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Abstract

Due to China's large economic development, its outbound tourism market has become one of the largest on a global scale. Not only by its number of travellers but also because of their large spendings whilst being abroad. Chinese tourists spend a lot more while travelling compared to any other travellers which makes them a primary target for destinations to acquire. Furthermore, their seasonality differs from the rest of the world, which makes them an ideal target segment for Denmark who wishes to increase their number of tourists in their shoulder seasons. Traveling outside of China is a relatively new concept for Chinese people, but their development follows the same pattern as other western nations such as the US, however, predictions are that the increase of tourism will continue in the following years. Only 10% of the Chinese population owns a passport but that already accounts for 130.000.000 people. Seemingly, China is the perfect target segment for Denmark, however, the interest of the stakeholders does not always align with the interest of the community.

The literature on Chinese outbound tourism has grown from scarce to numerous, however, it is very limited when it comes to destination related tourism in Europe. In Denmark, one of the large focuses when it comes to tourism is to ensure social sustainability. Literature suggests a large difference in culture can cause negative socio-cultural impact between both locals and tourists. According to cultural models such as Hofstede and the Lewis model, there is a large cultural gap between Denmark and China.

To best explore how the cultural gap might affect the tourism market in Copenhagen, stakeholders perspectives have been researched. In total, 8 stakeholders have been included to provide an overview of how they, as representatives for the tourism industry, perceive Chinese tourism. The course of action have been qualitative and primary data have been matched with secondary research to best explore the phenomenon (Chinese tourism in Copenhagen). In order to best understand how Chinese tourism will affect social sustainability in Copenhagen, the research initially explored the current state of tourism in Copenhagen. To do so, both the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model by Butler and the Irridex by Doxey have been utilised.

The analysis showed that Copenhagen finds itself in a stage of consolidation which means, any further tourism development will result in a negative socio-cultural impact unless developed with sustainability in mind.

Secondly, the research explored the socio-cultural impact of Chinese tourism from two perspectives. Firstly, stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism were explored. Overall, the stakeholders do not foresee any problems related to the incremental increase of Chinese tourism. However, they do acknowledge that there is a large cultural gap which requires special attention. Chinese tourism has been discussed in relation to the current state of tourism in Copenhagen which insinuates further tourism development, unless properly managed, could result in negative socio-cultural impacts. Chinese tourism is not considered to be overflowing in Copenhagen at the moment but because of the current state of Copenhagen and future projections about Chinese tourism, critiques are getting louder within the inner city of Copenhagen. Secondly, Simmons' three factors have been included to analyse the socio-cultural impact of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen. The three factors are: (1) Behavioral, (2) Policy and planning and (3) Structural. Based on the analysis of the three factors it seems, based on behavioural, Chinese tourism does not align with social sustainability in Copenhagen. However, based on policy and planning and the structural criteria, it seems Copenhagen is very aware of what is required to ensure social sustainability. Different initiatives are being utilised such as dispersing tourists to other neighbourhoods, providing courses about Chinese tourism and more.

Overall, Chinese tourism is considered to be highly complex and further research has been identified which would complement this research in the future.

Preface

This project was inspired by the ever-growing attention surrounding China. As we started searching for topics that are relating to China and tourism it became evident that it is an interesting field to study, however, there has been no research conducted about its connection to Denmark. Further influenced our focus, the aspect of social sustainability, which altogether contributed to key elements of this research. The intention of this thesis is to represent how Chinese tourism affects social sustainability in Copenhagen. The project was formulated after approximately half a year of extensive data gathering. Here, we would like to thank all the people that contributed to this thesis. A special thanks to our supervisor and to the eight interview respondents from the various organizations, who contributed with their time, energy, insights and extensive knowledge, and helped us to create this master's thesis.

1. Introduction	7
1.1 Research Question	8
1.2 Definitions	8
1.3 Introduction to case: Chinese Tourism in Copenhagen	9
1.3.1 The Chinese travel evolution	11
1.3.2 The Danish tourism strategy	12
1.3.3 Defining Copenhagen	13
2. Methodology	14
2.1 Philosophy of science	14
2.1.1 Ontology	15
2.1.2 Epistemology	15
2.2 Relationship between theory and research	17
2.3 Research Design	18
2.4 Data collection	19
2.4.1 Qualitative research	19
2.4.2 Semi-structured interview	20
2.4.3 Sampling of participants to interview	26
2.4.4 Trustworthiness of research	30
2.5 Limitations and Delimitations	32
2.5.1 Limitations	32
2.5.2 Delimitations	32
3. Literature Review	33
3.1 Tourism Destination Analysis	33
3.1.1 Butler's tourism area life cycle (TALC)	34
3.1.2 Doxey's Irritation index	36
3.1.3 Overtourism	39
3.2 Understanding Chinese tourists	42
3.2.1 Chinese outbound tourism	42
3.2.2 Chinese travel motivations	43
3.2.3 Chinese travel behaviour	46
3.2.4 The future Chinese traveller	48
3.3 Social sustainability	52
3.4 Socio-cultural impacts of tourism	53
4. Analysis	57
4.1 The state of tourism in Copenhagen	57
4.2 Stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism in Copenhagen	62
4.3 Socio-cultural impacts of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen	73
5. Discussion	80

5.1 How does Chinese tourism affect social sustainability?	80
5.2 How does FITs match with social sustainability?	85
5.3 How does Chinese tourism fit with the tourism strategy in Copenhagen?	87
5.4 Future research	89
6. Conclusion	89
7. References	91

List of figures and tables

Figure 1: Where Chinese tourists stay in Denmark	p. 10
Figure 2: Distinction between inner city and Greater Copenhagen	p. 14
Figure 3: Research design	p. 19
Figure 4: Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC)	p. 34
Figure 5: Irridex	p. 36
Figure 6: TALC model and Irridex combined	p. 38
Figure 7: Perception of tourism based on community	p. 61
Figure 8: Hofstede's cultural dimensions	p. 74
 Table 1: Number of overnight stays (NOS) in Copenhagen	 p. 10
Table 2: Interview themes and related colors	p. 22
Table 3: Codes that was used for transcript	p. 25
Table 4: Stakeholders that were included in the research	p. 27
Table 5: The four stages in Doxey's 'irritation index'	p. 37
Table 6: Myths and realities of Chinese tourists	p. 49

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 - Interviews

Appendix 2 - Figures and Tables

1. Introduction

Tourism is amongst the fastest growing industries in the world and its impact on destinations can be substantial. Many cities in Europe have been victimised by overtourism where the influx of tourists is disrupting the quality of life amongst locals. While the influence of tourism on the physical environment is relatively easy to define, it is decidedly more difficult to assess the social effects of a large increase of tourists. Numerous studies have confirmed that it is not just the number of tourists which are the root cause of negative social effects, but also the behaviour of visitors, the length of their stay, the type of tourist, difference in culture and the volume are in fact equally important (Lindberg, 1997). A community's tolerance towards tourism is difficult to measure due to its intangible nature and the fact that residents' attitudes will vary depending on private interests.

Outbound Chinese tourism has increased by 473,94% for the past 10 years and is expected to continue to grow in the future (Appendix 2/A). Reasons why are that while only 10% of the Chinese population possess passports, China's "(...) *rapid urbanization, higher disposable incomes and fewer restrictions on travel are allowing more and more Chinese tourists to explore their country and beyond*" (Statista 2020/A). According to the cultural model developed by Geert Hofstede (n.d.), Chinese- and Danish people are almost each other's opposites. Copenhagen has not experienced a vast number of Chinese tourists over the past 10 years, but based on its growth and projections of the future tourism market in Europe, this could potentially change.

This research will look into how the Copenhagen tourism market is preparing to engage with the growing number of Chinese tourists. The research will focus on social sustainability, by examining the socio-cultural differences between locals and Chinese tourists from stakeholder's perspective. This research disregards tourism statistics from 2020-2021 because they are considered to be unrepresentative for the industry due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It is believed that tourism trends proposed prior to the pandemic will still be relevant, yet their effects will happen at a later stage than anticipated.

1.1 Research Question

In accordance with the introduction presented in the previous chapter, the aim of this research is to explore the social effects of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen from a stakeholders perspective.

- What is the state of tourism in Copenhagen?
- What are stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism in Copenhagen?
- How does Chinese tourism affect social sustainability in Copenhagen?

1.2 Definitions

Throughout the research, some terms are used multiple times. In order to best provide readers with an understanding of the terms, this chapter will elaborate upon how the terms are meant to be understood. The terms are:

Free Independent Traveller (FIT): CBI-Ministry of foreign affairs (2020) defines FITs as travelers that are planning their own trips and traveling either alone or in small groups. However, according to Flemming (00:35:35), the director of VisitDenmark, Chinese FITs are usually up to 10 people. For this research, Flemming's categorization of FITs will be abducted.

Groups: Because Chinese FITs can be up to 10 people, groups are considered to be 10+ people.

Stakeholders: a person or group that has an investment, share, or interest in something, as a business or industry. (Investopedia, n.d.)

Overtourism: This research abducts Volo S. (2020) definition of overtourism which is "*an excessive presence of tourists that carries negative socio-cultural and environmental consequences for residents, destination and tourists.*". A further elaboration of overtourism can be found in the literature review under chapter 3.1.3 "Overtourism"

Social sustainability: This research abducts Polese and Stren (2000) definition of social sustainability because it aligns best with researches interpretation of social sustainability: *“Development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements of the quality of life for all segments of the population”*. A further elaboration of social sustainability can be found in the literature review under chapter 3.3 “Social Sustainability”.

1.3 Introduction to case: Chinese Tourism in Copenhagen

The following chapter provides an overview of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen. This includes the evolution in overnight stays and revenue generated. To highlight the evolution related to Chinese tourism in Copenhagen, the growth has been taken from a 10 year period from 2009-2019. The data comes from VisitDenmark (2020/A) and Danmarks Statistik (2020/A). Note that overnight stays from hotels with less than 40 beds have not been included because of a lack of data from Danmarks Statistik. Neither have Chinese tourists who stayed in either Airbnb or Bed and Breakfast accommodations. However, the report by VisitDenmark (2020/A) shows a growing interest for Airbnb accommodations amongst Chinese tourists with an increase of 26,4% from 2018 to 2019 which insinuates that a large number of Chinese tourists cannot be accounted for. Lastly, during the high season in Copenhagen, the number of tourists supersedes the number of available hotel rooms. In Copenhagen, there were 21.000 hotel rooms (Casey, 2019), and in July there were more than 37.000 overnight stays on a daily basis (Appendix 2/A). As a result, a lot of tourists stay in Sweden and commute to Copenhagen on a daily basis. These tourists have neither been accounted for.

In 2019, Copenhagen received 218.879 Chinese tourists which accounted for 3,17% of its tourism market (Appendix 2/A). Over the past 10 years, the number of Chinese visitors have increased by 473,94% making it the highest increasing tourism segment in Denmark measured by percentage. Table 1 shows the number of

overnight stays (NOS) over the past 10 years in Copenhagen compared to the total number of tourists.

Overnight stays based on period and nationality				
Year	2009	2010	2011	2012
NOS (total)	3,551,334	3,983,583	4,415,035	4,771,943
NOS (Chinese)	46,182	57,931	75,272	103,827
Year	2013	2014	2015	2016
NOS (total)	5,030,034	5,480,685	5,718,389	6,029,716
NOS (Chinese)	137,429	143,673	157,099	172,319
Year	2017	2018	2019	
NOS (total)	6,265,008	6,728,879	6,901,789	
NOS (Chinese)	172,779	182,758	218,879	

Table 1: Number of overnight stays (NOS) in Copenhagen (Danmarks Statistik, 2020)

Local tourism organisations are trying to disperse the tourists to other parts of Denmark, however, despite the efforts, Copenhagen continuously seems to be the main destination for Chinese tourists to visit. Figure 1 highlights where Chinese tourists stayed during their time visiting Denmark in 2018. Figure 1 clearly shows that the main destination for Chinese tourists to visit in Denmark is Copenhagen with 75% of its visitors.

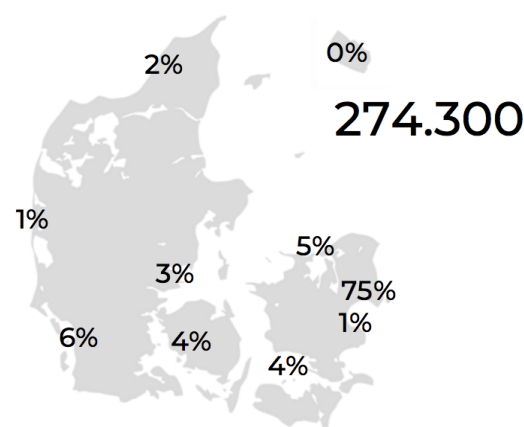


Figure 1: Where Chinese tourist stay in Denmark (VisitDenmark, 2020/A)

In Denmark, a Chinese tourist on average spends kr. 2,647 a day during their stay. To compare, this is approximately kr. 400 more than other international tourists. In total, Chinese tourists spent kr. 915 million in 2018 which accounts for approximately 50% of all tax-free shopping in Denmark (Chinavia, 2019). The report by VisitDenmark (2020/A) shows the most important tourism segments in Denmark

which includes Chinese tourism. The report states, there has been a good collaboration between the two nations over the past years, and they seek to continue to utilise this momentum.

According to multiple scholars, one of the most significant reasons for implications between locals and tourists, negative socio-cultural impact, is a large difference in culture between locals and tourists (Samson, 2015; Simmons, 1986). According to cultural models such as the ones developed by Hofstede (n.d.) and Richard Lewis (2005), Chinese and Danish people are culturally as different from each other as can be. One could therefore argue, it can be expected that a large increase of Chinese tourists in Copenhagen could result in a negative socio-cultural impact.

1.3.1 The Chinese travel evolution

In 2012, China became the world's largest outbound travel market with approximately 150 million Chinese outbound travellers (World Tourism Organization, 2019). This means, approximately 1 in 10 tourists worldwide are Chinese tourists. It is expected that this number will increase since only 10% of the Chinese population possess passports (Ellwood, 2018). Other reasons are the “(...) *rapid urbanization, higher disposable incomes and fewer restrictions on travel are allowing more and more Chinese tourists to explore their country and beyond*” (Statista, 2020/A). In 2012, Denmark anticipated this growth and initiated a sub-branch to Wonderful Copenhagen, the official tourism organisation in the capital area, called Chinavia (WonderfulCopenhagen, n.d./A). The purpose of Chinavia is to attract Chinese tourists and to make sure Denmark remains a target destination for Chinese tourism in the future. Chinavia highlights 7 initiatives that have been made to promote Copenhagen throughout their existence. The initiatives are translating maps into Chinese, creating short videos highlighting different attractions, releasing a magazine named “theNORTH” that explains Danish gastronomy as well as recommend places to visit and celebrity visits with Chen Chu, Jackson Yee and Lexie. Chinavia has furthermore created a crash course for businesses that allows their employees to better engage with Chinese tourists (WonderfulCopenhagen, n.d./B). The course provides knowledge about Chinese culture, travel behaviour,

traditions and more. A top up course can be taken for kr. 15.000
(WonderfulCopenhagen, n.d./B)

In 2018, the European Commission and European Travel Commission, launched the 2018 EU-China Tourism Year (European Commission, 2017). That same year, the number of flight routes between China and Denmark increased by 230%. In total, 6 flight routes between Denmark and China exist. No literature has been identified about whether new routes will be included in the future (CPH, 2018). The goal of the initiative was, to promote each other's destinations, provide opportunities for more EU investments in China and enhance cultural understanding.

1.3.2 The Danish tourism strategy

The national strategy for tourism proposed by the government aims at the following by 2025 (Erhvervsministeriet, n.d):

- Denmark must increase its number of tourists by 1/3 by 2025 (17 million).
- Turnover generated from tourism must reach kr. 140 billion corresponding to a growth of approximately kr. 45 billion compared to 2014.
- In 2025, foreign tourists must be at least as satisfied with the holiday experience in Denmark as the average for Northern Europe.

The national tourism strategy involves 5 primary initiatives that are: (1) more effective marketing targeted at relevant target groups, (2) better accessibility of internet and signs, (3) better tourist experiences in Denmark, (4) modern planning law and increased tourism capacity and (5) competitiveness and good framework conditions (Erhvervsministeriet, n.d). From the goals, it is evident that financial growth and tourism satisfaction are the primary goals. Nowhere does it mention the locals. Even so, locals and their quality of life is a concern to the government, especially in Copenhagen which is heavily impacted by tourism during the high season. To ensure social sustainability in Copenhagen, Wonderful Copenhagen has developed a strategy named "Localhood" (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017). Localhood has 5 goals where two of them are to ensure social sustainability. The first, Co-innovation at heart, is about developing new businesses with both stakeholders

and locals which supports growth and creates jobs. The second initiative, People-Based Growth, is about monitoring resident's sentiment on tourism, involving local communities into the development of tourism, identifying shareable moments between locals and visitors and dispersing tourists in the area of Greater Copenhagen (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017). The Localhood strategy was created in 2017 and its first milestone was set to be in 2020. However, the strategy was designed for a longer period, for 2025 or even 2030. Despite of Covid-19, the goals are still expected to be a priority, yet they might occur at a later stage than anticipated.

A report by 10XCopenhagen (2020) shows that the majority of people from Copenhagen have a positive perception towards tourists. However, the report further states that 10% of locals have a negative attitude towards tourism and 30% are neutral believing the current state of tourism is fine. Based on the goals presented by the government, these statistics could easily turn for the worse.

1.3.3 Defining Copenhagen

When referring to Copenhagen, there will be a distinction between 1) inner city and 2) Greater Copenhagen. Greater Copenhagen encapsulates the areas: Brønshøj-Husum, Vanløse, Bispebjerg, Østerbro, Nørrebro, Inner City, Valby, Vesterbro, Amager Vest and Amager Øst. Frederiksberg lies within these neighbourhoods but is not part of Copenhagen, however, for this research it will be considered part of Copenhagen. The reasoning behind distinguishing Copenhagen between inner city and Greater Copenhagen is because, based on the report by 10XCopenhagen (2020), the perception towards tourism varies across the two areas. The areas can be seen in Figure 2 where the Inner City has been marked with the color red.



Figure 2: Distinction between inner city and Greater Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune, n.d.)

2. Methodology

The following chapter will provide an overview of the philosophical- and methodological approach to this research. This will help readers understand which course of action will be prioritised in order to best answer the research question.

2.1 Philosophy of science

Philosophy of science is described as “(...) *a number of theories on what science is and should be*” (AAU, n.d.). That means when conducting research, one’s point of view is based on different ontological understandings and epistemological bases.

The ontological and epistemological standpoint for this research will be elaborated on in the following chapters to help readers understand what, for this research, is classified as new knowledge.

2.1.1 Ontology

Ontology is about “(...) *whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 32). The two different kinds of approaches are called objectivism and constructionism. Objectivism implies that social phenomena is a subject to external factors unable to be influenced by people. Constructionism on the other hand implies that a “(...) *social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). A social phenomena and everything that happens around it, is therefore in a constant state of revision. This research abducts a constructivists approach, which means the conclusions drawn today are subject to a current state. This further aligns with Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill (2019), who argues that researcher’s ontological assumptions influence the way they perceive data. This is also a common critique of constructivism which is why, it is important to note that the outcomes of this research are to some extent, influenced by the background, values, preferences and previous experiences of the writers. A constructivist approach aligns with the course of action for this research, that is, to explore a social phenomenon and to explore its social actors and their understanding of their own social world.

2.1.2 Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the assumptions about knowledge: what is acceptable and valid, and how that knowledge can be communicated (Saunders et al., 2019). In the context of this paper, “knowledge” represents literature and data existing prior to our research. Different types of knowledge namely numerical, textual, visual, either facts or opinions, even stories and narratives, can be considered trustworthy.

Nonetheless, the different epistemological assumptions associated with the methods of one's choice, will have strengths and weaknesses. According to Bryman (2012), the most commonly used epistemological approaches in social research are

positivism and interpretivism. For this research, an interpretivist approach has been prioritised. Where a positivist will rely on hard data, an interpretivist sees the world in different nuances. Essentially, the social world requires different logic and research procedures. People and intuitions are different from natural science (Bryman, 2012). Saunders et al. (2019, p. 140) further supports this claim, stating: "*humans are different from physical phenomena because they create meanings*". People from different cultures come with different backgrounds and circumstances, therefore create different meanings, which will result in a divergent experience. Interpretivism focuses on the narratives, stories, perceptions and interpretations. Doing so, a new, more precise understanding can be created of the social world. Within interpretivism there are further philosophical categories' that put emphasis on different sections. For example, phenomenologists focus on lived experience, whereas hermeneutics focus on cultural artefacts. With the help of hermeneutics, social scientists will try to understand human behaviour rather than explaining it (Bryman, 2012).

The epistemological perspective of this paper will be interpretivism as it perceives human behaviour as a subject in a constant state of revision. We will, based on both primary and secondary data, be looking into what are the motivations of Chinese travelers, their travel behaviour and how actors in the tourism industry of Copenhagen perceive Chinese tourism. By using multiple sources of data we wish to represent how reality is perceived as precisely as possible in its current state. Our aim is not to generalize and create a unified standard, but to investigate a specific case and context.

Thus, our research paradigm will be based on a constructivist ontology and an interpretivist epistemology. These two approaches compliment each other, given that with a constructivist view there can be multiple realities that are dependent on the individuals while the interpretivist epistemology allows us to observe stakeholders' realities. Both approaches take the individual's background and experience into account. Furthermore, with this approach our own understanding and experience can be represented.

2.2 Relationship between theory and research

In social research, the relationship between theory and findings can be differentiated into two kinds of approach: deductive and inductive (Saunders et al., 2019).

A deductive approach would start out by collecting academic literature, creating a research strategy in order to test a theory (Saunders et al., 2019). In order to test a theory, quantitative data is required, commonly in the form of large sample sizes in order to generalize. Qualitative data can also be used, but it is less common with a deductive approach. The outcome will be conclusive and can either be falsified or verified. If the theory is considered to be false, it needs to be modified and the whole process has to be repeated. On the other hand, an inductive approach is more concerned with generating theory (Bryman, 2012). An inductive approach starts out by collecting data and later on themes will be identified to build theory, primarily from qualitative data. Because the research began by exploring secondary data about Chinese tourism, one could argue that the research abducts a deductive approach. After exploring academic literature and surveys, primary data was collected. However, based on primary data, new literature was explored including academic papers and surveys to support the findings. Therefore, one could argue that the approach of this research is inductive. According to Bryman (2012), it is possible to be “(...) *weaving back and forth between data and theory*” to best explore if “(...) *a theory will and will not hold*” (p. 26). However, the research is considered mostly to be inductive because there is no tested conclusion. For this research, qualitative data have been collected from interviews with stakeholders related to Chinese tourism in Copenhagen. The data from interviews are meant to represent how the stakeholders in Copenhagen, who are related to Chinese tourism, experience the phenomenon. This aligns with our ontological and epistemological position and will optimise the outcome of this research by providing insight as to how the individuals who are being examined interpret the social world. This will help to identify topics which would otherwise not have been discovered with surveys. As a result of the inductive approach, the theory generated from this research cannot be considered conclusive, but instead creates a base for further research (Saunders et al., 2019).

2.3 Research Design

This research abducts a case study which is a “(...) *detailed and intensive analysis of a single case*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 66). A single case is a broad definition but is commonly referring to a particular group, community or unit. In our case, Chinese tourists in Copenhagen. Robert K. Yin (2009) defines a case study as “(...) *an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*” (p. 19). In other words, a phenomenon is being studied within its context. This research investigates the relations between Chinese- and Danish culture (phenomenon) and tourism (context). Culture can be difficult to measure, which is why it is considered to be ‘not clearly evident’. Therefore, an in-depth analysis is considered necessary for understanding the phenomenon. An in-depth analysis is part of a qualitative approach, which will be elaborated upon in chapter 2.4.1 “Qualitative research”.

Yin (2009) mentions three types of case studies design one can use: descriptive, exploratory or explanatory. This research abducts an exploratory case study which can be useful when investigating “(...) *a problem which is not clearly defined*” (QuestionPro, 2021). For such research, researchers have a general idea about a phenomenon which needs further investigation. A problem is commonly at a preliminary stage looking to answer questions such as what, why or how. According to Yin (2009), when investigating the what, why or how it is important to be able to change one's focus, or subject, to the revelation of new data or insight. Limited research has been identified that describes implications between locals and tourists with large cultural differences. No real research has been done on the matter of cultural differences between locals and tourists for Copenhagen. This is why an explorative approach is considered relevant because it is commonly practised when little, or no, research has been done on the subject, or phenomena, before. A common critique however, is that case study research does not provide conclusive data because one's sample size is usually too small to generalize. Yet the goal with an exploratory case study is not to be conclusive, but to explore a topic and discover problems, or related subjects, for further research (QuestionPro, 2021). Figure 3 provides an overview of the research design.

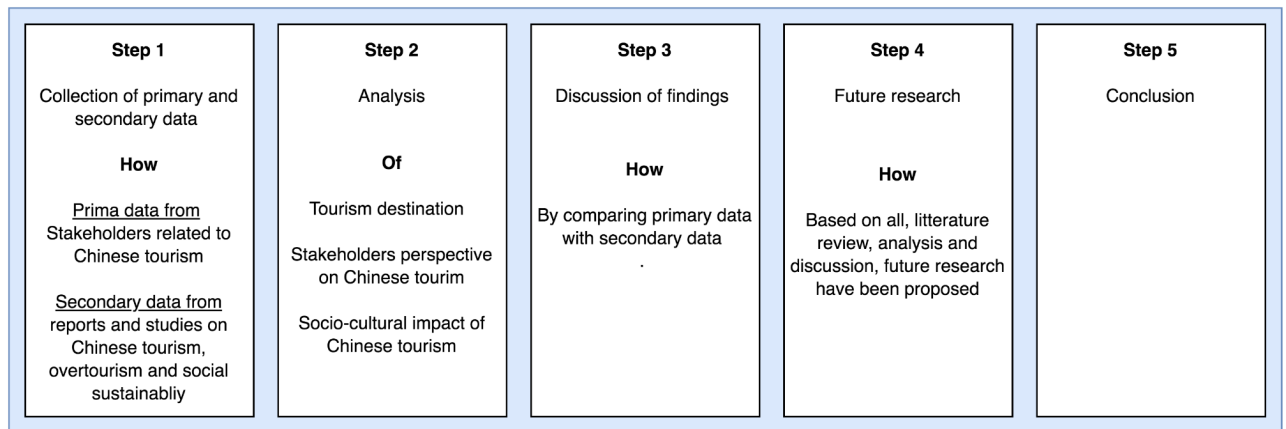


Figure 3: Research design (own design)

2.4 Data collection

Both primary and secondary data forms the foundation for this research. Primary data has been collected through a qualitative method being interviews with several stakeholders related to tourism that deals with Chinese visitors. Secondary data comes from reports and other studies on Chinese tourism which includes quantitative data such as statistics. The following chapter will elaborate how the interview participants have been sampled, what type of interviews have been performed as well as the trustworthiness of the research.

2.4.1 Qualitative research

The primary data for this research is qualitative which is defined as “(...) *a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). Qualitative research is commonly used when one is trying to achieve in-depth knowledge as is the purpose with this research. A qualitative approach aligns with our methodological approach as interpretivists because we are trying to understand the perception of stakeholders towards Chinese tourism.

Qualitative research subsumes three methodological approaches to collecting data which all differs from each other. The three methods are: observations, interviews and focus groups. For this research, only interviews have been included.

Interviewing, is a broad terminology to describe a range of different types of interviews. In total, Bryman (2012) mentions 11 types of interviews that can be

conducted with a qualitative approach. For this research, a semi-structured interview has been prioritised.

2.4.2 Semi-structured interview

In order to gain the most reliable and useful information from the participants, semi-structured interviews were taken, as part of our qualitative approach. Lisa Guion, David Diehl and Debra McDonald (2011) states that in-depth interviews, such as semi-structured interviews, are perfect for gaining the most information from relatively few participants, as opposed to surveys where a larger quantity of replies is required for valid information. An in-depth interview is excellent for our research, since they are based on open-ended questions, oriented to discover and allows us to explore, not just the response but the interview subject's background, feelings and perspectives as well. As it is suggested, the interview questions were open-ended, therefore a simple "yes" or "no" would not be sufficient. The interview style further gives the participant freedom to express themselves more in-depth. Bryman (2012), further affirms that, "rambling" and "going off topic" should, in some cases, be encouraged since it gives better reflection on what the respondent finds important.

In-depth interviews can vary in style. (Bryman, 2012) For this research, the interviews were semi-structured, which means that we have prepared questions in advance, some of which were general and used in all the interviews and some were specific to one interview. However, in all cases more questions were added on the spot in order to gain more information. The semi-structured format also created a more fluent, conversation-like interview. Throughout the interview, we actively tried to interpret and understand what was said. In some cases clarification was needed so that we can represent precise information. All interviews were recorded on an audio-recorder device and complemented with written notes of observed, non-verbal behaviour and immediate personal reflections which can be found in Appendix 1.

For the best possible interview, Kvale Steinar (2007) defines 5 criteria that should be followed: being open minded, flexible, patient, observant and a good listener (Bryman, 2012). Keeping an *open-mind* involves, not judging or criticizing the response. If the respondent feels judged or evaluated, they will not share many details and the interview will be less personal. Next, *flexibility* is shown by being

responsive. By being flexible, a more fluent, easy-going conversation-like interview can be conducted. Research preceding the interviews will generate some expectations about the responses. Therefore flexibility is important in unexpected scenarios. Thirdly, *patience* allows the respondents to set the pace of the interview and fully express themselves. Bryman (2012) suggests that silence and pauses can signal for the respondent that more information is expected. Besides patience, *observance* is an essential trait, picking up on verbal and non-verbal clues will help to gain more information from the interviews. Finally, *being a good listener* reflects on the ability to listen but also to be fully aware of what is being said in the conversation, possibly phrase the answers differently in order to get the right information and reflect on the speaker. The five attributes have been carried out to the best of researchers' abilities throughout the interviews to try and get as much useful information from the respondents as possible.

According to Kvale (2007), there are 7 stages when conducting in depth interviews which are: (1) Thematizing, (2) designing, (3) interviewing, (4) transcribing, (5) analysing, (6) verifying and (7) reporting (Guion et al., 2011).

Stage 1: Thematizing

In this stage, it is important to define the purpose of the interview. The purpose of the interviews was to gain first-hand knowledge from experts on how the tourism industry in Copenhagen is perceiving Chinese tourism. As part of the thematizing process, key members of the industry were identified. To best get an understanding of the stakeholders perspectives, four main themes were developed for the interview questions. The different themes and related colors can be seen in Table 2.

1. Understanding the current situation of tourism/Chinese tourism in the organization	RED
2. Understanding Chinese Behaviour	GREEN
3. Understanding the ideal customer segment	BLUE
4. Understanding if, or how, the organization attracts and prepares for Chinese tourists	YELLOW
5. Scenario	PURPLE

Table 2: Interview themes and related colors

Stage 2: Designing

The next step was to structure the actual interviews. A guide was created, first with key information that was necessary for the project. With that key information in mind, general questions were designed to fit all the interviews. These questions were later divided into 5 sections to further structure and simplify the interviews. Since the interview participants were from separate sections of the tourism industry, this gave grounds for a comparative section/evaluation. For each interview, unique, more segment-specific questions were created. Finally, all the sections were collected into a document.

Stage 3: Interviewing

Setting the interview stage took place in advance through emails. Besides the general information exchange prior to the interviews, such as setting the time and date, the respondents were given the option to have face-to-face interviews or online. Because the people being interviewed were Danish of origin, the interviewing process always started out in Danish to create a more relaxed environment for the respondent and to get a general reading of the respondent's mood. During the online interviews the casual chat also served as time to see if the internet connection, audio and the recorder device all functioned properly. Kvale (2007) states that the interview should start out by briefing the respondent about the purpose of the interview and

about the subject. Both were carried out in each interview. After the small talk prior to the beginning of the interview, an introduction to the research was given to the respondent. The purpose was for the respondent to get familiar with the topic and to be reminded of the purpose of the interview, which had already been presented in the email prior to the meeting. Whilst the introduction was made, the respondents were asked whether they would like to perform the interview in their native language or English. The interviewers were asked because some might not feel comfortable speaking in English which would limit the information given at the interview. Out of the eight interviews, only two were conducted in Danish and one in Hungarian while the rest were done in English. After deciding which language to carry on with, the respondents were asked if it was fine for the interview to be recorded and if they wanted it to be confidential. All agreed to be recorded which allowed for the answers to be transcribed which will be elaborated upon in “Stage 4: Transcribing”. The prepared questions provided structure to the interview, however, given the nature of semi-structured interviews, the interview has gone “off track”, which provided information about topics not considered prior to the interview.

According to Kvale (2007) interview questions need to fit two dimensions: Thematic and Dynamic. The thematic dimension refers to the production of knowledge, while the dynamic function of a question refers to the interpersonal relationships in the interview. With the two dimensions in mind, the interview questions were created in a way that thematically we could gain the most useful information for the purposes of the project. From a dynamic perspective, the questions were made short and easily understandable. After all the questions were answered, in some cases additional questions were asked based on the answers that were given. When there were absolutely no more questions left, the respondents were given the opportunity to add further information that they found relevant but was not mentioned during the interview.

Most of the interviews were conducted in English and the ones that were conducted in Danish or Hungarian, have been translated in the transcript. After the interviews, immediate impressions of the conversations were recorded in the Notes section, to provide better context.

Stage 4: Transcribing

At this stage, all recordings were transcribed. The interviews that were held in Danish or Hungarian, were immediately translated to English. According to Bryman (2012) transcribing interviews has both advantages and disadvantages. An advantage of the transcription is that the researcher is getting a deeper understanding of everything that was said. A disadvantage is that transcribing interviews is time consuming. Transcribing a one hour long interview takes approximately five-six hours to transcribe (Bryman, 2012). Besides the time and energy consumption of transcribing, another disadvantage is that the transcript is purely raw data which, in many cases, can lack context. Body language and other nonverbal signs are not transcribed, however observations of necessary nonverbal signs were added to the afternotes section to ensure the raw data could be understood properly. The transcript can be found in Appendix 1.

Kvale (2007) states that the transcript should first of all state if the transcript was made in either a verbatim oral or written style. Verbatim oral means that everything is transcribed that is being said. This includes linguistic errors such as repeating words, mispronunciations, notions such as “mhm” etc. Written style means that only the meaning is presented from the interview. This involves correcting or leaving out linguistic errors because they do not add value. However nonverbal signs are important for context, such as sarcasm, and should be included in the written style because it is considered important to understand the meaning behind the words.

For this research, the first step that was taken was a verbatim oral transcription with an online auto-transcribing program developed by Microsoft. The program transcribes everything which is being said and organises it by 1) time-stamp and 2) who is talking. Auto-transcribing the interviews has helped saving time however, the finalised products were far from perfect. Many words are not transcribed properly and sections where the audio file is not clear were missing. Therefore, the automatic transcript was used only as a base. Once the interviews had been transcribed from the program, it was converted into a written style.

Table 3 shows the codes that were used in the transcript and their meanings. The full transcript can be found in Appendix 1.

Code	Description
R	Researcher
I	Interviewee
00:00	Time-stamp reference to the exact minutes and seconds in the recording
unclear	Word or sentence, that is not understandable
(xxx)	Mispronunciation-what is meant according to the researcher
1. x-x	Reference to specific lines in the transcript

Table 3: Codes that was used for transcript

Stage 5: Analysing

Kvale (2007) states that the analysis of the interviews should already be incorporated into the transcribing process. He further argues that there is no standard method for analysis to get the essential meanings and deeper implications (2007). Methods of analysis can be divided into two groups. Meaning analysis and linguistic analysis. For the purposes of this study, meaning analysis will be used as we are focusing on gaining information from the respondent's point of view. Kvale (2007) mentions 4 methods for meaning analysis: Meaning coding, Content analysis, Meaning condensation and Meaning interpretation. For the analysis of the interviews, meaning coding is used. Kvale (2007) states that meaning coding involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment in order to help later identification of the statement. Since for our interviews a general set of questions were created and later adjusted according to the stakeholders, many keywords are naturally appearing in the text such as FITs, Groups, Behaviour, Positive or Negative and Preparation. In cases where the transcript did not include the exact keyword, during the transcript process, the word is added in the form of a comment.

Stage 6: Verifying

Stage 6 is concerned with the validity of the collected information. For verification, we have used a method presented by Bryman (2012), which is further described in section 2.4.4 "Trustworthiness of research".

Stage 7: Reporting

As for stage 7, reporting is about submitting the research to the people who have been investigated to make sure their social worlds have been understood correctly. All interview respondents were given the possibility to read the transcript of the interviews.

2.4.3 Sampling of participants to interview

For qualitative research, Bryman (2012) mentions two types of sampling techniques: probability- and purposive sampling. For this research, a purposive sampling technique has been prioritised because of our research question. A purposive sampling technique is “(...) *a non-probability form of sampling*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 284). As opposed to probability sampling, the goal is to sample cases, or participants, in a strategic way in order to answer one's research question (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). The research question of this research, to explore the social effects of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen from a stakeholders perspective, implies the need to focus on stakeholders related to Chinese tourism. Table 4 shows the list of stakeholders that have been included for this research.

Organisation	Organisation type	Contact	Title	Interview style
Wonderful Copenhagen (Chinavia)	DMO	Dan Schou	Manager - Digital Marketing	In Person
VisitDenmark	DMO	Flemming Bruhn	Director	Virtual
BC Hospitality Group	Hotel chain (3 hotels - 1600 rooms)	Christel Vidø	Senior Sales Manager	Virtual
Tivoli	Attraction	Lars Adler Pe	Director of B2B sales	Virtual
Copenhagen Zoo	Attraction	Jacob Munkholm Hoeck	Head of Press and Communication	In Person
Cruise Copenhagen	Cruise tourism	Claus Bødker	Director	Virtual
Magasin	Chain of department store	Joachim Marcher	Retail optimizer, analyst and controller	Virtual
LaEsquina	Café/Restaurant	Loretta Csorba	Café manager	In Person

Table 4: Stakeholders that were included in the research

The 8 stakeholders who agreed to have interviews about Chinese tourism are meant to represent the Copenhagen tourism market. The level of experience with Chinese tourism varies, but inexperience is considered just as valid knowledge as specific knowledge. The 8 respondents represent 6 types of organisations being DMO, Hotels, Attractions, Cruise tourism, Shopping and Restaurants. Why these types of organisations have been selected will be elaborated upon each at a time.

To be able to gain the relevant interviewees for our research and to be able to somewhat validate the credibility of the interviews, we have prior to the interviews

gathered knowledge of the topic. This allows us to gain the most useful information from the interviews, though this way we can not be fully unbiased, since we will have our own expectations. These expectations have been used to question and discuss the outcomes in the analysis section.

The DMO's have been selected because of their role for tourism in general. DMO's have extensive knowledge about the tourism landscape in a specific location unlike any other stakeholder. The purpose of a DMO is to "*promotes a town, city, region, or country in order to increase the number of visitors*" (Sedonachamber, n.d.). One of the ways a DMO does so is by providing information to leisure tourists. VisitDenmark is the DMO for all of Denmark (VisitDenmark, n.d./A) while Wonderful Copenhagen explicitly focuses on promoting, and managing, Copenhagen. However, because the Chinese people are so different from other tourists to manage due to their culture and language, Wonderful Copenhagen have created a sub-branch to take care of this particular tourist segment named "Chinavia" (WonderfulCopenhagen, n.d./A). Chinavia works just like any other DMO, but specialises in Chinese tourists. The interview conducted with Dan Shou was expected to provide the most relevant information because he, as the representative for Chinese tourism in Copenhagen, should have the largest knowledge on the subject. Dan Shou represents all of Copenhagen while the other interviewees represent their respective type of organisations except from Flemming Bruhn who represent VisitDenmark and thereby tourism in Denmark.

BC Hospitality Group represents three hotels in Copenhagen with 1600 hotel rooms (BC Hospitality Group, n.d.). BC Hospitality Group has all types of tourists but are known for their efforts with Chinese tourism. Their knowledge will help to better understand what sort of preparation Chinese guests require. The three hotels are located in 3 distinct locations, Marriott Copenhagen is in the city center, AC Bella Sky and Crown Plaza is in the Greater Copenhagen area.

For attractions, Tivoli and Copenhagen Zoo have been included. Tivoli, is an amusement park created in 1864, and received 4.581.000 guests in 2019. 70% of these are Danish while the rest are visitors from around the globe (Tivoli, 2019). How many of these are Chinese has not been possible to identify. Tivoli is situated in the inner city next to the central station. Tivoli has Chinese designs inside their park such

as the Chinese tower, the boating lake and The Pantomime Theatre. Their website can be read in both Danish and Chinese and they have Asian restaurants to accommodate with Chinese gastronomical needs. Because of Tivoli's multiple initiatives and because they are amongst the top 10 attractions for tourists in Copenhagen. Tivoli was expected to have extensive knowledge on Chinese tourism which is why they were included.

Copenhagen Zoo was developed in 1859 and received 1.571.331 guests in 2019 (VisitFrederiksberg, n.d.; Danmarks Statistik, n.d.). No initiatives have been found from their website or related article to accommodate Chinese tourism. However, being amongst the top 10 attractions in Copenhagen, it is considered an attraction Chinese people would want to visit. Especially because of the collaboration with China from 2017 where, two years later, Copenhagen Zoo received two pandas to represent good faith amongst the nations. Copenhagen Zoo, have therefore been included for the same reasons as Tivoli whilst representing an attraction that is outside of the inner city.

Magasin have been included to represent shopping in Copenhagen. Magasin is a chain of shopping malls representing multiple brands with stores in Lyngby, Rødovre, Odense, Aarhus, Fields, Aalborg and Copenhagen (Magasin, n.d./A). Annually, they receive about 46 million visitors (Magasin, n.d./B). The shopping industry has been included because Chinese tourists tend to spend a lot of money whilst being abroad. One of the primary reasons is that, in China, the tax rate on imported goods is extremely high. Combined with taxes, these regulations can increase the price of luxury goods in China by up to 50% (People, 2016). So, even though from a western point of view it seems that Chinese people are spending a lot of money, they are actually saving money compared to if they would have bought the items in China. Magasin represents several individual brands who will have an interest in Magasin attracting high spenders to their location. Being the largest chain of malls in Denmark, it is expected that they have experiences with Chinese tourists.

Lastly, LaEsquina, a small cafe, has been included due to their location in the inner city of Copenhagen (LaEsquina, n.d.). Everyday, multiple tour busses stop right outside of their cafe. Tour busses are known for causing crowding due to the large number of people that come on and off the busses. Chinese people are known to

travel in groups, and the use of tour busses is extremely popular as they provide them with the option to experience large areas of a city in a short amount of time.

2.4.4 Trustworthiness of research

When testing one's trustworthiness of research, multiple methods should be applied. For this research, four criterias presented by Bryman (2012) will be used for asserting the trustworthiness of the research. The four criterias are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility is about making sure that one's research is being carried out in accordance with the canons of good practise. There are two ways of doing so, either with triangulation or with respondent validation. Triangulation involves “(...) *using more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 391). Triangulation was traditionally a concept for quantitative research meant to ensure trust towards findings in the form of hard data. However, it is now also a common measure to abduct for qualitative research. In order to achieve triangulation, different stakeholders have been interviewed addressing different perspectives on Chinese tourism in Copenhagen. Furthermore, several articles and reports have been included to serve as the foundation for this research. Secondly, respondent validation involves “(...) *submitting re- search findings to the members of the social world who were studied for confirmation that the investigator has correctly understood that social world*” (Bryman, 2012, p. 390). Each interviewee has been asked whether they wanted to read the research before finalising the result to ensure their answers have been used in accordance with what was meant at the time when asked. Only one respondent said yes to this offer why respondent validation has only been carried out to a somewhat limited extent. However, researchers have had the opportunity with each interviewee to ask follow-up questions or in case of doubt, elaborative questions over email. This was however not needed. It is therefore expected that all answers have been understood correctly.

To ensure transferability in social research, thick descriptions should be delivered in order for others to transfer the results into other scenarios (Bryman, 2012). The interviews, as well as reasons for choosing the different representatives, have been described in detail to ensure transferability. However, considering the uniqueness of cultures and destinations, it is likely that the findings from this research cannot be applied to other contexts. This is a common critique in qualitative research because there are no real standard procedures of how to carry out research. Nevertheless, even though the findings might not be applied to other contexts, the course of action can. The thick descriptions of this research should allow others to conduct similar research elsewhere.

To ensure dependability, Bryman (2012) argues that researchers should adopt an 'auditing' approach. This includes documenting each step "(...) *ensuring that complete records are kept of all phases of the research process— problem formulation, selection of research participants, fieldwork notes, interview transcripts, data analysis decisions, and so on—in an accessible manner.*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 392). All the different steps mentioned have been included to ensure dependability. However, it is important to acknowledge that when conducting qualitative research, complete objectivity is almost impossible to achieve. The researcher is responsible for collecting the data which allows him or her to direct their focus onto what they consider relevant. This means that the research will always, to some extent, be the product of his or her predilections (Bryman, 2012). For example, we have chosen to include the 8 stakeholders as presented in the previous chapter, because we consider these to represent the Copenhagen tourism market, and because we expect them to have extensive knowledge about Chinese tourism in some way or form.

Confirmability is about making sure that while acknowledging complete objectivity can never be achieved, the research has been carried out in good faith (Bryman, 2012). To ensure confirmability, each step of the process has been documented. Reasons for why different steps have been carried out have been included keeping readers informed about each step of the process.

2.5 Limitations and Delimitations

2.5.1 Limitations

A factor which has influenced this research is Covid-19. Because of Covid-19, most of the interviews were held online over either Google Hangout or Teams. It is believed that in-person meetings would have provided more detailed answers which unfortunately was not possible in most cases because online meetings were requested by the stakeholders.

To support the findings of this research, the perspectives of Chinese tourists and their travel behaviour in Copenhagen would have been of interest to collect as part of the primary research. Based on answers, it would have been possible to identify how Chinese tourists match with the strategy proposed in Localhood. However, due to Covid-19, there are no Chinese tourists in the city so it was not possible to make such a survey.

For this research, multiple stakeholders have been contacted to be included, however the perspective of tour organizers such as ShowMeCopenhagen, Kuoni, Active Copenhagen and more could not be included since they did not wish to partake. These companies are responsible for arranging tour guides for all types of travellers. This is considered lacking for this research because Chinese people enjoy packaged tours with tour guides. Therefore, these companies will have extensive knowledge about Chinese tourism behaviour.

2.5.2 Delimitations

This research explores stakeholders perspectives on Chinese tourism in Copenhagen. Data collected from interviews and secondary research highlights the situation in 2019 and before. The reason why 2020-2021 have not been included in the research is because the two years are considered unrepresentative to the tourism industry due to Covid-19. Denmark has been in a state of lockdown with no tourism from 11 March 2020 because of governmental restrictions disallowing travel

in and out of the country. For this reason, it is considered irrelevant to talk about Chinese tourism in Copenhagen because there is none. It is believed that tourism trends proposed prior to the pandemic will still be relevant, yet their effects will happen at a later stage than anticipated.

3. Literature Review

In this section, existing literature will be reviewed on topics related to tourism destination analysis, understanding the Chinese tourist and social sustainability. The first chapter, tourism destination analysis, will review how to define a destination based on location, geographical area and connection between stakeholders. Furthermore additional theory will be reviewed on how the state of tourism relates to the attitude of locals towards tourism, finally concepts on overtourism will be assessed. Next, the chapter “Understanding Chinese tourists” will explore different topics related to Chinese outbound tourism. The first topic will review how Chinese tourism has developed over the years whilst exploring Chinese tourism motivations and behaviour. The chapter will furthermore include literature on projections about Chinese tourism. As the final section of the literature review, theory on socio-cultural impacts due to tourism and social sustainability will be reviewed.

3.1 Tourism Destination Analysis

For the representation of a destination, Dobrica Zivadin Jovicic’s (2016) article, titled “Key issues in the conceptualization of tourism destinations” has given the base. In the article the currently existing literature is collected and systematically reviewed on what a tourism destination is. Jovicic (2016) categorizes the concept of tourism destinations into multiple sections in chronological order. The first approach to a tourism destination focused mainly on the geographical aspects. Geographical aspects included the location of the tourist destination, which can be either natural or man-made, however the exact area is hard to define. Furthermore, to be qualified as a destination Jovicic (2016) states that certain criteria has to be met, such as having tourist attractions, accommodations and transport to and from the destination. The ideology for the classical destination concept was not flawed however it was missing

important aspects such as the connections within the destination and the fact that changes in demand leads to changes in structure at the destination (Jovicic, 2016). The importance of change was recognized by Richard Butler (1980). Rather than considering a tourist destination always being a tourist destination, Butler (1980) proposes that a destination is in constant change. A destination will go through a series of steps and depending on how well the destination handles tourism development, it will end in either rejuvenation or decline. Butler's (1980) concept can be considered an early recognition of the importance of sustainability, says Leo Hwang (2017).

3.1.1 Butler's tourism area life cycle (TALC)

Butler's (1980) cycle is based on the product life cycle concept, where he presents 7 stages in which a tourism destination can find themselves in. The stages are: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, rejuvenation or decline.

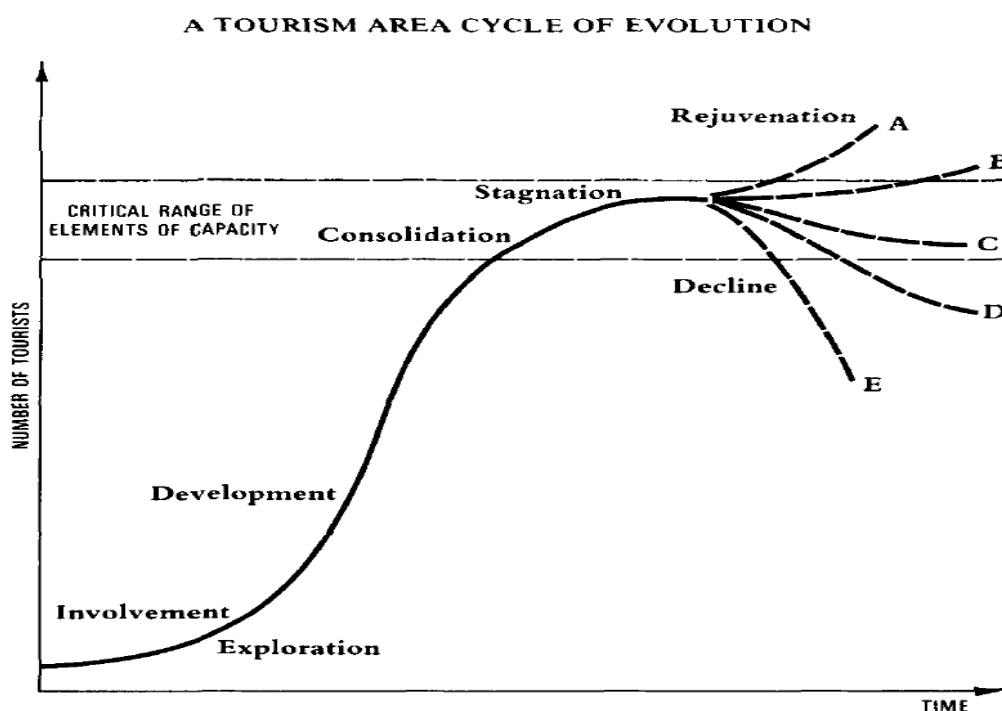


Figure 4: Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) (Butler, 1980, p. 7)

The *exploration stage* is when an area is visited by a small number of tourists and there is no regulation time-wise. The novelty that is brought by tourism means that

there is no existing infrastructure to facilitate tourism, therefore visitors rely on locals. Distribution caused by the visitors to the locals is minimal and the information about the area is shared by word of mouth. Next is the *involvement stage*, in which the area starts to adapt to the visitors and begins to build infrastructure for tourists, creating facilities and services that directly benefit the visitors. In this stage the involvement of locals is still high, however marketing of the place receives more attention. The third stage, the *development stage*, is already well-defined for the tourist market, relying on heavy advertisement to generate tourism. The involvement of the locals starts to decline, whereas external providers start to take over certain areas, commonly accommodations. An area will start to change noticeably, primarily to accommodate and gain more from tourists. At this stage the local population's opinion on tourism starts to change, since now tourism in peak seasons noticeably influences their lives. The fourth stage is *consolidation*, where the numbers of visitors start to slow down but the total number still keeps increasing. The benefits of tourism at this point are a steady part of the area's economy. Marketing and advertising tries to reach a wider target segment in order to extend the tourist season. The large number of tourists has a growing potential to actively disrupt local's lives which will evidently lead to dissatisfaction towards tourism. The next stage is *stagnation*. At this point the maximum number of tourists in the area have been reached or even exceeded which creates economical, social and environmental problems as well. Revisitation, conventions and similar forms of traffic are becoming increasingly important for the destination. The type of visitors most probably will change to one that is most commonly brought into connection with overtourism. At this point Butler (1980) suggests that one of two things will happen. Due to the negative effects from tourism, the area enters the stage of *decline* and the destination will no longer be able to compete with other destinations. Tourist facilities start to disappear since the lower number of tourists cannot maintain operational costs. Local involvement however grows since they are able to purchase facilities at lower prices. Eventually the area becomes either a versatile tourist slum or loses its function as a tourist destination. On the other hand, there is also a chance for rejuvenation, in which case man-made attractions have to be created or underappreciated natural resources can be introduced. Butler (1980) notes however, that rejuvenation only helps to lengthen the stagnation phase by targeting a new segment.

Butler (1980) states that the consistency of evolution is mainly a concept, in real life the stages might not be this clear. Hwang (2017) argues that with the knowledge of which stage the destination is in, sustainable solutions can be limited, therefore the timeframe of the stages can be lengthened. To further represent the elements and dimensions of a destination Douglas Pearce's (2014) integrative conceptual framework of tourism destination will be used. The framework is based on three dimensions, Geographic, Mode of Production and Dynamic dimension. Within these dimensions there are further subsections created. The Geographic Dimension refers to the space and place of the destination. Within space spatial elements such as concentration, colocation, extent, scales are determinative. Whereas the place is concerned with contextual factors, culture, social and geographical embeddedness, and resources supporting tourism. The Mode of production empathizes how the destination functions which is presented through structure, behaviour and actors. The third and final dimension is the dynamics of the destination presented through structural evolution and driving factors such as culture, economics, adaptation and innovation. Similarly to Butler (1980), Pearce (2014) argues that tourism destinations are complex adaptable systems. A tourism destination adapts to the events around them and has the capacity to learn from experience and change.

3.1.2 Doxey's Irritation index

The 'irritation index', often called 'Irridex', was developed in 1975 by Doxey (Doxey, 1975). The index is meant to understand locals' attitude towards a destination's life cycle.

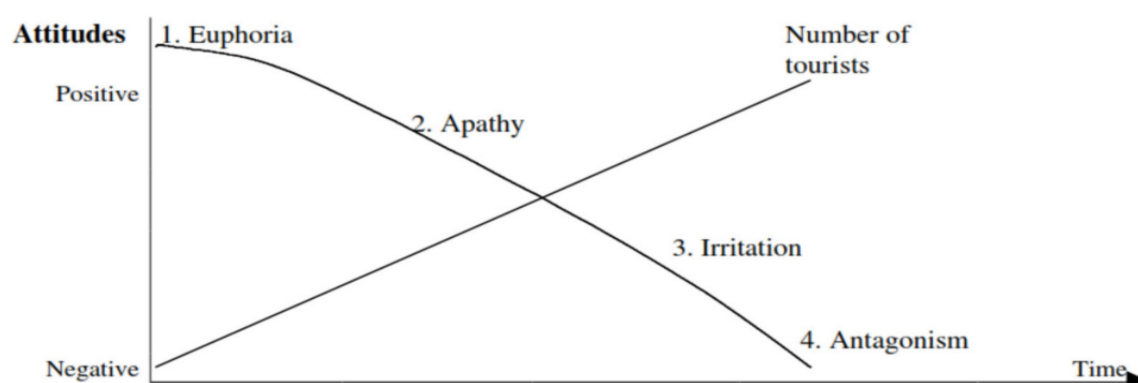


Figure 5: Irridex (Szromek et al., 1975, p. 4)

Its different stages are the consequences of its varying social, economic, and environmental impacts on the destination. In the first stage, locals meet tourism with *euphoria*. In the second stage, locals perceive tourism as part of their everyday life and begin to try and profit from it, developing an *apathy* towards tourism. In the third stage, significant growth of tourism is occurring and locals who are exposed to negative social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism begin to develop *annoyance* towards it. In the final stage, locals who are exposed to aforementioned negative impacts of tourism begin to develop antagonism. A further description of the four stages can be found in Table 5.

Table 5 - The four stages in Doxey's 'irritation index'		
Stage		Features
1	Euphoria	The first stage where people are enthusiastic about tourism development. Tourism development resolves in a feeling of excitement and informal contact between tourists and residents takes place. Furthermore, tourism is resolving new job opportunities amongst locals and a steady flow of money is profiting communities.
2	Apathy	Tourism is being taken for granted as it expands. Locals seek to benefit financially which leads to a commercial relationship between locals and tourists.
3	Annoyance	Locals are starting to become concerned about the number of tourists due to significant growth of arrivals. External investments are attracted to the area to seize profit and communities need to expand in order to engage with the number of tourists.
4	Antagonism	Locals perceive tourism as something that is bad. Irritation towards tourists is expressed both verbally and physically. The ecosystem has changed and the tourists who came in the beginning are no longer the same.

(Szromek et al., 2019)

In multiple research, it has been identified, that the irritation index by Doxey, has been overlaid, or combined, with Butler's TALC model (Szromek et al., 2019; Fan et al., 2019). While the main goal of the Doxey Irritation index is to measure the social

impacts of tourism, Butler's (1980) TALC model focuses on economic, social and cultural impacts of tourism. When matched, the stages overlap between: "Exploration" and the "Involvement" stages correspond to the "Euphoria" stage, "Development" stage corresponds to the "Apathy" stage, "Consolidation" and "Stagnation" correspond to the "Annoyance" stage, "Decline" and "Rejuvenation" stages correspond to the "Antagonism" stage. An illustration of where the different stages overlap can be seen on Figure 6.

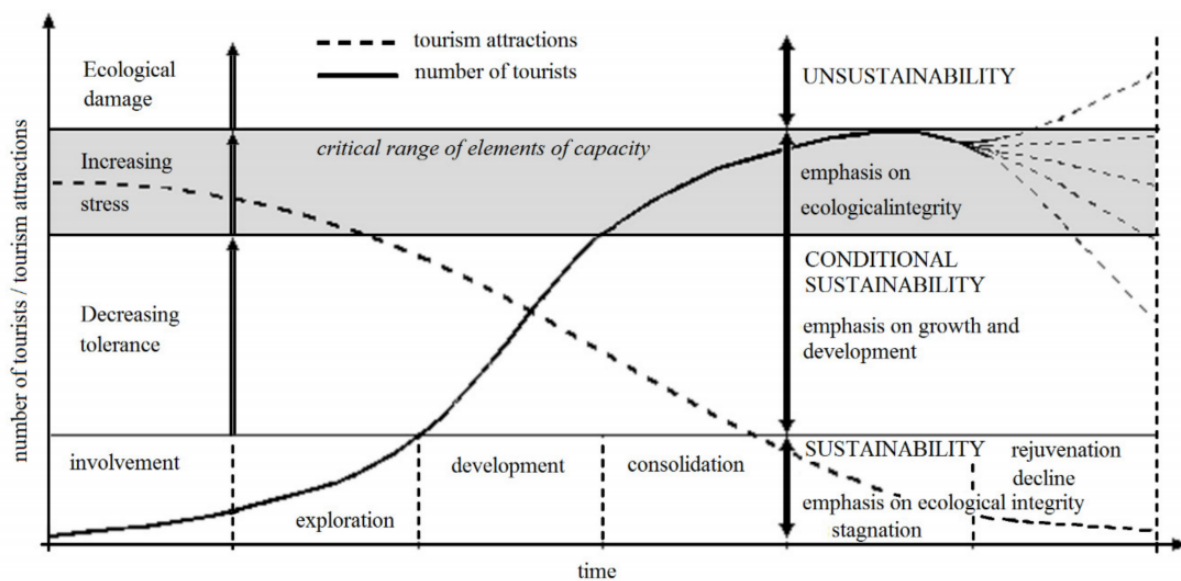


Figure 6: TALC model and Irridex combined (Szromek et al., 2019, p. 5)

The majority of identified researchers who have abducted the irritation model have assumed that a large number of tourists associated with the last stages in tourism development have a tendency to cause negative attitudes amongst residents. A negative attitude is a result of the social carrying capacity, residents ability to accept changes, exceeding its limits. Although the index is a great tool to identify which stage a destination finds itself in, it has been criticized by its limitations by Wall and Mathieson (2006). Wall and Mathieson (2006) argue that it is unrepresentative for an entire community. Zamani-Farahani and Musa (2012) confirmed that the model assumes that it is the whole community that develops a negative attitude towards tourism while, in reality, attitudes can vary greatly across communities.

3.1.3 Overtourism

The term “overtourism” is a term which have been around for a long time but which have received extensive attention over the past years in academic circles (Capocchi et al., 2019; Dodds and Butler, 2019; Milano et al., 2018). Cities such as Palma de Mallorca, Paris, Dubrovnik, Kyoto, Berlin, Bali and Reykjavik have all been noted to be subject to overtourism - a stage where tourism is disturbing and disrupting the inhabitant’s everyday life (Milano et al. 2018). In Barcelona, the locals were told to have gotten “tourismphobia”, due to the excessive growth of tourism. Issues that have been associated with overtourism are overconsumption, crowding and exploitation of tourism destinations and attractions.

There are multiple definitions of overtourism. Harold Goodwin (2017) defines overtourism as *“destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably.”*(p.1). The definition from Goodwin focuses on the perception from locals towards tourists. Similarly Claudio Milano Marina Novelli and Joseph Cheer (2019) focuses on the negative effects of crowding on the locals and defines overtourism as *“the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being”* (p.354). Serena Volo (2020) later reviewed multiple definitions for overtourism and created a version which he believes encapsulates them all. Volo S. (2020) defines overtourism as *“an excessive presence of tourists that carries negative socio-cultural and environmental consequences for residents, destination and tourists.”* (p.12). Alessandro Capocchi, Cinzia Vallone, Andrea Amaduzzi and Mariarita Pierotti (2019) states that since the research on overtourism is still relatively new, there is no universally recognized definition yet. For the purposes of this paper Volo’s (2020) definition will be used, given that it involves not just the locals and visitors but the destination itself as well.

When looking over the literature overtourism is most commonly viewed from two perspectives (Goodwin, 2017; Milano et al, 2019; Namberger et al. 2019; Dodds and Butler 2019). One is from a supply and demand perspective which indicates a

capacity problem, namely the demand is too high and there is a shortage of supply. The other perspective is from the locals viewpoint, how the actions and behaviours of tourists obstruct the everyday life of inhabitants, which leads to blaming the tourists for the decreasing quality of life (Volo S. 2020). Volo S. (2020) further states that the quantification of overtourism is subjective and proportionate to the size of the destination, the amount of tourists, locals and businesses related to tourism. While the quantitative nature of overtourism is important, there is also a qualitative section. The “quality” of tourists implies the disruptive behaviour of tourists and signifies how cultural differences not only influence the quality of life negatively for the locals but also has the potential to ruin the experiences of other tourists.

Three main factors have been identified to enable overtourism (Dodds and Butler, 2019; Milano et al., 2019). The identified facilitators are the following: (1) The absence of proper tourism destination management and the management of the flow of tourism. (2) Indifference in priorities and goals between stakeholders. (3) The development of new mobilities connected to technological progress. Volo S. (2020) states that in many cases the problem arises because the DMOs lack data from stakeholders related to the tourism industry which ultimately leads to poor distribution of tourism. An optimal state is when DMOs are aware of future stages in a tourism destination based on information from stakeholders about future arriving visitors. What further complicates monitoring a destination is the level of accessibility to the area. The more ways there are to access a location, such as through water (cruises), air (flights) and land (busses, cars or trains), the more difficult it gets to properly manage information from the different stakeholders. Milano et al. (2018) puts the imbalance of tourists and locals into a different perspective, stating strategies to create authentic experiences for tourists, such as “live like locals” takes further strain on local’s amenities and infrastructure. As for the indifference of priorities between stakeholders, Volo S. (2020) considers one of the largest problems to be a conflict of interest between stakeholders because of their role as well as their level of impact in the tourism industry. The different target groups of the stakeholders and in many cases the ignorance of priorities of stakeholders that are not directly involved with tourism, leads to further confrontation between tourists and locals or even tourists and tourists. Another source of problems can be, if the locals are not actively involved with decision making in tourism making. Local involvement was found to be a critically important element to mitigate the effects of overtourism

and to ensure a better quality of life (Koens et al. 2018). Volo S. (2020) further points out that marketing efforts attracting one target segment have the potential to reach further than originally intended and achieve additional visitors. Finally, when it comes to the new mobilities connected to technological progress, overtourism is caused from a different perspective. While the first two enablers of overtourism were destination centric and mainly caused by the destination's own accords, the final category puts the "blame" on the visitor nation. Volo S. (2020) suggests that the excessive development rate of many nations economically and change in culture creates easy access to tourism for more people. This insinuates that even though destinations might not target tourists from a particular region, due to their evolution, it can be difficult to withhold a sudden segment from arriving. Chris Cooper (2017) further states that tourism is no longer considered to be a special activity but rather a common part of mobile societies. Jonas Larsen, John Urry and Kay Axhausen (2007) identifies relatively inexpensive travel costs to contribute to tourism becoming part of a larger section of the global population. Similarly argued by Philipp Namberger, Sascha Jackisch, Jürgen Schmude, and Marion Karl (2019) that the low cost airlines promoting cities, contributes greatly to the emergence of overtourism. Another factor is Airbnb which too have been identified to contribute to overtourism (Tourtellot, 2018). Volo S. (2020) brings up the example of China as a nation that has a huge impact on the tourism industry, which is the result of the growing Chinese economy and easier access to Visa's. From a more technology based perspective, Ulrike Gretzel (2019) argues Social media, not in itself, but combined with other previously mentioned factors can lead to overtourism. Shared experiences at exact locations can create crowdings in hotspots. However it is also mentioned that social media might be a solution for overcrowding if used correctly. By highlighting areas, with the help of social media, tourists can be dispersed effectively.

To sum up, three major themes were identified to help conceptualize a destination. First Butlers' (1980) TALC model which bases the stage of tourism according to several factors that can be identified at destinations. The TALC model was identified as an early promoter of sustainability. The TALC model's shortcomings were complemented by Pearce's (2014) framework which provides a more detailed overview of a destination. The Irridex by Doxey's (1975) further complements the TALC model, which represents the importance of the social factors of a destination.

Shortcomings of the mentioned models is that the findings are highly contextual and rely on the perceptions of its actors. However the reliance on perceptions fits with the philosophical approach of this research because as constructivists, observations of a social phenomenon and their meanings are considered to be continually accomplished by its social actors. The final part of the review investigates the occurrence of overtourism from multiple angles. The concept of overtourism is a rather new concept therefore research has no historical value, yet it's popularity provided academic recognition.

3.2 Understanding Chinese tourists

3.2.1 Chinese outbound tourism

China has been considered as the latest, large participant of international worldwide tourism (Arlt W. G., 2006). The tourism development in China was heavily influenced by politics, causing it to be a "latecomer" in leisure travel and tourism. Wolfgang Arlt (2006) suggests that perhaps this delay also contributed to the immense speed of development that Chinese outbound tourism has gone through in the past 40 years. As of 2020, China is by far the leading country when it comes to outbound travel and traveling the world (Knoema, n.d.). Hanqin Zhang and Vincent Heung (2002) refers to the development of China's outbound tourism as the 'ripple effect'. The 'ripple effect' is based on the phenomena, that a pebble is dropped into a pond, generating ripples, which are widening as the time passes. The metaphor is perfect for the growing distance that Chinese people are allowed to travel further and further, whereas the widening represents the growing number of Chinese tourists. The first ripple was the growth of inbound tourism. The second ripple was outbound travel, limited to close proximity travel starting in 1983. The third ripple started in 1990, in which stage Chinese people were allowed to travel within the intra-Asia section (Zhang et al. 2002). The fourth ripple began by adding New Zealand and Australia in 1999 which marks the beginning of Chinese people traveling beyond Asia. However the purpose of acceptable travel was still limited at the time. The article was written in 2002 therefore it does not contain information of what now could be called the fifth ripple, traveling globally. In 2002 the first European and African countries were added to the list, which created the base for an increased development. In 2004 a

block agreement was created with the European Union (EU) and most EU countries were added to the Approved Destination Status (ADS) agreement, creating a remarkable milestone (Arlt W. G., 2006). As of today, the information on the exact list of ADSs is unclear, but a research article by Anyu Liu and Bob McKercher (2014) states that at the time there were 146 countries approved by the Chinese government. Zhang et al. (2001) further argues that the 1978 open-door policy, a trade agreement between the United States, China, Japan and several European countries, China has used it as an essential step towards outbound tourism, however the article by Zhang et al. (2002) also empathizes that the expanding middle class is equally important (Sarikas C., 2018). Xiaoxiao Fu, Liping Cai and Xinran Lehto (2015) brings up the Modernization theory in connection to the motivations of Chinese tourists, which states that as a “(...) *country modernizes, people’s focus shifts from immediate survival (materialist) needs to self-expression (postmaterialist) needs such as a satisfaction with one’s life and quality of life*” (p.181). As for the development of Chinese tourism Zhang et al. (2002) brings up the argument that according to the World Tourism Organisation, by 2020 China was expected to be the fourth largest outbound-tourist-generating nation. However, the outbound Chinese tourism market already managed to become the largest outbound tourism market in 2012 spending 80 billion more than the United States in 2019 who is the second largest outbound tourism market (World Tourism Organisation, 2019; Statista, 2021/A).

3.2.2 Chinese travel motivations

The current literature examines Chinese travel motivations from a general perspective, combining all motivation items together. It is acknowledged that people will have individual needs to travel which a general perspective cannot account for.

Arlt (2006) is amongst one of the most recognised specialists when it comes to Chinese tourism. Arlt (2006) notes that the main motivational factors for Chinese people to travel outside of Mainland China are: safety, cleanliness and outstanding scenery. The Chinese tourists are looking for opportunities to increase their own knowledge, experience culture, see wildlife and untouched nature or places with important historical value. The research by Arlt (2006) concluded that when choosing

where to travel to, safety seemed to be the highest priority. Safety is a category that contains multiple sections such as safe public transport, safe and stable climate and in general safety from any harm to the visitor's own body and belongings. A study by Yongguang Zou and Fang Meng (2020) further supports the importance of safety for Chinese tourists. Zou et al. (2020) state that safety in tourism is generally important and affecting all global travellers. Safety in tourism refers to the individual's physical and mental safety as much as safety for their belongings. Another element related to safety is, for Chinese tourists, the ability to easily orient themselves in an unknown environment. This includes understanding the local system, language and signs. Zhang Qui Hanquin and Terry Lam (1999) analysed Mainland Chinese travellers' motivations to visit Hong Kong, and concluded that knowledge, prestige and enhancement of human relationships were the most important motivational factors for travelling. Furthermore, a positive attitude from both locals and staff are considered extremely important.

Another study constructed by Hsu and Lam (2003) examined different motivational factors for Mainland Chinese to visit Hong Kong. Of the eight factors, Hsu and Lam (2003) concluded that sightseeing was considered the most important factor. Mimi Li, Tong Wen, and Ariel Leung (2011) added to this research 8 years later by differentiating between male and female motivational factors. Here, Li et al. (2011) identified the primary female Chinese motivations for visiting Hong Kong. Out of 30 motivational factors, shopping and the quality of goods seemed to be of the highest priority. Other reasons for travelling were: knowledge and prestige; enhancement of social relationships; rest and relaxation; and adventure and excitement. Hong Kong, as a destination, was chosen by the respondents due to its ability to provide: modern image; natural environment and attractions; safety and cleanliness; ease of tour arrangement; and shopping. The only study found from a European country has been constructed by Magda Antonioli Corigliano (2011). Corigliano (2011) identified that Chinese visitors in Italy visited to experience places of historical and cultural interests; to visit renowned destinations; and to taste local food and beverages.

Most studies about Chinese tourism are framed in a western mindset, therefore to gain another perspective, Fu et. al (2015) provides a Confucian analysis of Chinese tourist motivation. Confucianism is, "(...) *the substance of learning, the source of*

values, and the social code of the Chinese” (Weiming, 2019). In other words, a philosophy so embedded in Chinese culture it defines their way of life. Fu et. al (2015) claims that in order to understand motivations, the sociocultural context must match the individuals’. Social and cultural norms are internalized, which means that some values are prioritized or assigned relative importance. *“As a comprehensive system of moral, social, and political philosophy, Confucianism has served as the cornerstone of traditional Chinese culture [...] Confucianism is pragmatically humanistic; it demonstrates profound care for the existential experience [...] Confucianism rejects otherworldly salvation and promotes a more active attitude toward life”* (Fu et. al, 2015, p.182). Two major sections of values can be observed from a confucian perspective: inner cultivation and outer cultivation. Inner cultivation is about self development, whereas outer cultivation is about one’s relationships with others, such as family, social circle, society and nature. Based on the two domains, four conceptual themes have been created about motivation for travelling. The first theme is mainly concerned with the inner cultivation but also includes elements from the outer cultivation.

The first theme argues that people travel for the betterment of self, for intellectual enhancement and physical recuperation level as well. These are topics which have also been present in the previous highlighted literature. However, self-development is also connected to outer cultivation, since a refreshed body and mind can be in better harmony with family and ones’ social circle.

The second conceptual theme is about in-Group and out-Group orientation. The two groups refer to who Chinese people would rather have experiences with while travelling. In-Group refers to having experiences with their own social circle while out-Group refers to having experiences with people outside one's social circles such as locals. Here, Fu et al. (2015) argue that Chinese tourists would rather spend time with their in-Group while travelling. The reasoning behind why Chinese tourists would rather have experiences with their in-Group is because they would rather improve themselves in their own family- and social circle, than involve themselves with the out-group.

The third theme is about how tourism can help Chinese tourists to live according to the Confucian “way”. The “Confucian way” represents an ideal life that individuals

with a Confucian mentality need to work towards. The tourists expect that tourism will provide the time and space to help relationships grow or to improve their state so they can return to work with a better mentality.

The fourth and final concept is about the motivations that are influenced by the current socioeconomic system in China. In addition to Confucianism, the article by Fu et al. (2015) states the importance of the current social and economic system of China as a motivational factor. The relaxed government policies, increased leisure time, more disposable income and the affordable prices of tourism are all considered motivational factors as well. According to Fu et al. (2015), Chinese tourists believe that they can honor and follow the Confucian ideals with the modern manifestation of tourism.

3.2.3 Chinese travel behaviour

Whilst exploring research on Chinese behaviour, it became evident that almost every article refers back to Arit (2006). Therefore, to address Chinese travel behaviour, this literature review will explore Arit's (2006) perception of Chinese travel behaviour. When Arit (2006) talks about Chinese behaviour, he talks about culture.

Arit (2006) states that culture is understood as the accumulation of shared meanings, rituals, norms and traditions among members of an organization or society. Culture is also described as collective programming that differentiates members of society from another. Arit (2006) points out that authentic, undisturbed cultures cannot meet in an intercultural setting without some prior knowledge about each other. When stating that cultures cannot meet, it is implied that the circumstances of the meeting are impossible and not forbidden. The simplification of the differences between different geographical and sociographical segments of Chinese tourists can lead to the misjudgement of character. One of the many misunderstandings, according to Arit (2006) is that western nations consider Chinese people as the same type of person with the same type of needs. China had 1.3 billion people and even though it is often referred to as a country, it can be considered as a continent. Comparing one Chinese person to another would be like

comparing Europeans to each other neglecting both physical appearance, cultural heritage and difference in language. Arlt (2006) notion about cultural differences aligns with the course of action for this research as constructivists. Arlt (2006) further states that the culture of the travellers also changes to some degree when they are visiting another country. Chinese individuals will take similarities and differences into account before travelling and to the best of their abilities, try to adapt to the environment they find themselves in, in order to minimize the possibility of conflict.

To represent the Chinese outbound tourist's behaviour, Arlt (2006) uses Geert Hofstede's (n.d) five out of six cultural dimensions to structure his observations. The representation of Chinese culture is based on Hofstede's research, that was conducted between 1967 and 1973 (Hofstede Insight, n.d.). The data covered more than 70 countries and throughout the years subsequent studies further supported the original findings. As for the validity of the data that is over 50 years old, Hofstede stated that "*National Culture cannot be changed, but you should understand and respect it.*" Hofstede (n.d.) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind distinguishing the members of one group or category of people from others". According to Hofstede, national culture has six dimensions. These dimensions show how nations differentiate from each other. However it is important to state that these dimensions are relative. Culture can be used as a comparison but all humans are individually unique (Hofstede Insight, n.d.). The six dimensions are the following:

The first dimension is *Power Distance*. This dimension shows how members of a society are willing to accept hierarchical differences and power distribution. As an example, societies with a high score in Power Distance accept their place in society whereas a low score society aspires to distribute power equally. The next dimension is *Individualism versus Collectivism*. A high index in individualism indicates that individuals are expected to take care of themselves and their close social circle. The opposite view is collectivism, in which the individual relies on the community in exchange for loyalty. The following dimension is *Masculinity versus Femininity*. A high index score on Masculinity refers to a goal oriented society that is more competitive, whereas a feminine society prefers cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak and a quality of life. The next dimension is *Uncertainty Avoidance*. This dimension refers to the ability of the society to handle uncertainty and ambiguity. A

low index shows that the society is flexible and able to adapt to change easily, while a high index society would try to take control and have codes for beliefs and behaviour. The next dimension is *Long-Term versus Short-Term Orientation*. This dimension describes how important history is for the society and how they are dealing with arising challenges in the present and the future. A high score refers to a pragmatic approach, which advocates thrift and supports efforts in modern education. On the other hand a low score society is more tradition focused and views societal change with suspicion. The final dimension is *Indulgence versus Restraint*. Indulgence refers to a free society, where members of said society are pursuing their natural human drives related to enjoying life and having fun. On the other hand a restrained society regulates its members by inserting strict social norms.

3.2.4 The future Chinese traveller

Because this research is addressing a potential future state, articles and surveys about Chinese travel trends have been explored. After reviewing the literature, it has become evident that no research tries to differentiate between Chinese individuals. Instead, they are referred to as a single group. For example, a survey by McKinsey from 2018, highlights the characteristics of Chinese outbound tourism. The title of the survey by McKinsey (2018) is called “Chinese tourists: dispelling the myths” which has been selected because they argue that multiple actors related to tourism confuse what Chinese tourists really want. The different ‘myths’ and ‘realities’ have been mapped in Table 6.

Table 6: Myths and realities of Chinese tourists		
What they like to do	Myth	Reality
1	Shop, shop, shop	Experience matters more
2	Exclusively visit landmarks	Diverse travel needs
How to accommodate them		
3	Short length of stay	Longer length of stay
4	As travellers gain experience, decline in package tours	Package tours on the rise
5	Only have taste for Chinese cuisine	Fine dining highly valued
6	Cash transactions only	Alipay/WeChat is a must
How to attract them		
7	Rely on traditional travel agencies	Friends and families play pivotal roles
8	Travel apps are more important than websites	Apps not used extensively

Table 6: Myths and realities of Chinese tourists (McKinsey, 2018, p. 7)

The conclusions drawn from the survey by McKinsey (2018) shows that Chinese outbound tourism is changing. Chinese tourists are growing new needs. For example, the first part which the survey highlights is that shopping is not everything for the Chinese tourists. When the Chinese plan for a trip, natural scenery is equally, if not more, important.

However, previous conjectures that Chinese people only want to visit landmarks are changing. Chinese travel needs are becoming much more complex. Why is not highlighted, but according to an article by SEO Agency China, one of the primary reasons why is the growing market of FITs who are more adventurous and look for unique experiences (*Top 10 Trends about Modern Chinese Tourists- China Performance Agency*, 2021). This is also why, according to Parulis-Cook (2020),

Chinese travellers stay longer in one destination than earlier - to be different and have experiences outside the normal. An experience outside the normal is, for example, to try new food. Arlt (2017) highlights why, because it is part of learning about local cultures which is something worth telling about when they return home. Also, it is possible to share food experiences online through social media which is also a necessity when it comes to accommodating Chinese tourists. When Chinese people plan their trips, a large part of their inspiration comes from social media, primarily WeChat. Nevertheless, the majority of Chinese people get inspiration from friends and family (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019). In the survey constructed by McKinsey (2018), 57% of the respondents replied that they would rather ask a friend or family member for travel advice than “trust” the internet. Word of mouth is therefore a very important factor for Chinese when deciding where to travel (McKinsey, 2018).

Of segments, the survey by McKinsey (2018) identified 8 archetypes of Chinese travellers. The archetypes are: Value seeing sightseer, shopper, individualist, backpacker, aspirant, sophisticated traveller, unplugged and novice traveller. An elaborate description of the archetypes can be found in Appendix 2 on page 3.

Another research identified is Z_punkt in collaboration with TUI who have made a survey that shows how Chinese tourism is evolving (Z_punkt, 2017). The survey highlights that Chinese tourism in Europe will increase significantly, especially the FIT market, and just like McKinsey highlighted, Chinese tourists will have new priorities. The research by Z_punkt and TUI highlights that whatever archetype of Chinese traveller belong to, three needs are often seen: courtesy, connectivity and self-determination.

Firstly, courtesy from locals and employees are expected towards Chinese travellers. Z_punkt and TUI argue that “(...) *the one-child policy has given birth to a generation of ‘little princes and princesses’ who are used to getting their wishes satisfied immediately*” (Z_punkt, 2017, p. 29). This new generation of princes and princesses, has a need for showing off their social rank when travelling, and one way to do so is shown in the way they deal with service providers and staff. Without proper training of staff members, Chinese tourists risk losing status if poorly served amongst their peers. In China, the level of service is considered extremely high and reaching that

same stage in Europe requires highly skilled employees. It is likely that the level of skills required will never be met as a reaction to cultural differences. This is exemplified in the following statement: “(...) *A European hotel employee treats the guest as an equal and offers a service. However, the Chinese guest expects to have some kind of authority over the staff*”. Courtesy is therefore a vital element for Chinese tourists (Z_punkt, 2017, p. 29).

Secondly, connectivity relates to the growing need to stay connected with friends and families at home while travelling through social media. Access to proper internet where they can show themselves in a prestigious way is a high priority. This further means that access to apps developed in their own homes should also be available in Europe. SoMe channels in general should be developed to meet the needs of Chinese tourists (McKinsey, 2018). An example could be the ability to pay with WeChat, the most popular social media in China which allows its users to pay.

The final aspect is self-determination (Z_punkt, 2017). In the future, Chinese guests will be more interested in individual freedom when it comes to planning ones' trip. This way, their narrative will be unique and differentiate from other peer travellers. The reason why this kind of travelling is rarely seen is due to language barriers. However, this trend is expected to make Chinese visitors stay longer in one place than they otherwise would.

To sum up, Chinese tourism was portrayed from multiple angles. First a historical review is presented on the emergence of Chinese outbound tourism to provide background followed by an overview of Chinese travel motivations. Said motivations are portrayed from both a western view by multiple academic reviews and represented from a Chinese perspective by Fu et al. (2015). The balance of western and eastern views is not equal, however unfortunately there is no extensive research on Chinese outbound tourism from an eastern perspective. Furthermore the sample size on the aforementioned research is created inconsequential compared to the number of actual outbound tourists. As for the chapters of Chinese tourist behaviour and Future of Chinese travelers, the literature portrays a general overview of Chinese outbound travelers. The two chapters provide a balanced overview of Chinese tourism and presents the changes, or rather the development, of Chinese outbound tourists.

3.3 Social sustainability

The term 'social development' has gained much attention over the past 40 years. Brundtland's definition has become one of the most popular stating that sustainable development is: "*Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (Brundtland, 1987, p.41). Building on this concept, John Elkington (2004), developed what is referred to as the triple bottom line in 1990, which went beyond the traditional measures of profits, return on investment, and shareholder value to include environmental and social dimensions. Over time, the three dimensions have been incorporated into national policies (Dixon et al., 2007). For example, in 1994, the UK became the first nation to incorporate sustainable development into their national strategy. Later on, more countries followed the UK. However, according to David Drakakis-Smith (1995), national policies have agreed to prioritise the three dimensions unequally. Both the economic and environmental dimension has been prioritised extensively. One of the core reasons as to why is because social sustainability can be hard to measure. Its intangible nature has led to multiple definitions over the years. However, the many definitions either seem to have been under-theorized or oversimplified. No consensus seems to exist on what criteria and perspectives should be adopted in defining social sustainability. Instead, policy-makers and scholars derive their own definition to best suit their particular study perspective. Furthermore, the many definitions identified rarely attempt to define social sustainability by itself, but involve the other two dimensions, economic and environmental. The ones identified who do try to identify social sustainability by itself are: Sachs (1999), Polese et al. (2000), Biart (2002) and Littig and Griebler (2005). This research abducts Mario Polese and Richard Stren (2000) definition because it aligns best with researches interpretation of social sustainability: "*Development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements of the quality of life for all segments of the population*". Ridderstaat, Croes and Nijkamp (2016), describe the connection between quality of life and the development of tourism as a complex and mutual

relationship. How residents experience sharing public spaces and public goods with tourists will influence the development of tourism.

Another related topic in social sustainability is crowding. Crowding has been debated since the 1970 (Oklevik et al., 2019) and is more commonly known as overtourism (Helgadóttir et al., 2019). Overtourism is defined by UNWTO as *“the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way”* (Koens et al., 2018, p.3). Koens et al. definition lacks the importance of space which Milano et al. (2018) includes in his definition: *“as the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being”*. There are multiple examples of destinations who have been victimized of overtourism and in order to understand this is through resilience. Tourism resilience refers to maintaining a destination community’s overall quality of life at a desirable level (Lew and Cheer, 2018). It is commonly used when talking about the negative impacts of tourism. One might consider resilience and social sustainability to be synonymous, but their difference is important to understand. In recent discussions, resilience is a term utilised to cope with change while sustainability seeks to prevent it (Burns, 2018). Nevertheless, both share the same goal, to ensure the quality of life for residents. For this research, resilience is not considered relevant based on the current tourism market in Copenhagen. However, social sustainability, in relation to preventing poor quality of life is necessary to consider. Residents are most affected by tourism *“(…) in countries where tourist arrivals (as a percentage of country population) are large and rapidly growing”* (Ivlevs, 2017, p. 608).

3.4 Socio-cultural impacts of tourism

Socio-cultural impact refers to the effect between guests and hosts, between tourists and locals. The concept has gained much attention over the years primarily in the form of case studies (Gjerald, 2005; Spanou, 2007; Brunt & Courtney, 1999). However no research has been found on the matter for Copenhagen between Chinese tourists and locals.

Ejay Samson (2015), provides an overview of the many characteristics related to socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Samson (2015) argues that the effect on locals and tourists can be negative where there is a large cultural gap. However, it can be difficult to identify whether a destination is experiencing negative-social impact because it can be difficult to measure. Negative-socio-cultural impact relates to value propositions and commonly starts to arise when tourism brings changes to the locals value system or behaviour. However, as Samson (2015) states, it is important to remember that tourism also brings a lot of positives with it such as an increase in employment, preserving the local culture and heritage and strengthening communities. Therefore, its impact is often ambiguous because while some people might consider tourism as a good thing others might not. Examples where value systems, or local identity, change are by commodification, standardisation, staged authenticity or adaptation to tourists demand (Samson, 2015). Commodification happens when a destination is turned into a tourism product. In such a case, local values shift and sacred sites and objects will begin to lose their local value because they are perceived as goods and trades. Standardisation happens when a destination prioritises to accommodate tourists' need for familiar facilities rather than considering the locals' needs.

Simmons (1986) highlights three factors believed to contribute to socio-cultural impacts: (1) Behavioral, (2) Policy and planning and (3) Structural. The three factors include several sub factors which will have an influence on the socio-cultural impact between tourists and locals. Behavioral relates to cultural distances, contrast in lifestyle and number of tourists. The larger the cultural gap between the host and guest, the greater the potential for negative-social impact (Simmons, 1986), thereby supporting Samsons' (2015) statement. This argument is further supported by Lee et al. (2018) who states that behaviors at a destination are directly influenced by the types of contacts and interactions taking place between the two groups, referring to locals and tourists. This is also why most people like to travel to destinations where the cultural gap is not as large. This is highlighted by Ng et al. (2007) whose research concluded that the greater the perceived cultural similarity of a foreign destination to, in this case Australia, the more likely it was that Australians would visit the destination. Ng et al. (2007) conclusion has been backed by several other

scholars, who also argue that people tend to visit destinations with similar cultures (Chen, 2000; Kaynak & Kucukemiroglu, 1993; Wong & Kwong, 2004). However, according to Gladwin et al. (2018), travelling to destinations with similar cultures seems mostly to be practised by countries with high individualists, referring to countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. On the contrary, countries with high collectivism such as China, Columbia, South Korea and El Salvador, seem to want to travel to countries with differences in culture. The large differences in cultures can lead to cultural clashes as a reaction to differences in language, religion, values, lifestyle, ethnicity and level of prosperity (Samson, 2015). The result can be an overexploitation of the social carrying limit, the limits of acceptable change in the social system inside or around destination, and cultural carrying capacity, limits of acceptable change in the culture of the host population or the local community. In any of these cases, the attitude from locals towards tourism development might unfold through dysphoria, where locals begin to behave badly towards tourists in public spaces (Samson, 2015). According to Simmons (1986), locals do not like to share public spaces with tourists because large groups tend to antagonize locals. Small communities are therefore commonly affected by large groups of tourists which, according to multiple articles (Peck, 2017; NBTC, 2018), is commonly how Chinese tend to travel. However, other studies show that Chinese are increasingly travelling as FITs which might help to prevent negative socio-cultural impact according to Wesley (2020). Nevertheless, whether Chinese people or tourists in general travel in groups or as FITs, their behaviour is important to consider. Tourists often, out of ignorance or carelessness, fail to respect local customs and moral values. When they do, they cause locals to be annoyed, which resolves in stereotyping of visitors, causing negative socio-cultural impact (Samson, 2015). Large numbers of tourists with large cultural gaps are therefore, from a local perspective, something worth avoiding. This relates to the second point addressed by Simmons (1986), policy and planning.

Policy and planning is concerned with several factors in order to avoid negative socio-cultural impact. Firstly, Simmons (1986) argues that if a destination introduces tourism to a destination slowly, locals will be more welcoming. Mathiason et al. (2006) argue that slow tourism development will help to create an infrastructure which supports both representatives without having to compromise. A way to ensure

locals acceptance is, when both authorities, including stakeholders, and locals work together with tourism development. Collaboration also tends to ensure that profit generated from tourism is reinvested into the communities. This is, according to Simmons (1986), crucial when a destination prepares for a new tourism market. Including locals during tourism development helps to ensure domestic culture is not forgotten. However, an accepting culture relates to several factors as have already been covered. Interactions between locals and tourists are a delicate balance, and if too many tourists are displayed in one setting, it leaves room for annoyance. This is why, when talking about policy and planning, it is important to consider the infrastructure that is built (Simmons, 1986). A destination will have a limited amount of physical capacity where a good infrastructure will help to sustain more tourists. Examples where cities cannot deal with its large numbers of tourists are Barcelona, Venice and Dubrovnik. The cities have been victimised by overtourism ultimately causing negative socio-cultural impact where Harold Goodwin (2019, p. 11) refers to locals having gotten “(...) *tourist phobia*”.

The final argument by Simmons (1986) is that communities with a high level of economic development tend to better accommodate the needs of tourists, ultimately resolving larger earnings from tourism. High expenditures from tourism is considered positive, but it can bring with it problems. The presence of a larger number of people with money to spend while simultaneously carrying objects of value such as jewelry and cameras attracts criminals and with them related activities such as robbery, drug dealing and vandalism causing safety issues amongst locals and tourists themselves (Samson, 2015).

To revise, a historical review has been presented of the emergence of social sustainability. It was evident that social sustainability is a concept which has received less attention compared to the environmental and economic pillars of the triple bottom line. Several definitions have been identified, however for this research, the definition by Polese and Stren (2000) have been abducted because it best aligns with the research. The concept of socio-cultural impact relates to social sustainability and is concerned with the guests-hosts relationship. Therefore, for this research, when stating something causes a positive socio-cultural effect it means it will contribute to social sustainability and vice versa. Lastly, Simmons (1986) framework

to address socio-cultural impact has been explored and complemented by other scholars.

4. Analysis

The analysis will look into three main categories; the state of tourism in Copenhagen, stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism and the socio-cultural impacts of Chinese tourism. The theory from the tourism destination analysis will help to explore at which stage, based on the TALC model and the Irridex, Copenhagen finds itself in. The identified stage will help to understand how Chinese tourism will impact social sustainability in Copenhagen. Secondly, the analysis will explore stakeholders' perspective on Chinese tourism based on the interviews. The data from each interview have been analysed with meaning coding. Through meaning coding, the analysis will seek to bring out what is already there in the texts. Finally the socio-cultural impact caused by tourism will be analysed based on Simmons' (1986) three factors. The three factors will help explore how Chinese tourism fits with social sustainability in Copenhagen based on both primary and secondary research.

4.1 The state of tourism in Copenhagen

In this chapter, both the TALC model by Butler (1980) and Doxey's (1975) Irridex will be used to highlight in which stage Copenhagen finds itself in. In order to define in which stage(s) Copenhagen finds itself in, the following factors have been identified: Number of tourists compared to the number of locals, tourism growth and projections, attitude towards tourism from locals, participation from locals in tourism development, tourism strategy (for Copenhagen) and marketing efforts. The statistics to support the different factors comes from a survey constructed by 10xCopenhagen (2020). It should be noted that it has not been possible to find statistics which differentiate between the inner city and Greater Copenhagen. Therefore, the findings represent Copenhagen as a whole. Furthermore, the surveys have been constructed between February-March in 2020. The report from 2020 leaves room for potential bias. Copenhagen has been in a lockdown why answers by the respondents of the survey might have answered differently about their attitude towards tourism if, for example, they were asked during a high season. Lastly, the survey does not highlight

which industry the respondents represent. From the literature review it was noted that people connected to the travel industry will have a more positive attitude towards tourism than others. This is considered an important factor to highlight when conducting a survey on locals perception on tourism.

In order to determine which stage on the TALC model Copenhagen finds itself on, the first factor to address is the number of tourists compared to the number of locals. In 2019, Copenhagen received 14.046.950 tourists, whereas the number of inhabitants is 1.334.000 (Macrotrends, n.d.). This means there is a ratio of 1:10 between inhabitants and tourists. The 14.046.950 tourists does not include daily visitors which will further increase the number. However, it has not been possible to identify how many daily visitors Copenhagen receives during a year. However, what is known is that In 2019, Denmark received 56.100.000 (Statista, 2020/B) visitors where it can be expected that some of these would have gone to Copenhagen without an overnight stay. Lastly, during the high season it is evident that because Copenhagen reached its maximum capacity, many tourists stayed in Sweden and commuted to Copenhagen for the day. This was especially popular amongst Chinese tourists (Lars, 00:08:11).

To investigate the growth of tourism in Copenhagen, a 10 year period has been included. Between 2009-2019, the number of tourists have increased exponentially with an annual increase of 106,91% on average (Appendix 2/C). Based on the national strategy (Erhvervsministeriet n.d), the number of tourists in Copenhagen is projected to increase. The goal is to attract 17 million more tourists by 2030 to all of Denmark throughout the entire year. No specific numbers have been presented for Copenhagen, but if the current ratio where Copenhagen receives 1:4 of visitors in Denmark (56.000.000 million tourists in Denmark in 2019 divided by the 14.000.000 of tourists in Copenhagen), Copenhagen will receive 4.250.000 additional tourists by 2030 (VisitDenmark, 2020/B). As it was mentioned before in chapter 1.3 “Introduction to case”, Copenhagen is fully occupied in its high season. Therefore, in the high season, new tourists will need to stay in neighbourhoods outside of Copenhagen or visit outside of the high season. Butler (1980) states that in a consolidation stage the rate of growth of visitors is slowing down, whereas in the stagnation stage, the number of visitors have reached the maximum and can be

considered as an area which is victim to overtourism. As the numbers show, the growth rate is decreasing substantially, and visitors can only stay in Copenhagen outside of the high season, affirming that Copenhagen finds itself in a mixture between both the consolidation- and stagnation phase.

The strategy for Copenhagen, Localhood, has several focus areas here amongst to attract new tourists and ensure revisits (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017). One of the goals when attracting tourists is to attract tourists outside of the high season, with the intention to become a 365-day destination. CruiseCopenhagen stated *"We are trying to attract as many cruise guests outside of the peak season in order to flatten the peak, so to speak, so we are not receiving so much criticism of a lot of tourists during the summer peak period."* (Claus 00:09:14). According to Butler (1980), in the consolidation stage, marketing efforts are trying to reach a wider target segment and extend the tourism season, while in the stagnation phase revisitation is becoming more important. The two arguments by Butler (1980) match the current focus areas in Localhood, however, as much as attracting new tourists and prolonging the high season are high priorities, the primary focus area in Localhood is to ensure the quality of life amongst locals. Localhood was released in 2017, and 2020 was marked as the first milestone. Though the strategy was set out to work even longer, stating "not only 2020, but also 2025 and even 2030" (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017). Ensuring the quality of life, involves including local stakeholders, for tourism development, something which was identified in the literature review to be a very important aspect. Another related initiative is to disperse tourists to neighbourhoods outside of the city center. Regardless, even with the implementation of Localhood strategy, locals' attitude towards tourism has declined. In 2018, 6% of the people believed that tourism causes problems throughout the year and 26% said that it's only at certain times (10xCopenhagen, 2020). In 2020, 8% of the people believed that tourism causes problems throughout the year and 28% said that it's only at certain times. However these numbers represent an average throughout the whole of Copenhagen. 35% of the residents in the inner city perceive the city as overtouristed. Yet another perspective is how people in Copenhagen perceive tourism growth. In total, 15% of people believe Copenhagen is subject to overtourism and 48% believe the current number is appropriate. Again it is important to note that these percentages, once again represent the entirety of Copenhagen. Therefore, it is fair to

argue that considering the goals to increase the number of tourists will cause a percentage of the respondents that believe the current number is appropriate to join the people who believe Copenhagen is subject to overtourism. The problems which have been identified related to tourism in the 10XCopenhagen (2020) survey are: crowding, traffic issues, problems of cleanliness, noise, security issues and disrespect, parking issues, housing price increase, depopulation of city centres and living cost increase.

Of the different reasons, crowding seems to be the largest concern increasing from 41% in 2018 to 65% in 2020 which can be considered a rapid increase. The number 65% insinuates that authorities have not been able to disperse tourists well enough. However, the survey shows that the problems are not present throughout the whole year but only in surden seasons - presumably the high season. Furthermore, the problems do not seem to be related to all of Copenhagen, but primarily in the inner city. This correlates with the critiques of the Irridex by Doxey (1975), that the index assumes that it is the whole community that develops a negative attitude towards tourism while, in reality, attitudes can vary greatly across communities. Figure 7 illustrates the perception of tourism based on community:

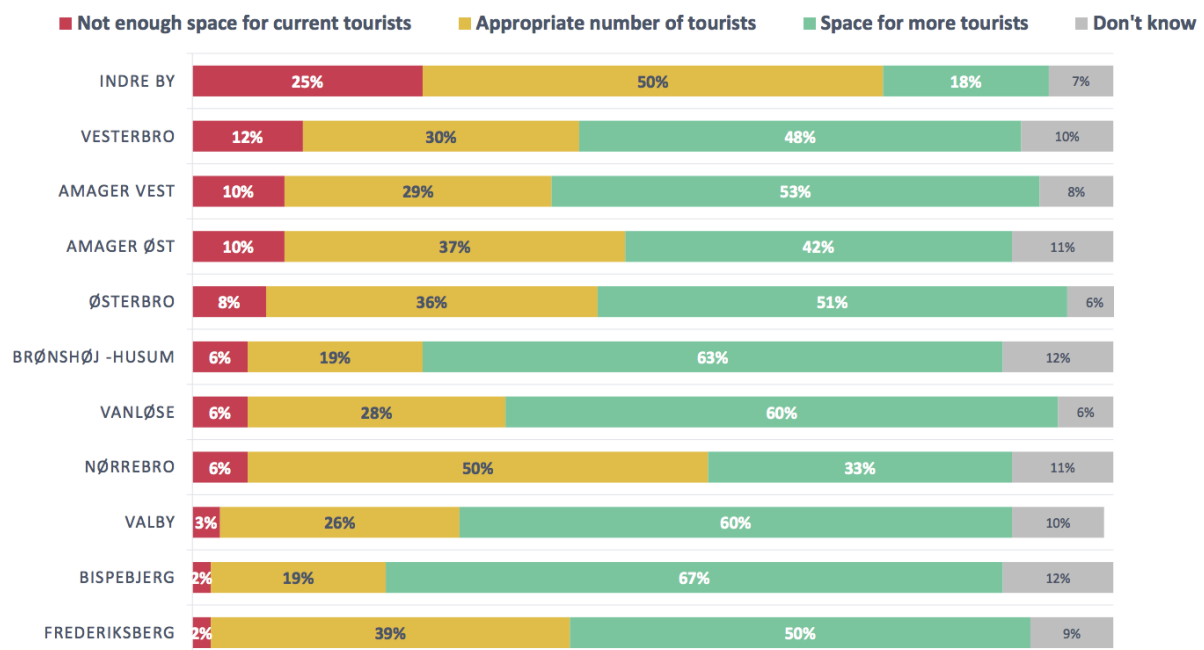


Figure 7: Perception of tourism based on community (10XCopenhagen, 2020, p. 28)

Figure 7 shows that the inner city is by far considered the main driver for the negative perceptions towards tourism. Remote areas such as Bispebjerg, Brønshøj-Husum and Vanløse seem to show a positive attitude towards tourism. From a tourism development perspective, tourists should be attracted to these areas to ensure social sustainability.

To further specify the problematic dimensions of the tourism destination which are not specified in Butler's (1980) model, elements of Pearce's (2014) framework will be used. First, in relation to geographic location, Pearce (2014) mentions that tourism firms use spatial concentration and colocation. The close proximity of tourism actors and attractions created hotspots which naturally attract more tourists, creating clusters. These clusters are the explanation for the concentrated tourist traffic in the inner city of Copenhagen. The close proximity of attractions is especially attractive to the Chinese tourists, whom as specified by Lars from Tivoli, "They (Chinese tourists) are only in Copenhagen for 6-7 hours and they choose rather inexpensive attractions or or maybe a quick visit to Copenhagen and then they are gone, that's the main issue." (Lars 00:08:11). However, based on other statistics, Chinese tourists tend to spend more on souvenirs and other material goods, which is why a location, such as Strøget, is very appealing to Chinese tourists, making the task of dispersing Chinese tourists harder to achieve. Pearce (2014) further links the geographical dimension to cultural embeddedness towards tourism which can be linked to the criteria of local's perceptions by Butler (1980).

Pearce (2014) highlights the importance of how tourists at the destination are also co-creators of their own destination experience. From the literature review, it was highlighted by Fu et al. (2015) that when Chinese people travel, they are more interested in having experiences with their in-group rather than their out-group. This would insinuate a potential conflict of interest between Chinese tourists and the tourism strategy proposed in Localhood(WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017). Localhood seeks to create a tourism environment where locals and tourists share experiences together rather than in their groups. Copenhagen's, or even Denmark's strategy for tourism revolves around sustainability, which is clearly expressed by the DMO's in multiple forms namely articles, guides, news and strategic documentations. Pearce (2014) in the dynamic dimension, refers back to Butler's (1980) concept that a

destinatination is growing through an evolution influenced by external driving factors. For an external driving factor an example can be BC Hospitality which is an international brand. As an international brand, their product is more commercialized and standardized to fit a wider target segment. Butler (1980) stated that in the consolidation phase many of the local tourism providers, in this case local hotels are replaced by international brands. Multiple of such examples exist in Copenhagen.

When it comes to involving locals in tourism development, the survey by 10XCopenhagen (2020) specifies that 61% of the respondents favours the involvement of both locals and companies in tourism planning. During the interview with both Christel (00:06:14) and Dan (00:22:38), it was highlighted that all kinds of stakeholders are involved when it comes to tourism development.

To conclude, after revising the number of tourists compared to the number of locals, tourism growth and projections, attitude towards tourism from locals, participation from locals in tourism development and tourism strategy (for Copenhagen) Copenhagen is considered to be in the annoyance stage on Doxey's Irridex and a mixture between consolidation and stagnation on the TALC model. However, when looking into the attitude towards tourism as well as the tourism strategy, it seems there is a difference when one differentiate between the inner city and Greater Copenhagen. Areas outside of the inner city seem to be more engaged with the idea of attracting tourists because the level of tourists is not considered to be disturbing the quality of life. For these reasons, one could argue that Greater Copenhagen, considering areas outside of the inner city, is subject to being in a stage of consolidation on the TALC model and apathy on the Irridex.

4.2 Stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism in Copenhagen

In order to address the issue of rapid growing numbers of Chinese tourists, different stakeholders who deal with Chinese tourists on a daily basis have been interviewed to provide an overview of how they perceive this growth. Knowing the market and Chinese behaviour, they are considered the best respondents to answer whether they believe cultural differences will resolve clashes between locals and the Chinese.

During the interviews, the respondents were asked about their perspectives on Chinese tourism and what sort of potential challenges they might impose on the tourism market in Copenhagen. Overall, the respondents do not fear the rapid growth but acknowledge that the cultural differences do pose different challenges. The best way to overcome these challenges is, according to Flemming (00:24:51, 00:50:32) through education of the stakeholders. Most of the time, conflicts between locals and Chinese tourists happen because of basic misunderstandings (Dan, 00:27:54, 00:46:24, 00:47:25). However, the biggest reason has been noted to come from language barriers which have been highlighted by multiple of the respondents. Dan (00:49:47), who has the most relevant knowledge on Chinese behaviour, categorizes language barriers as the largest problem amongst them all. Language barriers are a problem when the Chinese need to interact with locals themselves. Otherwise, most of the time a tour guide will be responsible for the dialogue between employees and the Chinese (Christel, 00:22:12). Even so, problems still arise it would seem because of behavioural differences. Negative behaviour due to cultural differences that have been highlighted from primary data are noise pollution and crowding (Christel, 00:43:40; Dan, 00:23:41). Similar negative behaviour has been noticed by Arlt (2006) in the literature review. Christel states that their behaviour is not meant to be received negatively, “(...) *they don't do it on purpose. No, they do it because that's the way they are used to. On the other hand, it is always very deep in the Chinese culture that they do whatever they want to do*” (Christel, 00:30:47). The comment insinuates that Chinese travel behaviour is not likely to change because it is embedded deep into their culture. This sort of behaviour, has led to discrimination towards Chinese people since they started travelling. Dan states that “*Chinese tourists are sort of the image of all the Asian [...] whenever it's about overtourism or whatever [...] even though they only represent 3-4% of the overall tourist, but they're sort of an image of overtourism*”(01:03:34). This statement encapsulates some of the problems with Chinese tourism. The perception that Chinese tourism leads to overtourism has led to Europeans having a negative attitude towards Chinese tourists. An article by Sienna Parulis-Cook and Mengfan Wang (2019) states that “*The Chinese are very often the target because they're so visible. So people say 'The Chinese are to blame for overtourism' when really they're not the only tourists coming, but they're singled out*”.

Overtourism is, by its disruptive nature, something destinations attempt to avoid as it resolves multiple negative effects, especially negative socio-cultural impact as identified in the literature review. Reasons for overtourism are multiple, but amongst the largest reasons are Airbnb, cheap flights and cruise tourism which was highlighted in the literature review. Airbnb has experienced an exponential growth in its numbers of bookings in Copenhagen before 2020. Especially Chinese FITs favours Airbnb accommodations compared to groups. In 2019, 11% of the Chinese visitors in Copenhagen chose to stay in an Airbnb accommodation (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019). Reasons for such behaviour are considered to be twofold. Firstly, Airbnb accommodations are cheaper than hotels while secondly, it provides tourists with the opportunity to experience how locals live. From the literature review, experiencing local culture is amongst the top priorities amongst Chinese travellers which an Airbnb experience provides. Both Dan (00:10:13) and Flemming (00:35:31) anticipate a lot more Chinese FITs in the future, which could imply this trend will continue and it is further supported by the survey from McKinsey (2018). One could be worried about the effects on the housing market where individuals buy several houses or apartments with the sole purpose of renting them through Airbnb. This trend has caused local markets in places such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Los Angeles and Edinburgh to raise their level of rent, ultimately forcing residents out of the city to other more affordable neighbourhoods (Barker, 2020). This cannot become a factor in Denmark because citizens are, by law, restricted to owning multiple housings with the purpose of renting them through Airbnb. Furthermore, Airbnb is subject to taxes in Denmark if someone earns more than kr. 24.000 a year. These initiatives have been utilised in order to prevent a market where locals cannot afford to live there. By these implementations, it is believed that because people can only rent their homes in periods where they are not there themselves, this will automatically resolve a balance between the number of people in the cities (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016). Even so, when the city has reached its maximum capacity, Airbnb accommodations will become available outside of the city. Areas which are not used to tourism and might not have the infrastructure to deal with them could cause negative socio-cultural impact on the locals in those areas.

From the interview with Christel, it became evident that Chinese cruise tourism is on the rise. Claus (00:17:52) from CruiseCopenhagen states that it is something they are very aware about and he suspects it to be a big part of the European tourism market in the future. The future was not defined during the interview but Claus expects that when the Chinese people do arrive for cruise tourism, they will arrive with a *“ketchup bottle effect that they suddenly just put up with a lot of Chinese here.”* (Claus, 00:20:14). When asked if he was worried about such an effect, Claus replied: *“Not really, because they have to fit into the ships that are here anyway.”* (Claus, 00:20:28). However with an exponential growth, Claus does foresee a potential clash between Danish and Chinese tourists but it is something *“that the cruise lines are very attentive to”* (Claus, 00:21:39). It seems several initiatives are being made to overcome this potential threat, however, said initiatives were not mentioned during the interview. In 2019, 940.000 guests arrived onboard 348 cruise ships and projections are that this number will increase further (WonderfulCopenhagen n.d./C). One could assume that once the “ketchup effect” occurs, more cruise ships will come to Copenhagen to engage with the increased demand. Asians are considered a minority group when it comes to cruise tourism in Europe (statista, 2020/B). Nevertheless, cruise tourism is becoming increasingly popular amongst Asian people, here amongst Chinese. Because of the difference in seasonality as earlier highlighted, Chinese cruise tourism would expectedly occur in the shoulder seasons. These tourists will arrive with the purpose of joining a cruise ship that departs from Copenhagen. According to Claus (00:30:11), these types of tourists will either go directly to the cruise ship from the airport or spend one day in Copenhagen doing sightseeing. Here, the most common attractions will be visited causing overtourism like scenarios because of crowding. During the interview with Claus, he was asked which type of tourists primarily do cruise tourism, cruise or FITs where he replied: *“Chinese are groups”* (Claus, 00:24:21). Therefore, the tourists who will come to Copenhagen for cruise tourism will most likely be groups which, as identified in the literature review, is more likely to cause negative socio-cultural impact.

Claus mentions that there can be, at the moment, up to 8 cruise ships in the docks around Copenhagen (00:26:50). These docks are currently fully occupied during the weekends in high seasons of tourism being June, July and August. This could

potentially change in the future. With projections that cruise tourism in Europe will increase, one could expect more cruise ships to make port during the weekdays. The reason why cruise tourism guests are considered more of a problem than other types of travellers is that they primarily travel in groups. From the interview by Chinavia, it was highlighted that FITs are a “(...) *better fit for local(s)*” (Dan, 00:40:31). Loretta from Esquina, being a small café receives mainly Chinese FITs with whom there are no problems, however the groups are perceived differently “*when they (FITs) come into the restaurant I haven’t had a problem with them, just a few people sitting down and as I said behave as any other guests. From the busses it’s another story, sometimes they leave their trash on the tables of the restaurant, that many people are quite noisy and than they just disappear to somewhere.*” (Loretta, 00:02:08). Both Chinavia and VisitDenmark project a future where Chinese guests will consist of mostly FITs. However, with the increasing desire for cruise tourism in Europe amongst Chinese people, one can only project more Chinese group tourists to arrive in Copenhagen as part of their tours. As stated in the literature review, a large cultural difference between locals and tourists is more likely to cause a drop in the quality of life, this is why one could see such an evolution to be worth avoiding, if social sustainability is considered to be a priority. When it comes to the consideration of economic growth, Chinese higher spend-per-head could cause Copenhagen to increase their revenue generated from tourism.

Cruise guests have the potential to cause crowding in areas. When they arrive, they typically tour the city by bus to see the most in what little time they have. This means, when tourists arrive with cruise ships, they will automatically cause crowding in respective areas. It will be down to the cruise ships to advocate where the tourists should go in order to disperse the number of tourists from already popular zones such as Nyhavn, the little mermaid and others. Cruise Copenhagen are promoting the dispersion of cruise guests by “*having a tourist information at the pier at the cruise Pier and we are working with them as well to propose other areas in Copenhagen than just in The city centre*” (Claus, 00:11:01). The best way however, is to make sure that the employees on the cruise ships can inform about the areas and experiences outside of the city center. Ways to do this is by allowing the crew to experience it themselves (Claus, 00:04:21-00:05:33). As much as these are great

initiatives by Cruise Copenhagen and the cruise lines themselves, there does exist a conflict of interest which will be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

It seems all stakeholders are aware of the cultural differences and that the Chinese tourists might cause potential problems. From the attractions perspectives both Tivoli and Copenhagen Zoo do not foresee any problems, even if the numbers of Chinese tourists were to increase by a number such as 500%. Lars mentions that if such a scenario were to happen, Tivoli would *“accommodate as it (the number of Chinese tourists) increased”* (Lars, 00:18:14). Jacob replies that he too *“(…) would not worry. We are used to deal with, as I mentioned, in the good years about 1,5 million guest and without mentioning exactly who arrives, I can state that I believe we have the large spectrum. I do not want to stereotype, but we are used to experiencing all types of guests, so if any of the guest were to behave differently from others. Some in the right side, some in the left side or however we might position them, that is not something that worries me.”* (Jacob, 00:06:53). One might raise the question as to what other attractions, who do not have such a variety of guests, might do in such scenarios. The best way, as identified by Flemming (00:31:21), could be to compensate for the lack of experience with education about foreign culture. Someone who does project negative consequences from a large increase in Chinese tourism is Joachim from Magazin who would be worried if their shop would become a place locals might stay away from.

“If they (locals) begin to associate Magazin with Chinese customers, then I could anticipate there would be a loss of the current culture which exists in Magazin. I mean just like if you want to go and experience the little mermaid then you know there will be a bunch of Chinese with their cameras taking pictures. I think you might get that same feeling where you don’t want to go there if magazin becomes a place where let’s say about 80% of the guests are Chinese.” (Joachim, 00:14:35).

Similar views were represented by Loretta in case of a 500% increase, stating *“it depends on the guests, if we have the same guests as we had up until now, it will be fine, but if they were to come in huge crowds, overtaking the restaurant, it could cause problems for sure.”* (00:06:19).

Magazin is currently running marketing campaigns in China through various partnerships to make sure that the Chinese make it a priority to visit Magazin when they come to Copenhagen. When Joachim was asked if he believed magazin would stop their marketing efforts should the majority of their guests be represented by Chinese customers, he replied: *“I don’t think we would stop. However we would probably shift our focus a bit to try and focus on the local customers”*(00:15:41). The large profits generated from Chinese tourists compared to other types of tourists is something Magazin is familiar with. *“This is amongst others because they buy presents to their friends at home. In China, one way to show that you are friends is to provide gifts. Therefore, it is common to buy gifts and bring with them home. So we do see that the Chinese come and buy for example 15 of the same lotion”* (Joachim, 00:12:14). Foreigners accounted for, in 2019, 15% of the total revenue in Magazin which means, locals are their primary source of income(Joachim, 00:02:32). When Joachim (00:09:10) was asked to describe the perfect customer, the first point he mentioned was returning customers, in other words locals. However, if locals perceive Magazin as a place which is filled with Chinese tourists, they might lose their largest source of income because, as Joachim mentioned, locals might get that feeling *“(…) where you don’t want to go there”* (Joachim, 00:14:35). This sort of feeling could potentially spread to other places such as Illum who provide very similar services to Magazin. Magazin and Illum is located in the middle of Copenhagen on Strøget which offers a lot of shopping opportunities, something which Chinese people prioritise highly when travelling as identified in the literature review. Many of the large brands on Strøget have engaged with the growing demand from the Chinese market, and hired specific personnel to engage with this particular customer segment and provide them with the service level which they expect to receive (Blindkilde, 2017). These factors will surely be motives for Chinese travellers to visit, along with tourist organisations to bring them - because they know their clients will receive the level of service which they expect to receive. For smaller stakeholders such as LaEsquina, the presence of Chinese tourists is completely different. Loretta states that the presence of Chinese tourism is rather disruptive for the Café and they are not receiving the benefits of the groups *“every week 2-3 times there are 1-2 tourist busses stopping by in front of the café and it causes some*

commosion on the street for about 30 minutes. When that happens the outside are is completely crowded, the guests need to share the same space as the tourists that are waiting and the sidewalk is not too wide. For the waiters it is even more annoying, because they need to balance plates and drinks in the crowd.” (Loretta, 00:01:03). Chinese people have a high demand when it comes to service which correlates with their need to be prestigious. According to Dan, the level of service demand is not accommodated for in Copenhagen which became evident during a survey.

“The negative part that came from all these tourists was service wise in Copenhagen is not what they sort of expect. “ (Dan, 00:27:54)

Dan believes this is not because the Danish people want to provide a bad service, but because of a mismatch between expectations. In order to overcome these mismatches, education about each other's cultures is considered necessary according to Dan (00:28:33). Christel from BC Hospitality Group have had similar experiences at their hotels where Chinese people behave badly.

“(…) they think that they are on top of everybody and the most important [because] they come with all their money” (Christel, BC Hospitality Group, 00:31:17).

BC Hospitality have overcome these challenges by educating their staff about Chinese culture. This has helped the employees to accommodate the expectations from Chinese guests and makes sure they feel prestigious. Ultimately, they hope this will lead to more guests because their visitors will act as ambassadors when they return home and talk about their experiences with their peers. As identified in the literature review, 57% of Chinese tourists get their inspiration about where to travel, what to visit and more from talking with their friends and families. Therefore, providing a good service is considered extremely important if the attraction of Chinese tourists is a priority for the stakeholder.

In order to overcome overtourism, Claus (00:08:31) mentioned the need to disperse tourism away from the hot zones of Copenhagen. In the report (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019), Chinavia examined Chinese movement during their

stay in Copenhagen which clearly shows that most Chinese tourists spend their time in the city center. On average, respondents visited 1,6 neighbourhoods during their stay which is a drop from 2,8 compared to 2018. However, the survey was constructed differently in 2018 where the respondents had the opportunity to point to where they had been on a map. This was not possible in the survey in 2019, which could arguably be why the number of neighbourhoods visited dropped - not because they did not go to other neighbourhoods, but because they did not know that they had been there. Nevertheless, whether it is 1,6 or potentially a little higher, 1,6 neighbourhoods is arguably very little compared to the size of Copenhagen. Claus (00:09:56) mentioned that it can be very difficult to disperse Chinese tourists. The map provided to Chinese tourists can be found in Appendix 2 on page 6. The map shows attractions primarily in the city centre. Other areas involve Nørrebro, Østerbro, Nordhavn, the beginning of Vesterbro, Amager East, Frederiksberg and Christianshavn. Frederiksberg is the second most visited neighbourhood after the City Center with 23% having gone there during their stay. Claus mentions that they are working with “(...) *many smaller projects. For instance, when you have a city map, all the attractions are located in the city centre. But what if a lot of attractions were located in the different neighbourhoods so there were more evenly spread out on The Copenhagen map*” (Claus, 00:10:02). From the literature review, it became evident that Chinese tourists are becoming more interested in having experiences outside the normal. By creating experiences outside the city center could potentially incentivise Chinese tourists to go there. However, what was also identified during the literature review was that package tours are a growing demand. It will be up to the individual stakeholder to make sure their experience becomes part of the package tours that the Chinese choose. Here, Claus mentions a conflict of interest which could oppose such behaviour. “(...) *we also have a lot of partners who are paying our fee and paying and paying . For the marketing that we are doing so it's kind of a balance because they would probably be a bit disappointed if we were. Pointing at attractions in other neighbourhoods, all the time*” (Claus, 00:11:19). This quote insinuates a lot of problems towards ensuring social sustainability. If stakeholders would rather prioritise their partnerships in the city center to ensure profit, how will they contribute to ensure social sustainability. The new establishments outside of the city center would need to be able to provide better deals to the current stakeholders

that either brings the tourist about in the city, or promote the different areas/attractions.

The map is currently only available in paper format, but will become digital sometime in the future (Dan, 00:39:32). When exactly that will be was not specified during the interview. The map includes an overview of attractions to visit, a Copenhagen challenge (things to do that are considered Danish), Danish phrases and explanations of the train and metro systems. However it does not include the new metro line M3 which was developed in 2019 (The Copenhagen Metro, 2019). The hopes are that the digital map will help to disperse tourists even more, because it will be easier for Chinese tourists to navigate Copenhagen themselves. Projections are, however, that this will not be as relevant to groups who tour with a guide. The guide will be in charge of where the group goes and he will most likely go to the places most popular due to partnerships (Dan, 00:40:50). Dan argues that he hopes it will be different with the FITs who can decide for themselves where to spend their time. Because the Chinese are increasingly looking for unique narratives to bring with them home, neighborhoods outside the city center could be the solution. Also, FITs can, as Dan (00:40:38) states, “(...) *be affected by our campaigns*” which is encouraging considering most Chinese travellers in the future are expected to be FITs. If the tourism organisations can run campaigns which attract the Chinese tourists to the neighbourhoods outside of Copenhagen, Flemming hopes it will influence the groups too. Flemming argues that the FITs are “(...) *kind of trendsetters, so these individuals the groups will follow the individuals because they see you on the social media*” (Flemming, 00:36:03). The report by Chinavia (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019) shows that 39% of the Chinese visitors had prior to their arrival gotten inspiration about Copenhagen from their friends and families social media profiles. 34% had gotten inspiration from the official destination social media and/or website. The report further supports the findings from the report by McKinsey (2018) from the literature review, which stated that getting inspiration from social media is considered very important.

Whilst doing research on Chinese tourism, it became evident that only 10% of the population owns a passport. Therefore, the reality is that most of the Chinese people have never travelled before which could cause concern for destinations. Because

they will lack travel experience, their behaviour will seek to engage with personal motives disregarding what is expected from a “good tourist”. During the interview, this concern was raised to the stakeholders who responded that they do not fear a scenario where Chinese first time travellers arrive in Copenhagen and cause problems(Christel, 00:45:59). Firstly because there are many other, more popular, destinations in Europe where they will go before Denmark and secondly, as identified in the literature review, Chinese people do not like to stand out. They try, to the best of their abilities, to adapt to the environment they find themselves in, in order to minimize the possibility of conflict. This was also pointed out by Flemming who states that *“they have learned they find out that, ok, this is the behaviour here. This is how we feel good because a Chinese they don't like to feel different. If they can fit in. Sit at that cafe and just look up the other tourists, they will feel very good”* (00:51:00).

One of the major benefits identified from Chinese tourism is that their seasons are very different from the Europeans. Both Chinavia and VisitDenmark mentioned the need to disperse the level of tourists in Copenhagen outside of the high season, lasting from June-August, to what they refer to as “shoulder seasons”, lasting from Marts-June and September-October (VisitDenmark, 2020/C). The longest holidays in China are Chinese New year from 11-17 February and Golden Week from 1-7 October (Quan, 2021). Considering it takes about 9 hours to get to Copenhagen from the nearest airport in China, Beijing one can only assume the Chinese would mostly travel here in these periods. However, the marketing profile from VisitDenmark (VisitDenmark, 2020/A, p. 6) shows that the Chinese tourists visit Denmark in the summer from June-August. With increased marketing efforts, this could potentially change and Copenhagen could attract more Chinese guests in the shoulder seasons. This would help DMO's in their quest to “flatten the curve”, which means making sure there are equally many tourists in the shoulder seasons as in the high seasons. As much as this will help the national economy to increase, as earlier identified in the literature review, the length of stay for tourism is equally as important when it comes to social sustainability as the number of tourists. If the Chinese tourists cause an extent of the high season, it will affect the locals. It has been noted in several articles that the length of stay is equally as important when it comes to overtourism as the number of tourists. Therefore, if the seasons are pro-longed, it

can only be assumed that the number of locals who are already annoyed with tourism will remain so whilst others will join them.

To review this chapter, it seems stakeholders are aware about the increasing number of Chinese tourists, but do not foresee any major challenges related to it. Should Chinese tourism increase by a large number within a short period of time, the stakeholders believe they would quickly adapt to accommodate this new tourism segment. Even so, several aspects have been raised which could affect social sustainability. A positive point to address is the fact that the future landscape of Chinese tourists will mostly be represented by FITs. FITs are considered the optimal type of tourist compared to groups when it comes to ensuring social sustainability because it is easier to disperse them to neighbourhoods outside of the city center. Dispersing tourists to areas other than the city center is considered to be the most important task for both stakeholders and DMO's in order to ensure social sustainability. One of the largest causes of negative socio-cultural impact is overtourism, which is why the growing interest for Chinese cruise tourism do raise a concern for the local quality of life. Projections are that Chinese cruise tourism will increase in Europe, here amongst in the baltic regions why it can be expected that Denmark will receive cruise ships where the majority of the passengers are Chinese during their holiday season which are in the shoulder seasons in Denmark. Because of cruise guests' disruptive behaviour by crowding areas, it is considered necessary for stakeholders to make sure they disperse these tourists to other areas of Copenhagen than the city center. How has not been identified but will be crucial in order to ensure social sustainability.

4.3 Socio-cultural impacts of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen

The socio-cultural impact caused by tourism is a key aspect that was discussed from multiple angles throughout the literature review. To analyse the potential socio-cultural impact caused by Chinese tourism, Simmons' (1986) three factors will be utilised being (1) behavioural, (2) policy and planning and (3) structural.

Behavioural

Behavioural impact relates to the cultural differences between two people. In the literature review, it was highlighted that both Simmons (1986) and Samson (2015) agreed that the greater the cultural gap between host and guest the greater the potential for socio-cultural impact. To represent the gap between the two cultures (Danish-Chinese), Hofstede's cultural dimensions and secondary data on Chinese tourist motivations and behaviour provided the background. The six cultural dimensions for China's index numbers are the following: Power distance (80), Individualism (20), Masculinity(66), Uncertainty avoidance (30), Long-term orientation (87) and indulgence (24). Compared to Denmark, the five dimensions are the following: Power distance (18), Individualism (74), Masculinity(16), Uncertainty avoidance (23), Long-term orientation (35) and Indulgence (24).

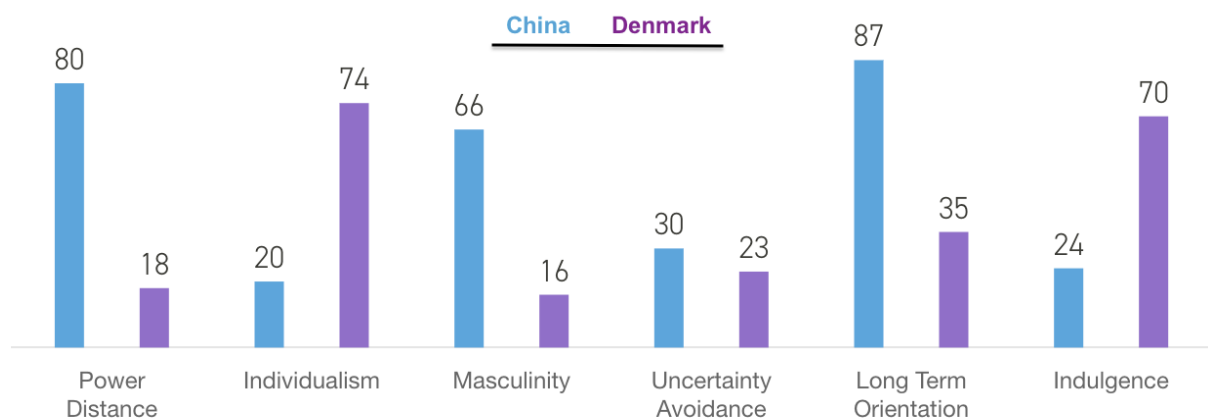


Figure 8: Hofstede's cultural dimensions (Hofstede Insight, 2021)

Purely by looking at the index numbers on Figure 8, it is clear that China and Denmark are culturally very distant. The first category is power distance where China scores 80 points compared to Danes who score 18. Arlt (2006) relates the consequences of the high score of power distance, that visitors expect to be led within a group. This is why tour guides are considered an authority with a natural status above the groups. The group should be led to places of interest, sightseeing spots, places that are important historically or socially. The tour guide, as the authority, receives high demands and is trusted to solve problems that may occur. Power distance is further present between the individuals of the group. People with a higher social status have a higher level of respect amongst their peers. Being in a

group ultimately leads to group-focused behaviour. Throughout the interviews, a similar perspective was represented by many of the stakeholders (Christel, 00:13:58, 00:14:39; Claus, 00:22:46, 00:24:21; Fleming 00:22:00; Loretta, 00:01:03), however Dan argues that, it is changing and the need for tour guides is decreasing due to the increasing number of FITs who does not require tour guides because they want to explore for themselves. From the article by Chinavia, only 37% of Chinese tourists were groups while 63% are FITs (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019). Also, the future Chinese traveller is far more looking for local experiences based on international statistics, which could insinuate that the power distance is changing to align more with the Danish statistics (McKinsey, 2018). It is worth mentioning that the information Dan is referencing, is based on 500 interviews conducted at the Copenhagen airport, whereas the total bednights of Chinese visitors is approximated at 273.000 (Dan, 00:06:36). The cultural gap in power distance in itself could have a direct impact on employees who are considered, by the Chinese people, to be positioned lower hierarchically. This was emphasized in the current statement by Dan; *“The negative part that came from all these tourists was service wise in Copenhagen is not what they sort of expect. And I think a lot of it was based in misunderstandings between the Chinese tourists and the front personal or staff in the shops.”* (00:27:54).

The next dimension is individualism contra collectivism. China with a score of 20 is considered to be a collectivist culture. Arlt (2006) connected the collectivist view with group behaviour. The collectivist view in the case of the Chinese tourist means that members of the group are rather focused on each other than people of the out-group. Collectivism also creates an atmosphere where everybody adjusts to each other and wishes to go to the same place as everyone else as well as buy the same things as the group. The collective experience will influence each individual's behaviour. If one person is not satisfied within the group, that can have an affect on the rest of the group as well. Fu et al. (2015) further supports the ideology that Chinese travelers are showing more interest in their group. On the contrary Gladwin et al. (2018) argues that collectivist nations, such as China, wish to experience different cultures. This argument was supported from the interviews with both VisitDenmark and Chinavia. According to Claus, *“(…) Chinese are not different in that they would like to experience other cultures when they are away”* (00:17:08).

Dan further elaborates and states that “(...) *they really want to explore the destination and the people living there*” (00:43:07). This correlates with the strategy proposed in Localhood, which aims to create an environment where locals and tourists have shared experiences rather than co-exist (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017). However, as much as this is ambitioned, a shared experience will primarily be non-verbal experiences. From the analysis of stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism, language barriers were highlighted by most of the respondents to be the largest challenge between the two groups, locals and Chinese tourists (Dan 00:49:35; Fleming 00:14:37; Christel 00:21:59, 00:46:07). The only one who does not foresee any problems when it comes to language barriers are Lars (00:20:22) who states that in Denmark, most of the Chinese people who visit are “(...) *high end travellers*” and therefore can speak, to some extent, english. Because Denmark is an expensive destination, he would anticipate that Denmark naturally would only attract what he refers to as mid- to high consumers, a segment which can speak english. However, Tivoli are the only ones who state that language will not be a problem in the future. This does not correlate with the findings from the literature review where it was identified in the report by Z-punkt and TUI (Z_punkt, 2017) that language barriers are amongst the top reasons for cultural exchange. Danes scored 74 on Hofstede's index meaning they are individualistic. Hofstede states that individuals are expected to take care of themselves and their close social circle. This sort of cultural mentality further widens the gap between the two nations. The Localhood strategy (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017) states that they will identify relevant initiatives in order to create options for positive encounters between locals and visitors. However, based on the analysis of the two nations, cultural differences make it challenging to accomplish the aforementioned goal in Localhood.

The third dimension is long-term orientation, where China scored 87 points. From the literature review, it was highlighted by Arlt (2006), that a high score in long-term orientation connects with the need of learning, experiencing and obtaining knowledge. From the survey by Chinavia (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019) it is clear that the top 3 activities for Chinese tourists are: (1) the city's cultural offerings, (2) the city's main attractions and (3) experiencing how the locals live. Denmark in the same dimension scored 35, considering them as long-term oriented, which again is the complete opposite of China, however the effects are considered to be indirect. The

Danish score expresses the importance of cultural heritage and traditions. However, it was previously discussed in the literature review that one of the effects of overtourism and overtourism is standardization, loss of authenticity and how important national areas and practices are becoming the “product” that is being sold for the visitors. With the addition of Chinese tourists trying to get a glimpse of these sites and activities, in a fashion that can be considered superficial, given that many of the Chinese visitors are trying to consume as much as possible in a short period of time, which could create ground for Danes to oppose Chinese tourism (Lars, 00:08:11).

The next dimension is Uncertainty avoidance, which is the only dimension where Chinese and Danes score close to each other. Chinese score 30 and Danes score 23. Arlt (2006) connects this dimension to people being flexible in planning and adapting to changes. Arlt (2006) furthermore states that unknown environments by Chinese travelers will be viewed by amusement rather than fear. But this flexibility is also expected from other individuals in the group and from the locals as well. Flexibility further translates to tolerance, meaning there will not be barriers for developments, technology or fashion.

The final dimension, Masculinity, Danes and Chinese scored on the opposing sides, however, Arlt (2006) deemed that a Chinese masculine orientation would not interfere with how Chinese tourists are perceived by the danes because it only relates to behaviour of the visited society. From the Danish side a feminine orientation gives a positive grounding for tourism. A feminine society prefers cooperation, modesty and caring for the weak. Additionally the importance of quality of life is highlighted in relation to a feminine society which correlates further to the desire to achieve social sustainability.

Overall, there are sections of the cultural dimensions that support tourism between the two nations, but the majority of the perspectives are suggesting a negative impact. Furthermore Samson (2015) states that the level of impact is also determined by the cultural carrying capacity and the limits of acceptable change in the culture of the host population. Volo S. (2020) also connects the depth of impact to the size of the destination relative to the quantity and quality of the tourists in

relation to overtourism. During the destination analysis, it was highlighted that the ratio between tourists and locals is 1:10. In other words, the quantity far supersedes the number of inhabitants which suggests the impacts of tourism will be perceived negatively than if the quantity of tourists were lower.

Policy and Planning

Simmons' (1986) second category to measure socio-cultural impacts is Policy and Planning. First the rate of development is discussed. Simmons' (1986) argues that if tourism is introduced to a destination gradually, the infrastructure and the community can adapt to it more smoothly. Both tourism in general and Chinese tourism shows a steady growth from the past 10 years, however data about local's sentiment on tourism were only collected in 2018 and 2020. As previously presented, in general, the Greater Copenhagen area believes that there is still space for growth but undisputedly, the sentiment towards tourism is on the decline. A larger problem is that Copenhagen in high-season, reportedly reached overtourism, which by definition will further aggravate local perception on tourism. What further influences socio-cultural impacts at the destination is the control and/or policy making. One of the most effective means to cause positive socio-cultural impact is by including locals in the decision making process for tourism development. The more the locals are included, the more likely it is that they will support the development. Being involved is requested by locals in the 10xCopenhagen report (2020) and is part of the DMO's strategy Localhood (2017). From the literature review, it was highlighted that another factor when it comes to ensuring social sustainability, are the inclusion of stakeholders (Simmons, 1986). During the interviews, a conflict of interest between DMOs, attractions and BC Hospitality Group was identified. When it comes to attracting tourists, the DMOs are focussing on attracting FITs, however, both the attractions and BC Hospitality Group would rather attract groups (Dan 00:10:37, 00:40:21; Flemming 00:35:12). The reason why both the attractions and BC Hospitality Group would rather attract groups is because they are considered better tourists (Lars 00:15:34; Christel 00:42:16). They are easier to handle, and one is more likely to be guaranteed visitors. FITs have a higher tendency to make last minute bookings and cancellations are not uncommon either (Christel, 00:42:12-00:42:48). Their less predictable nature makes them a less ideal target whereas groups are more predictable which aligns well with the stakeholders goals.

The final element of policy and planning is ownership, profits and employment. Tourism is a large factor in Denmark and in 2018 alone, tourism was responsible for 169.000 jobs generating a profit of kr. 132,5 billion. Tourism accounts for 4,3% of the national export and the government generated kr. 46,8 billion from taxes. In Copenhagen alone, tourism created jobs for 42.000 people and generated kr. 38 billion (VisitDenmark, n.d./B). The importance of tourism has especially been noticeable during Covid-19. In June 2020, Copenhagen had 152.000 overnight stays compared to 926.000 in June 2019. This is a decrease by 84%. Copenhagen airport has decreased its number of passengers by 95% and the cruise tourism should have received 282 cruise calls which would have resulted in 900.000 tourists (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2020). Multiple related events have been cancelled. These numbers alone describe the importance of tourism in Copenhagen. In total, the travel industry in Denmark accounts for 8,2% of the national GDP (Knoema, n.d.). It has not been possible to identify what percentage tourism activities in Copenhagen accounts for.

Structural

The final section of Simmons' (1986) is about how well a destination can accommodate the needs of tourists. The better a destination can accommodate the needs of tourists, the more it will gain financially and thereby socio-culturally. According to the 10XCopenhagen (2018/B) report Copenhagen provides 8 elements for tourists which are Culture, Attractions, Nightlife, Shopping, Sightseeing, Sports, Culinary and Accommodation. According to the Chinavia survey (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019), the 8 elements are enough to satisfy all the needs for Chinese tourists. Another element is safety. Simmons (1986) highlights the importance of safety both for locals and tourists. Based on Travelsafe-Abroad (2020), Copenhagen is considered very safe to visit even compared to European countries. The risk of pickpocketing, natural disasters, mugging, risks for women travelers, terrorism or scams are all low, which makes the destination appealing for tourism. However, possibly due to this appeal, it is stated that pickpocketing is mainly present in Copenhagen. Furthermore Chinese tourists are the perfect target for pickpockets given that they carry more cash with them (Arlt, 2006). The final element is the ability to absorb tourism. From the surveys and interviews it is clear that the

distribution of tourists in space and time is an issue that needs solving. The perspective is best summarized by Claus from Cruise Copenhagen stating *"We're trying to spread the cruise guests in space and in time, and by that we are meaning that in space it would like the cruise case to experience other neighbourhoods of Copenhagen instead of just this city centre, because we believe that the other parts of Copenhagen has a lot to offer as well. And in time. We are trying to attract as many cruise guests outside of the peak season in order to flatten the peak, so to speak, so we are not receiving so much criticism of a lot of tourists during the summer peak period."* (00:08:46).

To sum up, socio-cultural impacts were analysed based on three factors. First the behavioural aspects were reviewed in connection with the cultural aspects of the two nationalities. It was presented that there is a large cultural gap between Chinese tourists and locals, which negatively affects the socio-cultural state of the locals. Secondly, policy and planning was reviewed, which identified a conflict of interest between stakeholders about tourism planning. However, the aforementioned interest does not interfere with the destination's ability to create profit from tourism, which was identified to positively impact the socio-cultural state of Copenhagen. Finally the structural factors were reviewed. The structural factors which affect the socio-cultural impacts are safety and the ability to absorb tourism. Copenhagen scores well on both elements which is considered to be positive when it comes to socio-cultural impact.

5. Discussion

Whilst exploring Chinese tourism, it has become evident that when considering social sustainability, there are multiple elements a destination will need to consider. The following chapter will discuss topics which have been addressed in the analysis that could impact the social sustainability in Copenhagen.

5.1 How does Chinese tourism affect social sustainability?

The abducted definition of social sustainability by Polese and Stren (2000) concentrates on balance. To ensure balance, the development of tourism needs to

be aligned with the development of the destination. The development of the destination should attempt to distribute tourism so that it favours all communities rather than just one. This involves dispersing tourism in both time and space so that locals and tourists can interact in a relaxed environment contributing to the quality of life within societies. The definition of social sustainability by Polese and Stren (2000) implies for communities where different cultures live next to each other for a longer period of time, therefore both sides need to adapt to each other. However in a tourism context, this balance can hardly be achieved, given that only one group (locals) is constantly exposed to new different cultures. In the Literature review, it was highlighted that the factors influencing social sustainability are the behaviour of visitors, the length of their stay, the type of tourist, difference in culture and the volume are in fact equally important. From the analysis, Chinavia highlighted that they are trying to get Chinese tourists to stay longer. However, this is considered to be a difficult task because Chinese travel behaviour is, by its nature, fast paced. At the moment, Chinese tourists typically visit multiple countries in Scandinavia. Their behaviour, as mentioned in the analysis, does not fit with the Danish tourism strategy. The length of stay is a problem because Chinese tourists are considered to spend too little time in Copenhagen. As a result, it often affects stakeholders because the Chinese tourists do not have the time to fully experience a destination. This was highlighted by Tivoli and the Zoo who say, their attractions take too long to experience. Whether Denmark, or Copenhagen, can develop enough experiences that makes Chinese spend all of their holiday here is considered difficult. This does not correlate well with social sustainability for locals, and neither for stakeholders because the Chinese people will not have enough time to experience them.

From the analysis, it was highlighted that the DMOs believe Chinese tourism, due to their difference in season, could be the solution to “flatten the curve” and have tourists visit not only during the high season but instead in the shoulder seasons. This was further highlighted in the strategy ‘Localhood’ to be one of the solutions towards social sustainability. Examples of initiatives outside the high season are the Copenhagen Light Festival, Cocktail Week and Copenhagen Dining Week, and there were winter versions of CPH Pride, Jazz Festival and Fashion Week (Hamilton, 2020). However, it needs to be mentioned that these events have not been developed to attract tourists, but tourism is considered a bi-product of these events.

The strategy should be aligned with the goal, however at the moment, this does not seem to be the case. By attracting tourists outside of the peak season does not necessarily mean that less people will visit during the high season. Instead of flattening the curve by receiving the same amount of tourists over a longer period of time, one instead receives more people over a longer period of time. According to the TALC model, when destinations start to develop attractions for tourists whilst being in the stagnation phase, a destination can enter the rejuvenation stage. However, once again, it is important to differentiate between the inner city and Greater Copenhagen. As it was stated the inner city is entering the stagnation phase which according to the TALC model results in a high level of standardization. In the context of Butler (1980) standardization takes place when local businesses are taken over by larger international organizations that have a wider target segment. One example from this project can be BC Hospitality Group. During the interview with Christel (00:31:17), she stated that Chinese people love large brands that provide prestige for them - "that's why they (Chinese people) choose Marriot". This standardization will not help social sustainability. A possible solution could be the app that is developed by Chinavia, which could highlight local shops instead of large brands in the future. Butler (1980) categorized the future into two sections according to the TALC model, rejuvenation or decline. Given that the outer districts are still somewhat unexplored and residents in those regions support the growth of tourism the DMOs are trying to spread the tourists throughout a larger area which is similar to Butler's (1980) rejuvenation perspective which states, that tourism can keep growing if new attractions in the area are introduced for the public. This is considered to be very important for the future of tourism in Copenhagen, because if the DMOs in collaboration with stakeholders and locals do not manage to disperse tourists in both space and time, Copenhagen could enter the decline phase. However there is no literature on how either rejuvenation or decline affects social sustainability. In the stagnation phase the social impact of tourism on locals is already negative, in the decline phase due to the loss in economic benefits social impacts would be still negative and in case of rejuvenation, the continuation of large numbers of tourists can also create a negative effect.

During the analysis of socio-cultural impact between Chinese and Danish people, it was evident that both nationalities score somewhat the same on uncertainty

avoidance. This insinuates that both nationalities are flexible by nature and will adapt to change. Under the chapter 'Policy and planning', it was highlighted by Simmons (1986), that if tourism is introduced to a destination gradually, the infrastructure and the community can adapt to it more smoothly. Considering the current evolution of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen as presented in "Figure 1" in the section 1.3 "case introduction", one could argue that if the same rate of increase continues it can result in a positive socio-cultural impact. However, from the stakeholder perspective of Claus, he believes the Chinese will arrive with a ketchup effect - meaning a large volume over a short amount of time. Should this be the case, it is possible that despite the Danish locals being rather flexible and adaptive to change, it might result in a negative socio-cultural impact. Further complicates the situation, the relaxed nature of stakeholders. As stated, based on views of this project about social sustainability, being prepared for a scenario can improve sustainability, whereas being reactive to change is less effective. Yet, based on the stakeholder analysis, it seems the different stakeholders in Copenhagen are not worried about Chinese tourism. Whatever challenges they may bring, they are sure to accommodate. This is not considered a proper way to deal with social sustainability because sustainability is not about dealing with challenges once they occur but to prevent them from happening. Overall, to ensure social sustainability is a concern to all stakeholders, but when asked to describe their ideal customer, the first mention was always, a customer who spends a lot of money. Economic growth is considered to be the primary focus for stakeholders which does leave room for concern when it comes to social sustainability because it is believed that the two are related. From the interview with Joachim from Magasin stated that the most important thing for Magasin is re-visiting customers. Joachim would fear that if Magasin saw a large increase of Chinese customers (500% increase used in example), he would expect locals would prioritise to go elsewhere. Other attractions such as Tivoli, the Zoo and more arguably find themselves in a similar situation. Re-visiting customers are their primary source of income why a negative perception of the area would be damaging for the business. Chinese tourists are known to spend lots of money when travelling which might incentivise stakeholders to want to attract such a market. Yet it is believed that the financial gain might be short-term because locals might eventually choose alternative options if they perceive an attraction, destination or shop as a

tourist trap. Because Chinese people are considered the face of overtourism, locals might quicker determine a location to be subject to crowding.

Lastly, another element which was identified to be a factor when it comes to ensuring social sustainability is the presence of safety for both locals and tourists. Safety is especially a concern to Chinese tourists which was identified during the literature review. Copenhagen is considered very safe, as identified in the analysis, which therefore must resonate well with Chinese tourists. What is not associated with safety are robbery, drug dealing and vandalism which, according to Samson (2015) from the literature review, can be a cause-effect of the presence of a larger number of people with money to spend. As identified in the literature review, Chinese people are considered to be high spenders when travelling which could make them a target for pickpocketing. Because they are more visible, it is easier for pick-pocketers to target them. During the analysis, it was highlighted by Christel that because most European countries, Denmark included, do not take payment from WeChat, Chinese people instead carry local currency. This could cause concern for negative socio-cultural impact. At the moment, Copenhagen is not considered to be overflowing with Chinese tourists, but the incremental increase might result in an associated increase in robbery, drug dealing and vandalism. Another argument to support this statement is the fact that Chinese people look for prestige while travelling. Therefore, they often carry valuable items with them such as jewelry and cameras. According to the survey by Chinavia (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2019), most Chinese tourists spend money on tangible goods such as, jewellery, watches, handbags, etc. while visiting Copenhagen. Such items are considered to attract pocket-theft which, as a reaction might also affect the locals who too will become targets for thievery. It might not even be because of an increase in Chinese tourism, but because of an increase in tourism in general. However, because western people often associate Chinese tourism with overtourism, it is possible they will be blamed firstly for any negative effects related to tourism. Vandalism has already been identified by the little mermaid where Dan presumes locals have written in Chinese, “(...) 回家(Huí jiā)” which translates “*go home*” (Dan, 01:05:21). Such behaviour is considered a direct reaction towards Chinese tourism which could be an early indicator of negative local perceptions towards Chinese tourism. The little mermaid is particularly popular amongst Chinese tourists because most Chinese will be exposed

to the graffiti. No evidence has been identified about the correlation between drug dealing and Chinese tourism, however, as it is considered to be an associated activity of the other mentioned activities, it is likely that drug dealing will follow too.

5.2 How does FITs match with social sustainability?

During the analysis it became evident that one of the primary ways for Copenhagen to ensure social sustainability is to disperse tourism to areas outside of the inner city. Here, Chinese celebrities and FITs are considered potential solutions for dispersing Chinese tourism. The reason why is because both Chinese celebrities and FITs are considered trendsetters in China which could be a potential solution to dispersion. By having Chinese celebrities promoting areas outside of the inner city could incentivise both FITs and groups to explore the same promoted areas. The most important segment between groups and FITs to attract, when it comes to promoting areas outside of the inner city, are considered to be FITs. Apart from celebrities, FITs are thought of as trendsetters amongst the Chinese people. As a reaction, the groups will follow the FITs, thereby dispersing tourists more easily. This correlates with their high level of collectivism within the cultural dimensions. The celebrities could promote areas outside of the inner city through social media which is a common place for Chinese travellers to seek inspiration. According to Gretzel (2019), the influencing power of social media can be considered a double edged sword. Gretzel (2019) argued that sharing experiences with new locations creates new hotspots. Hotspots will in its nature attract all kinds of tourists, Chinese people included, which will cause crowding. Therefore, it is considered important to monitor tourists at attractions in order to prevent scenarios where crowding occurs. An indication of such could be when too many groups start to prioritise a destination. In the literature review it was highlighted by Simmons (1986) that groups by nature have the tendency to antagonize locals. One could question whether it is only the groups which will antagonize the locals. Based on Flemming's description of FITs they are small groups that can be up to 10 people. One could question whether 10 people walking together would not be considered a group from a local perspective and in turn leading to antagonization of locals. In order to know so, it will be relevant to identify how locals define groups and FITs. It will indicate whether or not locals would perceive Chinese FITs as a group or not.

In the analysis, it was highlighted by the stakeholders that they expect the FITs to want to experience communities outside of the inner city that offer unique experiences. One of the primary reasons why is because FITs will spend longer times at a destination compared to groups. However, this does not necessarily mean that they are going to spend all of their time exploring new, “undiscovered”, neighbourhoods but rather that they have time for that too. Package tours are growing increasingly popular with Chinese people why one could assume, that even though they will experience other neighbourhoods, the primary attractions such as Nyhavn, Amalienborg Castle, The little mermaid and more which are already subject to crowding, will still be on the list of attractions for Chinese FITs to visit. Therefore, as much as FITs might be considered a better target group, because they visit outer areas, one might disagree since they will only visit these areas once they have visited the most popular attractions. As a result, they will continue to cause crowding in hot zones but will benefit other neighbourhoods when they do have the time to go there.

A negative perspective about FITs from a stakeholder point of view is that they are difficult to predict. FITs are a lot more flexible when it comes to planning their trips. As much as their behaviour is considered a positive when it comes to social sustainability, the groups, from a stakeholder perspective, are considered to be the better type of customer. The reason why is because they are easier to predict. Tivoli and BC Hospitality believe groups are easier to manage and in some way there is less work with them. Accommodations as well as tour activities have commonly been prepaid which allows for stakeholders to make the proper arrangements prior to their arrival. Should any problems arise, the groups are commonly accompanied with a tour guide who are responsible for the communication. However, the prioritisation of groups compared to FITs is mixed between stakeholders. From the analysis of ‘Policy and planning’, it was highlighted by the DMOs that they would rather have FITs than groups while the other stakeholders that were interviewed, indicated that they would rather have groups because of aforementioned reasons. From the literature review, it was highlighted by Volo S. (2020) that when stakeholders prioritise differently, the emergence of overtourism becomes a factor. If stakeholders will attempt to attract both types of tourists it will ultimately result in a higher number

of visitors. Considering the current state of Copenhagen, this could potentially cause a negative socio-cultural impact.

5.3 How does Chinese tourism fit with the tourism strategy in Copenhagen?

One of the ambitions of “Localhood” (WonderfulCopenhagen, 2017) is to create a “(...) *destination, where locals and visitors not only co-exist, but interact around shared experiences of localhood*”(p.10). As much as this sounds like a great idea, it might not be possible with Chinese tourists. The first argument against it would be that locals can’t interact with them because of language barriers. However, experiences can happen without communication but this is where the cultural aspects come in. As highlighted from the literature review, Chinese people will rather have experiences with their inner-circle than an outer-circle. This means, even though DMOs, stakeholders and locals develop new attractions which allows for a healthy host-guest relationship, the Chinese culture disallows it because they would rather have experiences with their co-travellers. This directly counters with Localhood why one would argue Chinese tourism should be avoided in order to achieve social sustainability. However, as much as this is right in theory, it might not be in practise. The theory that Chinese travellers would rather spend time with their inner-circle rather than the outer-circle was argued by Arlt (2006) in 2006 and Fu et al. (2015) in 2015 based on cultural behaviour. However, according to future trends in Chinese tourism, projections are that the Chinese want to interact with locals. Interaction has not been defined, and the level of interaction is considered essential for destinations to know about because it will have an impact on social sustainability initiatives. If, from a Chinese perspective, an interaction between locals and Chinese tourists is when they have a local tour guide, having dinner beside a local or performing local activities such as biking, that is considered co-existing rather than sharing experiences. Therefore, how interactions are defined is considered to be of importance because it will have an influence on whether or not the current strategy of Localhood, or any later strategy, will be successful in achieving social sustainability for both locals and tourists.

In the analysis, it was highlighted that upon arrival in Copenhagen airport, the Chinese tourists receive a map to navigate Copenhagen. In the future, this is going to change and the Chinese tourists will get their map of Copenhagen from an app which is currently being developed by Chinavia (Dan, 00:39:32). The app is going to be integrated with WeChat to make sure most Chinese people can use/find it. The app will work as a map but also as a promotional tool. The app will involve 4 main categories with about 10 representatives for each. The categories involve “(...) *attractions, the traditional ones and then we have all the points of interests, the scenery, places and then when it comes to food and drinks it's divided into. Some are bakeries that you should try. Some are like. Nordic cuisine, some are good traditional Danish places for Smorebrod.*” (Dan, 00:56:57). The app is meant to disperse the tourists in space by promoting “(...) *niche places or streets that you could go to*” (Dan, 00:58:16). As much as this is the goal, the quote shows that for attractions, the traditional ones are still the ones who will be highlighted in the app. This means that the Chinese tourists will be guided towards the already crowded areas causing further crowding. Yet it needs to be mentioned, that the app is not yet finalised and many changes can still happen. Based on what resonates well with Chinese behaviour, the app could involve filters with one saying “common attractions” and another which says “Places with locals”. In the analysis, it was highlighted that the Chinese people (FITs) are very interested in having local experiences why such an initiative might incentivise the Chinese to experience attractions, shops etc. in neighbourhoods outside the inner city (Dan, 00:51:37). Furthermore, the app could suggest tourists routes outside the inner city and put timestamps on the different routes so the Chinese people can prioritise their activities to fit their busy schedule. The list of opportunities for the app is many and it is believed to be the right course of action to disperse tourists in the future. An app that is integrated with WeChat is considered a better alternative to the paper map because it resonates with the Chinese travel behaviour of using social media. Yet, it is believed that if the app continues to attract tourists to the same attractions as the papermap, then the app will not cause the desired effect. Furthermore, based on Pearce’s (2014) argument, the proximity of attraction to each other is an important factor to consider. Simply picking one or two attractions at the outer regions will not have enough attracting power, instead a balanced map needs to be created, where attractions are equally visible.

5.4 Future research

Whilst exploring Chinese tourism in Copenhagen from a stakeholder perspective, several notions about the consequences of Chinese tourism have been raised. Chinese tourism is considered a complicated topic which requires extensive research. This research has adopted a qualitative approach in order to acquire in-depth knowledge about the phenomenon, Chinese tourism in Copenhagen. Whilst exploring, the cultural differences became the focal point which led to investing in social sustainability in Copenhagen. To better understand how Chinese tourism affects social sustainability, locals' perception of Chinese tourism is considered the natural next step for future research.

During the research it was highlighted that Chinese travelers who visit Copenhagen are not exclusively staying in Copenhagen but rather travel around in Scandinavia. Therefore, for an even greater understanding of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen, how Chinese tourism is connected to all of Scandinavia would complement the research. A way to engage with such research could be to explore the connection between stakeholders across countries.

A final topic worth exploring is the dispersion of tourists. The research showed that projections are that FITs will dominate the tourism landscape in Copenhagen in the future. FITs should accordingly be easier to disperse which correlates well with social sustainability. However, because package tours are increasing amongst the Chinese tourists, it will be up to the travel agencies to disperse the tourists. Whether this is a priority and how they ensure dispersion will be necessary to disperse social sustainability.

6. Conclusion

To restate the research question, this research set out to explore the socio-cultural impact of Chinese tourism in Copenhagen from a stakeholder perspective. In order

to do so, three main topics have been explored; the current state of tourism in Copenhagen, stakeholders perspectives on Chinese tourism and the socio-cultural impact caused by Chinese tourism. In order to address the current state of tourism in Copenhagen, the TALC model by Butler and the Irridex by Doxey have been used. To address which stage Copenhagen finds itself in on the Butler model, the following criterias have been reviewed: Number of tourists compared to the number of locals, tourism growth and projections, attitude towards tourism from locals, participation from locals in tourism development, tourism strategy (for Copenhagen) and marketing efforts. Based on these factors, Copenhagen has been identified to be in a mixture between consolidation and stagnation. However, when differentiating between the inner city and Greater Copenhagen, the findings somewhat differ. The inner city finds itself in the stagnation phase while Greater Copenhagen finds itself in the consolidation phase. According to the Irridex, the inner city finds itself in the irritation phase while Greater Copenhagen finds itself in the apathy phase.

Secondly, stakeholders' perspectives on Chinese tourism have been explored. In total, 8 stakeholders related to the tourism industry created the foundation for this research along with secondary research about Chinese tourism behaviour, Chinese travel behaviour, the future Chinese tourist and socio-cultural theory. Overall the stakeholders do not foresee any problems related to the incremental increase of Chinese tourism. However, they do acknowledge that there is a large cultural gap which requires special attention. Chinese tourists are considered to be the face of overtourism which could resolve multiple identified negative socio-cultural impacts such as: crowding, noise pollution, traffic issues, problems of cleanliness and potential increase in thiever. These problems affect stakeholders from multiple angels and stakeholders will need to address each of them directly in order to keep up the quality of their services. Secondly, if these issues are not solved by the stakeholders, it will cause a negative socio-cultural impact for the locals. Positive socio-cultural impacts related to Chinese tourism is that they can optimise the dispersion of tourism in both space and time. The primary solution for overcoming overtourism by multiple stakeholders has been identified to be, to disperse tourists from the high season to the shoulder seasons. However, in practise, it seems stakeholders are not trying to attract less people in the high season but instead will attract more people in the shoulder seasons. Chinese people are considered a prime

target when it comes to attracting tourists in the shoulder seasons because of their difference in holiday seasonality. An extension of the high season, from a socially sustainable perspective, is considered to be negative because locals will be exposed longer to the previously listed negative socio-cultural impacts.

Lastly, the socio-cultural impact of Chinese tourism on locals have been explored based on three criterias developed by Simmons (1986) being: behaviour, policy and planning, and structural. From the analysis of behaviour, it was evident that Chinese tourism and Danish culture do not complement each other which is why, from a social sustainability point of view, it should be avoided. However, based on policy and planning and the structural criterias, it seems Copenhagen is very aware of what is required to ensure social sustainability. It is believed that if stakeholders can align their interests, the negative behavioural impact can be mitigated.

Overall, Chinese tourism seems to be a major challenge for destinations when it comes to ensuring social sustainability because of their large difference in culture. However, based on future trends it is considered inevitable for the Copenhagen tourism market to have to deal with them. Yet, if properly managed, it seems that Chinese tourism can bring a lot of positive opportunities with them, but primarily from a financial point of view.

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