Perceptions of the 'Other' Residents: Implications for Attitudes of Tourism Development Focused on the Minority Ethnic Group

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ABSTRACT. This study utilizes the *Emotional Solidarity Scale* (ESS) to examine the relationship between ethnic majority (Japanese) and minority (Brazilian) residents living in Oizumi, Japan. Results revealed significant differences in nine of the 10 ESS items. Resulting ESS factors from confirmatory factor analysis were then found to predict six of the eight models among Japanese residents (versus only two among Brazilian residents) which explained perceptions of tourism focused on Brazilian culture. Results suggest emotional solidarity among disparate ethnic groups living in the community to be a key construct to consider when investigating residents' support for ethnic enclave tourism.

KEYWORDS. Resident attitudes, tourism planning, ethnicity, emotional solidarity scale, Japan, Japanese, Brazilians, ethnic enclave tourism

1. INTRODUCTION

The town of Oizumi in Gunma prefecture has been widely recognized for having the highest concentration of Brazilian immigrants (3678 individuals or 10% of the resident population) living in Japan (Oizumi Town, 2014). With a declining manufacturing industry and many unemployed residents, the town became in need of developing new economic opportunities. In 2007, the town created a tourism bureau to help diversify the local economy and identified Brazilian culture as a major resource to exploit in an effort to attract tourists. Brazilian neighborhoods, that had once been considered places to avoid, immediately became places for leisure and consumption (Pang & Rath, 2007). Having the highest concentration of Brazilian residents in the country, the town has recently celebrated its multiculturalism as a

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promotion strategy to appeal to potential visitors. Festivals celebrating Brazilian culture (centered on samba dance and the Carnival) and heritage are readily available throughout the year in Oizumi, as are tours visiting key Brazilian eateries and shops. In reality, however, Japanese and Brazilian residents in Oizumi have historically not been friendly to one another (Tsuda, 2003), oftentimes keeping their distance due to various conflicts in their everyday lives (e.g. competition for jobs, language barriers, cultural differences, etc.). Without much consideration for this strained relationship, local officials in Oizumi have neglected to consider how the two ethnic groups perceive one another and the implications these perceptions may have on attitudes regarding tourism development centered on Brazilian culture. A lack of considering these issues may negatively influence sustainability of tourism in Oizumi because for tourism to be sustainable, members of different ethnic groups within a community need to equally support its development (Cole, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Ying & Zhou, 2007).

One way in which to examine the relationship between Brazilians and Japanese living in Oizumi is through the consideration of emotional solidarity that exists between members of each group. The concept of emotional solidarity, which has its roots in sociology, concerns the degree of closeness or identification that individuals experience with one another (Hammarstrom, 2005). Wallace and Wolf (2006) consider the concept to be the 'we togetherness', which stands in stark contrast to the highly accepted 'self' versus 'Other' dichotomy throughout the tourism literature (Woosnam, Norman, & Ying, 2009). While the concept has been utilized extensively within the tourism literature involving relationships with individuals, to date the construct has only been utilized to examine the relationship between residents and tourists (Woosnam, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Woosnam & Aleshinloye, 2013; Woosnam & Norman, 2010; Woosnam et al., 2009). Implicit in the extant research is that each group of residents or tourists is homogenous in nature; that little variation in the perceptions of the relationship exists among residents and tourists. No one has examined levels of emotional solidarity between disparate cultural groups of residents living in the same destination, yet Woosnam

(2011b) has called for such work. Work is needed to assess solidarity between diverse ethnic groups living within a tourism destination, especially to determine if perceptions of the 'Other' have any bearing on how such residents view tourism development within the destination that focuses on the minority culture. Furthermore, both emotional solidarity and the perceptions of tourism development centered on Brazilian culture need to be examined so as to determine whether such pursuits will be sustainable for Oizumi moving forward. The purpose of this work therefore is threefold: (1) to compare Japanese and Brazilian residents' emotional solidarity with one another utilizing the Emotional Solidarity Scale (ESS); (2) to assess the factor structure of the ESS for each sample; and (3) to examine the relationship between ESS factors and perceptions of tourism development focused on Brazilian culture.

2.   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.   Perceptions of the 'Other'

Discourse concerning the "Other" is long-standing within the travel and tourism literature. As long as individuals travel and come into contact with members of the host population, the potential exists for individuals to romanticize or look down on the 'Other' as 'exotic' (Van den Berghe, 1994). Oftentimes, this quest for the 'Other' is at the core of travelers' motivations (Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2010). While the term was not explicitly used in his book, *The Tourist Gaze* (Urry (2002), Urry laid the groundwork for research that has taken shape over the last 25 years. One thing Urry captures within his text are key determinants of the gaze upon others. He puts forth the notion that the economic and social differences between the visitors and a majority of hosts contribute to the way in which individuals look at one another. Implicit within this idea is a focus on the separateness or distinctiveness between residents and tourists, which has marked much of the work on the concept.

Research on the 'Other' within the travel and tourism literature has largely been focused on the

tourists' perspectives of residents. In such work, an emphasis has been placed on power struggles and social inequalities (Wearing et al., 2010) between Westerners and non-Westerners (Buzinde & Santos, 2009; Caton & Santos, 2009). In this work, as Woosnam (2011b) points out, the research has focused on such inequalities from a post-colonial perspective (see Wearing & Wearing, 2006), drawing out divisions between 'host' and 'guest'. *The Host Gaze* edited by Moufakkir and Reisinger (2013) highlights a movement away from the norm and growing interest in focusing on how residents perceive those visiting.

To date, the work focusing on the 'Other' in the context of tourism not only highlights the separateness between residents and tourists but also considers residents as a homogenous entity where everyone lives in harmony and shares the same perspective on tourism development. This is despite a body of research recognizing the heterogeneous nature of communities (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Blackstock, 2005). Work has yet to focus on how two distinct ethnic groups living within a destination look upon or gaze at one another. The relationship between such ethnic groups needs to be examined because tourism destinations are usually packaged and marketed around singular brand images that often favor one culture's narrative over another and brush over the cultural complexities lying beneath the surface (Pike, 2005; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001; Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011). This is especially the case in Oizumi, Japan, where the Brazilian minority culture is highlighted as the dominant tourism attraction. The potential power struggles over whose culture is represented to tourists speaks to the need for more research into the subject and the many implications looking at resident perceptions of other resident groups has for tourism development within the destination. One means by which to examine the relationship is through emotional solidarity.

2.2. Emotional Solidarity

With its roots in classical sociology, the concept and theoretical framework of emotional solidarity was first conceived through the work of

Emile Durkheim (1995 [1915]). In a religious context, Durkheim envisaged solidarity forming (manifested as 'the church') through individuals' shared beliefs and behavior. Hammarstrom (2005) considered the construct to be the affective bonds an individual experiences with others, which are characterized by perceived emotional closeness and degree of contact. As a theorist, Durkheim never fully measured the construct or tested a model of potential relationships with other measures. To address this concern and examine the construct among Durkheim's proposed antecedents, Woosnam, Norman, and Ying (2009) and Woosnam and Norman (2010) introduced emotional solidarity to the travel and tourism literature.

Initially, Woosnam et al. (2009) and Woosnam and Norman (2010) formulated measures from focus groups and extensive literature reviews for each of the constructs within Durkheim's (1995 [1915]) model, in an initial effort to examine how residents' shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction with tourists affected their degree of solidarity with such visitors. From such work, the 10-item, ESS was developed which resulted in three unique factors: welcoming nature, emotional closeness, and sympathetic understanding. Woosnam and Norman's (2010) research marked the first time the ESS was formulated based on extensive exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Following this, Woosnam (2011a) tested Durkheim's model and found that shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction each significantly predicted residents' perceived emotional solidarity with tourists. With the realization that the relationship between residents and tourists would not be complete without considering perspectives of each group, Woosnam (2011b) examined residents' and tourists' emotional solidarity with one another to find that two of the three factor means were found to be significantly different among the groups.

Unique to the work of emotional solidarity within the travel and tourism literature is that the construct typically serves as an outcome of other measures. The one exception to this is the work by Woosnam (2012) that focused on how emotional solidarity served as a predictor of residents' perceptions of tourism development. The author found that ESS factors significantly

explained roughly a third of the variance in each of the factors comprising Lankford and Howard's (1994) *Tourism Impact Attitude Scale*. Work involving the construct as a predictor of other measures is largely lacking. Furthermore, the research by Woosnam (2012) only considered perceptions of tourism development without any focus on a particular culture or ethnic group. Implicitly, this short sight reflects a misconceived notion that resident populations are homogenous. To date, no one has considered emotional solidarity between two diverse ethnic resident groups, especially between representatives of the dominant and minority ethnicities in a destination. Such work would reflect the heterogeneous nature of residents' ethnicity that exists within a destination.

2.3. Perceptions of Tourism Development Focused on Minority Group

Tourism is often said to lead to the commoditization of culture (Greenwood & Smith, 1989; MacCannell, 1973). Particularly, a minority culture can easily be converted to a commodity for tourists in search of the exotic 'Other' (Cohen, 1988). Santos and Yan (2008) argue that ethnic enclave tourism fits in the broader context of the commodification of ethnicity for tourism because a primary motivation of tourists to an ethnic neighborhood is to gaze at exotic 'Others' who are different from the Western self. Tourism is also selective and politically biased (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Cole, 2006). That is to say, in the process of commoditization of local culture, especially in a multicultural community, as culture of one group is selected for tourism representation, culture of other groups may become unnoticed by tourists (Palmer, 2007). Such biased representation may bring a new struggle of power within a community.

Several studies have illustrated the influence of tourism on relationships between different ethnic groups within a tourism destination (Gamper, 1981; Henderson, 2000). For example, Palmer (2007) illustrates that case in Kyrgyzstan, where the ethnic Kyrgyz culture was represented as a main attraction for tourists. Although the country contains 80 different

ethnic groups, members of other ethnic groups did not consider this biased representation as a problem because they recognized the importance of showcasing the 'novel' ethnicity to be successful in tourism. In this case, having a common goal of being successful as a tourism destination united different ethnic groups. In contrast, Jamison (1999) maintained that tourism may bring tension among different ethnic groups because of competition over tourism-related resources.

The aforementioned studies (e.g. Gamper, 1981; Henderson, 2000; Jamison, 1999), however, simply regard the nature of relationships among ethnic groups within a tourism destination as a result of the distribution of or competition over benefits from tourism. That is to say, studies have yet to explore whether an emotional connection or *emotional solidarity* exists between different ethnic groups within a destination. What has occurred, however, is work (see Woosnam, 2012) that addresses how solidarity explains residents' overall perceptions of tourism development, irrespective of any particular form of tourism (i.e. that which is centered on one unique culture or ethnic group). The shortcoming of such research is that it considers all residents have the same perspective concerning attitudes toward such tourism development. The potential exists for a group of residents to feel slighted or taken advantage of especially when their culture is exploited for gain. The need exists for research to be undertaken which examines the role that emotional closeness between different ethnic groups may play in how tolerant locals are of one another and how their level of support for tourism development highlights the culture of the minority group. These research gaps set the stage for the investigation of emotional solidarity between Brazilians and Japanese in Oizumi, Japan.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Study Context

The relationship between Brazil and Japan has been marked by a unique history of migration. Between 1908 and 1941, roughly 158,800 people migrated from Japan to Brazil

to work in coffee plantations (Suzuki, 1969). From 1942 to 1973, another 55,000 people migrated to Brazil in search of work and a higher quality of life (Nakamura, 2008). By the 1980s, as Brazil's economic crisis coincided with Japan's booming economy, a large number of Japanese emigrants, their descendants, and their family members began to migrate back to Japan. The number of Brazilian residents in Japan dramatically increased with the change of Japanese immigration policy in 1989, and hit its peak in 2007 with 316,967 registered Brazilians (Ministry of Justice, n.d.). Although the number began to decline in 2008 due to the bankruptcy of the Lehman Brothers and the Great East Japan Earthquake, in 2013, 185,644 Brazilians were registered as long-time residents, which makes them the fourth-largest ethnic group in Japan, following immigrants and their descendants from China, Korea, and the Philippines.

Located approximately 110 km northwest of Tokyo, Oizumi is found within the Ora District of the Gunma Prefecture. Of the 40,257 residents in the town, 3678 are Brazilians (Oizumi Town, 2014). This is the largest percentage of Brazilians living in any town or city throughout Japan. While the town has a rich history in manufacturing as evidenced by an influx of Brazilian workers arriving in the 1980s (Tsuzuki, 2000), a shift is occurring in economic development for the town that focuses on the promotion of Brazilian culture in seeking to appeal to potential tourists. With the advent of the tourism bureau in 2007 and the town beginning to receive a governmental subsidy due to local job losses in 2011, many within the destination have considered Brazilian ethnic enclave tourism an answer to local economic hardships. According to the Bureau of Statistics in Gunma prefecture, approximately 200,000 visitors arrived in Oizumi in 2013 (Oizumi Town, 2014). Before development grows to an unmanageable level and more tourists arrive, tourism managers and planners need to assess how Japanese and Brazilians feel about each other and how that translates into tourism development focused on Brazilian culture.

3.2. Data Collection and Sampling

Japanese and Brazilian residents residing in Oizumi were sampled from November 2013 to June 2014. An on-site, self-administered survey instrument was distributed door-to-door to heads of households or their spouses in 28 of the 30 administrative areas as designated by the town office of Oizumi. The use of self-administered survey instruments has been widely accepted in the tourism literature concerning resident studies (see Boley & McGehee, 2014; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Woosnam, 2011a), allowing for increased response rates, same-day completion of questionnaires, and the ability to cover an extensive geographic area with great efficiency. Using a multi-stage cluster sampling scheme, the research team visited every second household, starting in randomly selected locations within each area. If the resident agreed to participate in the study, a survey instrument was left with the participant and picked up later that day (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Woosnam, 2011a, 2011b). If no one answered the door, the research team visited the next immediate house, and the sequence was started over.

Overall, 7931 households were visited. At approximately 68% ($n = 3,377$) of the homes, no one answered the door. At the remaining 1554 homes, 854 declined, and 700 surveys were distributed (an acceptance rate of 45%). In total, 662 surveys were completed by residents (a completion rate of 94%). The overall response rate (662 completed survey instruments from the 1554 individuals contacted) was 42%. Of the 662 surveys completed, 12 were less than half completed and were discarded, resulting in 650 usable instruments (i.e. 467 completed by Japanese residents and 183 completed by Brazilian residents).

3.3. Instrument and Analysis

Examining differences in emotional solidarity between representatives of the two ethnicities in Oizumi was a primary focus of this paper and as such, the authors utilized the 10-item ESS (Table 1) as developed by Woosnam

and Norman (2010). The 10 items comprised three factors: *welcoming nature* (four items); *emotional closeness* (two items); and *sympathetic understanding* (four items). Respondents were asked to rate each ESS item using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). The ESS was selected for use given (1) it was most appropriate considering specific measures within the scale to address relationships within a tourism context, and (2) its strong psychometric properties (i.e. high reliabilities and validities) as evidenced in the work of Woosnam (2011a, 2011b, 2012). In addition to the ESS, eight items concerning perceptions of tourism development focused on Brazilian culture were formulated from a review of the literature (Aytar & Rath, 2012; Drew, 2011; Pang & Rath, 2007; Santos & Yan, 2008) as well as through themes emerging from qualitative analysis of on-site semistructured interviews (focused on the influence of Brazilian culture on tourism development) with 32 residents (including six business owners and 26 special event attendees) in Oizumi between June 2012 and May 2013. The 32 residents consisted of four Brazilian and 28 Japanese residents. The interviews were tape recorded, transcribed, and analyzed through a cross-case approach

(Dye, Schatz, Rosenberg, & Coleman, 2000). After creating temporary categories, the categories across the cases were compared to look for repetitions and variations. Continuous refinement yielded eight themes. These resulting eight themes were developed into unique items and were asked using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree) for each statement. The eight items (which included a mixture of positively and negatively worded statements) were: 'tourism provides employment mainly for foreigners', 'tourism development focused on Brazilian culture provides a way to get to know Brazilian neighbors', 'Oizumi has other things to showcase besides those focusing on Brazilian culture', 'tourism development in Oizumi should not focus solely on Brazilian culture', 'I do not think Oizumi should be portrayed as a Brazilian town', 'Japanese residents will feel out of place if tourism development focuses on Brazilian culture', 'tourism presents only stereotypes of Brazilian culture', and 'local Brazilians should be more involved in tourism development in Oizumi'.

Residents were also asked questions concerning socio-demographic information (e.g. gender, age, marital status, education, annual household income, and length of residency). All items were translated initially from

TABLE 1. Differences[a] in ESS Items[b] Between Oizumi Residents

ESS item	Japanese residents	Brazilian residents	F	p
	Mean	Mean		
I appreciate [][c] residents for the contribution they make to the local economy.	4.44	5.66	109.14	0.00
I have made friends with some [][c] residents in Oizumi.	3.36	4.89	69.01	0.00
I feel close to some [][c] residents I have met in Oizumi.	4.39	4.51	0.60	0.44
I understand [][c] residents.	4.23	5.54	111.26	0.00
I treat [][c] residents fairly.	4.94	6.13	113.29	0.00
I feel affection toward [][c] residents in Oizumi.	4.24	5.79	173.12	0.00
I identify with [][c] residents in Oizumi.	4.04	5.10	76.89	0.00
I am proud to have [][c] residents in Oizumi.	3.87	5.47	179.87	0.00
I have a lot in common with [][c] residents in Oizumi.	3.60	4.90	98.82	0.00
I feel the community benefits from having [][c] residents in Oizumi.	4.22	5.28	63.98	0.00

Notes. ESS: emotional solidarity scale; MANOVA: multivariate analysis of variance.
[a]MANOVA model Wilks's Λ = 0.57, $F(10,614)$ = 45.70, $p < 0.001$, η^2 = 0.43; [b]items were rated on a 7-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; [c]Brazilian or Japanese; opposite of sample in question.

English into Japanese, and then from Japanese back into English by different translators (back-translation) to ensure translational/linguistic equivalence (Brislin, 1970; Malhotra, Agarwal, & Peterson, 1996. Survey instruments were prepared both in Japanese and in Portuguese. The research team (consisting of two student assistants from a local university and the authors) had each version of the survey instrument with them as they visited each home and provided the appropriate version based on language preference. Although the members of the research team did not speak Portuguese, they carried an explanatory note written in Portuguese to explain the nature of the survey and ask those who did not speak Japanese to participate.

In order to address the first purpose of the paper, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) (in SPSS v.21) was utilized that allowed for comparison of responses to ESS items between Japanese and Brazilian residents. CFA in EQS 6.2 was then used to assess the factor structure of the ESS for each sample. Finally, to examine the relationship between the resulting ESS factors (from the CFA results) and the eight items measuring perceptions of tourism development focused on Brazilian culture, multiple linear regression analysis (in SPSS v.21) was undertaken for each sample.

4. FINDINGS

4.1. Residential Profile

Nearly half of each sample (49.3% for Japanese and 54.6% for Brazilians) was comprised of women with nearly three-in-four individuals married (74.3% for Japanese and 71.5% for Brazilians). For Japanese residents ($M = 53.7$ years of age), nearly two-thirds of the respondents were at least 50 years of age whereas for Brazilians ($M = 41.7$ years of age), the same percentage of individuals fell between the ages of 18 and 49 years. In terms of education, approximately one-in-three individuals in each sample had a minimum of a technical/vocational degree. For both samples, the median

range of annual household income was consistent with working class salaries, ¥2,000,000–3,999,999 (the equivalent of US$ 18,500–US$ 37,000 annually). Likely a function of respondents' age, Japanese residents indicated a significantly longer residential tenure in Oizumi ($M = 31.6$ years) than Brazilian residents ($M = 8.8$ years).

4.2. Comparing Japanese and Brazilian Residents' Emotional Solidarity With One Another

A MANOVA with Wilks's Λ was undertaken to determine if Japanese and Brazilian residents' perceived emotional solidarity with one another was different across the 10 items within the ESS. Significant differences were found among resident populations on all but one item (Wilks's $\Lambda = 0.57$, $F_{(10,614)} = 45.70$, $p < 0.001$). The multivariate η2 based on Wilks's Λ was moderate, 0.43, indicating that 43% of the multivariate variance of the 10 ESS items was associated with either being a Japanese or Brazilian resident. As Green and Salkind (2011, p. 224) have claimed, 'It is unclear what should be considered a small, medium, and large effect size for this [η2] statistic'. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) for the item, 'I feel close to some [] residents I have met in Oizumi', was the only one of ten items that was not significant ($F_{(1,625)} = 0.60$, $p = 0.44$), as can be shown in nearly identical mean scores for Japanese residents ($M = 4.39$) and Brazilian residents ($M = 4.51$). Table 1 provides output for the MANOVA model and its ANOVA results for each ESS item.

4.3. CFA of ESS for Each Resident Sample

In order to address the second purpose of the paper, a two-step CFA procedure was undertaken on the ESS items for both samples. Following Woosnam (2011a, 2011b), LaGrange Multiplier tests were utilized in building the models with all error terms included,

then Wald tests were employed to trim the models by removing error terms in such a way so as not to violate the critical value of 3.84 for $\Delta\chi^2/df$ (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). For the Japanese residents' model, 13 error terms (i.e. 10 error covariances and 3 cross-loaders) were identified and successfully removed. Ten error terms (i.e. all error covariances) were identified for the Brazilian residents' model, for which nine of the items were successfully removed. The item 'I feel the community benefits from having [] residents in Oizumi' had to be removed given it violated the 3.84 critical value. As can be seen in Table 2, a nearly identical three-factor structure of the ESS resulted for Japanese as well as Brazilian residents.

Absolute model fit indices (i.e. root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA)) were considered 'fair' (falling between 0.05 and 0.08) for both models (Browne & Cudeck, 1993).

Incremental model fit indices (i.e. comparative fit index (CFI)) each exceeded the 0.95 threshold that Kaplan (2009) considers to be 'acceptable'. Standardized factor loadings all exceeded the critical value of 0.50 as Comrey and Lee (1992) suggest and were significant ($p < 0.001$; t-value exceeding 3.29). Factors within each model all demonstrated high internal consistency with MWA values surpassing the 0.70 threshold. AVE for each of the factors within the models also exceeded the 0.50 critical value, which according to Hair, Black, Babin, and Anderson (2010) is a good rule of thumb.

4.4. ESS Predicting Perceptions of Tourism Development

Based on CFA results, composite factor means were calculated within each sample and used within a series of multiple linear regression

TABLE 2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of ESS Items for both Resident Groups

Factor and corresponding item	Japanese residents[a]				Brazilian residents[b]			
	Mean[c]	Std. factor loading (t-value[d])	MWA[e]	AVE	Mean[c]	Std. factor loading (t-value[d])	MWA[e]	AVE
Welcoming nature	**4.37**		87	57	**5.75**		78	58
I am proud to have []^f residents in Oizumi.	3.87	87 (18.50)			5.47	72 (19.60)		
I feel the community benefits from having []^f residents in Oizumi.	4.22	77 (16.72)			-	-		
I appreciate []^f residents for the contribution they make to local economy.	4.44	73 (14.67)			5.66	76 (6.55)		
I treat []^f residents fairly.	4.94	63 (12.60)			6.13			
Emotional closeness	**3.88**		75	62	**4.70**		88	79
I feel close to some []^f residents I have met in Oizumi.	4.39	96 (20.54)			4.51	92 (16.00)		
I have made friends with some []^f residents in Oizumi.	3.36	55 (12.87)			4.89	86 (13.55)		
Sympathetic understanding	4.03		92	66	5.33		90	59
I feel affection toward []^f residents in Oizumi.	4.24	87 (19.40)			5.79	75 (8.02)		
I identify with []^f residents in Oizumi.	4.04	85 (18.08)			5.10	83 (12.97)		
I have a lot in common with []^f residents in Oizumi.	3.60	77 (19.10)			4.90	90 (14.45)		
I understand []^f residents.	4.23	75 (17.29)			5.54	55 (6.45)		

Notes.ESS: emotional solidarity scale; MWA: maximal weighted alpha; AVE: average variance extracted.
[a]Satorra–Bentler χ^2 (32, N = 456) = 101.78, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.08.
[b]Satorra–Bentler χ^2 (32, N = 183) = 36.57, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.08.
[c]Items were rated on a 7-point scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.
[d]All t-tests were significant at $p < 0.001$.
[e]Maximal weighted alpha as reported in EQS 6.2.
[f]Brazilian or Japanese; opposite of sample in question.

analyses (Table 3) to determine if emotional solidarity between the ethnic groups had impacts on how residents perceived tourism development focused on Brazilian culture. Overall, emotional solidarity was a significant predictor of the tourism development items among Japanese residents, with all eight models yielding significant findings. Furthermore, it was the factor *welcoming nature* that uniquely contributed to the variance in a preponderance of the models. For the Brazilian residents, emotional solidarity proved to have less of an impact (yielding significance in four models) on how such individuals perceived tourism development focused on their own culture. Despite this, *welcoming nature* once again contributed to the predictive power of emotional solidarity on the development items.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study extended the previous work on emotional solidarity beyond the traditional focus on relationships between residents and tourists (Woosnam, 2011b, 2012; Woosnam & Aleshinloye, 2013) by investigating the relationship between diverse ethnic groups of residents within the same destination. The misheld assumption that communities are homogenous was challenged by emphasizing the complexity of communities within tourism destinations and subsequently testing to see if there were differences in how the Brazilians and Japanese residents living Oizumi felt toward one another. This manifested into three overarching research goals: (1) to compare Japanese and Brazilian residents' emotional solidarity with one another utilizing the ESS; (2) to assess the factor structure of the ESS for each sample; and (3) to examine the relationship between ESS factors and perceptions of tourism development that is focused on Brazilian culture.

In regard to the first objective, the findings revealed that the Brazilian ethnic group and the Japanese ethnic group living within Oizumi had significantly different perceptions of emotional solidarity measured by the ESS dimensions. For example, the findings revealed that the minority Brazilian residents had significantly higher scores on nine of the 10 ESS items indicating

that the minority Brazilian residents, whose culture is being promoted through ethnic enclave tourism, felt closer to the Japanese residents than the Japanese residents felt toward the Brazilian residents. Such a finding contradicts the work of Tsuda (2003) that illustrates Brazilian residents tend to keep their distance from Japanese residents. This finding may be attributed to the ability of ethnic enclave tourism to transition the power away from the dominant ethnic group to the minority group whose culture is being promoted. This transition in power may be the source of the divergent feelings of emotional solidarity between the two groups. Perhaps the increased attention on Brazilian culture from tourism has allowed the Brazilian residents to let their guard down and better appreciate their Japanese neighbors. On the other hand, the changing power dynamic toward the minority Brazilian residents may have alienated Japanese residents and caused them to be more standoffish toward their Brazilian neighbors. These findings highlight the need for research into the complexities of communities within tourism destinations and how different identities may influence attitudes and perceptions of solidarity.

The second objective of this research study was to test the construct validity of the ESS in an international context. The ESS was originally developed using a sample of South Carolina residents in the United States (US), and the Oizumi sample provided two distinct cultures for testing the psychometric properties of the ESS. As seen in Table 2, the three-dimensional factor structure of the ESS was upheld across both ethnic groups. This finding has significant implications because it demonstrates the widespread applicability of the scale within an international context. Previous applications of the ESS have been limited to the US and the upheld construct validity here provides credence to the universal validity of the scale.

The last objective was to use the ESS dimensions of *welcoming nature, emotional closeness*, and *sympathetic understanding* as antecedents of different perceptions of tourism development to see if their significance as predictors differed by ethnic group. Results of the multiple regression analyses indicated that the ESS factors influenced

TABLE 3. Relationship Between Emotional Solidarity and Perceptions of TD Focused on Brazilian Culture

TD item with ESS factors[a]	Japanese residents				Brazilian residents			
	F	R^2	Beta(β)	t	F	R^2	Beta(β)	t
Model 1[b]								
Tourism provides employment mainly for foreigners	**22.07*****	**0.13**			**2.66***	**0.05**		
Welcoming nature			0.37	4.19***			0.18	1.66
Emotional closeness			0.07	1.19			0.01	0.01
Sympathetic understanding			−0.05	−0.55			0.04	0.31
Model 2								
TD focused on Brazilian culture provides way to get to know Brazilian neighbors	**52.15*****	**0.26**			**4.33****	**0.07**		
Welcoming nature			0.36	4.44***			0.28	2.61**
Emotional closeness			0.02	0.41			0.09	0.94
Sympathetic understanding			0.16	1.77			−0.09	−0.81
Model 3								
Oizumi has other things to showcase besides those focusing on Brazilian culture	**10.08*****	**0.07**			**6.02****	**0.10**		
Welcoming nature			0.11	1.24			0.20	1.92*
Emotional closeness			−0.03	−0.53			−0.01	−0.06
Sympathetic understanding			0.17	1.69			0.14	1.20
Model 4								
TD in Oizumi should not focus solely on Brazilian culture	**9.71*****	**0.06**			**4.53****	**0.08**		
Welcoming nature			0.18	1.93*			0.08	0.74
Emotional closeness			−0.11	−1.83			0.03	0.03
Sympathetic understanding			0.14	1.37			0.21	1.82
Model 5								
I do not think Oizumi should be portrayed as Brazilian town	**14.89*****	**0.09**			**2.29**	**0.04**		
Welcoming nature			−0.17	−1.91*			−0.03	−0.31
Emotional closeness			−0.06	−1.02			0.15	1.57
Sympathetic understanding			−0.10	−1.03			0.10	0.80
Model 6								
Japanese residents will feel out of place if TD focuses on Brazilian culture	**5.67****	**0.04**			**1.20**	**0.02**		
Welcoming nature			−0.12	−1.26			−0.09	−0.76
Emotional closeness			−0.03	−0.45			0.11	1.16
Sympathetic understanding			−0.07	−0.65			0.10	0.83
Model 7								
Tourism presents only stereotypes of Brazilian culture	**6.93*****	**0.05**			**1.43**	**0.03**		
Welcoming nature			−0.01	−0.16			−0.06	−0.53
Emotional closeness			0.04	0.64			0.14	1.45
Sympathetic understanding			−0.22	−2.21*			0.07	0.58
Model 8								
Local Brazilians should be more involved in TD in Oizumi	**39.28*****	**0.21**			**2.16**	**0.04**		
Welcoming nature			0.44	5.25***			0.19	1.73
Emotional closeness			0.05	0.93			−0.06	−0.58
Sympathetic understanding			−0.01	−0.08			0.04	0.76

Notes. TD: tourism development; ESS: emotional solidarity scale.
[a]Both TD and ESS items were presented on a 7-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*.
[b]Tolerance (tol) is a measure that assesses degree of multi-collinearity in the model. For Japanese models, tol = 0.26, 0.57, and 0.21 for the three factors. For Brazilian models, tol = 0.48, 0.64, and 0.42.
*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

the two ethnic groups' perceptions of tourism development differently. For example, the ESS factors significantly predicted six of the tourism development items for the Japanese sample while only predicting two of the tourism development items for the Brazilian sample. There are two potential explanations for the increased predictive ability of the ESS within the Japanese sample. The first stems from the Japanese residents having less favorable attitudes toward this type of ethnic enclave tourism that highlights a culture different than their own. Indeed, those Japanese residents who scored significantly lower on the emotional solidarity dimension of *welcoming nature* appear to strongly agree with the tourism development item opposing Brazilian ethnic enclave tourism in Oizumi (Model 5; $\beta = -0.17$, $p = 0.05$). The second potential explanation is that the Japanese residents who do feel close to the Brazilian residents actually have a more positive disposition toward this type of ethnic enclave tourism development since they have had the opportunity to actually know and interact with Brazilians. This is especially evident because those who scored higher on the *welcoming nature* factor also scored higher on the items of tourism being a way to become acquainted with Brazilian neighbors and the need to involve local Brazilians in the process of tourism development. This may indicate that individuals who are very welcoming of Brazilians consider tourism as an opportunity for Japanese and Brazilians to cooperate and build a strong multicultural community. Such a perspective is consistent with previous studies (Gamper, 1981; Henderson, 2000; Jamison, 1999) that maintain tourism can unite different ethnic groups by offering a common goal to achieve. This line of thought supports the importance of emotional solidarity in overcoming the differences between ethnic groups because if there is a shared connection between the groups, then they are more likely to support that type of tourism development which is focused on the minority culture.

5.1. Theoretical and Managerial Implications

These findings have many theoretical and practical implications for both academics and practitioners alike. Theoretically, these results further cement the importance of emotional solidary as a precursor to the formation of residents' attitudes toward tourism. Woosnam's previous work (Woosnam, 2011a, 2011b, 2012) has shown this to be true for how homogenous resident groups form their attitudes toward tourism and the results from this study provide credence for emotional solidarity's role in the formation of the majority residents' attitudes toward the minority ethnicity on display in ethnic enclave tourism. The type of ethnic enclave style tourism within Oizumi also provides academics with an interesting avenue to explore how the power relations between the ethnic majority and ethnic minority influence attitudes toward tourism development. The work of Foucault (1982) and Cheong and Miller (2000) contends that power is omnipresent and strongly manifested within the social relationships between ethnic groups within the destination as well as between tourists, residents, and tourism brokers. If this is the case, then the changing power dynamics when one ethnicity is promoted over the other may be behind perceptions of emotional solidarity and ultimately support for tourism development. An additional framework that may prove beneficial in understanding how ethnic enclave tourism switches the power dynamic between ethnic groups is Scheyvens (1999) empowerment framework recently operationalized by Boley and McGehee (2014). Perhaps what is occurring between the two ethnic groups is an enhanced or decreased level of psychological, social, or political empowerment from an ethnic enclave style of tourism that promotes one ethnicity over another. This type of ethnic enclave tourism would certainly have consequences for the pride and self-esteem of residents (*psychological empowerment*), perceptions of the cohesion within the community (*social empowerment*), and perceptions of being included in the tourism planning process (*political empowerment*).

As far as practical implications for managers of ethnic enclave tourism destinations like Oizumi are concerned, the results clearly support initiatives aimed at increasing the

connection between the ethnic majority residents and the ethnic minority residents. This is especially the case for the ESS dimension of *welcoming nature*. If the ethnic majority group perceives the minority group as welcoming, then the results suggest they will be significantly more likely to have a favorable attitude toward ethnic enclave tourism. Destination managers can facilitate these types of positive interactions in numerous ways. One possible solution would be to invite local Japanese residents on walking tours that stop at various sites related to Brazilian culture. As previous studies (Maruyama & Woosnam 2015; Tsuda, 2003) indicate, the interactions between Japanese and Brazilian residents are limited in Oizumi. Therefore, increasing interaction between the two groups in a positive manner and providing the opportunity for Japanese residents to learn what is represented for tourists and to experience the friendliness of the Brazilians may help to break down long-held negative stereotypes that some Japanese have of Brazilians. It is believed that these types of opportunities for increased interaction will help foster the dimensions of emotional solidarity shown to positively influence the ethnic majority's attitudes towards ethnic enclave tourism.

5.2. Limitations and Future Research

This study was conducted to examine how Japanese and Brazilian residents perceive each other, and also how the perceptions of each other influence their attitudes toward Brazilian ethnic neighborhood tourism development in Oizumi Town, Japan. Because this study was conducted in only one community, future studies should continue to examine how members of different ethnic groups within a destination perceive each other, and how these perceptions influence their support for ethnic neighborhood tourism. Such studies should be conducted both within and outside of Japan to see if this is a universal phenomenon.

Another shortcoming of this study is the fact that Brazilian immigrants in Oizumi initially immigrated to Japan as factory workers, and

therefore, Japanese residents have a stereotypical view of Brazilians as uneducated, unskilled workers (Tsuda, 2003). However, current immigrants or foreign residents in Japan include not only factory workers but also white collar workers, such as language teachers, medical workers, and information technology (IT) workers. Therefore, future research needs to explore how Japanese and foreign residents in an ethnic neighborhood where foreign residents with various occupations reside perceive each other, and how these perceptions relate to their attitudes toward tourism development focusing on a minority culture.

As scholars maintain (Cole, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Ying & Zhou, 2007), for tourism to be sustainable, support from the local community is essential. However, few studies have explored, when a community is made up of different ethnic groups, how they perceive each other, and how such perceptions influence support for tourism that focuses on a particular minority culture. This study indicated that perceptions of Brazilians predicted Japanese people's support for and opposition to ethnic neighborhood tourism focused on Brazilian culture, while Brazilians' perception of Japanese was less important in shaping their attitudes toward tourism. This was the first attempt to examine how perceptions of the 'Other' resident group influences attitudes toward tourism. It is suggested that more studies explore how emotional closeness to different ethnic groups relates to the perception of ethnic enclave tourism. A better understanding of the power struggles existing within the destination and how the various resident groups interact with one another can help make this type of ethnic enclave style tourism more sustainable in the future.

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