

Exploring the Shared Use of World Heritage Sites: Residents and Domestic Tourists' Use and Perceptions of the Summer Palace in Beijing

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ABSTRACT

Many heritage sites are shared by tourists and local residents, who may have different motivations, preferences and experiences. These common areas offer a setting for understanding how the host and guest populations utilize, interact and perceive a heritage site. Results show that residents and domestic tourists differ in their use patterns but generally share motivations, perceptions and experiences at the Summer Palace. Use conflicts and interplay are examined in relation to their behaviours, perceptions and experiences. Practical implications are generated to inform management and planning decisions for the study site and other heritage sites shared by local users and tourists. Copyright © 2014 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Received 21 May 2014; Revised 10 August 2014; Accepted 20 August 2014

KEY WORDS use; World Heritage; resident; tourist; Summer Palace; China

INTRODUCTION

Heritage possesses a complex array of uses in contemporary society and can be viewed from socio-political, cultural, economic and other perspectives (Nuryanti, 1999; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000; Tunbridge, 2007). Being 'multi-sold and multi-consumed' (Graham *et al.*, 2000:23), most heritage sites are shared by locals and visitors from afar and are used by them in different ways and for different purposes (Ashworth, 2012). Indeed, designation as World Heritage acknowledges that a specific site has universal values although, in fact, these values often vary according to the user group. This may be managed using various well-know techniques, such as differential pricing and separation of uses between locals and tourists, both spatially and temporally (Ashworth, 2012).

Tourists and residents often share heritage sites that serve as leisure locales for both types of users. Moreover, tourists and locals meet and socialize when they are using the same heritage sites. The interplay of tourists and locals at heritage sites is part of their heritage experience and can influence their attitudes and behaviour.

The use of and perspectives on heritage sites have been researched extensively from the tourists' perspective, including their profile, motivations, preferences, use patterns, expectations and satisfactions (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2004; Kaufman & Weaver, 2006; Poria, Reichel, & Biran, 2006; Su & Wall, 2009). The understanding of heritage tourists is necessary to guide the planning, management and operation of tourism products, services and facilities at heritage sites.

Local communities are among the most important and affected stakeholders in heritage tourism (Nuryanti, 1996; Scheyvens, 2003; Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005). Due to their deeper understanding of the local meanings of heritage resources, residents may be considered as more worthy users of heritage for 'more serious and socially beneficial, educational, aesthetic or spiritual reasons' (Ashworth, 2012:282). Nevertheless, residents are often portrayed and examined as service providers and impact receivers rather than recreational and social users of a heritage site. The recreational and social use of the same heritage by residents is often ignored.

Therefore, this paper examines the tourism and recreational uses of heritage sites from a combined perspective of both tourists and local residents. Taking the Summer Palace (SP) World Heritage Site in Beijing as an example, use patterns, motivations, perceptions and experiences of both tourists and local users are examined. Similarities and differences between the two types of users are outlined. Their onsite interactions and associated impacts on their perceptions and behaviour are also examined. Research findings facilitate an enhanced understanding of the uses and perspectives of both types of users and how they interplay at heritage sites. Such research can inform future planning and management decisions and addresses a topic that is relevant to other heritage sites shared by local users and tourists.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Multiple uses of heritage

Different groups of people attach different meanings and values to the same heritage (Graham *et al.*, 2000), and the identification and interpretation of heritage are selective

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processes, where the dominant group is usually supported and reinforced (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Harrison, 2005). Heritage is defined in the context of various elements that are relevant to a specific time and place, including identity, political and social power, culture and economy (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003), and it possesses a complex array of uses in contemporary society (Nuryanti, 1999; Graham *et al.*, 2000; Tunbridge, 2007). First, heritage has a critical socio-political function and is involved in issues of identity, legitimization and power structures (Graham *et al.*, 2000). As a form of cultural capital, heritage frequently represents a mixture of cultures at different spatial and temporal scales (Graham *et al.*, 2000). It carries multiple cultural meanings (Graham *et al.*, 2000) and undergoes continuous interpretation and reinterpretation (Harrison, 2005). Also as an economic commodity, heritage is an important resource for both domestic and international tourism (Graham *et al.*, 2000). Although the tourism uses of heritage may 'overlap, conflict with or even deny its cultural role', tourism is nonetheless involved and imposes significant impacts (Graham *et al.*, 2000:20). Henderson (2002) suggested that the significance of heritage can only be fully appreciated by examining heritage in a broader framework incorporating its cultural, economic, political and social uses.

Being 'multi-sold and multi-consumed' (Graham *et al.*, 2000:23), most heritage sites are shared by both locals and visitors from elsewhere and are used in different ways or for different purposes by them (Ashworth, 2012). Designation as World Heritage recognizes that a specific site has universal values although, in fact, the values often vary according to the user group. Few studies have sought to distinguish residents' and tourists' motivations, perceptions and behaviours at recreation and tourism sites (Chang, Gibson, & Sisson, 2013). The recreational use of heritage resources by local residents is often neglected and is not well researched. Therefore, there is a clear need for further investigations on local recreational users at heritage sites, particularly those with prominent tourism functions.

Heritage tourism and the destination community: behaviours and perceptions

Both tourists and destination communities are major stakeholders in heritage tourism, both of which can influence and are impacted by heritage tourism development. Tourists consume heritage resources to satisfy their various needs and bring economic, social and environmental impacts to the destination. Numerous studies have analysed different aspects of heritage tourists (Poria *et al.*, 2004; Poria *et al.*, 2006; Timothy, 2007; Chen & Chen, 2010; Ung & Vong, 2010), mainly including tourist profile, use patterns, motivations, preferences, perceptions and satisfactions. These factors are critical for both tourism academics and practitioners to understand the demand for heritage resources and improve the quality of tourism products and services (Pearce, 1993; Poria *et al.*, 2004; Snepenger, King, Marshall, & Uysal, 2006; Su & Wall, 2009). Therefore, incorporating tourists' perspectives into tourism planning and operation is critical

for communities, planners and managers at heritage sites (Oh, Draper, & Dixon, 2010).

Tourists are often categorized as domestic and international tourists (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Ballantyne, Hughes, Ding, & Liu, 2014). Domestic tourists, those from the same country as the destination, numerically dominate the tourism market in China (Yang & Wall, 2009). For example, recent statistics show that Beijing received substantially more domestic tourists (140 million) than international tourists (3.79 million) in 2013 (Ballantyne *et al.*, 2014). Statistics from the Beijing Municipal Administration Center of Parks (Beijing Municipal Administration Center of Parks (BMACP), 2014) show that international visitors only accounted for 4.1% of the total of 3 782 000 visitors to 11 municipal parks in Beijing, including the SP and the Temple of Heaven, during the National Holiday from October 1 to 7 in 2010. Beijing visitors accounted for 49.2%, and other domestic visitors were 46.7%. Therefore, perceptions of both domestic tourists and local residents should be an important aspect in the study of tourist perceptions in such places.

Destination communities often play multiple roles in tourism as service providers, sellers, craftspeople and even as ethnic attractions (Scheyvens, 2003). Often possessing rich knowledge of the local environment, culture and traditions, they may be equipped with the experience and ability to address local meanings and issues (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999). These are critical elements in ensuring that tourism development is well informed, appropriate (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Yuksel *et al.*, 1999) and not at odds with local traditions and environments while satisfying the needs of diverse visitors.

Residents receive various impacts from tourism development (Wall & Mathieson, 2006) and have different responses to it, ranging from positive to negative (Doxey, 1975; Uriely, Israeli, & Reichel, 2003). Residents may perceive tourism as a positive opportunity to enhance their living standard and cultural identity (Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990; Su & Wall, 2012, 2013). Alternatively, negative resident attitudes and perceptions towards tourism may also arise due to economic, socio-cultural and environmental costs (Liu, Sheldon, & Var, 1987; Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Su & Wall, 2012, 2013). As communities are often heterogeneous, different sections of the community may be involved in tourism in different ways and to varying degrees, and they receive different impacts, and a diversity of reactions may be generated (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Andriotis & Vaughn, 2003; Nicholas, Thapa, & Ko, 2009).

Given the significance of their role in tourism, destination communities' perspectives on tourism have been extensively researched, including attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development at various destinations (Um & Crompton, 1987; Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996; Alexander, 2000; Gursoy, Jurovski, & Uysal, 2002; Andriotis & Vaughn, 2003; Uriely *et al.*, 2003; Huh & Vogt, 2008; Nicholas *et al.*, 2009; Hao, Long, & Kleckley, 2011), community attachment (Um & Crompton, 1987; Nicholas *et al.*, 2009) and behavioural responses to tourism (Ap & Crompton, 1993). It is also important to recognize that communities are not homogeneous; therefore, perceptions and attitudes towards tourism

can be quite diverse among residents of the same place (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Andriotis & Vaughn, 2003; Nicholas *et al.*, 2009).

Tourists and residents often share heritage sites that serve their recreational and social needs. Social interaction occurs as they go about the sites. The interplay between tourists and locals is bi-directional and has the potential to influence the attitudes, behaviours, perceptions and the heritage experiences of both groups of users (Prentice, Witt, & Wydenbach, 1994; Oppermann, 1999; Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000; Su & Wall, 2010). According to Pizam *et al.* (2000), maintaining a positive and intensive tourist–community social relationship is critical for sustaining a positive image of the destination and the community and thus creating a rewarding tourist experience (Prentice *et al.*, 1994; Pizam *et al.*, 2000; Su & Wall, 2010). However, residents and tourists usually exhibit different use patterns and have varying degrees of demand for access and related amenities when using recreational resources (Oh *et al.*, 2010). Previous research indicates that differences in activity style, resource specificity, mode of experience, lifestyle tolerance and expectations can cause conflicts between different types of users and undermine their onsite experiences (Mann & Absher, 2008; Reis & Higham, 2009). Tourists and residents, coming from different backgrounds and having different preferences and demands, often differ in the above factors. Therefore, perspectives of both residents and tourists should be identified, and their onsite interplay should be examined in order to understand fully their use of heritage sites so that the needs of both types of users can be satisfied and potential conflicts can be minimized in heritage planning and management.

Despite the shared use of heritage resources by both residents and tourists, few studies have examined and compared the behaviours and perspectives of both types of users. Moreover, previous studies on host–guest relations usually consider the host as a member of a community serving tourists or receiving impacts from tourism, rather than as recreational and social users of the same heritage. However, such studies would be useful for managers to determine the appropriate types and levels of services and amenity development, as well as acceptable use and recreational behaviours at heritage sites. It is important for heritage planners and managers to know how and to what extent residents and tourists use heritage resources and interact on site, as well as to examine group differences in preferences and perceptions to maximize the benefits of management programmes while reducing negative consequences. Such knowledge is necessary input to the development of balanced strategies that provide sufficient access and amenities to both groups. It is also critical to the construction of positive and rewarding tourist–resident relationships.

Chinese dimension of World Heritage

With rich culture, long history and vast land, heritage resources in China are characterized as being diverse and culturally rooted, integrating culture and nature (Fang, 2004). In 2014, China has 45 World Heritage Sites, including 31 cultural, 10 natural and 4 mixed heritage sites (UNESCO World Heritage List, 2014). World Heritage Sites in China provide valuable resources for tourism and serve a large

domestic population both stimulating and responding to the rapidly expanding heritage tourism demand (Li, Wu, & Cai, 2008). Due to cultural traditions, Chinese people have high preferences for sites that are officially recognized (Nyiri, 2006), such as World Heritage Sites, national 5A scenic sites, places in famous artistic and literarily works or visited by famous people (Ballantyne *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, the stimulus of World Heritage designation on booming tourism development is particularly evident in China (Wu, Li, & Huang, 2002). However, with a relatively short history of international recognition and a great demand for further development, tourism at World Heritage Sites in China encounters many challenges, many of which are associated with the growing tensions between preservation and use for tourism.

In this context, considerable research has been undertaken in recent years to identify and analyse major issues in World Heritage tourism in China, including the management structure, financial resources, development models, tourism impacts and policy making (Su & Wall, 2011). Currently, the use of World Heritage Sites in China is discussed primarily from the tourist perspective (Li *et al.*, 2008; Huang, 2009), and the resident use and tourist–resident interplay when using World Heritage Site are not adequately addressed. In addition, creative conceptual development suitable for the Chinese context and research integrating theories and empirical case studies are especially needed for future research on World Heritage tourism research in China (Zhang & Bao, 2004; Zuo & Bao, 2008).

Accordingly, this paper examines the recreational and social uses of heritage resources from a combined perspective of both residents and tourists. It compares use patterns, motivations, perceptions and experiences of Beijing residents and domestic tourists at the SP World Heritage Site. Located in the downtown area of Beijing, the SP is used extensively by tourists and is easily accessible to a large number of Beijing residents for recreational and social activities. Research findings, by incorporating the use and perspectives of both residents and tourists, contribute to the comprehensive understanding of relations between heritage and its users. Research results can be used to inform future planning and management decisions at heritage sites to better serve the recreational and social needs of both types of users.

The Summer Palace World Heritage Site

The SP is located in Haidian District in the urban area of north-west Beijing between the fourth and fifth ring roads (Figure 1). It covers an area of 2.97 km², three-quarters of which is water. The SP was first built in 1750, in the early Qing Dynasty, and first named ‘Garden of Clear Ripples’. Its architectural style and landscape design were drawn from various palaces and gardens in China. The SP was largely destroyed in the war of 1860 and restored in 1886. It is a masterpiece of Chinese landscape garden design, harmoniously incorporating natural and human-made features that fit with traditional Chinese philosophy. The past royal garden designed exclusively for the royal family is now a place for common people to enjoy. As shown in Figure 2, major tourist spots include the Longevity Hill, Kunming Lake, Tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha, Long Corridor, Marble Boat, Seventeen-Arch Bridge and many others.

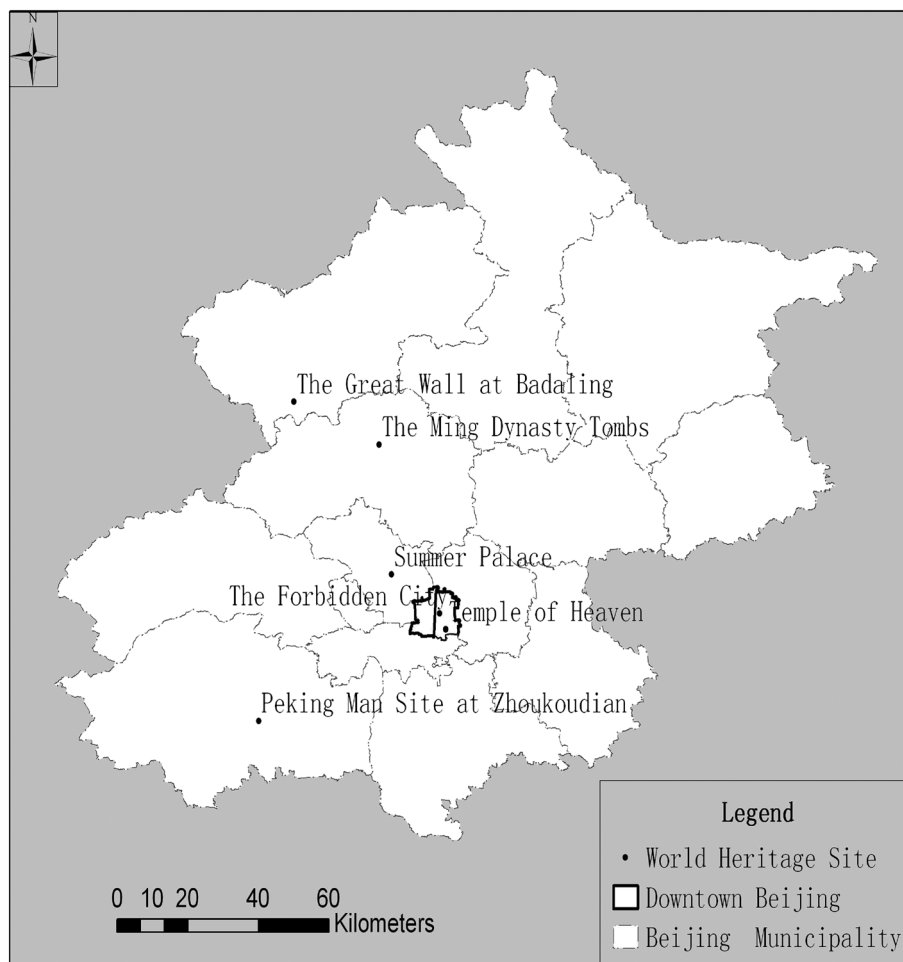


Figure 1. Location map of World Heritage Sites in Beijing.

As the best preserved imperial garden in China, the SP was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in December 1998, among the first batch of such sites in China. The SP was described as ‘a masterpiece of Chinese landscape garden design. The natural landscape of hills and open water is combined with artificial features such as pavilions, halls, palaces, temples and bridges to form a harmonious ensemble of outstanding aesthetic value’ (UNESCO World Heritage List, 2014).

The SP is managed by the Beijing Municipal Administration Center of Parks, which manages 11 municipal parks, including the Temple of Heaven, which is also a World Heritage Site. As one of the most well-known heritage sites in Beijing and China, the SP experiences intensive use with an annual visitor number exceeding 10 million, including both Beijing residents and tourists from afar. It is consistently ranked second in the number of visitors among all tourism destinations in Beijing (Table 1). Reasons for the recent fluctuations in visitor numbers are unknown, but the high intensity of use has continued.

Although the SP is one of the most visited sites in Beijing, major academic attention has been put on the heritage preservation and the landscape design of the SP. Limited research has addressed visitor use of the SP. Huang (2009) examined the temporal and spatial pattern of visitors to the SP and segmented visitors into six groups, but Huang’s study did not

separate Beijing residents and domestic tourists or compare their use patterns and perceptions. Wang and Wang (2007) measured the tourism carrying capacity of the SP. Nevertheless, there has been no thorough study that compares tourist and resident uses and perceptions of the SP.

Methodology

An on-site self-administered questionnaire survey with Beijing residents and Chinese domestic tourists was the primary data collection method used. Considering the possible use patterns and perceptions of both residents and tourists, a questionnaire was designed with three parts. Part one acquires aspects of their use of the SP, primarily including the mode of transportation, type of ticket, time of visit, duration of stay, group size, activities undertaken and expenses. Part two uses five-point Likert scale questions to measure respondents’ motivations, perceptions and evaluations. Their comments and suggestions were also collected using open-ended questions. The last part gathers information on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents. A pilot test with three university students and three Beijing residents was conducted prior to the survey to ensure proper understanding of the survey question.

Six undergraduate students at Renmin University of China were recruited to help with the questionnaire survey. They were briefed about the overall research purpose, details of the research design, the survey procedure and basic survey skills

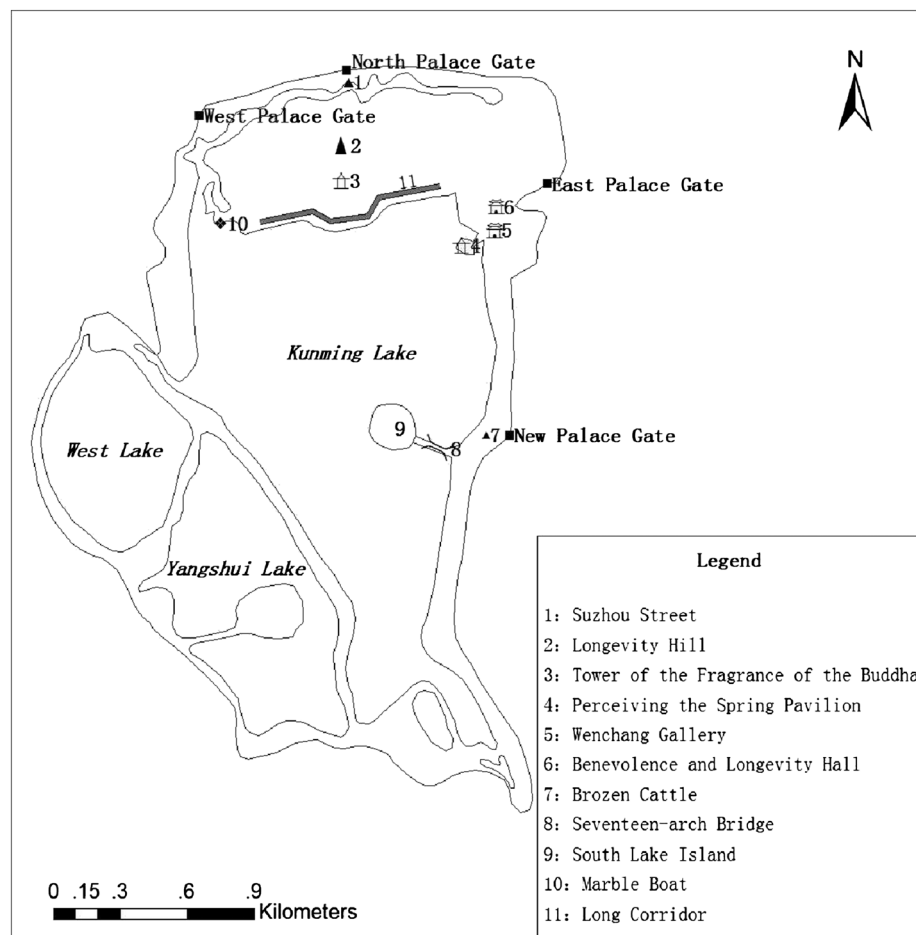


Figure 2. Layout of the Summer Palace in Beijing.

Table 1. Visitor numbers at the Summer Palace 2010–2012

Year	Annual visitor number (million)	Rank in Beijing	Rank in China
2010	10.5	2	3
2011	11.6	2	4
2012	9.9	2	5

Source: Statistics from Beautiful China website (<http://www.meijing001.com/>), retrieved on 25 August 2013.

prior the execution of the survey. Review meetings were also conducted after each day's survey, and minor adjustments in terms of survey time and location were made when necessary.

Respondents were sought over the peak summer season in July 2013 through a four-day survey period including weekdays and weekends. The North Entrance of the SP, which is the major entrance, was chosen as the major survey spot. Questionnaires were also distributed at other spots where people stop and rest in the SP. Potential respondents were first asked whether they were residents who had resided in Beijing for at least a year or tourists from other cities or provinces. The research objective was then explained and their participation invited either in the resident or the tourist sample. The majority of respondents completed the questionnaire by themselves, asking for clarification only when they had questions. Some required researchers to read the questions and mark down answers. Each questionnaire took about 15 minutes to finish.

A total of 104 usable questionnaires for the resident sample and 246 for the tourist sample were collected with an approximate response rate of 60%. The sample is essentially a convenience sample, for a potential new respondent was approached once the preceding survey was completed.

Casual interviews were also conducted along with the questionnaire survey to acquire more information from respondents whenever possible. On-site observation of visitor behaviours and use patterns also occurred. Secondary data were also collected and analysed, including news reports, tourism leaflets and statistics.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to analyse and interpret the data. Quantitative data were coded and analysed using SPSS 16.0. Frequencies, cross tabulations and non-parametric tests, such as the chi-squared test, were used to analyse the survey data. Finally, the ideas and perspectives expressed by individual interviewees were categorized, interpreted and compared with the information from the survey samples.

FINDINGS

Characteristics of Beijing residents and domestic tourists

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Beijing residents and domestic tourists are presented in Table 2. In the sample of Beijing residents, there are a large proportion

Table 2. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of tourists and residents at the Summer Palace

	Beijing residents		Domestic tourists	
	Number	Valid %	Number	Valid %
Age group				
17 and under	4	4.3	50	21.4
18–24	2	2.2	80	34.2
25–34	10	10.9	52	22.2
35–44	12	13.0	32	13.7
45–54	20	21.7	12	5.1
55–64	26	28.3	6	2.6
65 and above	18	19.6	2	.9
Gender				
Male	36	48.6	66	28
Female	37	51.4	170	72
Education				
Primary school and lower	2	2.1	12	5.2
Junior high	10	10.6	36	15.5
Senior high	16	17.0	44	19.0
College	28	29.8	48	20.7
University	30	31.9	78	33.6
Masters and above	8	8.5	14	6.0
Income (1USD = 6 RMB)				
Less than 2000 RMB	8	9.8	54	33.3
2000–3999 RMB	32	39.0	56	34.6
4000–5999 RMB	20	24.4	34	21.0
Higher than 6000 RMB	22	26.8	18	11.1
Career				
Company employee	10	10.9	32	14.5
Government employee	10	10.9	8	3.6
Professionals (i.e. doctors and lawyers)	10	10.9	18	8.2
Freelance	8	8.7	22	10.0
Student	6	6.5	92	41.8
Teacher	2	2.2	20	9.1
Soldiers	6	6.5	4	1.8
Self-employed	2	2.2	8	3.6
Retired	34	37.0	6	2.7
Others	4	4.4	10	4.5

of older people with 50% aged 45 to 64 years and another 19.6% aged 65 years and above. Male and female respondents are evenly distributed. More than one third (37.0%) are retired, 10.9% are company employees, and another 10.9% are government employees. Most respondents (70.2%) reported that they have a college or university degree or above. Long residence in Beijing is found: Of 92 valid answers, 75% of respondents had resided in Beijing for over 15 years, and the average length of Beijing residence is 39 years. Thus, resident users of the SP were generally mature or elderly, well educated and often retired with both genders equally represented. In terms of the geographical distribution, 70% of 80 valid answers come from residents of Haidian District, the district in which the SP is located.

In comparison, the majority (77.8%) of domestic tourists is comprised of young people aged 34 years or lower. It is consistent with other research in Beijing, which identified that 69% of domestic tourists to five major tourist sites, including the SP, were aged 30 years or younger (Ballantyne *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, there is a large proportion (41.8%) of students, probably because the survey was conducted in

the summer when students enjoy their vacation. In contrast, the percentage of retired respondents is as low as 2.7%. More female respondents (72%) are found in the tourist sample. Most respondents (60.3%) reported that they have a college or university degree or above. In short, domestic tourists were generally young and well educated, with more female respondents than male respondents. They come from different parts of China without a major pattern in terms of geographical distribution. The average income of domestic tourists is slightly lower than that of Beijing residents, probably due to a large proportion of students in the sample.

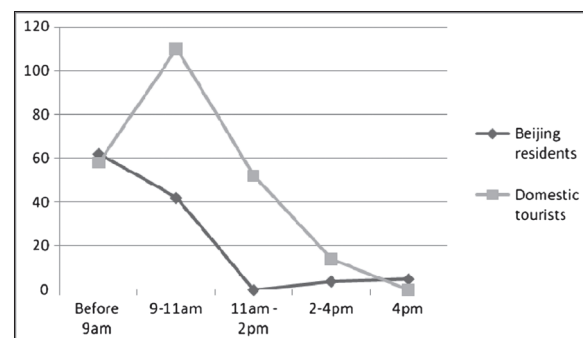
Use patterns of Beijing residents and domestic tourists

Most Beijing residents came to the SP by bus (44%), with others driving (17%), walking (17%) or biking (13%). Only 12% took the subway (12%), which has no price discount for seniors. Two thirds (67%) of them spend less than 60 minutes to travel from home to the SP. Frequency of visit is high. On average, residents visit the SP 12 times a month: 22% of respondents come more than 20 times a month. Almost all respondents come in the morning, with 62% arriving before 9000 hours and 32% between 9000 to 1100 hours.

Of domestic tourists, 72% were first time visitors. The majority came to the SP by public transportation, mostly by subway (51%) and bus (32%). Over half (54%) arrived between 9000 to 1100 hours, with 24 and 21% arriving either before 9000 hours or between 1100 to 1400 hours respectively. Figure 3 compares the arrival times of domestic tourists and Beijing residents, reflecting their different temporal use patterns.

Most residents (69%) and tourists (63%) visited in small groups of two to five people, generally with friends and family members. Their average stay was two to four hours. Half (49%) of resident respondents used monthly admission tickets, and 22% had entrance fees waived due to the beneficial ticketing policy for elderly people. In contrast, 62% of domestic tourists buy single-entrance tickets and 30% buy combined tickets.

Residents have an average expense (excluding transportation and entrance fee) of renminbi (RMB) 22.6 (\$3.50 approximately), mainly on recreational activities (71%). Domestic tourists have a higher average expense of RMB 58.4 (\$9 approximately), mainly on food (57%), souvenirs (30%) and recreational activities (27%) (note: multiple choices were allowed for the question).



Note: multiple responses were permitted for this question.

Figure 3. Arrival times of residents and domestic tourists at the Summer Palace.

Residents came to the SP primarily for physical exercises (44%), walking (40%), sightseeing (31%) and appreciating the royal architecture (12%). Sightseeing was considered by 65% as among their favourite on-site activities. They seldom participated in paid activities such as boating (zero respondents) or taking the battery car (two respondents), although about 17% indicated that boating is among their favourite activities. The Longevity Hill (47%) and the Long Corridor (45%) were the top rated spots on site (multiple choices were allowed for the question). For example, one retired resident said:

I come to the Summer Palace almost every morning around 6 am. I will meet many friends here. We walk around and chat. It is very pleasant staying in the Summer Palace, particularly in the morning. It is a good start to the day. Then I will get back home and do other things...

Domestic tourists came to the SP primarily for sightseeing (65%) and to appreciate the royal architecture (53%). Sightseeing was considered by 53% of tourist respondents as their favourite on-site activity, followed by appreciating the royal architecture (42%), boating (29%) and visiting exhibitions (21%). The Long Corridor (37%) and the Seventeen-Arch Bridge (31%) were the top rated spots (multiple choices were allowed).

Besides the survey data, visitor counts were conducted at the north gate of the SP, which is the main entrance, on a Wednesday and a Saturday. It was intended to examine the daily use pattern to determine the differences between weekdays and weekends. Limited by resources, it was impossible to count visitors for the whole day. Therefore, the number of visitors was counted for the first five minutes of every hour from 7000 to 1700 hours in order to illustrate the daily pattern (Figure 4). Although the data may not be completely accurate, they reflect the general temporal pattern of visitors arriving at the SP. Results show that the number of visitors on weekends is much higher than that on weekdays. Also, different patterns were identified between weekends and weekdays. There was one high peak at 9000 to 1000 hours on Saturday, indicating that the mid-morning is the prime time for visitors to arrive on weekends. Two small peaks were identified on Wednesday at 1000 and 1300 hours, followed by a small surge at 1700 hours, which is caused primarily by an influx of residents in the early evening.

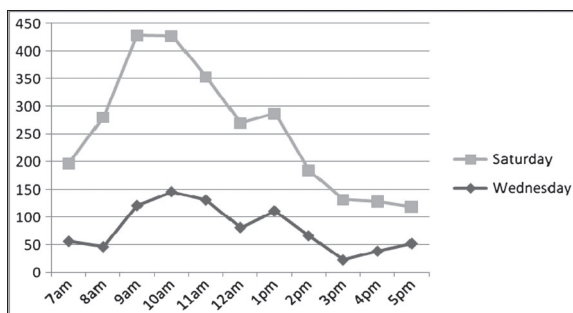


Figure 4. Daily pattern of visitor numbers at the north gate of the Summer Palace.

Motivations, perceptions and satisfactions of Beijing residents and domestic tourists

The motivations for visiting the SP and the perceptions and evaluations of the experiences of both Beijing residents and domestic tourists were measured using five-point Likert scale questions. Differences between domestic tourists and Beijing residents are compared using chi-squared tests as shown in Table 3.

Knowledge that the SP is a World Heritage Site is high among residents (80%) and domestic tourists (87%). For both types of visitors, pull factors, such as the royal garden view and the cultural atmosphere, are considered to be the most important motivational factors, followed by the World Heritage status and transportation convenience. Push factors, such as to relax, release daily pressures, enjoy time with family and friends, and enrich knowledge and experience, are given less importance. However, to enrich knowledge and experience is considered by domestic tourists as an important motivation factor with a mean of 4.38. The pull factor, the international reputation as a tourist destination, although scoring high, was rated as the least important among all factors.

Although most Beijing residents come to the SP for leisure activities or physical exercises, they perceive it to be a worthy place to visit for tourists with high cultural and historical values and significance to Beijing and China: It is not just a place simply to recreate and socialize. In comparison, most domestic tourists perceive the SP as a worthy place to visit with high cultural and historical values and significance to Beijing and China instead of being a place for leisure activities or physical exercises. Both types of visitors acknowledge that visiting the SP enhances their pride in China and their understanding of Chinese culture and history.

High satisfactions are acquired among both types of visitors with the imperial garden landscape, traditional imperial architecture and heritage preservation. However, cleanliness and service facilities receive average evaluations. Catering services are rated the lowest, indicating that an average level of services is experienced. This evaluation may have resulted from the high price of food and beverages in the SP, as mentioned by some visitors.

Satisfactory experiences are acquired by both types of visitors: 86% of Beijing residents and 59% of domestic tourists assure that they will visit again; 92% of residents and 85% of domestic tourists indicate that they will recommend others to visit. The entrance fee is perceived as being acceptable by 59% of residents and 67% of domestic tourists. This is not surprising as those regarding it as unacceptable would not have visited and would not have been available for interview. More than half of the visitors recognize that the SP is used intensively: 53% of residents and 51% of domestic tourists think that it is crowded or very crowded.

Differences between Beijing residents and domestic tourists are examined using chi-squared tests. In general, Beijing residents and domestic tourists share similar motivations to visit and perceptions and satisfactions with the SP. As shown in Table 3, statistically significant differences are identified only in four factors regarding perceptions of the SP. Beijing residents have higher recognition of the SP as a place to do physical exercise and enjoy leisure and social activities with

Table 3. Motivations, perceptions and satisfaction with the Summer Palace (SP)

	Beijing residents		Domestic tourists		Chi-square test		
	Mean	N	Mean	N	Value	df	Significance
Motivations to visit the SP (5 = very important, 1 = very unimportant)							
International reputation of SP as a tourist destination	4.10	98	4.03	234	2.463	4	.651
SP is a World Heritage Site	4.27	101	4.16	232	4.738	4	.315
Cultural atmosphere of SP	4.42	100	4.39	234	1.523	3	.677
Royal garden view of SP	4.44	100	4.36	234	3.490	3	.322
Conveniently connected by different modes of transportation	4.26	100	4.23	234	3.250	4	.517
Relax	4.22	102	4.14	236	5.406	4	.248
Release the pressure from daily life and work	4.24	100	4.08	230	3.536	4	.472
Enjoy time with family and friends	4.16	98	4.13	234	4.720	4	.317
Enrich knowledge and experiences	4.20	100	4.38	236	3.961	3	.266
Perceptions of the SP (5 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree)							
SP is the place where I enjoy leisure activities with my family	3.90	100	3.49	240	13.840	4	.008*
SP is the place where I socialize with my friends	3.71	102	3.4	236	13.808	4	.008*
SP is the place where I do physical exercise	3.88	100	3.33	236	30.259	5	.000*
Visiting SP enhanced my understanding of Chinese culture	4.25	96	4.29	240	.175	2	.916
I would like to learn more about the history of SP after my visit	4.31	98	4.32	234	3.992	2	.136
Visiting SP enhances my pride as a Chinese	4.27	98	4.13	230	6.574	4	.160
SP is a monument of classical Chinese garden design and construction	4.35	98	4.25	234	6.914	4	.140
SP represents the culture and history of Beijing	4.41	98	4.13	238	12.799	5	.025*
SP is a must-see tourism spot in Beijing	4.33	96	4.25	236	6.770	3	.080
SP is worth visiting by tourists with different backgrounds	4.38	100	4.34	238	2.106	2	.349
Satisfaction of the SP (5 = very satisfied, 1 = very unsatisfied)							
Imperial garden landscape of SP	4.17	94	4.14	236	3.677	4	.451
Traditional imperial architecture of SP	4.13	96	4.27	238	3.209	3	.360
Heritage preservation at SP	3.94	96	4.18	234	3.405	4	.493
Cleanliness of SP	3.67	98	3.74	230	5.780	4	.216
Service facilities at SP (i.e. ticketing office, kiosk, washrooms)	3.87	96	3.61	232	4.574	4	.334
Catering services at SP	3.23	88	3.31	228	5.071	5	.407
Entrance fee of SP (1 very low; 5 very high)	3.05	88	3.56	230	10.597	5	.060
Crowdedness of SP (1 not crowded at all; 5 very crowded)	3.67	90	3.67	232	2.038	4	.710

*Significance > .05.

families and friends, indicating the important role of the SP in satisfying local recreational and social needs. In addition, Beijing residents demonstrate higher agreement with the statement that the SP represents the culture and history of Beijing, indicating higher recognition of the SP as part of their local heritage.

Interplay of Beijing residents and domestic tourists

The interplay of Beijing residents and domestic tourists is examined primarily through on-site observation and casual interviews made during the questionnaire survey. It was observed that tourists and residents have different temporal and spatial preferences. Residents usually use the site in the early mornings and early evenings. These are not the peak hours for tourists, who usually come in the middle or late mornings and early afternoons. Residents prefer shaded spaces, particularly those supplied with facilities such as chairs, tables and exercise facilities. Shaded corners with fewer tourists host more residents. Their selection of spaces is primarily based on convenience and their suitability for group leisure activities and exercises instead of the heritage and tourism values of the iconic structures, although they enjoy the cultural and historical atmosphere and are well aware of the heritage values of the SP. Verbal interplay between residents and tourists does not occur often, unless tourists seek help from residents. However, residents' leisure activities, such as playing *tai chi* and group singing or dancing,

also attract the attention of tourists. Some tourists stop and watch these activities with interest. As one tourist commented:

I feel it is interesting to see those locals singing and dancing, particularly when I am resting here with nothing to do. It is a kind of Beijing style.

However, there are also tourists who complain about the noise from these activities. Another tourist commented:

The music for singing and dancing is so loud. I feel it is too noisy. It does not match with the atmosphere at the Summer Palace. I think the management should do something.

In addition, two questions were embedded in the resident questionnaire to examine their interplay with tourists. The majority (78%) of Beijing residents among 98 valid answers claim that they choose to come to the SP when there are fewer tourists and use spaces where there are fewer tourists. This suggests that use conflicts between tourists and local users may be emerging. Local users, with flexibility as to when and how they use the site because many are retired, have adjusted their use pattern to avoid intensive contacts with tourists.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Possessing a complex array of uses, many heritage sites are shared by tourists and local users in different ways and for

different purposes. Residents and tourists exhibit different temporal and spatial use patterns and, in many destinations, may have different perceptions of the value of heritage resources and have varying degrees of demand for access and related amenities when using them (Oh *et al.*, 2010). Therefore, perspectives from both residents and tourists should be incorporated to understand the uses of heritage sites, particularly for recreational and social purposes. With the SP as an example, this study examined and compared use patterns, motivations, perceptions and experiences of residents and domestic tourists. Their interplay on site was also studied.

As a famous tourism destination and a World Heritage Site, the SP is experiencing intensive tourism use by both residents and tourists. It was found that the large majority of local users at the SP are elderly residents, most of whom are retired, live in close proximity and use the site regularly for exercise and social purposes. In comparison, domestic tourists are much younger with more diverse backgrounds. Both residents and domestic tourists acknowledge the historical and cultural values of the site that play an important role in motivating them to visit and in their construction of rewarding experiences. They gain pride as a Chinese through their visiting experiences. Particularly for Beijing residents, the SP has important recreational and social values, and it is perceived to be an ideal place to escape the confines of the city, exercise and socialize with friends. Residents are engaged in various kinds of group leisure activities and physical exercises, such as singing, dancing, walking, practicing *tai chi*, playing chess or cards and enjoying conversations. Thus, while the site has received global recognition and is deemed by UNESCO to possess universal values, it has important local meanings for many residents of the surrounding area who comprise its most frequent users.

Temporal and spatial use patterns of Beijing residents and domestic tourists at the SP were examined and compared. Residents use the site primarily in the early mornings and early evenings. These are not the peak hours for tourists, who usually come in the middle or late mornings and early afternoons. It is found that tourists prefer spots with a higher reputation and higher historical, cultural and aesthetic values. Residents prefer shaded open spaces, particularly those supplied with facilities such as chairs, tables and exercise facilities. Shaded corners with fewer tourists host more residents. Their selection of spaces is primarily based on convenience and their suitability for group leisure activities and exercises instead of the heritage and tourism values of the iconic structures, although they enjoy the cultural and historical atmosphere and are well aware of the heritage values of the SP. Similarly, in the absence of explicit regulation of uses, in many Canadian lakes, there is a daily round of summer use whereby fishers are out in the early morning along shorelines and weedy areas, to be replaced in mid-morning by swimmers around docks. The water skiers use areas further from the shoreline in the afternoon and are replaced by the fishers who return to their favoured spots in the evening. However, we are not aware of previous research that addresses such phenomena in heritage sites.

More generally, different types of users use the same sites differently at both temporal and spatial scales. For example,

it has long been known that those in canoes penetrate the wilderness further than recreational boaters who are confined to its periphery, the former avoiding contact with the latter but the latter accepting the presence of the former (Lucas, 1964). Sometimes the presence of different types of users at the same site results in conflicts between them as may be the case between snowmobilers and cross-country skiers (Jackson & Wong, 1982) and hikers and sport hunters (Reis & Higham, 2009). Such conflicts have been discussed at length by Shelby and Heberlein (1986) and Mann and Absher (2008). In other situations, as in the SP study, temporal and spatial differences in use minimize negative relationships between resident and tourism users.

The interplay between domestic tourists and residents at the SP results in both positive and negative consequences. The presence and activities of one group affect the experience and behaviour of the other group. The recreational and social activities of Beijing residents at the SP are enjoyed by some domestic tourists as part of the Beijing way of life. At the same time, they are criticized by some as damaging the atmosphere of the site. Most Beijing residents stated that they choose to come at off-peak times and use places with fewer tourists to avoid intensive contacts with them. These findings indicate that use conflicts are still of concern to both groups of users. Therefore, it may be useful to devise explicit strategies to keep tourist–resident conflicts at a low level, particularly when the use of SP is expected to remain at a high level.

It is suggested that special morning and evening packages with a lower price for a limited time of use could be introduced. These could be developed for both single tickets and monthly/annual tickets to cater for the needs of residents with different frequency of use. Facilities and services for senior residents, such as exercise instructions, health consultations and medical services, could be made available, particularly at non-peak hours and in less-used locations to encourage local use of these places. In addition, chairs and tables could be added, particularly at less-used places and in corner spaces, to provide more resting spaces for both senior residents and tourists. These measures would further separate the temporal and spatial uses of locals and tourists, minimize unwanted tourist–resident interactions and ensure the safety and quality of experiences for both types of visitors.

In addition, local volunteers could be organized on site during peak tourism seasons to provide information and guidance for visitors. Small-scale community-based cultural events could be hosted in the SP to showcase Beijing culture formally to tourists from other provinces. These activities could help to foster positive tourist–resident on-site interactions, reinforce the local value of the site and enhance experiences at the SP for both types of users.

Through examining and comparing the uses and perspectives of both Beijing residents and domestic tourists at the SP World Heritage Site, this study provides a more balanced understanding of the recreational use of heritage sites. The relationship between residents, tourists and heritage sites is revisited, where residents are viewed as users of the facility and not merely as the providers of experiences to others. Practical implications have been generated to enhance the experiences of both residents and tourists at the SP.

Shared by both residents and afar visitors, issues at the SP as identified in this study may be representative of many other sites. The practical implications are likely pertinent to other heritage sites shared by different types of users. Moreover, the research methods used in this study can be applied to other heritage sites to identify similarities and differences in the spatial and temporal use patterns and perceptions between different types of users. Measures could then be developed to deal with existing or potential use conflicts and enhance experiences for all types of users.

This study focuses on two types of Chinese users at the SP: Beijing residents and domestic tourists. Although they exhibit different use patterns, they share similar perceptions towards the SP, which may be shaped by their shared cultural and historical origin. As a World Heritage Site with an international reputation, the SP also receives a large number of international visitors, who may have different preferences and perceptions derived from their different cultural and historical backgrounds. It is also necessary to know how international visitors use and perceive the site and how they interact with Chinese users. Therefore, future studies are planned to compare the use patterns, motivations and perceptions between Chinese, other Asian and Western tourists, to further understand the similarities and differences between types of visitors and to identify measures to reconcile potential conflicts and enhance the experiences of all users at the same heritage site. Also, similar studies can be conducted at other heritage sites to check the consistency of results.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research was supported by the National Natural Science Foundation of China (Grant No. 41201147) to Dr. Ming Ming Su.

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