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Incorporating emotion into social exchange: considering distinct resident groups' attitudes towards ethnic neighborhood tourism in Osaka, Japan

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ABSTRACT

While numerous studies have utilized SET to examine the residents' attitudes towards tourism, relatively scant from the literature is a discussion regarding the influence of emotion generated through SET among residents on their attitudes towards tourism. In addition, past studies mainly explored the social exchange between visitors and locals, while neglecting the social exchange within a local community. The goal of this study is to examine the influence individuals' emotions toward their ethnic counterparts within a community can have on residents' (i.e., members of the dominant ethnic group—Japanese and members of the ethnic minority group—Koreans) attitudes toward ethnic neighborhood tourism within the Korean neighborhood of Ikuno, Osaka, Japan. Ikuno has the highest concentration of Korean residents in Japan, and the town has become a destination of cultural tourism centered on Korean culture. Analysis of 640 completed questionnaires revealed while attitudes of Korean residents, who are more likely to perceive economic benefits from tourism have more favorable attitudes towards tourism, Japanese residents form their particular attitudes towards tourism based on the emotional solidarity they experience with their Korean neighbors. These findings indicate both utility of economic approach of social exchange theory and significant role of emotion in social exchange.

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Introduction

Ethnic neighborhoods, areas once negatively reputed for their low socio-economic status, have recently been refashioned as tourism destinations. Following the boom of multi-culturalism and the areas' economic downturn from post industrialization, overrepresentation of ethnic minority residents has now become a cultural asset in promoting ethnic neighborhood tourism (ENT). Examples of such locales include Chinatowns across North America and Asia, Little India in Singapore, and Greek town in Detroit.

While ENT may allow tourists to interact with members of an ethnic minority group and experience "authentic" ethnic culture without travelling abroad, it also has potential to increase the interaction and social exchange among locals, particularly between members of ethnic minority and dominant ethnic groups. Not only has the interaction between these two groups been limited in many ethnic neighborhoods, minority groups have often been in a marginal

position (Lie, 2008; Tsuda, 2003). Yet, with the implementation of ENT, the two groups may now interact more or even cooperate as members of “a local community.” This shift has ushered in greater opportunities for social exchange between the two groups. Although the influences of social exchange between visitors and locals on residents’ attitudes towards tourism have been a major area of research (e.g., Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2010), social exchange within a local community has been neglected.

Another neglected area regarding social exchange within tourism is the emotional aspect of social exchange. As Wang and Pfister (2008) argue, the current application of social exchange theory (SET) in tourism predominantly focuses on the economic aspect of the exchange, which focuses on the idea of rationality and maximization of self-interests, while emotion (e.g., a feeling of joy, confidence, or anger) is pervasive in common exchange processes (Lawler & Thye, 1999). Indeed, previous studies in organizational management (Dulac, Coyle-Shapiro, Henderson, & Wayne, 2008) or service marketing (Sierra & McQuitty, 2005) reveal both positive and negative emotions of individuals that influence a collective behavior (e.g., support of organizational success). However, exploring the roles of emotional dynamics in social exchange is lacking within tourism studies.

With this gap in mind, the goal of this study is to examine the influence that individuals’ emotions toward their ethnic counterparts within a community can have on residents’ (i.e., members of the dominant ethnic group—Japanese and members of the ethnic minority group—Koreans) attitudes toward tourism within the Korean ENT destination of Ikuno, Osaka, Japan. This utilizes the Emotional Solidarity Scale (ESS) to measure the emotional connectedness between residents of each ethnic group and the Tourism Impact Attitudes Scale (TIAS) to measure residents’ attitudes towards tourism. The specific aims of the research are: (1) to compare the scores on ESS and TIAS between Japanese and Korean residents; (2) to confirm factor structures of ESS and TIAS in the Japanese and Korean samples; and (3) to examine whether resulting ESS factors can significantly predict the resulting TIAS factors among Japanese and Korean samples.

Literature review

Social exchange and residents’ attitudes about tourism

While early studies of residents’ attitudes have been criticized for their descriptive and atheoretical nature, following Ap’s (1992) critique, several theoretical frameworks examining the mechanism through which residents form their attitudes towards tourism have been suggested. These frameworks include social representation theory (Moscardo, 2011), contact hypothesis (Amir & Ben-Ari, 1985; Tomljenovic, 2010), and growth machine theory (Harrill, Uysal, Cardon, Vong, & Dioko 2011).

Among these theories, social exchange theory (SET) has been the dominant theory (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Ward & Berno 2011). This theory, having its roots in sociology and first introduced to tourism studies by Ap (1992), conceptualizes social exchange as a series of interactions between two or more actors or groups acting as single units (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1958). In the exchange, each actor offers something that the other values and expects to receive in return from the other. Ap (1992) adopted SET in tourism studies to explain that local residents form their attitudes towards tourism based on the evaluation of perceived benefits from tourism (e.g., economic well-being) and costs of exchange (i.e., sharing resources with visitors and tolerating inconveniences caused by tourism).

SET has provided a strong conceptual basis with which to explain the fact that those who perceive direct economic benefits from the tourism sector will show more positive attitudes towards tourism development than others (e.g. Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2010; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990). For example, Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma, and Carter (2007) explored influences of perceived social, cultural, and economic impacts on the residents’ attitudes, and found that

perceived positive economic impacts have a strong influence on residents' support for tourism. Socio-demographic factors, such as age, gender, education, and ethnicity that may influence access to local tourism resources have also been identified as determinants of residents' attitudes (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Buzinde, Santos & Smith, 2006).

However, SET is not without shortcomings. Namely, while the application of SET emphasizes the economic influence on residents' attitudes, some studies (Sirakaya, Teye, & Sönmez, 2002; Wang & Pfister, 2008) indicate that the segment of residents who do not enjoy direct economic benefits from tourism still present positive or negative attitudes towards tourism, instead of forming neutral attitudes. The researchers evaluate non-economic, psychological benefits the residents perceive from tourism, such as intergroup understanding and anxiety (Ward & Berno, 2011), trust to government actors (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012), and residents' social and psychological empowerment (Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014; Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2016). These results indicate that non-economic benefit is a critical factor in social exchanges and relates to residents' attitude towards tourism. Therefore, some scholars (Boley et al., 2014; Ward & Berno, 2011) suggest the importance of combining SET with other theoretical frameworks for a more holistic approach.

In particular, Lawler and Thyne (1999, p. 218) point out a lack of involving emotion in SET within social science research by arguing that, in SET, actors are often viewed as "unemotional beings who have information, cognitively process it, and make decisions." In reality, however, social exchange generates various feelings, such as feeling of joy, confidence, or fear. Positive feelings created from the relationship, then, generate strong feelings of gratitude and solidarity between actors, which may influence not only the decision to continue to engage in the relationship but also the engagement in collective behavior. Indeed, in an organization, positive emotion toward peers can improve cooperation, decrease conflict, and increase perceived task performance (Barsade, 2002; Dulac et al., 2008). However, the roles of emotional dynamics in social exchange are largely not considered in tourism studies.

Another shortcoming in the application of SET within tourism research is that it has predominantly been applied to examine the exchange between the tourism industry or government actors and local residents (Ap, 1992; Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012), while overlooking social exchange and its outcomes within a community. This may be caused by a typical approach to a "community," which describes it as a homogeneous entity whose members share the same interest in tourism (Blackstock, 2005). However, as Crehan (1997) points out, a community is often divided by a line of gender, kin, and ethnicity, and each group has its own needs in tourism development as well as different levels of access to resources. At the same time, tourism is a community's joint activity that requires interdependencies of different groups within a community (Murphy, 1983). That is to say, it is likely that social exchange among the different actors in a community takes place through the development of tourism. However, just how the nature of social exchange within a community influences residents' attitudes towards tourism has not been explored.

Emotional solidarity and residents' attitudes about tourism

To consider emotions within the social exchange among members of a community, the concept of emotional solidarity (Woosnam & Norman, 2010) and affect theory of social exchange (Lawler, 2001) may be useful. Emotional solidarity refers to a feeling of unity that binds individuals together and demonstrates the degree to which one identifies with another (Woosnam & Aleshinloye, 2015). Opposed to the "self-versus-other" dichotomy found in some tourism literature, emotional solidarity is described as "we togetherness" (Wallace & Wolf, 1999). The emotional solidarity construct originated from the writings of Emile Durkheim, a classical sociologist (Durkheim, 1995 [1915]), and more recently, this construct has been applied to the tourism

literature (Woosnam, Norman, & Ying, 2009; Woosnam & Norman, 2010). According to Durkheim (1995 [1915]), interaction and joint activities have capacities to generate similar beliefs as well as affective sentiment towards each other, and the positive emotion makes salient social solidarity among individuals. Collins (1993) further suggests the theory of interaction ritual chains. According to Collins, choices of behaviors in real-life situations are less determined by calculation of costs and benefits but are influenced by interaction and solidarity among individuals. The interaction with others generates different levels of emotional energy in the individuals over time, and the energy influences the courses of action.

Following Durkheim's (1995 [1915]) and Collins' (1993) argument, Lawler (2001) put forth an affect theory of social exchange. The theory focuses on the emotional aspect of social exchange, postulating emotional solidarity as a crucial part of the exchange. According to the theory, if two actors in the exchange come to realize that they can accomplish something valuable and something that they each cannot accomplish alone or with other partners collectively, they feel gratitude for being a dependable partner in their joint effort. Repeated success in the social exchange creates positive emotions with their exchange partners. Then, the positive emotion makes the relation more salient to the actors, producing emotional solidarity among them and strengthening collective behavior. On the contrary, failure in the exchange fosters greater anger between actors, and the negative feeling hinders the formation of solidarity. Cook and Rice (2003) further elaborate that when the relationship is in power-imbalance, powerful actors perceive positive effects of exchange on the relational cohesion while less powerful actors perceive negative effects. Therefore, within a given relationship, individual actors may have different orientations towards the relationship.

An affect theory of social exchange has been empirically examined in the literature for organizational management (Ma & Qu, 2011; Mossholder, Richardson, & Settoon, 2011) and service marketing (Andersen & Kumar, 2006). For example, Sierra and McQuitty (2005) reveal that service providers offer something that stands out in a customer's mind while customers' emotional responses, such as expectation and satisfaction, also play key roles in the service exchange. Through the successful exchange, a sense of solidarity between the two parties is generated, leading to shared responsibility in the success or failure of a business. Similarly, Tse and Dasborough (2008) explore the social exchange among workers in an organization creating positive or negative emotions, and such emotions are found to influence workers' collective behavior to support the organizational success (e.g., altruism, commitment to high levels of work quality, positive attitudes).

In tourism research, Woosnam and his colleagues have conducted numerous studies (e.g., Woosnam, 2012; Woosnam & Norman, 2010) to examine the emotional solidarity between tourists and locals, and found that tourists indicate a higher degree of agreement with the ESS items than residents. This may be due to tourists' openness to the local culture, whereas residents may be more critical of tourists (Urry & Larsen, 2011; Woosnam, Erul, & Ribeiro, 2017). In addition, Woosnam, Maruyama, and Boley (2016a) explored emotional solidarity within a local community and found that in a Brazilian neighborhood in Japan, the ethnic stereotypes that Japanese residents held towards Brazilians strongly influenced their levels of emotional solidarity with their Brazilian neighbors. Similarly, Woosnam, Maruyama, and Boley (2016b) revealed that the emotional solidarity within a community can predict the residents' concern towards ethnic representation. However, only a few works have examined the relationship between residents' perceptions of emotional solidarity with fellow residents in their community and how that affects their collective behavior (e.g., support the tourism development as a community project).

A destination of ethnic neighborhood tourism can be a fertile example to explore the relationship between emotional solidarity and attitudes towards tourism. Ethnic neighborhood tourism is travel to ethnic minority neighborhoods. The products of this type are often associated with the unique foods and customs of the "authentic" ethnic culture that is not easily found within other parts of the city or country as a whole. Various terms have been applied in the

literature to explain this type of tourism, including tourism in ghettos (Conforti, 1996), ethnic precincts (Collins & Kunz, 2007), ethnic islands (Timothy, 2002), ethnic urban areas (Santos & Yan, 2008), and ethnic enclaves (Terzano, 2014). Previous studies (e.g., Conforti, 1996; Diekmann & Cloquet, 2015; Henderson, 2013) have also revealed various patterns and impacts of ENT. For example, ENT may allow diasporic residents to increase entrepreneurial opportunities and improve their socio-economic status (Pang, 2012; Santos & Yan, 2008). It may also reconstruct the image of the neighborhood from an under-privileged, undesirable ghetto to a place of leisure and tourism attraction (Conforti, 1996; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008), and empower the ethnic minority residents (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2016). At the same time, ENT may raise various issues regarding cultural authenticity, identity, and ownership of such neighborhoods (Chang, 2000; Henderson, 2013; Terzano, 2014). Generally, an ethnic neighborhood has been formed to serve a local ethnic community, although with the initiation of tourism, it often needs to appeal for non-ethnic visitors. As a result, Mak (2003) argues that a newly constructed Chinatown in Sydney represents “a common Chinese heritage that could instantly be identified as “Chinese” by non-Chinese people” (p. 96). Similarly, Conforti (1996) argues that transforming Little Italy into a tourism destination reflects the controversy on what, how, and for whom the ethnic neighborhood should be preserved and restored.

In addition, while ENT may allow tourists to interact with members of an ethnic minority group, it may also increase the opportunity for residents of ethnic minority and ethnic “dominant” groups to interact with each other. This change may have the potential to increase opportunities for social exchange between the two groups and influence emotional solidarity towards their ethnic counterparts and their attitudes towards ENT (Timothy & Kim, 2015). On one hand, it may increase emotional closeness between them as dependable partners to achieve the goal of being successful in tourism. At the same time, because ENT focuses on one particular ethnic culture, it may cause an imbalance in the access to resources and distribution of benefits between different ethnic groups, which may increase a feeling of anger towards the other group, and cause antagonism towards ENT that focuses on the other’s culture (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2017). Thus, with implementation of ENT, residents face the transformation of an ethnic relationship along with solidarity. With this in mind, the primary goal of this study is to examine the influence residents’ degree of emotional solidarity with their ethnic counterparts has on their attitudes toward tourism.

Research methods

Research context: Osaka Korean town

The Korean town in Ikuno, also known as Tsuruhashi Korean town, is located in close proximity to the central area of Osaka—Japan’s second largest city. Tsuruhashi station, the closest train station to the Korean town, is approximately a 15-min train ride from the Osaka Station. The Ikuno ward is home to 127,783 people, including 27,801 foreign-born residents, of which 23,499 claim Korean heritage (Ikuno Ward, 2018). This is the largest concentration of Korean residents in the country.

The Korean neighborhood in Ikuno emerged at the turn of the 20th Century, when a large number of colonial migrant workers from Korea, particularly from Chae-Joo Island, emigrated to work for the Hirano River maintenance project that began in 1919 (Ueda, 2011). Since its emergence, the Korean neighborhood had long been reputed as a place to avoid by the members of the dominant ethnic group. Owing to this history of colonization, the Japanese–Korean relationship in Japan has largely been characterized with hostility and anti-Korean sentiments among the Japanese population. Japanese superiority had been the predominant attitude towards Korean residents throughout the pre- and postwar periods (Lie, 2008). Yet, several turning points,

such as the 1988 Summer Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World cup gradually increased the popularity of the town as a tourism destination.

The most significant turning point for the town was the “Korean Wave,” also known as Hallyu, the global popularity of South Korean pop culture that swept through Japan in the early 2000s. Because of the sudden increase of popularity of Korean culture, the Korean town became re-fashioned as a “sacred place” for Hallyu fans. As favorable sentiments towards Koreans arose among Japanese citizens, the Korean Wave also caused the countervailing movement among Korean residents. While the vast majority of Korean residents in Japan had needed to use Japanese aliases to avoid discrimination before the wave, along with the spread of the boom, both the immigrants’ generation and their descendants who had been naturalized to Japan began revealing their ethnic origin and using their Korean names (Chung, 2006).

The current Korean town is located in a business district with ~120 restaurants, grocery stores, souvenir shops, clothing stores, and other Korean businesses. Although many shops in the town were originally wholesalers, some shop owners begun to sell small size, take-out food in front of their shop spaces to attract tourists who wanted to sample authentic Korean dishes (K. Kimura, personal communication, 25 June 2017). In addition, a number of new, modern stores targeting fans of “K-pop” have opened in the Korean town and along the road between the train station and the Korean town. The economic benefits from tourism are distributed to the Ikuno ward through several types of taxes. For example, tourists pay an 8% consumption tax for every expenditure made in the Korean town. Of which, 1.7% would be paid to the government of Osaka prefecture, and then distributed to cities and wards. In addition, the individual enterprise tax paid by small- and medium-sized business owners would increase as the tourists’ consumption expands. This five percent tax is directly paid to the prefectural government, and then, distributed throughout the prefecture, including Ikuno.

While the Hallyu boom has altered the reputation of the Korean town in a positive manner, some (Kim, 2007; Kumpis, 2015) argue that such Hallyu phenomenon has little effect on Japanese national sentiments towards Korean residents. Particularly, beginning in the 2010s, the interstate relationship among Japan, South and North Korea have constantly been tense around various issues, (e.g., dispute over sexual slavery of Korean women during WWII, unresolved territorial issues over Takeshima/Dokdo Islands, and military activities of North Korea). This has escalated anti-Korean sentiment among Japanese, including repeated hate speech around Korean neighborhoods, and may negatively affect the tourism in town (Chung, 2006; Kumpis, 2015).

Sampling and data collection

Residents living in Ikuno, namely Japanese and Korean residents, comprised the target populations for the study. Heads of households or their spouses residing in the area were contacted and asked to participate in the study between November 2013 and June 2015. Following a multi-stage cluster sampling scheme (Babbie, 2014), Ikuno-ward was reduced to 19 administrative areas designated by the town office. These administrative areas were then randomly selected. Within each administrative area, every second home was randomly selected and visited.

If the resident agreed, a questionnaire was left with the participant and picked up later that day (Woosnam, 2011). If no one answered the door, the research team visited the next immediate house, and the second-house sequence was restarted. Survey instruments were prepared in Japanese and Korean languages. For all languages, back translation was performed.

In total, 5,930 households were visited, and no one answered the door at approximately 58% of the homes. At the remaining 2,489 homes, 733 surveys were distributed (an acceptance rate of 29%). In total, 640 surveys were returned (a completion rate of 89% and overall response rate of 26%). Of the 640 surveys completed, 14 were less than half completed and were discarded,

Table 1. Descriptive summary of resident samples.

Variable	Japanese (%)	Koreans (%)
Socio-demographic		
Age ($n_{\text{Japanese}} = 420$, $M = 58.2$ years of age; $n_{\text{Koreans}} = 152$, $M = 50.4$ years of age)		
18–35	10.2	19.1
36–50	24.0	29.6
51–65	21.4	29.9
66 and over	41.0	21.4
Education ($n_{\text{Japanese}} = 443$, <i>Median</i> = High school graduate; $n_{\text{Koreans}} = 152$, <i>Median</i> = High school graduate)		
Less than high school	10.7	8.6
High school graduate	44.0	43.4
Technical school or junior college	23.4	19.1
Four-year college or higher	21.9	29.0
Annual household income ($n_{\text{Japanese}} = 337$, <i>Median</i> = ¥2,000,000 – 3,999,999; $n_{\text{Koreans}} = 118$, <i>Median</i> = ¥2,000,000 – 3,999,999)		
Less than ¥2,000,000 ^a	25.8	31.4
¥2,000,000 – 3,999,999	31.5	28.8
¥4,000,000 – 5,999,999	21.1	22.9
¥6,000,000 – 7,999,999	11.3	8.5
¥8,000,000 or more	10.4	8.5
Residential		
Length of residence in Ikuno ($n_{\text{Japanese}} = 440$, $M = 40.93$ years; $n_{\text{Koreans}} = 153$; $M = 34.52$ years)		
1–15 years	16.8	18.3
16–29 years	11.6	19.9
30–45 years	28.0	23.5
46+ years	43.6	38.3
Interaction with one another ($n_{\text{Japanese}} = 438$; $M = \text{Once or twice per month}$; $n_{\text{Koreans}} = 147$; $M = \text{More than twice per week}$)		
No interaction at all	22.6	2.7
Once or twice per year	11.9	0.7
Once or twice per month	13.7	9.5
Once or twice per week	11.2	9.5
More than twice per week	40.6	77.6

^aAt the time this study was conducted, 1 Japanese ¥ was equivalent to \$0.0096USD.

resulting in 626 usable instruments (i.e., 466 completed by Japanese residents and 160 completed by Korean residents).

Constructs and analysis

The constructs under investigation in this study are emotional solidarity and residents' perceived tourism impacts. To examine differences in emotional solidarity between residents of ethnic minority and dominant ethnic groups, the authors utilized the 10-item Emotional Solidarity Scale (see 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). This scale has been used in a number of tourism studies conducted in various tourism settings (Maruyama et al., 2016; Woosnam, 2012; Woosnam & Aleshinloye, 2015; Woosnam, Erul, & Ribeiro, 2017), demonstrating its strong reliability and validity.

To examine resident attitudes concerning tourism, the authors adopted 17 items from the Tourism Impact Attitude Scale (TIAS) (Lankford, Chen, & Chen, 1994). TIAS is a two-dimensional scale to measure both resident support for tourism and resident perceptions of tourism's contributions to the community. The TIAS has been one of the most standardized scales used to measure resident attitudes towards tourism since its development in the early 1990s. The scale has been used in numerous studies in tourism conducted in various countries, including in the United States (Woosnam, 2012), Japan (Maruyama et al., 2016), Malaysia (Abas & Hanafiah, 2013), and Northern Serbia (Petrović, Bjeljic, & Demirović, 2016).

For each scale, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement by using a 7-point scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. Additionally, residents were asked questions concerning socio-demographic and residential information (e.g., gender, age, marital status, education, annual household income, and length of residency).

To address the first purpose of this article, which involved comparing the scores of emotional solidarity and attitudes towards tourism between Japanese and Korean residents, multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was undertaken. ANOVAs were conducted with the utilization of IBM SPSS v.25. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was then used to examine the factor structures of each ESS and TIAS scale. Ultimately, structural equation modeling (SEM) was employed to examine the relationship between ESS and TIAS (the final purpose of this research). EQS v6.3 was utilized for both CFA and SEM analysis.

Results

Residential sample profiles

Relative to Japanese participants ($M = 58.2$ years of age), Korean participants ($M = 50.4$ years of age) were slightly younger, though each had the same median level of education (i.e., high school graduate). The two resident groups had the same median annual household income (i.e., ¥2,000,000–3,999,999) as well. Length of residency was somewhat similar, with Japanese residents ($M = 40.93$ years) indicating they lived in Ikuno, slightly longer than Korean residents ($M = 34.52$ years). When asked about degree of interaction with one another, Koreans claimed they interacted with Japanese residents more than twice per week on average, versus Japanese who claimed they interacted with Koreans once or twice per month.

Comparing Japanese and Korean residents' emotional solidarity with one another

A MANOVA with Wilks's Λ was undertaken to determine if Japanese and Korean residents' perceived emotional solidarity with one another was different than the ten-item ESS. Significant differences were found among resident populations on all items (Wilks's $\Lambda = 0.78$, $F(10,593) = 17.05$, $p < 0.001$), with Koreans ranking the 10 items significantly higher than Japanese residents. The multivariate η^2 based on Wilks's Λ was modest, 0.22, indicating that 22% of the multivariate variance of the ten ESS items was associated with either being a Japanese or Korean resident. Table 2 provides output for the MANOVA model and its ANOVA results for each ESS item.

Comparing Japanese and Korean residents' perceptions of tourism impacts

An identical MANOVA with Wilks's Λ was performed to see whether the resident groups perceived impacts of tourism (across the 17 TIAS items) differently within Ikuno. As with the ESS items, Koreans reported higher item means, with 13 of the 17 significantly different (Wilks's $\Lambda = 0.91$, $F(17,595) = 3.59$, $p < 0.001$). The multivariate η^2 based on Wilks's Λ was 0.09. Items that residents expressed the same level of agreement on pertained to better roads due to tourism, quality of life improving because of tourism development, quality of public services improving due to more tourism, and household standards of living increasing because of tourist spending. Table 3 provides output for the MANOVA model and its ANOVA results for each TIAS item.

CFA for measurement models of each resident sample

Prior to examining the relationship between ESS and TIAS factors, measurement models using CFA were undertaken so as to examine factor structure of each construct. This two-step

Table 2. Differences^a in emotional solidarity scale (ESS) items^b between Ikuno (Osaka) residents.

ESS Item	Japanese residents Mean	Korean residents Mean	F	p
I appreciate [] ^c residents for the contribution they make to the local economy.	4.23	5.22	49.80	0.00
I have made friends with some [] ^c residents in Ikuno.	5.31	6.38	21.11	0.00
I feel close to some [] ^c residents I have met in Ikuno.	5.57	6.66	25.61	0.00
I understand [] ^c residents.	4.80	6.13	107.77	0.00
I treat [] ^c residents fairly.	5.45	6.34	51.30	0.00
I feel affection toward [] ^c residents in Ikuno.	4.60	5.92	114.28	0.00
I identify with [] ^c residents in Ikuno.	4.21	5.59	109.83	0.00
I am proud to have [] ^c residents in Ikuno.	3.85	5.11	82.34	0.00
I have a lot in common with [] ^c residents in Ikuno.	4.10	5.60	99.45	0.00
I feel the community benefits from having [] ^c residents in Ikuno.	4.28	5.77	112.44	0.00

^aMANOVA model Wilks's $\Lambda = 0.78$, $F(10,593) = 17.05$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.22$.

^bItems were rated on a 7-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*.

^cKorean or Japanese; opposite of sample in question.

procedure (i.e., CFA measurement model \rightarrow SEM) was performed for each resident sample. Following Woosnam (2011), 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 to not violate the critical value of 3.84 for $\Delta\chi^2/df$ (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). For the Japanese residents' model, 74 error terms (i.e., 55 error covariances and 19 cross-loaders) were identified, and 70 successfully removed. For the Korean residents' model, 93 error terms (i.e., 74 error covariances and 19 cross-loaders) were identified, and 89 successfully removed. Four items for each sample had to be removed from the final measurement model as they violated the 3.84 critical value; two of which were common across each sample (i.e., "one of the most important benefits of tourism is how it can improve local standard of living" and "shopping opportunities are better in Ikuno as a result of tourism"). As can be seen in Table 4, a nearly identical three-factor structure of the ESS and two-factor structure of the TIAS resulted for both resident samples.

RMSEA (as one representative absolute model fit index) values for the two measurement models were considered 'fair' (falling between 0.05 and 0.08) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Incremental model fit indices (as represented by the CFI) exceeded the 0.95 threshold for the Japanese resident sample to be considered 'good' per Kaplan (2009) suggestions. The CFI for the Korean resident sample was close to this standard at 0.92, falling in the range of what Browne and Cudeck (1993) would term 'acceptable.' All items within the five factors for the two samples had standardized factor loadings that 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 maximal weighted alpha (MWA) values of at least 0.70. Average variance extracted (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.

SEM of ESS factors explaining TIAS factors for each resident sample

To examine the relationship between ESS factors and TIAS factors, structural equation modeling (SEM) was undertaken for each sample (Table 5). The Japanese resident model, Satorra-Bentler χ^2 (224, $N = 468$) = 658.64, $p < 0.001$; CFI = 0.93, RMSEA = 0.07, resulted in adequate fit. Each of the ESS factors were highly significant in predicting the TIAS factor, *support for tourism development*, explaining 56% of the variance ($R^2_{SMC} = 0.56$) in the construct among Japanese residents. The same three ESS factors were also highly significant in predicting the second TIAS factor, *contributions to the community*, explaining 70% of the variance ($R^2_{SMC} = 0.70$) in the construct. Among the Korean resident sample, the model, Satorra-Bentler χ^2 (224, $N = 162$) = 592.74,

Table 3. Differences^a in tourism impact attitude scale (TIAS) items^b between Ikuno (Osaka) residents.

TIAS Item	Japanese residents	Korean residents	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
	Mean	Mean		
Tourism should be actively encouraged in Ikuno.	4.34	5.17	29.95	0.00
I support tourism and want to see it become important to Ikuno.	4.28	5.19	37.63	0.00
I support new tourism facilities that will attract new visitors to Ikuno.	4.02	4.82	26.20	0.00
Ikuno should support the promotion of tourism.	4.18	5.03	32.72	0.00
In general, the positive benefits of tourism outweigh negative impacts.	4.06	4.56	14.74	0.00
Ikuno should become a tourism destination.	4.34	5.06	23.01	0.00
Long-term planning by the city can control negative environmental impacts.	4.35	4.82	12.18	0.01
It is important to develop plans to manage growth of tourism.	4.79	5.40	19.87	0.00
The tourism sector will play a major role in the Ikuno economy.	4.49	5.36	38.48	0.00
One of the most important benefits of tourism is how it can improve local standard of living.	3.96	4.52	15.25	0.00
Shopping opportunities are better in Ikuno as a result of tourism.	3.46	3.75	4.48	0.04
Ikuno has better roads due to tourism.	3.11	3.14	0.04	0.83
The tourism sector provides many desirable employment opportunities for residents.	3.65	3.92	4.02	0.04
Quality of life in Ikuno has improved because of tourism development in the area.	3.54	3.77	1.42	0.23
I have more recreational opportunities because of tourism in Ikuno.	3.34	3.76	9.89	0.00
The quality of public services has improved due to more tourism in Ikuno.	3.18	3.38	2.74	0.10
My household standard of living is higher because of money tourists spend here.	2.36	2.55	2.35	0.13

^aMANOVA model Wilks's $\Lambda = 0.91$, $F(17,595) = 3.59$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.09$.

^bItems were rated on a 7-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*.

$p < 0.001$; CFI = 0.91, RMSEA = 0.08, resulted in adequate fit. However, the ESS factors explained a lesser degree of variance in each of the TIAS factors. Only two of the three ESS factors (excluding *emotional closeness*) were highly significant in predicting the first TIAS factor, *support for tourism development*, explaining 27% of the variance ($R^2_{\text{SMC}} = 0.27$) in the construct among Korean residents. The same two ESS factors were also highly significant in predicting the second TIAS factor, *contributions to the community*, explaining 32% of the variance ($R^2_{\text{SMC}} = 0.32$) in the construct.

Discussion and conclusion

This study examined the relationship between residents' perceived emotional solidarity with their ethnic counterparts and their attitudes towards tourism development in Ikuno ward, where ENT focused on Korean culture has flourished. It was the first kind of study to compare such relationship between representatives of a dominant ethnic group (Japanese residents) and a minority ethnic group (Korean residents) residing within the same community. The results indicated the significant role of emotion in social exchange in forming residents' attitudes towards tourism development.

The first research goal was to compare the scores on ESS and TIAS between Japanese and Korean residents. The analysis indicated that on all 10 items of ESS, Korean residents scored significantly higher than Japanese residents. Cook and Rice (2003) argue that two actors (groups) in a given exchange relationship may have different orientation towards the relationship when the

Table 4. CFA results from measurement models for both resident groups.

Factor and corresponding item	Japanese residents ^a Std. factor Loading (t value ^d)	Mean ^c	AVE	MWA ^e	Korean residents ^b Std. factor Loading (t value ^d)	Mean ^c	AVE	MWA ^e	AVE
Welcoming Nature		4.12	.68	.87		5.56		.71	.51
I am proud to have □ residents in Ikuno.	.88 (21.83)	3.85			.54 (7.54)	5.11			
I appreciate □ residents for the contribution they make to local economy.	.80 (18.55)	4.23			.54 (10.59)	5.22			
I feel the community benefits from having □ residents in Ikuno.	.79 (19.65)	4.28							
I treat □ residents fairly.									
Emotional Closeness		5.44	.74	.85		6.52		.78	.62
I have made friends with some □ residents in Ikuno.	.87 (21.42)	5.31			.85 (11.79)	6.38			
I feel close to some □ residents I have met in Ikuno.	.85 (30.29)	5.57			.72 (5.27)	6.66			
Sympathetic Understanding		4.43	.65	.91		5.81		.86	.56
I identify with □ residents in Ikuno.	.90 (23.66)	4.21			.77 (23.94)	5.59			
I feel affection toward □ residents in Ikuno.	.87 (21.53)	4.60			.84 (21.00)	5.92			
I have a lot in common with □ residents in Ikuno.	.76 (21.25)	4.10			.64 (13.02)	5.60			
I understand □ residents.	.68 (15.24)	4.80			.73 (13.39)	6.13			
Support for Tourism Development		4.32	.68	.97		5.00		.96	.64
I support tourism and want to see it become important to Ikuno.	.94 (29.98)	4.28		5.19	.85 (19.24)	5.17			
Tourism should be actively encouraged in Ikuno.	.93 (30.39)	4.34			.94 (25.61)	5.03			
Ikuno should support the promotion of tourism.	.93 (28.81)	4.18			.86 (18.42)	5.06			
Ikuno should become a tourism destination.	.93 (28.09)	4.34			.84 (19.93)	4.82			
I support new tourism facilities that will attract new visitors to Ikuno.	.86 (25.07)	4.02			.86 (19.30)	5.36			
The tourism sector will play a major role in the Ikuno economy.	.86 (22.44)	4.49							
It is important to develop plans to manage growth of tourism.	.71 (13.91)	4.79							
Long-term planning by the city can control negative environmental impacts.	.60 (11.72)	4.35			.53 (8.68)	4.82			
In general, the positive benefits of tourism outweigh negative impacts.	.51 (8.61)	4.06			.51 (7.95)	4.56			
One of the most important benefits of tourism is how it can improve local standard of living.									
Contributions to Community		3.71	.58	.92		3.42		.92	.61
The quality of public services has improved due to more tourism in Ikuno.	.91 (25.22)	3.18			.82 (18.28)	3.38			
I have more recreational opportunities because of tourism in Ikuno.	.89 (26.02)	3.34			.82 (17.98)	3.76			
Ikuno has better roads due to tourism.	.73 (16.27)	3.11			.73 (13.79)	3.14			
My household standard of living is higher because of money tourists spend here.	.67 (19.29)	2.36			.60 (10.23)	2.55			
Quality of life in Ikuno has improved because of tourism development in the area	.54 (16.70)	3.54			.90 (22.68)	3.77			
Shopping opportunities are better in Ikuno as a result of tourism.									
The tourism sector provides many desirable employment opportunities for residents.									

^aSatorra-Bentler χ^2 (220, N=468) = 475.64, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.05.
^bSatorra-Bentler χ^2 (220, N=162) = 517.16, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.07.
^cItems were rated on a 7-point scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.
^dAll t tests were significant at $p < 0.001$.
^eMaximal weighted alpha as reported in EQS 6.3.
^fKorean or Japanese; opposite of sample in question.

Table 5. SEM results from path models for both resident groups.

Regression path	Japanese residents ^a			Korean residents ^b		
	β	p	R^2_{SMC}	β	p	R^2_{SMC}
ESS _{welcoming nature} \rightarrow TIAS _{support for tourism development}	0.52	<0.001	0.56 ^c	0.30	<0.001	0.27 ^d
ESS _{emotional closeness} \rightarrow TIAS _{support for tourism development}	0.10	<0.001		0.10	0.15	
ESS _{sympathetic understanding} \rightarrow TIAS _{support for tourism development}	0.84	<0.001		0.44	<0.001	
ESS _{welcoming nature} \rightarrow TIAS _{contributions to the community}	0.63	<0.001	0.70 ^e	0.63	<0.001	0.32 ^f
ESS _{emotional closeness} \rightarrow TIAS _{contributions to the community}	0.18	<0.001		0.18	0.27	
ESS _{sympathetic understanding} \rightarrow TIAS _{contributions to the community}	0.85	<0.001		0.26	<0.001	

^aSatorra-Bentler χ^2 (224, $N = 468$) = 658.64, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.93, RMSEA = 0.07.

^bSatorra-Bentler χ^2 (224, $N = 162$) = 592.74, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.91, RMSEA = 0.08.

^c $R^2_{SMC} = 0.56$; all three paths explaining 56% of variance in TIAS_{support for tourism development}.

^d $R^2_{SMC} = 0.27$; all three paths explaining 27% of variance in TIAS_{support for tourism development}.

^e $R^2_{SMC} = 0.70$; all three paths explaining 70% of variance in TIAS_{contributions to the community}.

^f $R^2_{SMC} = 0.32$; all three paths explaining 32% of variance in TIAS_{contributions to the community}.

relationship is in power-imbalance. Arguably, in this study, Korean residents feel the relationship with Japanese neighbors as more valuable and reciprocal than the Japanese residents do (Lawler, 2001). Increased opportunities for social exchange associated with ENT may have brought Korean residents, formerly a marginalized group, with positive emotions and gratitude towards Japanese neighbors. However, Japanese residents may feel the relationship is more strained with Korean residents because of unequal distribution of benefits gained from the relationship (i.e. economic and social benefits from tourism) (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2011). Also, this may be because of an on-going history of anti-Korean sentiments among the Japanese population (Ito, 2014).

Similarly, Korean residents scored significantly higher than Japanese residents on 13 of the 17 items within the TIAS, indicating that Korean residents support tourism development in their town and have a greater sense of appreciation for the contribution of ENT to the town more than their Japanese counterparts. This finding is also in line with the results of previous studies (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2016) that reveal distribution of benefits of ENT is often skewed towards the minority residents. The findings from ESS and TIAS corroborate the function of ENT in potentially altering the power structure of an ethnic community, elevating the social and economic status of formerly marginalized groups while disempowering the members of the dominant ethnic group (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2015).

The second goal was to confirm the factor structure of ESS and TIAS among the two samples of this study. CFA indicated that the factor structures of ESS among the two populations were nearly identical. Similarly, CFA indicated factor structure of TIAS among both groups was nearly the same as what Woosnam (2012) and Wang and Pfister (2008) found. Also, tests of reliability and validity showed that psychometric properties of each scale were sound among both groups. This finding supports the appropriateness of using both scales in international samples.

The third, and the main, goal of this study was to examine whether the resulting ESS factors could significantly predict factors of the TIAS. The analysis indicated that, among Japanese residents, all ESS factors positively predict both TIAS factors. This is parallel to the finding of previous studies (Ma & Qu, 2011; Sierra & McQuitty, 2005; Tse & Dasborough, 2008) that indicate the significant relationship between emotion in social exchange and collective behavior. This supports an affect theory of social exchange (Lawler, 2001), suggesting the importance of fostering a sense of emotional solidarity with ethnic minority residents to enhance support for tourism among the majority residents. On the other hand, among Korean residents, although most of the relationships were significant, the ESS factor, *emotional* closeness, did not predict either TIAS factor. The difference between Korean and Japanese residents can be interpreted in terms of the divergent roles of emotion in the social exchange and its influence on the resulting collective behavior. More precisely, for Japanese residents, who do not have direct access to tourism resources, the emotional solidarity with Korean residents, such as a sense of

appreciation, gratitude, or anger, played a significant role in engaging in collective behavior (i.e., support for tourism) (Lawler, 2001; Lawler & Thye, 1999). This is consistent with other studies (Maruyama et al., 2016; Wang & Pfister, 2008) that indicate those who are less likely to perceive economic benefits from tourism are more likely to be influenced by a variety of non-economic factors (i.e., emotional connectedness) from tourism than those who receive economic benefits from tourism. On the contrary, for Korean residents, the friendship with Japanese residents may matter less in forming their positive or negative attitudes towards tourism because they are more likely to obtain the economic goal (i.e., the wellness of their households and community through tourism) without feeling as emotionally connected to their ethnic counterparts.

Implications

Findings from this study have both theoretical and practical implications. While numerous studies have utilized SET to examine the residents' attitudes towards tourism in the past three decades (e.g., Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2010), missing from this literature is a discussion of emotional ties generated through SET among residents within a local community and its influence on their attitudes towards tourism. Arguably, results of this study indicate that Korean residents who are more likely to receive direct economic benefits from tourism have more positive attitudes towards tourism. At the same time, results also indicate the significant relationship between emotional solidarity with residents' ethnic counterparts within their community and their attitudes towards ENT. This is especially the case among Japanese residents. That is to say, bringing an emotional aspect to the social exchange theory contributes more to our understanding of residents' attitudes about tourism development.

Findings from this study suggest that it is important to understand the perspectives of multiple groups of people in a community, since groups may not have the same feelings towards one another and the tourism environment in their community. Though Koreans were generally positive about their relationships with Japanese individuals, Japanese residents did not reciprocate this degree of positivity. Because Japanese residents were less supportive of tourism in the ENT and less emotionally connected to Koreans, more work should be done to better understand how to enhance Japanese (or other dominant ethnic groups in ENTs) support for tourism, feelings of solidarity with ethnic minority residents, and involvement in tourism-related endeavors. Giving Japanese residents the opportunity to become involved in a joint venture with Koreans could improve their relationships and support for tourism. Findings of this study also suggest that future research should continue to use both ESS and TIAS scales in international samples.

Study limitations

In addition, this study was conducted in an ethnic community where a large number of its members are "old comers," who immigrated to Japan before 1960s, and their descendants (Chapman, 2006). These Korean old comers are often considered as "invisible" minority because of their physical features indistinguishable from Japanese as well as their naturalized status (Lim, 2009). These characteristics may make their relationship with the members of a dominant ethnic group unique. Therefore, future studies need to explore the relationship between the members of ethnic minority and dominant groups with various histories and other characteristics. In terms of scales used in this study, one drawback is the lack of including cultural impacts and negative social impacts within its measurement items (Woosnam, 2012). However, the current study attempts to use the other scale (i.e., ESS) to measure the residents' emotional ties with their counterparts, which are in fact types of socio-cultural impacts. Lastly, this study was conducted

in 2013 to 2015, when hate speech against Korean residents and counter-movement were intensifying in the Tsuruhashi area. Frequent anti-Korean demonstration and counter-protests may have influenced perspectives of Korean and Japanese residents towards each other.

This study indicated both utility and limitation of an economic approach of SET. Residents form their attitudes towards tourism depending not only on rational calculation of cost and benefits but also on emotion generated through the social exchange with other members of their community. The findings also demonstrate that, particularly in a case of ENT, while those who have better access to tourism resources may be less concerned about the emotional aspect of SET, those who receive less economic benefits from tourism form their attitudes towards tourism based on positive or negative emotions towards their ethnic counterparts. ENT has the potential both to revitalize the local economy and to increase the social exchange between ethnic minority and dominant ethnic groups whose members have historically had minimal contact with each other. To make ENT beneficial to various stakeholders, more research is needed to explore the role of emotion in the process of forming residents' attitudes.

Disclosure statement

potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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