiao xue bao, 10*(1), 29–56.
- Park, D. B., Lee, K.-W., Choi, H.-S., & Yoon, Y. (2012). Factor influencing social capital in rural tourism communities in South Korea. *Tourism Management*, 33, 1511–1520.
- Sun, J. X. (2005). Positive effects of community participation in tourism upon the protection of ethnic traditional culture. *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities*, 27(4), 35–46.
- Sun, J. X. (2010). Lv you dui mu di di she qu zu qun ren tong de ying xiang—ji yu bu tong lv you zuo yong de an li fen xi [Studies of tourism impacts on sense of belonging to ethnic community in tourist destination]. *Journal of Sun Yat-sen University*, 50(1),

- 170-177.
- Sun, J. X., & Ma, J. T. (2009). Lv you dui mu di di she hui wen hua ying xiang yan jiu xin jin zhan yu kuang jia [Latest trend and structure of research on socio-cultural impact of tourism]. *Qiu Suo, 6, 72–74*.
- Swartz, D. (1997). Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tang, Y. Y. (2014). The Socio-cultural impact of intercultural tourism on tourist destination: A study on Boao. Unpublished master dissertationHainan, China: Hainan University.
- Theron, A., & Nunez, J. (1963). Tourism, tradition, and acculturation: Weekendismo in a Mexican village. *Ethnology*, 2(3), 347–352.
- Wall, G. (1996). Rethinking impacts of tourism. Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research. 2, 207–215.
- Wang, M., & Sun, Y. P. (2001). Socio cultural impacts of tourism on destination society. Journal of Tianjin University of Commerce, 21(4), 35–37.
- Wu, H. (2006). Lv you dui min zu di qu wen hua bian qian de ying xiang [Tourism impacts on ethnic cultural vicissitude]. Jing ji yu she hui fa zhan, 5(4), 70–72.
- Xiao, G. M., Guo, S. H., & Tang, X. M. (2007). Social and cultural impacts of the tourism exploitation on ancient villages: A case study of Jinlin waterside-village in Deqing county. *Tropical Geography*, 27(1), 71–75.
- Xie, T., Zhong, L. S., Chen, T., & Yuan, H. (2006). Progress and prospect of study on socioculture impact of tourism on destination area. *Progress in Geography*, 25(5), 120–129.
- Xu, H., & Xiang, Z. Y. (2007). A case study of Zhuhai tourism cluster. Human Geography, 22(6), 76–80.
- Xu, H. C. (2012). Fan zhu san jiao lv you he zuo kong jian yan hua ji zhi ji ce lue [The spatial evolution mechanism and strategy of the Pan-Pearl River Delta]. *Te qu jing ji*, 11, 34–36.
- Yao, Y. H., & Zhao, J. J. (2008). Lv you dui mu di di ju min wen hua de ying xiang [Tourism impacts on local culture of tourist destination]. Tong ji yu jue ce, 5, 62–66.
- Zhang, B. (2004). Negative influence of tourism on the social culture of reception areas. Journal of Yunnan Normal University, 36(2), 125–130.
- Zhao, Y. X. (2010). Evolution and optimization of the spatial structure for domestic tourist market in Zhuhai. Tropical. Geography, 30(4), 425–426.
- Zhou, F., Zeng, L. Y., & Zhou, M. F. (2011). Study on the theoretical mechanism of tourism's moral and cultural impact on tourist destinations. *Journal of Hunan University of Technology Social Science Edition*, 16(1), 83–86.
- Zhou, H. Y., & Wu, J. H. (2004). A summary of domestic research on the impact of tourism on destinations' social culture. *Tourism Tribune*, 19(6), 88–92.
- Zong, X. L. (2002). The significance of Bourdieu's culture reproduction theory to the research of cultural vicissitudes. *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities*, 24(2), 22–25.
- Zong, X. L., & Dai, G. Q. (2005). Cultural expression in FSE tourism and its tourism-related influence: A tourism-anthropological interpretation of the International Dongba Culture & Art Festival. Si Xiang Zhan Xian, 31(2), 134–140.
- Zong, X. L., & Zhu, H. (2004). Literature review for studies on social-cultural impacts of tourism. *Human Geography*, 19(4), 14–21.



Liang, Jingyi is the holder of a Master's Degree in Sustainable Tourism at the Department of Geography and Resource Management, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her main research interests include cultural vicissitudes and cultural tourism.



Chan, Chung-Shing is a Research Assistant Professor at the Department of Geography and Resource Management, at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. His doctoral research investigates the potential of green resources for city branding in Hong Kong. His teaching and research interests include place branding and marketing, sustainable tourism and eco-tourism.