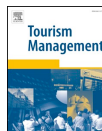




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Land expropriation in tourism development: Residents' attitudinal change and its influencing mechanism

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ABSTRACT

The development of tourism projects is often predicated on land expropriation. It is therefore important to understand residents' attitudes towards land expropriation and how changes in those attitudes can benefit both the land expropriation process and tourism development. Taking Wudaoliang in Sandaogou village in Hebei province as a case study, this study focuses on residents' attitudinal change by taking a longitudinal approach involving non-participant observation and 180 interviews. Critical event analysis was conducted, and a framework for modelling attitudinal change was adopted. The results show that the attitudes of rural residents towards tourism development were not static but underwent a dynamic process of change across three phases. These results suggest that residents should deepen their involvement in the land expropriation process and that information transparency can reduce social conflict, which will facilitate the sustainable development of rural tourism. The theoretical and practical contributions of this study are also discussed.

1. Introduction

Many rural communities have embraced tourism because of its stimulus effects on economic growth (Gunce, 2003) and because tourism is an effective way to diversify their economies and reverse the outflow of their populations (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006; Latkova & Vogt, 2012). Research on destination tourism has increasingly considered local residents' perceptions of tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). There is growing consensus that the success of tourism development hinges on residents' attitudes towards the impact of tourism. These attitudes are becoming important considerations in tourism policy and planning, and they have implications for a destination's future success and sustainability (e.g., Ap, 1992; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Nunkoo & So, 2016; Ribeiro et al., 2017; Sharpley, 2014). Many studies have examined residents' attitudes towards later stages of tourism development in mature destinations, where tourism is already economically important (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Hernandez, Cohen, & Garcia, 1996; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1993; Mason & Cheyne, 2000). However, there has been limited research on residents' attitudes in developing regions in the pre-tourism stage prior to any development or recognition of tourism value (Ji, Jiang, & Xie, 2017; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Sharpley, 2014).

China provides an appropriate context for the study of residents' attitudes in the pre-tourism stage because it is a developing country

undergoing a period of rapid economic and social transformation. At the beginning of 2018, China proposed the 'rural revitalisation' strategy to solve problems affecting farmers and agriculture and to revitalise the countryside. Due to its capacity to stimulate economic development, tourism has become particularly important for implementing this rural revitalisation strategy. In 2016, China's rural tourism investment was US\$4.41 billion, with more than 2 million rural tourism enterprises, 1.36 billion rural tourists and over US\$58.8 billion in rural tourism revenue (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2017). Rural tourism development is a long-term process, and land expropriation is a necessary stage of tourism development. The gap between the demand for and supply of land for tourism development is widening nationwide, with the shortage of land restricting industrial development. Consequently, land expropriation has become one of the main solutions for securing land for tourism development (Ma, 2017). This paper focuses on the attitudes of residents towards land expropriation in the context of tourism development.

Rural residents in China have a traditional Confucian culture and a deeply rooted attachment to their land, considering it to have value as a source of income and as a marker of social status. Land expropriation is a process of land appreciation and income redistribution. The top-down structure of decision-making in China means that the government takes the leading position in the land expropriation process (Wang & Wall, 2007). Therefore, tensions naturally arise between tourism developers



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旅游开发中的土地征用：居民态度变化及其影响机制

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摘要

旅游项目的开发通常基于土地征用。因此,了解居民对土地征用的态度以及这些态度的变化如何对土地征用过程和旅游业发展都有好处是很重要的。本研究以河北省三道沟村五道梁村为例,采用非参与式观察和180次访谈的纵向研究方法,对居民的态度变化进行了研究。进行了关键事件分析,并采用了一个建模态度变化的框架。结果表明,农村居民对旅游业发展的态度不是静态的,而是经历了一个动态的变化过程。这些结果表明,居民应该加深对征地过程的参与,信息透明度可以减少社会冲突,从而促进乡村旅游的可持续发展。本文还讨论了本研究的理论和实践贡献。

1. 简介

由于旅游业对经济增长的刺激作用 (Gunce, 2003), 以及旅游业是实现经济多样化和扭转人口外流的有效途径 (Garrod & Wornell 和 Youell, 2006; Latkova 和 Vogt, 2012), 许多农村社区已经接受了旅游业。目的地旅游研究越来越多地考虑当地居民对旅游发展的看法 (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011)。人们越来越一致认为, 旅游业发展的成功取决于居民对旅游业影响的态度。这些态度正在成为旅游政策和规划中的重要考虑因素, 并对一个国家未来的成功和可持续性产生影响 (例如, 美联社, 1992年; 兰克福德和霍华德, 1994年; 农古和苏, 2016年; 里贝罗等, 2017年; 夏普利, 2014年)。许多研究调查了成熟目的地居民对旅游业发展后期的态度, 在这些目的地, 旅游业已经具有重要的经济意义 (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Hernandez, Cohen 和 Garcia, 1996; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1993; Mason & Cheyne, 2000)。然而, 在开发或认识到旅游价值之前, 对发展中地区旅游前阶段居民态度的研究有限 (季、江和谢, 2017; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Sharpley, 2014)。

中国是一个发展中国家, 因此为旅游前期居民态度的研究提供了合适的背景

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and rural residents, who often go to great lengths to protect their land. Exploring Chinese rural residents' attitudes towards tourism development not only provides insight into residents' attitudes in general but also contributes to an understanding of the rural tourism and sustainable development processes.

Given the paucity of research and the importance of land expropriation for tourism development and social stability, this study sheds lights on the pre-tourism stage in the countryside of developing countries. The purpose of this study is to analyse residents' attitudinal changes in the context of land expropriation in Wudaoliang, China. Two questions emerge. What are residents' attitudes towards land expropriation when they lack a clear understanding of the possible consequences of tourism development? What are the mechanisms of attitudinal formation and change? This study addresses these questions in the stage just before the actual development of a tourism destination using a longitudinal approach.

2. Literature review

2.1. Residents' attitudes towards tourism development

Residents' attitudes towards tourism development are critical predictors of their support for and participation in tourism development and of the achievability of sustainable tourism development and management (Gursoy, Jurovski, & Uysal, 2002; Nicholas, Thapa, & Yong, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that a great deal of academic attention has been paid to host communities' attitudes towards tourism development in general and towards the social, economic and environmental impacts of tourism in particular.

Tourism has a direct and significant impact on communities and their residents (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Sharpley, 2014). Tourism can create employment opportunities and lead to more jobs (Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma, & Carter, 2007; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Liu, Sheldon, & Var, 1987), improve the local economy (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004), increase local income and living standards (Belisle & Hoy, 1980), attract new businesses and improve investment (Andereck et al., 2005; Dyer et al., 2007), enhance recreational and entertainment opportunities (Dyer et al., 2007; Liu et al., 1987), foster national cultural identity and pride (Andereck et al., 2005) and promote both the use and the protection of resources and the environment (Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996; Andereck et al., 2005).

As identified in the literature, tourism can also induce negative effects by increasing the cost of living (Liu and Var, 1986; McGehee & Andereck, 2004), raising the prices of goods, land and housing (Andereck et al., 2005; Belisle & Hoy, 1980), creating shortages of goods (Belisle & Hoy, 1980), increasing property taxes (Latkova & Vogt, 2012), increasing traffic congestion (King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Latkova & Vogt, 2012), aggravating crime rates and drug use (Andereck et al., 2005; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; King et al., 1993; Ko & Stewart, 2002), increasing the public consumption of alcohol (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Latkova & Vogt, 2012; Tosun, 2002), creating overcrowding and excessive demand for public services and facilities (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997), reducing residents' hospitality (Liu & Var, 1986) and worsening environmental pollution (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Yoon, Gursoy, & Chen, 2001).

According to social exchange theory (SET) (Ap, 1992), the balance of residents' perceptions of the costs and benefits of tourism development is a major factor that influences satisfaction, and it is therefore vital to the success of the tourism industry. If local communities perceive the costs of tourism to outweigh the benefits, they will withdraw their support for tourism, which will threaten the future success and development of the sector (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Lawson, Williams, Young, & Cossens, 1998). However, most studies of residents' perceptions of the impact of tourism development are based on the later stage of tourism development. Little research has considered attitudes prior to the development of tourism in developing countries, especially

at the initial stage, when the community's support and involvement are critical to success (Teye, Sönmez, & Sirakaya, 2002). When tourism has not yet developed, residents have different attitudes towards and perceptions of it. It is therefore necessary to conduct research on residents' attitudes prior to tourism development (Sharpley, 2014).

This paper focuses on the attitudes of residents towards land expropriation in the context of tourism development. It should be noted that in the process of China's rapid economic development, land expropriation may have different purposes, such as tourism development, dams, public works and investment projects. Residents may develop different attitudes towards land expropriation in different contexts. Residents may receive economic compensation regardless of the land expropriation purpose. It is notable that residents' attitudes towards tourism-related land expropriation differ from those towards land expropriation for non-tourism purposes, as residents believe that tourism development can create more employment opportunities for them and that they can participate in it. Thus, in economically less developed villages, residents may hold welcoming attitudes towards land expropriation and look forward to participating in tourism development at the beginning even when their understanding of the project is limited (Akis et al., 1996; Doxey, 1975; Faulkner & Russell, 1997; Hernandez et al., 1996; Upchurch & Teivane, 2000).

2.2. Factors influencing residents' attitudes

Residents' positive and negative perceptions of tourism are influenced by various factors (Andereck et al., 2005; Ap, 1992; Gursoy et al., 2002; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Latkova & Vogt, 2012; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Nicholas et al., 2009). In the tourism context, SET (Ap, 1992) has been used as a theoretical basis for explaining host communities' perceptions and motivations (Gursoy et al., 2002; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Latkova & Vogt, 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkissoon, 2013). Most related research focused on how socio-economic variables influence residents' perceptions, including age (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Tomljenovic & Faulkner, 2000), living distance from tourist attractions (Hernandez et al., 1996; Weaver & Lawton, 2001), length of residence (McCool & Martin, 1994), level of knowledge about the industry (Andereck et al., 2005) and gender (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). Several studies have examined the influence of community attachment on residents' attitudes (Latkova & Vogt, 2012; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Tosun, 2002; Um & Crompton, 1987).

Residents' perceptions of tourism impacts are also related to the level of economic activity of the community. Johnson, Snepenger, and Akis (1994) used a longitudinal research design to investigate residents' perceptions of tourism development in a rural ski area experiencing an economic transition. Over six years, residents' attitudes changed from high expectations of tourism to diminished support. Allen, Hafer, Long, and Perdue (1993) found that communities with low tourism development and low total economic activity viewed tourism development more favourably than communities with low tourism and high economic activity. Residents living in rural areas might perceive tourism as an important economic development strategy (Latkova & Vogt, 2012).

As a number of studies have shown, residents' attitudes towards tourism are complex, as they are influenced by multiple factors. Residents are not a homogeneous group, and their reactions to tourism vary (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Davis, Allen, & Cosenza, 1988). Individuals may be ambivalent towards tourism (Hernandez et al., 1996). SET helps explain this ambivalence. According to Ap (1992), residents evaluate tourism in terms of expected benefits and costs. However, because they usually have no prior experience of similar types of resorts, they may feel ambivalent because of the high level of uncertainty associated with the expected costs and benefits. Residents in more mature tourism destinations will be more aware of the positive and negative impacts of tourism (Liu et al., 1987) and more certain of what to expect (Hernandez et al., 1996).

以及农村居民，他们经常不遗余力地保护自己的土地。探讨中国农村居民对旅游发展的态度不仅有助于深入了解居民的总体态度，而且有助于理解农村旅游和可持续发展过程。

鉴于研究的匮乏以及土地征用对旅游业发展和社会稳定的重要性，本研究为发展中国家农村旅游前阶段提供了一些启示。本研究的目的分析中国五道梁市土地征收背景下居民态度的变化。出现了两个问题。当居民对旅游开发可能带来的后果缺乏清晰认识时，他们对土地征用的态度是什么？态度形成和改变的机制是什么？本研究采用纵向方法，在旅游目的地实际开发之前的阶段解决这些问题。

2. 文献综述

2.1. 居民对旅游业发展的态度

居民对旅游开发的态度的他们对旅游开发的支持和参与以及可持续旅游开发和管理可实现性的关键预测因素 (Gursoy & Jurovski and Uysal, 2002; Nicholas, Thapa and Yong, 2009)。因此，学术界对东道社区对旅游发展的总体态度，特别是对旅游业的社会、经济和环境影响的态度的给予了大量关注，这并不奇怪。

旅游业对社区及其居民有着直接而重大的影响 (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt, 2005; Sharpley, 2014)。旅游业可以创造就业机会并带来更多就业机会 (Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma and Carter, 2007年; Lankford and Howard, 1994年; Liu, Sheldon and Var, 1987年)，改善当地经济 (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004年)，提高当地收入和生活水平 (Belisle and Hoy, 1980年)，吸引新企业并改善投资 (Andereck等人, 2005年; Dyer等人, 2007年)，增加娱乐和娱乐机会 (Dyer等人, 2007年; Liu等人, 1987年)，培养民族文化认同感和自豪感 (Andereck等人, 2005年)，促进资源和环境的使用和保护 (Akis, Peristianis and Warner, 1996年; Andereck等人, 2005年)。

如文献所述，旅游业也可以通过增加生活成本而产生负面影响 (Liu and Var, 1986)；McGehee和Andereck, 2004)，提高商品、土地和住房的价格 (Andereck等人, 2005; Belisle and Hoy, 1980)，造成商品短缺 (Belisle and Hoy, 1980)，增加财产税 (Latkova and Vogt, 2012)，增加交通拥堵 (King, Pizam and Milman, 1993; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Latkova and Vogt, 2012)，加重犯罪率和吸毒 (Andereck等人, 2005年; Belisle & Hoy, 1980年; King等人, 1993年; Ko & Stewart, 2002年)，增加了公众对酒精的消费 (Ko & Stewart, 2002年; Latkova & Vogt, 2012年; Tosun, 2002年)，造成过度拥挤和对公共服务和设施的过度需求 (Brunt & Courtney, 1999年; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997年)，减少居民的好客 (Liu & Var, 1986年)，并加剧环境污染 (Ko & Stewart, 2002年; Yoon, Gursoy and Chen, 2001年)。

根据社会交换理论 (SET) (美联社, 1992年)，居民对旅游开发成本和收益的认知平衡是影响满意度的主要因素，因此对旅游业的成功至关重要。如果当地社区认为旅游业的成本大于收益，他们将撤回对旅游业的支持，这将威胁该行业未来的成功和发展 (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003年; Lawson, Williams, Young and Cossens, 1998年)。然而，大多数关于居民对旅游开发影响的研究都是基于旅游开发的后期。很少有研究考虑到发展中国家旅游业发展之前的态度，尤其是

在最初阶段，社区的支持和参与对成功至关重要 (Teye, Sönmez and Sirakaya, 2002)。当旅游业尚未发展时，居民对它有不同的心态和看法。因此，有必要在旅游开发之前对居民的态度进行研究 (Sharpley, 2014)。

本文主要研究旅游开发背景下居民对土地征用的态度。需要指出的是，在中国经济快速发展的过程中，土地征用可能有不同的目的，如旅游开发、大坝、公共工程和投资项目。在不同的情况下，居民可能会对土地征用产生不同的态度。无论征地目的如何，居民都可以获得经济补偿。值得注意的是，居民对与旅游相关的土地征用的态度不同于对非旅游目的的土地征用的态度，因为居民认为旅游业发展可以为他们创造更多就业机会，他们可以参与其中。因此，在经济欠发达的村庄，居民可能对土地征用持欢迎态度，并期待从一开始就参与旅游开发，即使他们对项目的了解有限 (Akis等人, 1996年; Doxey, 1975年; 福克纳和罗素, 1997年; 埃尔南德斯等人, 1996年; Upchurch and Teivan, 2000年)。

2.2. 影响居民态度的因素

居民对旅游业的积极和消极看法受到各种因素的影响 (Andereck等人, 2005年; 美联社, 1992年; Gursoy等人, 2002年; Ko & Stewart, 2002年; Latkova & Vogt, 2012年; McGehee & Andereck, 2004年; Nicholas等人, 2009年)。在旅游业背景下，SET (美联社, 1992年) 被用作解释东道主社区感知和动机的理论基础 (Gursoy等人, 2002年; Ko & Stewart, 2002年; Latkova & Vogt, 2012年; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012年; Nunkoo, Smith and Ramkissoon, 2013年)。大多数相关研究集中于社会经济变量如何影响居民的感知，包括年龄 (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Tomljenovic & Faulkner, 2000)、与旅游景点的居住距离 (Hernandez等人, 1996; Weaver & Lawton, 2001)、居住时间 (McCool & Martin, 1994)、行业知识水平 (Andereck等人, 2005年) 和性别 (Mason & Cheyne, 2000年)。一些研究考察了社区依恋对居民态度的影响 (Latkova & Vogt, 2012; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Tosun, 2002; Um & Crompton, 1987)。

居民对旅游影响的感知也与社区的经济活动水平有关。Johnson, Snepenger and Akis (1994) 采用纵向研究设计，调查经历经济转型的农村滑雪区居民对旅游业发展的看法。六年来，居民的态度从对旅游业的高期望转变为对旅游业的支持减少。Allen, Hafer, Long and Perdue (1993) 发现，旅游业发展水平低、总体经济活动水平低的社区比旅游业发展水平低、经济活动水平高的社区更看好旅游业发展。生活在农村地区的居民可能认为旅游业是一项重要的经济发展战略 (Latkova & Vogt, 2012)。大量研究表明，居民对旅游业的态度是复杂的，因为他们受到多种因素的影响。居民并不是一个同质群体，他们对旅游业的反应各不相同 (美联社和克朗普顿, 1993年; 布鲁姆和巴特勒, 1981年; 戴维斯、艾伦和科森扎, 1988年)。个人对旅游业可能有矛盾情绪 (Hernandez等人, 1996年)。SET有助于解释这种矛盾心理。据美联社 (1992年) 报道，居民根据预期收益和成本来评估旅游业。然而，由于他们通常没有类似类型度假村的经验，他们可能会因为预期成本和收益的高度不确定性而感到矛盾。更成熟旅游目的地居民将更加意识到旅游业的积极和消极影响 (Liu等人, 1987年) 以及更确定的预期 (Hernandez等人, 1996年)。

However, much of the relevant research is restricted to case studies in the developed world, such as North America, Australia, New Zealand and the UK (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012), Italy and Cyprus (Akis et al., 1996). Less research has been undertaken in the developing world, although studies have been conducted on Fiji (King et al., 1993), Ghana (Teye et al., 2002), Uganda (Lepp, 2007), Iran (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012), and Mauritius (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012). China is a developing country experiencing rapid tourism development. Therefore, the implications generated from the current study can be considered by other countries/regions facing similar issues.

2.3. Level of tourism development

In addition to micro-level factors, the macro-level stages that characterise tourism development affect residents' attitudes (Yoon et al., 2001). In other words, residents' attitudinal changes correspond to the sequential stages of tourism development (Allen et al., 1993; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; Johnson et al., 1994). Many tourism scholars have used stage-based models to describe destination development and residents' reactions to tourism (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975). Butler (1980) proposed the concept of the tourism area life cycle, which has since been widely used to describe tourism development and residents' attitudes. This model shows that as the number of tourists at a destination increases, the residents who had once been overwhelmingly well-disposed towards tourists tend to develop growing reservations about the long-term benefits of tourism. Doxey (1975) used the earlier Irridex model and showed that residents pass through sequential stages as the number of tourists increases, with initial enthusiasm being followed by apathy, irritation or even antagonism. In short, the models of Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) suggest a change in residents' attitudes and their involvement in tourism over time (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). Such research has suggested that residents' attitudinal change is staged-based, heterogeneous and dynamic (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Davis et al., 1988; Huh & Vogt, 2007; Yang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2013).

However, Doxey's Irridex model has been criticised as implying a homogeneity of attitudes that in practice might not exist (Ryan & Montgomery, 1994). Residents are not a homogeneous group, and their reactions to tourism vary (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Davis et al., 1988). Authors such as Hernandez et al. (1996) and Lepp (2004) warned against assuming the validity of the Irridex model in all situations. Sofield (2003) argued that the process of moving from euphoria to antagonism is not linear, and he defined that process as one of 'adaptancy'. He relabelled Doxey's 'stages' as 'states of affairs' and argued that a community could move from one state to the next, return to an earlier state or even skip a state. Community responses to tourism development should therefore be viewed as a complex evolutionary process rather than as a linear series of changes (Horn & Simmons, 2002).

Many studies have been conducted on residents' attitudes in the later stages of tourism development, when tourism has already become economically important (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Johnson et al., 1994; Liu et al., 1987; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1993; Mason & Cheyne, 2000). However, there are fewer studies on the perceived impacts before development or before tourism is seen as economically significant (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Sharpley, 2014). Studies focusing on the pre-development stage can thus make valuable contributions to this area (Hernandez et al., 1996; Pizam & Poleka, 1985).

Based on the observations above, it can be stated that in the pre-tourism stage, residents have little or no exposure to tourism. As Brougham and Butler noted (1981, p. 570):

An ideal investigation of the social, cultural, and economic effects of the tourist industry would need to look at a destination area both before and after the appearance of visitors and their associated phenomena. Such studies have so far constituted something of a rarity in the

literature, because it is generally impossible to predict the growth of tourism with sufficient accuracy for appropriate areas to be demarcated for investigation.

Some researchers have examined residents' attitudes in the pre-development stages on this basis. Keogh (1990) conducted a survey in New Brunswick when tourism was in the proposal stage. He found that most residents were not well informed about tourism development. Hernandez et al. (1996) researched a period just prior to tourism development, surveying residents' attitudes towards a proposed 'instant' enclave resort in Puerto Rico. They found that residents had mixed feelings, recognising both the costs and benefits of tourism. In accordance with Hernandez et al. (1996), Hunt and Stronza (2014) proposed the incorporation of additional stages at the front end. In describing the stage in which tourism has yet to occur, Butler (1980) observed an 'absence of tourism' in Nicaragua. Mason and Cheyne (2000) tested hosts' attitudes in a rural region of New Zealand towards a proposed tourism venture prior to its development.

Research has found that residents are largely ambivalent in the pre-development stage. Future research should examine attitudes towards tourism in terms of degrees of ambivalence, and the various components of respondents' attitudes towards tourism should be weighted by importance to better understand how overall attitudes are shaped. More research on residents' attitudinal change in the pre-development stage is necessary (Hernandez et al., 1996; Hunt & Stronza, 2014; Mason & Cheyne, 2000), and a longitudinal approach would potentially offer greater insight (Hernandez et al., 1996). Therefore, to compensate for the lack of research on the stages prior to tourism development, this study takes a case in China, a developing country, and analyses residents' attitudinal changes longitudinally regarding land expropriation for tourism development.

2.4. China's land expropriation system

China features socialist public ownership of land. States own all urban land, and the village collective owns all rural land subject to restrictions on land use and transfer. The state may, in the public interest, expropriate and give compensation for land in accordance with the China Land Administration Law (CLAL). In this assignment of property rights, land development proceeds in two steps: land expropriation by the government from villages and land transaction between the government and potential land developers (Guo, 2001). Expropriated land is compensated by the developer who eventually purchases the land user right, not the government. As stipulated by law, compensation fees are paid for the loss of crops and to assist the village collective in relocating the agricultural population affected by land expropriation. China's Constitution clearly stipulates that the government is the only legal subject with the power of land expropriation. Local governments use land reserves to expropriate land from rural residents and transfer it to developers as construction land.

Chinese law forbids land expropriation without the consent of the owner. However, such consent is not always easy to obtain, as the dual urban-rural land and top-down decision-making system have existed for a long time, and many farmers are reluctant to give up their land due to their feelings for the land and love of rural life (Cao & Zhang, 2018; Wang & Wall, 2007). The property rights arrangement in rural China is unique in that land cultivated by individual households is owned by village collectives. Collective land ownership features what Ho (2001) called 'deliberate institutional ambiguity' – the term 'collective' is intentionally vague in the CLAL to solidify state control over rural land. Moreover, the CLAL gives the state the right to expropriate rural land for 'public use', the scope of which is also poorly defined. By design, this institutional ambiguity leaves significant room for the abuse of power by governments at various levels to expropriate rural land and convert it to non-agricultural uses, such as industrial and infrastructure projects and lucrative real-estate development. Moreover, the government typically compensates land-losing farmers according to

然而，大部分相关研究仅限于发达国家的案例研究，如北美、澳大利亚、新西兰和英国 (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012)、意大利和塞浦路斯 (Akis等人, 1996)。在发展中国家进行的研究较少，尽管对斐济 (King等人, 1993年)、加纳 (Teye等人, 2002年)、乌干达 (Lepp, 2007年)、伊朗 (Zamani Farahani & Musa, 2012年) 和毛里求斯 (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012年) 进行了研究。中国是一个旅游业快速发展的发展中国家。因此，其他面临类似问题国家/地区可以考虑当前研究产生的影响。

2.3. 旅游发展水平

除了微观层面的因素外，旅游业发展的宏观阶段也会影响居民的态度 (Yoon等人, 2001年)。换句话说，居民的态度变化与旅游发展的顺序阶段相对应 (Allen等人, 1993年; Butler, 1980年; Doxey, 1975年; Johnson等人, 1994年)。许多旅游学者使用基于阶段的模型来描述目的地的发展和居民对旅游业的反应 (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975)。巴特勒 (Butler, 1980) 提出了旅游区生命周期的概念，此后被广泛用于描述旅游发展和居民的态度。该模型表明，随着目的地游客数量的增加，曾经对游客有着压倒性好感的居民往往会旅游业的长期效益产生越来越大的保留。Doxey (1975) 使用了早期的Irridex模型，表明随着游客数量的增加，居民会经历连续的阶段，其中最初的热情之后是冷漠、愤怒甚至敌意。宗教主义。简言之，Doxey (1975) 和Butler (1980) 的模型表明，随着时间的推移，居民的态度和对旅游业的参与发生了变化 (Mason & Cheyne, 2000)。这类研究表明，居民的态度变化是分阶段的、异质的和动态的 (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Davis等人, 1988; Huh & Vogt, 2007; Yang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2013)。

然而，Doxey的Irridex模型被批评暗示了一种在实践中可能不存在的同质性态度 (Ryan & Montgomery, 1994)。居民不是一个同质群体，他们对旅游业的反应各不相同 (Ap & Crompton, 1993年; Brougham & Butler, 1981年; Davis等人, 1988年)。Hernandez等人 (1996年) 和Lepp (2004年) 等作者警告不要假设Irridex模型在所有情况下都有效。Sofield (2003) 认为，从欣快对抗的过程不是线性的，他将这个过程定义为“适应”。他将多西的“阶段”重新命名为“事态”，并认为一个社区可以从一个州转移到下一个州，回到一个更早的州，甚至跳过一个州。因此，社区对旅游业发展的反应应该被视为一个复杂的进化过程，而不是一系列线性变化 (Horn & Simmons, 2002)。

许多关于该地区居民态度的研究已经展开。旅游业发展的后期阶段，即旅游业在经济上已经变得重要 (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Johnson et al., 1994; Liu et al., 1987; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1993; Mason & Cheyne, 2000)。然而，在开发或旅游被视为具有经济意义之前，对感知影响的研究较少 (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Sharpley, 2014)。因此，专注于开发前阶段的研究可以对该领域做出有价值的贡献 (Hernandez等人, 1996年; Pizam & Poleka, 1985年)。

根据上述观察，可以说，在旅游前阶段，居民很少或根本没有接触旅游。正如布罗姆和巴特勒所指出的 (1981年, 第570页):

对旅游业的社交、文化和经济影响进行理想的调查，需要在游客出现之前和之后考察目的地及其相关现象。到目前为止，这样的研究在世界上是罕见的

文献，因为通常不可能以足够的精度预测旅游业的增长，以便划定适当的调查区域。

一些研究人员在此基础上研究了开发前阶段居民的态度。基奥 (1990) 在旅游业处于提案阶段时在新不伦瑞克进行了一项调查。他发现，大多数居民对旅游业的发展并不了解。Hernandez等人 (1996年) 研究了旅游业发展之前的一段时间，调查了居民对波多黎各拟议的“即时”飞地度假胜地的态度。他们发现，居民对旅游业的成本和收益有着复杂的感受。根据Hernandez等人 (1996年)，Hunt和Stronza (2014年) 建议在前端加入额外的阶段。巴特勒 (Butler, 1980) 在描述旅游业尚未出现的阶段时指出，尼加拉瓜“缺乏旅游业”。Mason和Cheyne (2000年) 测试了新西兰农村地区的东道主在开发旅游企业之前对该项目的态度。

研究发现，居民在学前教育中基本上是矛盾的-发展阶段。未来的研究应该从矛盾心理的程度来审视对旅游业的态度，受访者对旅游业态度的各个组成部分应该根据重要性进行加权，以便更好地理解整体态度是如何形成的。有必要对开发前阶段居民的态度变化进行更多研究 (Hernandez等人, 1996年; Hunt & Stronza, 2014年; Mason & Cheyne, 2000年)，纵向方法可能会提供更深入的见解 (Hernandez等人, 1996年)。因此，为了弥补对旅游开发前阶段研究的不足，本研究以发展中国家中国为例，纵向分析了居民对旅游开发征地的态度变化。

2.4. 中国的土地征收制度

中国是社会主义土地公有制国家。州拥有所有城市土地，村集体拥有所有受土地使用和转让限制的农村土地。国家为了公共利益，可以依照《中国土地管理法》的规定征收土地并给予补偿。在这种产权转让中，土地开发分两步进行：政府从村庄征收土地，以及政府与潜在土地开发商之间的土地交易 (郭, 2001)。被征用的土地由最终购买土地使用权的开发商补偿，而不是政府。根据法律规定，补偿费用于补偿农作物损失，并帮助村集体安置受征地影响的农业人口。中国宪法明确规定，政府是唯一拥有土地征收权的法律主体。地方政府利用土地储备从农村征收土地并将其作为建设用地转让给开发商。

中国法律禁止未经所有者同意的土地征用。然而，这种同意并不总是容易获得的，因为城乡二元土地和自上而下的决策体系已经存在很长时间，许多农民由于对土地的感情和对农村生活的热爱而不愿放弃土地 (曹和张, 2018; 王和沃尔, 2007)。中国农村的产权安排是独特的，因为个体家庭耕种的土地属于村集体所有。集体土地所有权的特点是何 (2001) 所说的“故意的制度模糊性”——术语“集体”在法律中故意含糊不清，以巩固国家对农村土地的控制。此外，《土地征用法》赋予国家征用农村土地用于“公共利益”的权利，而“公共利益”的范围也没有明确界定。根据设计，这种制度上的模糊性为各级政府滥用权力征用农村土地并将其转化为非农业用途 (如工业和农村) 留下了很大的空间。框架结构项目和利润丰厚的房地产开发。此外，政府通常会根据具体情况对失去土地的农民进行补偿

their land's original use and then auctions off the expropriated land based on its future value. The government thus obtains massive profits (Cai & Sun, 2018; Shang, 1998).

In contrast with that in China, developed countries' land expropriation has more clear and fair land use scope and adjustment mechanisms (Cai & Sun, 2018). For example, developers must follow clear rules, and land expropriation must be for the public interest and in line with the specified scope. In addition, in the West, the government, developers and residents often discuss compensation together. In contrast, residents are largely excluded from this process in China.

In addition to tourism development, other purposes of land expropriation in China include the development of dams, public works and investment projects. However, land expropriation for tourism development is quite different from that for public works and general investment projects. In the pre-tourism development stage, residents have not yet had any direct experience of tourism in their community, but they have positive expectations (Hernandez et al., 1996) because they expect employment opportunities and other forms of resident participation in tourism development after land expropriation.

However, land expropriation, which is central to the government's development and capital accumulation strategies, has frequently encountered fierce opposition from farmers and caused sharp social conflicts (Mathur, 2013; Sargeson, 2016). Land expropriation in China has aroused widespread concern in both academic and practical circles. One of the challenges is that the land compensation price established under the planned economic system is much less than the land value in the market economy (Guo & Gao, 2014). Land is the most important asset of the majority of rural residents because it functions both as a source of income and as a mechanism of social insurance (Cai, 2016). Thus, the land expropriation process plays an important role in rural residents' well-being and overall quality of life. It is therefore urgently necessary to explore the land expropriation issues in tourism development, particularly in rural areas in developing countries.

3. Theoretical framework

The persuasion situation model initially proposed by Hovland (Hovland & Weiss, 1953; Sherif & Hovland, 1961) and refined by Freedman (1985) was adopted as the theoretical framework for the current study. This model includes four essential stages for interpreting the entire attitudinal change process: external stimuli, targets, intervening processes and outcomes. It starts with the external stimuli, which cover the communicator, communication and situation. Second, all of the external stimuli act on the target, whose individual characteristics may greatly influence the persuasion effect. For instance, individuals' prior commitment, inoculation and personality may influence their attitude changes. The third stage is intervening processes, where the communicators try to persuade the targets via message learning, transfer of affect, consistency mechanisms and counter-arguing. In the fourth stage, the outcomes of persuasion can be attitude change or source derogation, message distortion and blanket rejection. This framework has been widely cited in and adopted by research in various disciplines, such as consumer research (Friestad & Wright, 1994; Khantimirov & Karande, 2018; Petty, 2018), communication (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986, pp. 1–24) and social psychology (Clementi, Revelli, & Sibona, 2015; Jones, Linder, Kiesler, Zanna, & Brehm, 1968).

The objective of this study is to explore the attitudes and mechanisms of Wudaoliang residents in the early stage of the tourism life cycle, specifically those relating to tourist development and the land expropriation process. The analytical approach of the persuasion situation model, with its association between persuasion and attitudinal change, gives it strong applicability. Moreover, the model covers both internal and external factors that influence an individual's attitude change; thus, this analysis path has strong explanatory power for the current study. Land expropriation for tourism development is a long-term multi-subject competition between interests, and residents' attitudinal changes

depend on the external stimuli. However, residents' attitude formation is rooted in individuals' characteristics and empirical judgements, which emphasise internal stimuli. This framework thus can provide a deeper understanding of residents' attitudinal changes regarding land expropriation for tourism development.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research context

The study site of Wudaoliang is located in Sandaogou village, Laowa township, Luanping county, Chengde city, Hebei province. By the end of 2016, the village had 77 households and 228 people. Deep in the Yanshan Mountains and at a high altitude, Wudaoliang has poor road conditions, making transportation difficult. The living conditions are also quite poor. Due to the area's rich potential for tourism, with resources such as the Ming Dynasty Great Wall and ancient fossils, the Luanping county government and a Beijing investment company signed the Anaya Jinshanling Project Cooperation Agreement on 11 April 2016. Under this agreement, the Beijing company was to develop the overall tourism infrastructure of Wudaoliang, and the government was to initiate the project by expropriating 110 acres of agricultural land, which was productive land that was important for the residents' long-term survival. After the land expropriation agreement was signed, all affected households were notified of the housing demolition resettlement details by the government at a later stage.

Facing the loss of both their land and their peaceful lifestyle, the residents of Wudaoliang felt tremendous strain. This psychological state of 'being swayed by considerations of gain and loss' largely defines rural residents' experience of land expropriation for tourism development in China. Conclusions drawn from this case can provide useful guidelines for land expropriation policy making to better address the interests of all concerned parties.

4.2. Research design, data collection and analysis

Qualitative methods can provide a better understanding of the phenomena under consideration than more traditional quantitative methods (Hernandez et al., 1996). Most of the research in this area has used quantitative methods to cluster residents' perceptions and attitudes, but such methods cannot explain the mechanisms and motivations behind those perceptions and attitudes (Sharpley, 2014). This research explores residents' attitudinal changes and their driving mechanism in the context of land expropriation in the pre-tourism stage in Wudaoliang, and qualitative methods are well suited to this purpose. Wudaoliang's permanent residents can be characterised by certain attributes. Most young residents have left the area for work. The elderly and children constitute the main body of permanent residents, but together, they account for less than one third of the registered population. An overly detailed scale or questionnaire is not helpful for identifying the real attitudes of these residents towards land expropriation; non-participant observation and unstructured in-depth interviews (Churchill, 1991; Smith, 2010) can more effectively identify residents' attitudes.

The focus of this research is residents' attitudinal changes in the context of land expropriation. This change is a process that requires longitudinal research, which, despite being rare in tourism, can offer rich insight into how experiences develop and evolve over a multi-day stay (Ingram, Caruana, & McCabe, 2017). Several studies have examined residents' attitudes via a longitudinal approach. Johnson et al. (1994) used a longitudinal research design to investigate residents' perceptions of tourism development in a rural ski area undergoing economic transition. Over six years, the residents' attitudes changed from initially high expectations to diminished support. Yang et al. (2013), in a study based on 12 months of ethnographic study, used social conflict theory to suggest a four-part model to describe how

他们的土地的原始用途，然后根据其未来价值拍卖被征用的土地。政府因此获得了巨额利润 (蔡和孙, 2018; 尚, 1998)。

与中国相比，发达国家的土地征收具有更明确、更公平的土地使用范围和调整机制 (蔡和孙, 2018)。例如，开发商必须遵守明确的规则，土地征用必须符合公共利益，并符合规定的范围。此外，在西方，政府、开发商和居民经常一起讨论赔偿问题。相比之下，在中国，居民在很大程度上被排除在这一进程之外。

除了旅游开发，中国土地征用的其他目的还包括开发水坝、公共工程和投资项目。然而，用于旅游开发的土地征用与用于公共工程和一般投资项目的土地征用大不相同。在旅游开发前阶段，居民尚未在其社区直接体验到旅游业，但他们有积极的期望 (Hernandez等人, 1996年)，因为他们期望在土地征用后获得就业机会和其他形式的居民参与旅游开发。

然而，土地征用作为政府发展和资本积累战略的核心，经常遭到农民的强烈反对，并引发尖锐的社会冲突 (Mathur, 2013; Sargeson, 2016)。我国的土地征收问题已引起学术界和实务界的广泛注意。其中一个挑战是，在计划经济体制下建立的土地补偿价格远低于市场经济下的土地价值 (郭和高, 2014)。土地是大多数农村居民最重要的资产，因为它既是收入来源，也是社会保险机制 (蔡, 2016)。因此，土地征用过程对农村居民的福祉和整体生活质量起着重要作用。因此，迫切需要探讨旅游业发展中的土地征用问题，尤其是在发展中国家的农村地区。

3. 理论框架

说服情境模型最初由霍夫兰 (Hovland & Weiss, 1953; Sherif & Hovland, 1961) 提出，并由弗里德曼 (Freedman, 1985) 完善，作为当前研究的理论框架。该模型包括解释整个态度改变过程的四个基本阶段：外部刺激、目标、干预过程和结果。它从外部刺激开始，包括沟通者、沟通 and 情境。第二，所有外部刺激都作用于目标，其个体特征可能会极大地影响说服效果。例如，个人先前的承诺、接种和个性可能会影响他们的态度变化。第三阶段是干预过程，交际者试图通过信息学习、情感传递、一致性机制和反击来说服目标。在第四阶段，说服的结果可能是态度改变或来源减损、信息失真和全面拒绝。该框架已在多个学科的研究中被广泛引用和采用，如消费者研究 (Friestad & Wright, 1994; Khantimirov & Karande, 2018; Petty, 2018)；传播 (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986, 第1–24页) 和社会心理学 (Clementi, Revelli & Sibona, 2015; Jones, Linder, Kiesler, Zanna 和 Brehm, 1968)。本研究目的是探索五道梁居民在旅游生命周期早期的态度和机制，特别是与旅游开发和土地征用过程有关的态度和机制。说服情境模型的分析方法，以及说服和态度变化之间的关联，使其具有很强的适用性。此外，该模型涵盖了影响个体态度变化的内部和外部因素；因此，这一分析路径对当前的研究具有很强的解释力。旅游开发征地是一种长期的多主体利益竞争，是居民态度的转变

依赖于外部刺激。然而，居民的态度形成植根于个人特征和经验判断，强调内部刺激。因此，该框架可以更深入地了解居民对旅游开发征地的态度变化。

4. 方法论

4.1. 研究背景

五道梁研究点位于河北省承德市滦平县老洼乡三道沟村。截至2016年底，该村共有77户居民和228人。五道梁位于燕山山脉深处，海拔较高，路况较差，交通不便。生活条件也很差。由于该地区具有丰富的旅游潜力，拥有明代长城和古化石等资源，滦平县政府和一家北京投资公司于2016年4月11日签署了阿纳亚金山岭项目合作协议。根据该协议，北京公司将开发五道梁的整体旅游基础设施，政府将通过征用110亩农业用地启动该项目，这是对居民长期生存至关重要的生产性土地。土地征用协议签署后，政府在后期将房屋拆迁安置细节通知所有受影响家庭。

面对失去土地和安静的生活方式，五道梁的居民感到了巨大的压力。这种“得失考量”的心理状态在很大程度上决定了中国农村居民的旅游开发征地体验。从该案例中得出的结论可以为土地征收政策制定提供有用的指导，以更好地解决所有相关方的利益。

4.2. 研究设计、数据收集和分析

与传统的定量方法相比，定性方法可以更好地理解所考虑的现象 (Hernandez等人, 1996年)。该领域的大多数研究都使用定量方法对居民的感知和态度进行聚类，但 these 方法无法解释这些感知和态度背后的机制和动机 (Sharpley, 2014)。本研究探讨了五道梁旅游前期征地背景下居民态度的变化及其驱动机制，定性方法非常适合这一目的。五道梁的永久居民具有某些特征。大多数年轻居民已经离开该地区去工作。老年人和儿童是永久居民的主体，但他们加在一起不到登记人口的三分之一。过于详细的量表或问卷无助于确定这些居民对征地的真实态度；非参与式观察和非结构化深度访谈 (丘吉尔, 1991; 史密斯, 2010) 可以更有效地确定居民的态度。

本研究的重点是征地背景下居民态度的变化。这一变化是一个需要纵向研究的过程，尽管在旅游业中很少见，但纵向研究可以提供丰富的洞察，让人们了解体验在 multiday 逗留期间是如何发展和演变的 (Ingram, Caruana 和 McCabe, 2017)。几项研究通过纵向方法调查了居民的态度。Johnson等人 (1994年) 采用纵向研究设计，调查了正在经历经济转型的农村滑雪区居民对旅游业发展的看法。六年来，居民的态度从最初的高期望转变为支持减少。Yang等人 (2013年) 在一项基于12个月人种学研究的 研究中，利用社会冲突理论提出了一个四部分模型来描述

tourism engenders different forms of social conflict and produces fluctuating alliances between stakeholders in China. Hernandez et al. (1996) used a longitudinal approach to examine residents' attitudes towards the proposed 'instant' enclave resort of Isabela, Puerto Rico. Longitudinal data may offer greater insight into residents' attitudes towards tourism development (Johnson et al., 1994). Researchers have also emphasised the value of the longitudinal approach in investigating residents' attitudinal changes across the development phases of a tourist site (Carmichael, Peppard, & Boudreau, 1996; Getz, 1994; Lee & Back, 2003). A longitudinal approach was also used to investigate the attitudes of residents facing land expropriation in the pre-tourism stage in Wudaoliang.

Non-participant observation revealed two key events in the land expropriation timeline that concerned Wudaoliang residents and had significant impacts on their attitudes. First, there were two related announcements on 16 May 2016: 'Luanping county people's government's announcement on the land planning of Wudaoliang land in Sandaogou village' and 'Luanping county people's government's announcement on the land expropriation of Wudaoliang in Sandaogou village'. These announcements signified that an agreement had been reached between the government and developers. The development of tourism in Wudaoliang, which had once been uncertain, became fact. The second key event was the village committee's announcement on 26 July 2017 that 'with the approval of the township and through consultation by representatives of the two village committees and groups, the land expropriation agreement will be signed from 8:30 a.m. on 26 July 2017 to 4:00 p.m. on 2 August 2017'. The signing of the agreement suggested that upon receiving their compensation, the residents would completely lose their rights to use the land. Based on these two key events, the land expropriation process in Wudaoliang can be divided into three stages: 1) before the announcement; 2) after the announcement and before the signing of the agreement; and 3) after the signing of the agreement.

The main advantage of unstructured in-depth interviews (face-to-face interviews) over structured interviews is that they yield a better understanding of respondents' thinking (Churchill, 1991). In the in-depth interviews conducted for this study, the questions were open-ended and unstructured. Non-participant observations were also included.

Wudaoliang is the hometown of the first author, who has good relations with its residents and government officials and is familiar with its entire tourism development process. The first author regularly returned to his hometown on weekends and holidays during the project period to interview and communicate with residents and officials. From 2016 to 2018, the second author went to Wudaoliang three times to conduct field research and spent 88 days with local people. During those 88 days, the second author became deeply involved in the local people's daily activities and established good relationships with them. After obtaining the consent of the interviewees, the interviews were recorded. The interviews focused on the interviewees' perceptions of key events in the land expropriation process. They did not psychologically burden or place pressure on the interviewees, but guided them to describe their stories and express their emotions. Non-participant observation was also used to collect residents' attitudes. The government posts notices to inform the community at a large pine tree in the village, and this is where residents gather for discussion after dinner. In addition, the government held meetings in the village government building to make land expropriation announcements. Therefore, in the three stages, the author collected the attitudes and responses of the residents towards land expropriation through careful observation under the big pine tree and the place where the government held meetings for residents.

Overall, 180 interviews generated 536 pieces of original information. The key events of non-participant observation divided the residents' attitudes into three stages. The interview materials were then classified according to the three stages. The first stage (before the

announcement) included 107 pieces of information from 39 respondents. The second stage (after the announcement and before the signing of the agreement) included 268 pieces of information from 39 respondents. The third stage (after the signing of the agreement) included 161 pieces of information from 39 respondents. The 39 respondents included 3 township government workers, 1 village party secretary, 1 village director, 25 ordinary residents, 7 residents who worked in other cities and 2 non-residents who lived in other cities but owned real estate in the village. The respondents ranged from 17 to 76 years old. This study also collected secondary data, including statistical data and statements related to social and economic aspects and to the development of tourism in Wudaoliang, and government documents and meeting minutes that supported the interview data and were used to sort the storylines.

The raw data underwent thematic analysis, which is a systematic technique for identifying, analysing and construing patterns of data, classifying them into themes (Clarke & Braun, 2017). These themes include six stages: familiarisation with the data, data generation and initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and interpreting the meaning of the themes (Creswell, 2014). The non-participant observations supported the interpretations of the major themes derived from the interviews. Quotes in the findings were labelled with the resident number, gender, age and interview time (year and month).

5. Findings

5.1. Before the announcement

Before the land expropriation announcement, news about tourism development had spread among the residents of Wudaoliang. With the continuous field visits by the developers and the establishment of nearby tourism projects such as the Jinshanling international shooting range, speculation over tourism development in Wudaoliang had become a popular conversation topic. Eager to surmount the challenges posed by geography, the difficulty of accessing potable water, inconvenient transportation and the psychological toll of pursuing a better life, the residents had high expectations for tourism development.

Hurry and develop! When it rains, the road is mud, and there is no way to go. In this case, you must go to the only well in the village to get water, or you have no water to drink. My daughter has already been married in Beijing. We will go to Beijing to stay with our daughter sooner or later. Today, our own physical condition is not too bad. If the village can develop, we can help our daughters after receiving our compensation so that we don't become a burden. (Participant 5, Female, 67, 201601).

To reap the benefits of development, a few 'far-sighted' residents planted higher-value cash crops. Subsequently, more residents began to think strategically and promote tourism development.

In the case of tourism development, the seedlings I planted are worth the money. The compensation standard for corn is too low. According to our compensation regulations [China's property law and land management law stipulate that different types of crops have different levels of compensation], the compensation standard for saplings is higher. The seedlings I bought cost only a little more than US\$3 when they were 3 cm in diameter. Once tourism is developed, the developer will give me US\$1,176. (Participant 18, Male, 50, 201603).

However, when the news of tourism development failed to translate into reality, the reality that no movement had yet been made set in. Meeting to discuss whether and when tourism development might actually be carried out became some of the residents' favourite activities.

Why wasn't there any news about tourism development? What happened? Are they not coming to invest in development? How can the government be so useless? (Participant 26, Male, 52, 201603).

As official and unofficial information was scant, the residents' attitudes during this period were defined by the desire to obtain more

information. In China, the tourism industry can trigger different forms of social conflict, and in the process of interest conflict, residents' attitudes fluctuate. Hernandez et al. (1996) used a longitudinal approach to examine residents' attitudes towards the proposed 'instant' enclave resort of Isabela, Puerto Rico. Longitudinal data may offer greater insight into residents' attitudes towards tourism development (Johnson et al., 1994). Researchers have also emphasised the value of the longitudinal approach in investigating residents' attitudinal changes across the development phases of a tourist site (Carmichael, Peppard, & Boudreau, 1996; Getz, 1994; Lee & Back, 2003). A longitudinal approach was also used to investigate the attitudes of residents facing land expropriation in the pre-tourism stage in Wudaoliang.

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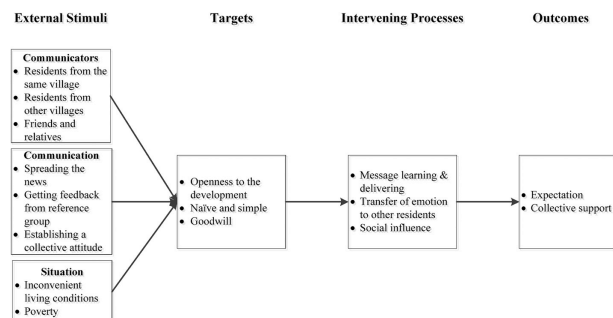


Fig. 1. Process of residents' attitudinal changes before the announcement.

accurate information. The residents were often dissatisfied with words and deeds that were not conducive to development, and any negative news affected their mood.

A while ago, there were companies conducting field investigations, so how is it that these companies only travel here and have no follow-up news? (Participant 37, Female, 53, 201603).

As shown in Fig. 1, before the land expropriation announcement, residents from the same village, residents from the other villages, friends and relatives acted as communicators. Wudaoliang residents were focused on tourism development news. With inconvenient living conditions and limited information access, the residents planned to serve their individual interests in a variety of ways. They were generally open to land expropriation and tourism development and expected that this project would improve the welfare of the village. At this stage, because of the positive expectation that tourism development would make life better, Wudaoliang's residents formed anticipatory and collectively supportive attitudes towards land expropriation for tourism development (Fig. 1).

5.2. After the announcement and before the signing of the agreement

Two official announcements were made on 16 May 2016, one relating to land planning and the other relating to land expropriation. Upon receiving this news, the residents began to form new ideas that included negotiating compensation terms with developers and never to stimulate the government to implement drastic measures.

We almost got it. Don't go too far. Otherwise, the developers will be scared away by everyone's conditions regarding land expropriation. If we negotiate with the government, I am afraid it will have the power to arrest troublesome residents. (Participant 9, Female, 46, 201605).

In this phase, the residents were focused on compensation for land expropriation and housing demolition. The objects involved in this dispute included the scope of land expropriation, time of land expropriation, price of land expropriation, compensation for objects attached to the land, land measurement and identification, payment of social endowment insurance for land-losing farmers and time and progress of compensation payments.

Next, let's see how the government compensates us for land expropriation. The government of Hebei province has determined that the original land price of Luanping county Laowa township is US\$11,000 per acre. Based on the actual situation in this region, the compensation price in Wudaoliang village is US\$11,765 per acre, and the compensation price of unused land is US\$7,059 per acre. So how does the government set these compensatory standards? According to the laws

and regulations, we have the right to participate in setting these standards, but we simply let the government do so in a process that we did not understand! I won't let them take over my land if the compensation is not appropriate. We've all lived here for our lifetimes. Why would the government want us to move right away? Do they have the right to do that? (Participant 16, Male, 42, 201612).

Reflecting different interests and situations, people's appeals began to vary. For permanent residents living in poor conditions who owned no property, economic compensation and the improvement of living conditions influenced their attitudes.

I don't want to go so far to get water. Our living conditions will be improved after the development of tourism. (Participant 11, Female, 67, 201706).

For the elderly, emotional attachment to 'home' shaped their attitudes.

The environment in Wudaoliang is really good. There are no mosquitoes in the summer. The place is cool and the air is good. The only regret is that there is no convenient source of water. With water, no one is willing to leave their ancestral home. Our ancestors have lived here for generations. (Participant 29, Female, 76, 201706).

Some residents who did not have clear attitudes before were affected by the surrounding population and demanded higher economic compensation based on their own conditions and comparative advantages.

Government persuasion won't work either. Other people's homes were compensated at US\$147,059, and my home at only US\$29,411. Ask the government to compensate me for the saplings they removed from my land and I will agree to sign the agreement. [One night after the announcement, to get more compensation, the resident secretly planted more than 3,000 trees on his own land, which were discovered and pulled out by the working group.] The government needs to compensate me US\$29,411; otherwise I will not sign the agreement. (Participant 34, Female, 48, 201706).

The government is the executor of land expropriation in China. To facilitate the program's smooth implementation, the government publicly issued restrictions: 'Construction and expansion in the area designated for tourism planning is prohibited, as is rushing to build permanent or temporary structures. Areas designated for development must retain their attachments and fixtures according to the original layout'. To implement land expropriation, the government drew on its strength of economic and administrative mobilisation. For the residents of Wudaoliang, who were deterred from escalating their resistance by various messages to conform, the continuous increase of information resulted in their moving away from participating in larger gatherings and entering into small-scale discussions with family relations, which

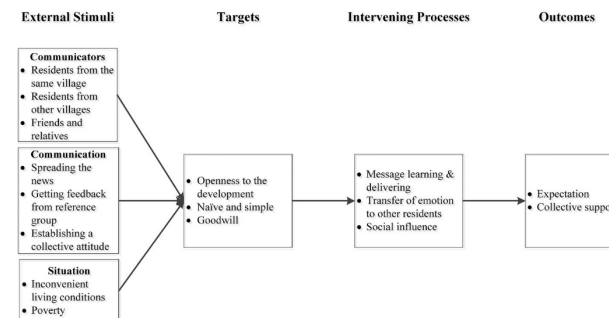


图1. 公告前居民态度变化的过程。

准确的信息。居民往往对不利于发展的言行感到不满，任何负面消息都会影响他们的情绪。

前一段时间，有公司进行实地调查，为什么这些公司只在这里旅行，没有后续新闻？（参与者37，女性，53，201603）。

如图1所示，在征地公告之前，同一村庄的居民、其他村庄的居民、朋友和亲戚充当了沟通者。五道梁居民关注旅游发展新闻。由于生活条件不方便，信息渠道有限，居民们计划以各种方式为他们个人利益服务。他们普遍对土地征用和旅游开发持开放态度，并期望该项目将改善该村的福利。在这一阶段，由于对旅游开发将改善生活的积极预期，五道梁居民对旅游开发征地形成了预期和集体支持态度（图1）。

5.2. 在公告之后和协议签署之前

2016年5月16日发布了两项官方公告，一项与土地规划有关，另一项与土地征用有关。接到这个消息后，居民们开始形成新的想法，包括与开发商协商补偿条款，从不刺激政府实施严厉措施。

我们差点就成功了。不要走得太远。否则，开发商会被每个人的征地条件吓跑。如果我们与政府谈判，恐怕政府有权逮捕麻烦的居民。（参与者9，女性，46，201605）。

在这一阶段，居民主要关注征地拆迁补偿问题。本次纠纷涉及的对象包括征地范围、征地时间、征地价格、土地附着物补偿、土地计量与鉴定、失地农民社会养老保险支付、补偿支付时间和进度。

接下来，让我们看看政府如何补偿我们的土地征用。河北省政府已确定滦平县老洼乡原价为每英亩11000美元。根据该地区的实际情况，五道梁村的补偿价格为每英亩11765美元，未使用土地的补偿价格为每英亩7059美元。那么，政府是如何设定这些补偿标准的呢？根据法律

我们有权参与制定这些标准，但我们只是让政府在一个我们不理解的过程中这么做！如果补偿不合适，我不会让他们接管我的土地。我们都在这里生活了一辈子。政府为什么要我们马上搬家？他们有权利这么做吗？（参与者16，男性，42，201612）。

反映不同的利益和情况，人们的诉求开始发生变化。对于生活条件差、没有财产的永久居民，经济补偿和生活条件的改善影响了他们的态度。

我不想走那么远去取水。旅游业的发展将改善我们的生活条件。（参与者11，女性，67，201706）。

对老年人来说，对“家”的情感依恋塑造了他们的态度。五道梁的环境真的很好。夏天没有蚊子。这地方很凉爽，空气也很好。唯一遗憾的是没有方便的水源。有了水，没有人愿意离开祖籍。我们的祖先世代住在这里。（参与者29，女性，76，201706）。

一些之前态度不明的居民受到周边人口的影响，基于自身条件和比较优势要求更高的经济补偿。

政府的说服也行不通。其他人的家得到了147059元的补偿，而我的家只有29411元。要求政府赔偿他们从我的土地上移走的树苗，我会同意签署协议。【公告发布后的一天晚上，为了获得更多补偿，该居民在自己的土地上秘密种植了3000棵树，这些树被工作组发现并拔出。】政府需要赔偿我29411元；否则我不会签署协议。（参与者34，女性，48，201706）。

在中国，政府是土地征用的执行者。为了促进该项目的顺利实施，政府公开发布了限制措施：“禁止在指定的旅游规划区域内进行建设和扩建，以及匆忙修建永久性或临时性建筑。”。指定用于开发的区域必须按照原始布局保留其附件和固定装置”。为了实施土地征用，政府利用了经济和行政动员的力量。对于五道梁的居民来说，他们被各种各样的信息所阻止，不敢升级他们的抵抗，因为信息的不断增加，导致他们不再参加更大的集会，也不再与家庭关系进行小规模讨论。

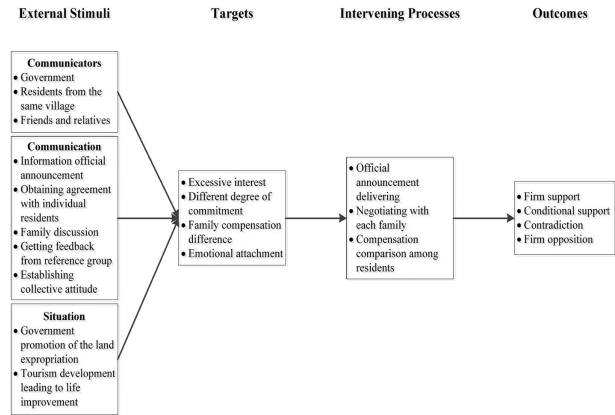


Fig. 2. Process of residents' attitudinal changes after the announcement and before the signing of the agreement.

influenced the residents' collective decision-making attitude and behaviour.

Before the signing of the land expropriation agreement, the government became a main communicator, releasing two official announcements, disclosing more information about land expropriation and influencing surrounding people's words and deeds. The government had the power to mobilise and, possibly, to intimidate. This was a main external stimulus. Under the direct effects of these factors, the residents formed various appeals and responses based on their own families' conditions and characteristics, such as a fear of governmental power, interest in economic compensation, basic demands for improved lives, emotional attachment to places of residence and the search for comparative advantage. Through different intervening processes induced by various external stimuli and individual factors, the residents' attitudes were classified as firm support, conditional support, contradictory attitudes and firm opposition (Fig. 2).

5.3. After the signing of the agreement

From 26 July to 2 August 2017, 76 out of 77 households signed the land expropriation agreement with the Luanping County Land Reserve Centre and received compensation for the first time. Unlike other land expropriation projects involving severe violence between stakeholders (Lin et al., 2018), the Land Expropriation Working Group encountered limited difficulties in Wudaoliang, and there were no cases of violence. After the signing of the land expropriation agreement, all of the agreeing households were notified of the housing demolition and resettlement details by the government.

This expropriated land is unique in that it is in the geometric centre of the village, surrounded by 154 acres of land that was not expropriated. Thus, a nested circle radiating outwards was formed to include residential houses, the expropriated land and unexpropriated land. Land scheduled to be expropriated is called 'nuclear land', and land that is not slated to be expropriated is called 'peripheral land'. In the case of Wudaoliang, land expropriation preceded the publication of housing value assessments and plans for demolition and resettlement, and there was a certain degree of non-synchronisation in their chronological order. The resettlement houses were not local, having been built in different places, and information about the surrounding or peripheral land was not disclosed in the land expropriation stage. Thus,

most of the residents realised that if the government did not give appropriate compensation for the 154 acres of unexpropriated land on the periphery, then the free distribution of the peripheral land to the developer was to be expected.

The government and developer are apparently trying to bully us by claiming only the nuclear land. Also, the resettlement houses are not nearby. Who can commute so far from home to field? Is our peripheral land equivalent to giving away a business enterprise for nothing? Land compensation standards are low, and the government has all the advantages. (Participant 8, Male, 51, 201803).

The government's decision-making process for the location of the resettlement house was not transparent and we were not involved at all. All the decisions of the government were made without our participation. We had no choice but to accept it! (Participant 22, Male, 50, 201803).

Whether post-demolition resettlement was to be local and the manner by which peripheral land was to be disposed thus became bargaining issues for residents and developers.

Our resettlement house is not going to be placed in Wudaoliang? The government and developers are ganging up on residents. If the resettlement house is remote, no one will go there. I won't sign the agreement. Anyway, I am not going. (Participant 31, Male, 56, 201803).

It is better not to put the resettlement house in another place. Even a piece of land in Wudaoliang village will do. In the future, when tourism is developed, by not leaving Wudaoliang, we can open a farmhouse or at least work in the tourist area. If the resettlement house is far away, what will happen to our peripheral land? Who will come back to farm it? The government is only expropriating the nuclear land. It is actually illegal for us to give them peripheral land free of charge. (Participant 17, Female, 46, 201803).

There was no real agreement between the government and the residents. Only a few residents tried to defend their rights and resisted, citing land expropriation procedures, the insufficient participation of residents in decision-making and unsatisfied interests. The vast majority of residents were still forced to acquiesce under increasing persuasion and pressure, official or unofficial, knowing full well that their individual interests had been harmed.

The government uses various means to force residents to sign agreements. As long as the residents are of the same mind, there is still

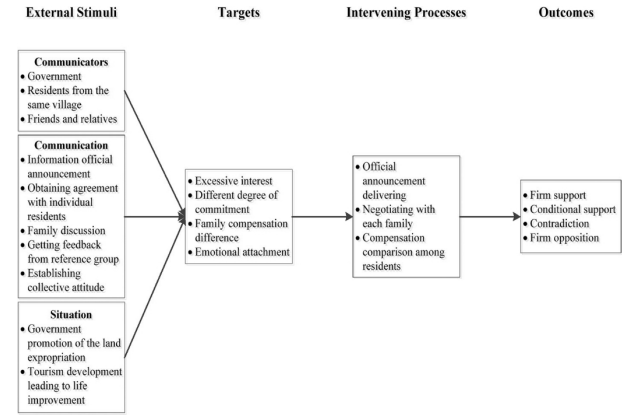


图2. 公告后和协议签署前居民态度变化的过程。

影响居民的集体决策态度和行为。

在土地征用协议签署之前，政府成为主要沟通者，发布了两份官方公告，披露了更多关于土地征用的信息，并影响了周边民众的言行。政府有权动员，可能还有权恐吓。这是一个主要的外部刺激。在这些因素的直接推动下，居民根据自己的家庭状况和特点，形成了各种诉求和回应，如对政府权力的恐惧、对经济补偿的兴趣、对改善生活的基本要求、对居住地的情感依恋和对比较优势的追求。通过各种外部刺激和个体因素诱导的不同干预过程，居民的态度分为坚定支持、条件支持、矛盾态度和坚定反对（图2）。

5.3. 协议签署后

2017年7月26日至8月2日，77户家庭中有76户与滦平县土地储备中心签订了土地征用协议，并首次获得了补偿。与其他涉及利益相关者之间严重暴力的土地征用项目不同（林等人，2018年），土地征用工作组在五道梁遇到的困难有限，没有暴力案件。土地征用协议签署后，政府将房屋拆迁和安置细节通知了所有达成协议的家庭。

这片被征用的土地是独一无二的，因为它位于村庄的几何中心，周围有154英亩未被征用的土地。因此，形成了一个向外辐射的嵌套圈，包括住宅、征用土地和未占用土地。计划征用的土地称为“核土地”，未计划征用的土地称为“周边土地”。在五道梁的案例中，土地征用先于房屋价值评估和拆迁安置计划的公布，并且在时间顺序上存在一定程度的不同步性。安置房不是本地的，是在不同的地方建造的，在征地阶段没有披露周围或周边土地的信息。因此

大多数居民意识到，如果政府没有对周边154英亩的未开发土地给予适当补偿，那么周边土地将被免费分配给开发商。

政府和开发商显然试图通过仅声称拥有核土地来欺负我们。此外，安置房不在附近。谁能从家到田野这么远的地方通勤？我们周边的土地是否等同于无偿赠送一家企业？土地补偿标准低，政府拥有所有优势。（参与者8, 男性，51201803）。

政府对安置房选址的决策过程不透明，我们根本没有参与。政府的所有决定都是在我们不参与的情况下作出的。我们别无选择，只能接受它！（参与者22, 男性，50201803）。

因此，拆迁后的安置是否是当地的，以及周边土地的处置方式成为了居民和开发商的讨价还价问题。

我们的安置房不会被安置在五道梁吗？政府和开发商联合起来对付居民。如果安置房比较偏远，就不会有人去。我不会签署协议。不管怎样，我不去。（参与者31, 男性，56, 201803）。

最好不要把安置房搬到别的地方。就连五道梁村的一块地都可以。将来旅游业发展起来，不离开五道梁，我们就可以开一个农舍，或者至少在旅游区工作。如果安置房很远，我们周边的土地会怎么样？谁会回来耕种？政府只是在征用核土地。我们免费给他们周边的土地实际上是违法的。（参与者17, 女性，46, 201803）。

政府和居民之间没有真正的协议。只有少数居民试图捍卫自己的权利，并以土地征用程序、居民参与决策不足和利益不满意为由进行抵制。在越来越多的官方或非官方说服和压力下，绝大多数居民仍然被迫默许，因为他们完全知道自己的个人利益受到了损害。

政府使用各种手段迫使居民签署协议。只要居民们有相同的想法，仍然有

room for negotiation. We have a total of 77 households. As long as half of the residents do not agree, we will go through legal procedures to petition the government. They dare not do anything about us. We received the first land expropriation compensation, so the developer will not withdraw. The house is mine. We will not move back to Wudaoliang, following the resettlement requirements (Participant 22, Male, 50, 201803).

'Don't go too far', some resident said casually, and was arrested by the county public security bureau and confined for several days. (Participant 6, Female, 46, 201803).

After the land expropriation agreement was signed, additional information about the peripheral land and resettlement houses was released. Faced with losing their land and being forced to leave their 'homeland', more residents began to reflect on their true acquisition and loss in the tourism development process. To have a bargaining chip, the residents did not sign a house demolition agreement. Simultaneously, the government and developers began to use administrative and economic means to persuade and divide rural residents. Under the combined effects of these external factors, the residents gradually realised that their compensation benefits were low and their participation was minimal. In the face of this forced group marginalisation, the residents entered into limited competition with the external forces of the government and developers. Furthermore, the residents' responses, formulated under the stress of impending land expropriation, were counterproductive, and resulted in two distinct attitudes: resistance and compromise. Even knowing that their individual interests had been damaged, most of the residents were coerced into compromising by powerful interest groups. However, a few residents still strove to maintain their own interests and rights by calling upon legal design, procedural justice and social ethics, thus triggering a new round of action, reaction and attitude formation (Fig. 3).

6. Residents' attitudinal change mechanism in the land expropriation stage

Before the announcement, and in the absence of official explanations of the possible consequences of tourism development, the residents of Wudaoliang relied on rumours in making their decisions. They developed positive expectations of and collective support for land expropriation. After the announcement and before the signing of the agreement, detailed information, such as the scope of land acquisition and the price of land, were disclosed. This led to the residents

attempting to maximise their interests and to individual differentiations in attitudes according to their own situations. After the signing of the land expropriation agreement, more information surfaced, such as the details surrounding resettlement and the lack of expropriation and compensation for peripheral land. The residents soon realised that they had been excluded from the tourism development process and that their actual interests had been greatly harmed. A new round of conflict of interests focused on housing and resettlement then began between the residents, the government and developers.

Information is a key factor in the changes in residents' attitudes. With the continuous disclosure of information in the land expropriation stage, including information about the formal announcement and agreement, the residents generated corresponding reactions, forming a three-stage attitudinal change process going from expectation and collective support to individual differentiation, resistance and compromise. Fig. 4 depicts the residents' attitudinal changes across the information disclosure and land expropriation process.

7. Implications

This study offers new insights into residents' attitudes towards tourism, particularly rural tourism, in the pre-development stage (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). Residents' enthusiastic participation is crucial for the sustainable development of rural tourism (Ap, 1992; Davis & Morais, 2004; Ko & Stewart, 2002; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Teye et al., 2002). The results of this longitudinal study can be used to evaluate residents' attitudinal changes towards land expropriation for tourism development. Thus, this study has the following specific implications.

7.1. Theoretical implications

This study explored land expropriation in the pre-tourism development stage in a non-tourism area. By applying the longitudinal approach, this study provides rich theoretical insights. First, this research focuses on the residents' attitudes in the pre-tourism stage, which complements studies on tourism development. The classical research model does not include a pre-development stage and centres on tourism developments in later stages. However, all future tourist destinations pass through a pre-tourism stage, which suggests the need for more research (Hernandez et al., 1996; Hunt & Stronza, 2014; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Sharpley, 2014). This pre-tourism stage occurs just prior to a non-tourist destination becoming a tourist destination and reflects a

谈判的余地。我们总共有77个家庭。只要有一半居民不同意，我们就会通过法律程序向政府请愿。他们不敢对我们做任何事。我们收到了第一笔征地补偿金，所以开发商不会撤回。这房子是我的。按照安置要求，我们不会搬回五道梁（参与者22,男性，50,201803）。

“不要走得太远，”一些居民漫不经心地说，随后被县公安局逮捕并关押了几天。（参与者6,女性，46,201803）。

土地征用协议签署后，有关周边土地和安置房的其他信息被发布。面对失去土地和被迫离开“家园”，越来越多的居民开始反思他们在旅游开发过程中真正的获得和损失。为了讨价还价，居民们没有签署房屋拆迁补偿协议。与此同时，政府和开发商开始使用行政和经济手段来说服和分化农村居民。在这些外部因素的共同作用下，居民逐渐意识到他们的补偿福利很低，参与度很低。面对这种被迫的群体边缘化，居民与政府和开发商的外部力量进行了有限的竞争。此外，居民的反应是在迫近的土地压力下形成的。征用，会适得其反，并导致两种截然不同的结果态度：抵抗和妥协。即使知道他们的个人利益受到了损害，大多数居民还是被强大的利益集团逼迫妥协。然而，一些居民仍然通过呼吁法律设计、程序正义和社会伦理来维护自己的利益和权利，从而引发新一轮的行动、反应和态度形成（图3）。

6. 征地阶段居民态度的变化机制

在宣布之前，由于没有官方解释旅游业发展可能带来的后果，五道梁的居民依靠谣言做出决定。他们对土地征用产生了积极的期望和集体支持。在公告之后和协议签署之前，详细信息，如土地征用范围和土地价格被披露。这导致了居民的死亡

试图最大限度地提高他们的兴趣，并根据自己的情况改变个人的态度。土地征用协议签署后，更多信息浮出水面，如移民安置的细节以及周边土地缺乏征用和补偿。居民们很快意识到，他们被排除在旅游业发展进程之外，他们的实际利益受到了极大损害。随后，居民、政府和开发商之间开始了以住房和安置为重点的新一轮利益冲突。

信息是居民态度变化的关键因素。随着征地阶段信息的不断披露，包括正式公告和协议的信息，居民产生了相应的反应，形成了一个从期望和集体支持到个体分化、抵制和妥协的三阶段态度转变过程。图4描述了信息披露和征地过程中居民的态度变化。

7. 影响

这项研究为开发前阶段居民对旅游业，尤其是乡村旅游的态度提供了新的见解 (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011)。居民的积极参与对乡村旅游的可持续发展至关重要 (美联社, 1992年; 戴维斯和莫翰斯, 2004年; 科和斯图尔特, 2002年; 麦基和安德里克, 2004年; 特耶等人, 2002年)。这项纵向研究的结果可用于评估居民对旅游开发征地的态度变化。因此，本研究具有以下具体含义。

7.1. 理论含义

本研究探讨了非旅游区旅游前开发阶段的土地征用问题。通过应用纵向方法，本研究提供了丰富的理论见解。首先，本研究侧重于旅游前阶段居民的态度，这是对旅游发展研究的补充。经典的研究模式不包括前期开发阶段，而是以后期的旅游开发为中心。然而，所有未来的旅游目的地都会经历一个旅游前阶段，这表明需要进行更多的研究 (Hernandez等人, 1996年; Hunt & Stronza, 2014年; Mason & Cheyne, 2000年; Sharpley, 2014年)。这一旅游前阶段发生在非旅游目的地成为旅游目的地之前，反映了

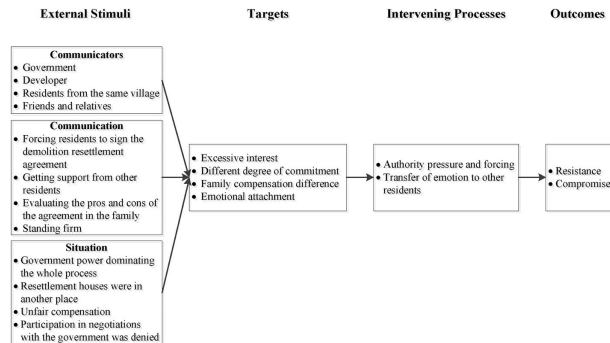


Fig. 3. Process of residents' attitudinal changes after the signing of the agreement.

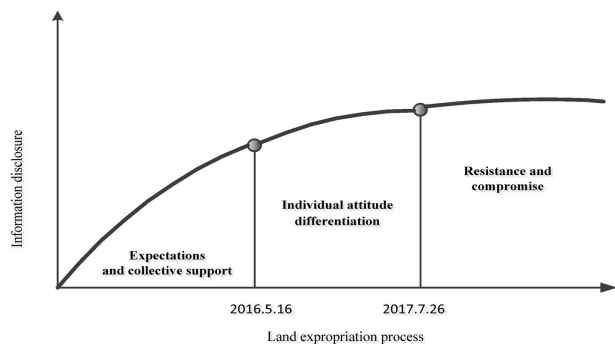


Fig. 4. Villagers' attitudinal changes regarding land expropriation in the tourism development stage.

time when communities have not yet directly experienced tourism and cannot accurately predict its impact. Residents can therefore be expected to have attitudinal responses to the initial changes brought by tourism. The findings of this study contribute to the literature on residents' attitudinal change by extending the research timeline backwards to the pre-development stage.

Second, this research considers the time factor in its explanation of residents' attitudinal change. Despite the potential for residents' attitudes to change over time, few studies have adopted a longitudinal approach (Lee & Back, 2006). Longitudinal data offer greater insight than other kinds of data into attitudinal change. As shown in this study, residents' attitudinal changes in the pre-tourism stage were heterogeneous and dynamic. Both Doxey's Irridex model (1975) and Butler's lifecycle theory (1980) granted a certain degree of homogeneity to a community's attitudes towards tourism. However, more recent studies have shown considerable heterogeneity in such attitudes (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Mason & Cheyne, 2000). In the context of tourism development, changes in residents' individual attributes and in external conditions, such as those related to information, can lead to attitudinal change. Moreover, through in-depth interviews and non-participant observation, this paper identifies the specific mechanisms behind residents' attitudinal changes with the aim of understanding the root cause of such change, especially in less developed regions. Tourism, with its multiple stimulus effects, has become important in the economic development of many underdeveloped regions (Garrod et al., 2006; Latkova & Vogt, 2012).

Third, this study is a pioneer in adapting the persuasion situation model from the general social psychology field to resident studies in tourism. By specifying residents' attitudes in the 'external stimuli-targets-intervening processes-outcomes' flow, the study discovered nuanced attitudinal differences in each of the three stages in the land expropriation process and why and how the attitudes changed. For example, in this context, rural residents' overall education level and information accessibility level (Keogh, 1990) are low in general. Suddenly facing a tourism development project, inexperienced residents built up their attitudes towards the development based heavily on the reference groups' social influence, the power and force from authority and the tangible benefits that could be derived from the process. Applying the persuasion situation model also enabled the study to reveal the residents' struggles between losses and gains, their emotional attachment to the place and the compromises that some of them were willing to make. This mechanism is not unique to the residents'

attitudinal changes; it is also applicable to the attitudinal changes of other stakeholders involved in the tourism development process. This study thus serves as a cornerstone for and offers essential insights into future attitude studies.

7.2. Practical implications

Consistent with this study's theoretical implications, this study's results also provide implications for managers and investors in the development of destination tourism.

The results improve understanding of differences in residents' demands and can thus be used to reduce social conflict. One driver of residents' attitudinal change is the prominence of their various demands in different phases of tourism development. According to SET (Ap, 1992), if residents perceive that the benefits of tourism development outweigh the costs, they become inclined to support the development. Social exchange should ideally rest on the principle of justice. If an exchange is unfair, the disadvantaged party may feel exploited, resulting in tension, dissatisfaction and conflict (Ap, 1992; Lee & Back, 2003; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Residents should be at the centre of destination tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011), as the success of such development largely hinges on their attitudes regarding the impact of tourism and can be viewed as important planning and policy considerations (e.g., Ap, 1992; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Nunkoo & So, 2016; Ribeiro et al., 2017; Sharpley, 2014). Local governments and developers should therefore consider residents' interests, enhance community participation (Wang, Yang, Chen, Yang, & Li, 2010), reduce social conflict and promote the sustainable development of local tourism.

The government should also formulate a fair and sound tourism development policy. Information asymmetry is a manifestation of power. Owing to China's unique land system, the government is responsible for making all of the rules on land expropriation. This power affects the interactions between stakeholders as they influence or attempt to influence the formulation and implementation of tourism policy (Hall, 1994). It also affects competition and resource distribution (Bramwell, 2006). The local government has been recognised as the most important authority in implementing tourism development policies (Pearce, 1989), and conflicts of interest frequently arise over how land is to be developed (Madrigal, 1995). In the case of Wudaoliang, the rights of residents were neglected, and the nature of the residents' external and own attributes led to their minimal participation. Clearly,

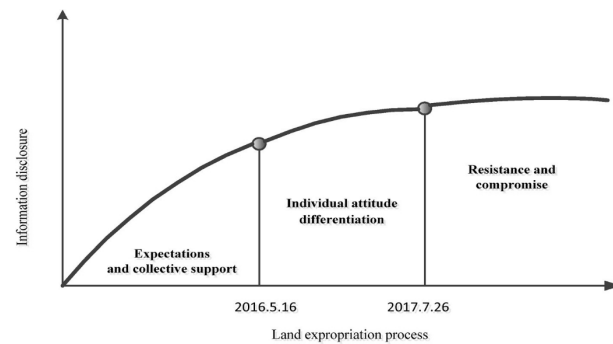


图4. 旅游开发阶段村民征地态度的变化。

社区尚未直接体验到旅游业，无法准确预测其影响的时间。因此，可以预期居民对旅游业带来的最初变化会有态度上的反应。本研究的发现将研究时间向后延伸至发展前阶段，从而有助于研究参与者态度变化的文献。

其次，本研究在解释居民态度变化时考虑了时间因素。尽管居民的态度可能会随着时间的推移而改变，但很少有研究采用纵向方法 (Lee & Back, 2006)。纵向数据比其他类型的数据更能洞察态度的变化。如本研究所示，居民在旅游前阶段的态度变化是异质和动态的。Doxey的Irridex模型 (1975年) 和Butler的生命周期理论 (1980年) 都赋予社区对旅游业的态度一定程度的同质性。然而，最近的研究表明，这种态度存在相当大的异质性 (Ap & Crompton, 1993年; Brougham & Butler, 1981年; Mason & Cheyne, 2000年)。在旅游业发展的背景下，居民个人属性和外部条件 (如与信息相关的条件) 的变化可能会导致态度的改变。此外，通过深入访谈和非参与者观察，本文确定了居民态度变化背后的具体机制了解这种变化的根本原因，尤其是在欠发达地区。旅游业具有多重刺激效应，已成为许多欠发达地区经济发展的重要因素 (Garrod等人, 2006年; Latkova & Vogt, 2012年)。

第三，本研究是将一般社会心理学领域的说服情境模型应用于旅游居民研究的先驱。通过在“外部刺激-干预过程-结果”流程中详细说明居民的态度，该研究发现，土地征用过程的三个阶段中的每个阶段都存在细微的态度差异，以及态度变化的原因和方式。例如，在这种情况下，农村居民的整体教育水平和信息可及性水平 (Keogh, 1990) 总体较低。突然间，面对一个旅游开发项目，缺乏经验的居民在很大程度上基于参考群体的社会影响力、来自权威的权力和力量，以及从该过程中可能获得的有形利益，建立了他们对该开发项目的态度。运用说服情境模型，这项研究还可以揭示居民在得失之间的挣扎，他们对这个地方的情感依恋，以及他们中的一些人愿意做出的妥协。这种机制并不是居民生活中独有的

态度的改变；它也适用于参与旅游开发过程的其他利益相关者的态度变化。因此，这项研究是未来态度研究的基石，并提供了必要的见解。

7.2. 实际意义

与本研究的理论含义一致，本研究的结果也为目的地旅游开发的管理者和投资者提供了启示。

研究结果增进了对居民需求差异的理解，因此可以用来减少社会冲突。居民态度变化的一个驱动因素是，在旅游发展的不同阶段，居民的各种需求都很突出。根据SET (美联社, 1992年) 的说法，如果居民认为旅游开发的好处大于成本，他们就会倾向于支持旅游开发。理想情况下，社会交流应基于公正原则。如果交换是不公平的，处于不利地位的一方可能会感到受到剥削，导致紧张、不满和冲突 (美联社, 1992年; Lee & Back, 2003年; Mathieson & Wall, 1982年)。居民应该是目的地旅游发展的中心 (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011)，因为这种开发的成功在很大程度上取决于他们对旅游业影响的态度，并且可以被视为重要的规划和政策考虑因素 (例如，美联社, 1992年; 兰克福德和霍华德, 1994年; 农古和苏, 2016年; 里贝罗等人, 2017年; 夏普利, 2014年)。

地方政府-因此，开发商和开发商应该考虑居民的利益，加强社区参与 (王、杨、陈、杨、李, 2010)，减少社会冲突，促进当地旅游业的可持续发展。

政府亦应制订一套公平及健全的旅游发展政策。信息不对称是权力的表现。由于中国独特的土地制度，政府有责任制定所有土地征用规则。当利益相关者影响或试图影响旅游政策的制定和实施时，这种权力会影响他们之间的互动 (Hall, 1994)。它还影响竞争和资源分配 (Bramwell, 2006)。当地政府被认为是执行旅游发展政策的最重要的权威 (Pearce, 1989)，在如何开发土地方面经常出现利益冲突 (Madrigal, 1995)。在五道梁的案例中，居民的权利被忽视，居民的外部属性和自身的性质导致他们的参与程度很低。清晰地

local residents are often intentionally or unintentionally excluded from decision-making processes. They have few opportunities to exchange resources with government officials or developers on an equal basis, and the lack of those opportunities can lead to social conflict and even violence. Therefore, the government should establish standards of transparency and fairness for the tourism development process.

8. Conclusion and limitations

Residents' attitudes at an early stage are essential to the overall success of tourism development. Taking the land expropriation process in the pre-tourism development stage as the context, this research focused on the attitudinal changes of residents in the pre-tourism development stage. The study conducted non-participant observation and 180 interviews with a longitudinal approach. Three stages in the land expropriation process were identified, and the residents' attitudinal changes in each stage were delineated.

The results indicated that the attitudes of Wudaoliang's residents towards land expropriation for tourism development evolved dynamically over time. By adopting the model of persuasion situation, the study interpreted the residents' attitudinal changes by following the 'external stimuli-targets-intervening processes-outcomes' mechanism. As a result, residents' attitudes can be understood in terms of moving from expectations and collective support to individual differentiation and finally to resistance and compromise. The study not only discovered nuanced attitudinal differences in each of the three stages in the land expropriation process but also identified why and how the attitude changed. This mechanism is also applicable to the attitudinal changes of other stakeholders involved in the tourism development process. This study thus serves as a cornerstone for and offers essential insights into future attitude studies.

This study also provides implications for the government and investors in developing a destination in a socially sustainable way. The study emphasizes that residents should be treated as an important stakeholder in development rather than one to be exploited. Actions should be taken to reduce social conflicts in the development process. Clear land expropriation agreements should be provided with full details. All of the criteria, terms and conditions should be provided to the residents with necessary legal assistance. Local governments and developers should consider residents' interests, enhance community participation, reduce social conflict and promote the sustainable development of local tourism.

The research context of this paper is limited to the changes in residents' attitudes towards land expropriation for tourism development. The general attitude towards land expropriation is not discussed in this study, which is one of the limitations of this paper. Future research could explore the general attitude towards land expropriation and compare the differences accordingly. It is also noted that in the initial stage of tourism development, local community groups often have limited access to outside resources, limited bargaining power in tourism development and thus limited ability to fairly share the benefits of tourism development (Nunkoo & Robin, 2015). Whereas the government and other stakeholders have direct and powerful influences on tourism development discourse, public interests tend to be marginalised (Dredge & Jamal, 2013). Land expropriation for tourism development involves three key actors in China: the local government, developers and residents. This paper starts from the perspective of residents and focuses on their attitude changes. The dynamic relationship between these three parties is also important to study in the future. Last, because of the implementation of socialist public ownership in general and the 'village collective' ownership of rural land in particular, land expropriation in China for rural tourism development is a unique phenomenon that is attracting increasing attention from academia and the industry. These conditions influence the dynamics of competing

interests between residents, the government and business developers. Other regions may be subject to different procedures for land expropriation, and research in other contexts is necessary.

Authors contribution

Dr. Xiaolong Ma was the project leader and was in charge of the data collection process. He contributed to the original idea of the whole article, the whole framework of the article and the writing of finding. Meiling Dai was in charge of the data coding from transcripts. She contributed to the writing of introduction, literature review, the theoretical framework and the finding.

Dr. Daisy Fan contributed to the paper's coherence and logic of the whole article and compose the methodology, implications and conclusion parts.

To work as a team, three authors discussed the research ideas, exchanged views and edited each other's parts on a regular basis.

Declarations of interest

None.

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当地居民往往有意或无意地被排除在决策过程之外。他们几乎没有机会在平等的基础上与政府官员或开发商交换资源，缺乏这些机会可能会导致社会冲突甚至暴力。因此，政府应该为旅游业发展过程制定透明和公平的标准。

8. 结论和局限性

居民早期的态度对旅游业发展的整体成功至关重要。本研究以前旅游开发阶段的征地过程为背景，关注前旅游开发阶段居民的态度变化。该研究采用纵向方法进行了非参与者观察和180次访谈，确定了征地过程的三个阶段，并描述了每个阶段居民的态度变化。

结果表明，五道梁居民对旅游开发征地的态度随时间动态演变。本研究采用说服情境模型，通过遵循“外部刺激-目标-干预过程-结果”机制来解释居民的态度变化。因此，居民的态度可以理解为由期望和集体支持到个体差异化，最后到抵抗和妥协。这项研究不仅发现了土地征用过程中三个阶段中每一个阶段的细微态度差异，还确定了态度变化的原因和方式。这一机制也适用于参与旅游发展过程的其他利益相关者的态度变化。因此，这项研究是未来态度研究的基石，并提供了必要的见解。

这项研究也为政府和投资者以社会可持续的方式开发目的地提供了启示。该研究强调，居民应被视为发展的重要利益相关者，而不是被剥削的人。应采取行动减少发展过程中的社会冲突。明确的土地征用协议应提供完整的细节。应向居民提供所有标准、条款和条件，并提供必要的法律援助。地方政府和开发商应考虑居民的利益，加强社区参与，减少社会冲突，促进当地旅游业的可持续发展。

本文的研究背景仅限于居民对旅游开发征地态度的变化。本研究没有讨论对土地征用的一般态度，这是本文的局限性之一。未来的研究可以探索人们对土地征用的总体态度，并据此比较两者之间的差异。还需要指出的是，在旅游业发展的初始阶段，当地社区群体获得外部资源的机会往往有限，在旅游业发展中讨价还价的能力有限，因此公平分享旅游业发展利益的能力有限 (Nunkoo & Robin, 2015)。尽管政府和其他利益相关者对旅游发展话语有着直接而强大的影响，但公共利益往往被边缘化 (Dredge & Jamal, 2013)。在中国，旅游开发征地涉及三个关键角色：地方政府、开发商和居民。本文从居民的角度出发，关注他们的态度变化。这三方之间的动态关系也是未来研究的重要内容。最后，由于社会主义公有制的普遍实施，特别是农村土地的“村集体”所有制，中国农村旅游开发征地是一种独特的现象，越来越受到学术界和产业界的关注。这些条件会影响竞争的动态

居民、政府和商业开发商之间的利益。其他地区的土地征用程序可能不同，因此有必要在其他情况下进行研究。

作者贡献

马小龙博士是项目负责人，负责数据收集过程。他为整篇文章的原创性构思、整篇文章的框架和发现的写作做出了贡献。戴美玲负责转录本的数据编码。她为引言、文献综述、理论的写作做出了贡献、理论框架和发现。

范黛西博士为论文的连贯性和逻辑性做出了贡献，并组成了方法论、含义和结论部分。

为了团队合作，三位作者定期讨论研究思路、交换意见并编辑彼此的部分。

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