Li, L. (2023) 'An interdisciplinary realist take on moral agency', *Journal of Critical Realism*, **22 (2), pp. 195-221.**

ResearchSPAce

http://researchspace.bathspa.ac.uk/

An interdisciplinary realist take on moral agency

Li Li

Bath Business School, Bath Spa University, Bath, the United Kingdom

Newton Park, Newton St Loe, Bath, BA2 9BN. Email: l.li2@bathspa.ac.uk

ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9655-876X

LinkedIn: https://www.linkedin.com/in/dr-li-li-55782561/

An interdisciplinary realist take on moral agency

This paper reports an empirical study on moral reasoning. It seeks to answer two questions: In the moral framing of tourism matters, what does this reasoning consist of? How are these elements mobilised by actors to reach moral pronouncement(s)? Through the means of group interviews, abduction, and retroduction, the study finds that moral muteness (i.e. silence to socially unacceptable conduct) seems to be the moral pronouncement that the participants are likely to conduct in a condition whereby the social and cultural systems being perceived insufficient to protect individuals who pursue a righteous action. The analysis reveals that (1) moral template, reflexivity, self-efficacy, and emotions are constitutive elements of moral agency; (2) these agential properties permit the emergence of four moral reasoning processes, which explain the moral muteness.

Keywords: agential property; China; moral agency; moral mechanism

Introduction

There has been a growing interest in explicit discussions on ethics and moral matters within the tourism field, forming an ethics platform for tourism (Caton 2012; Macbeth 2005; Pritchard, Morgan, and Ateljevic 2011) that emphasises a value-laden mindset to that of economically governed tourism studies. In her review of ethical tourism research, Li (2022) comments that academic engagements have primarily focused on observable empirical accounts, such as stakeholders' ethical behaviours (Lee et al. 2017; Malloy and Fennell 1998a; Tolkach, Pratt, and Zeng 2017) and codes of conduct (Malloy and Fennell 1998b; Tavitiyaman et al. 2019) while some attempts were made to understand the moral decision-making process (Han and Hyun 2018; Juschten et al. 2019) and moral development (Malloy, Ross, and Zakus 2000; Garrigan, Adlam, and Langdon 2018). Thus, prior ethical tourism research has provided a good understanding of observable ethical conduct of tourism stakeholders, factors that can shape moral decision-making, and those contributing to moral development; however, research on processes or mechanisms that bring about the formation of morally-guided tourism is limited. There is not a satisfactory explanation about why tourism stakeholders behave the way they do (Li 2022).

Li (2022) argues that this 'pressing matter' in ethical tourism research lies in the lack of 'an ontologically robust and epistemologically correct theoretical foundation' (1543). She maintains that research approaches in previous ethical tourism research tend to neglect the 'deep' domain of ethicality - explanation is brushed over by a simple alignment of descriptive ethics with normative ethics, or a 'black box' treatment that relies on statistical calculations that does not provide any explanation on the process itself. Li (2022) calls for a realist approach for ethical tourism research that goes deeper to unpack what is beneath the empirical lived experiences from the perspectives of structure, culture, and agency. It is argued that if we can gain a better understanding of the properties of structure and agency, and the conditions that enable and/or constrain their expression, we may be able to develop solutions to improve morally-guided tourism practice. Echoing Li's (2022) critical realist framework for ethical tourism research, the present study focuses on the agential mechanisms. It seeks to answer two questions: 1) in the moral framing of tourism matters, what does this reasoning consist of? 2) how are these elements mobilised by actors to reach moral pronouncement(s)?

The empirical investigation has chosen a sample of Chinese tourism management students who have had opportunities to learn about Western ethical theories and ethical conduct advocated in moral systems that are different from that in China. It is an explorative realist effort to understand the moral agency of individuals, which is the first attempt in ethical tourism research to the author's knowledge. In this paper, ethics and morality are used interchangeably because both concepts root in the notion of values, which is defined as "'sedimented' valuations that have become attitudes or dispositions, which we ... regard as justified" (Sayer 2011, 25).
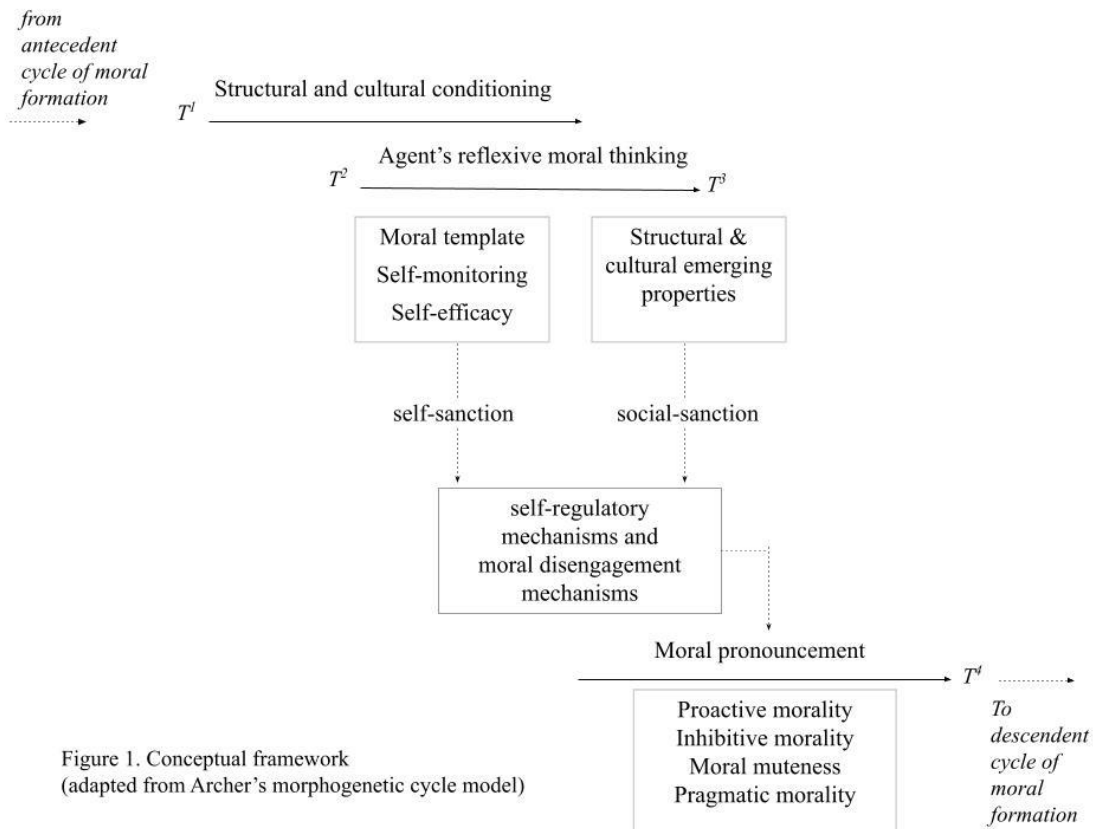
This study makes three contributions to tourism studies. Firstly, it expands the

horizon of knowledge about ethical tourism. The paper provides an innovative, interdisciplinary conceptual framework for investigation on ethical tourism by bringing together Archer's (1995, 1996, 2000, 2012) realist social theory and Bandura's (1991, 2001) social cognitive moral theory. Both theories have not been widely recognised in tourism studies but are well established and applied in sociology and psychology disciplines. Secondly, it enhances our understanding of the emergence of moral agency from the interplays between structure and agents (i.e. the sampled tourism management students in this case). By focusing on agential properties vis-à-vis social and cultural structures, the research delivers theoretical generalisation. Thirdly, it provides empirical evidence that challenges the progressive principles that underpin some tourism studies, such as Malloy and Fennell (1998a, 1998b).

Literature review

An overview of the conceptual framework

Figure 1 illustrates the realist conceptual framework that governs the study. In this paper, moral agency is defined as a form of agential mechanism that involves one engaging with moral matters through reflexive moral thinking, inner evaluative dialogues, and articulation of one's moral concerns through words and/or conduct (i.e. moral pronouncement). It is a process of social engagement that is embedded and informed by the past, reflexive evaluation of the present, and imaginary projective future (Archer 2000; Emirbayer and Mische 1998). In that, our conduct is informed and shaped by our capabilities, vulnerabilities, and things that are important to us i.e. our sedimented valuations (Sayer 2011).

from
antecedent
cycle of moral
formation

T^1 Structural and cultural conditioning

T^2 Agent's reflexive moral thinking T^3

| Moral template
Self-monitoring
Self-efficacy | Structural &
cultural emerging
properties |

self-sanction   social-sanction

self-regulatory
mechanisms and
moral disengagement
mechanisms

Moral pronouncement

T^4

Proactive morality
Inhibitive morality
Moral muteness
Pragmatic morality

To
descendent
cycle of
moral
formation

Figure 1. Conceptual framework
(adapted from Archer's morphogenetic cycle model)

Values are discussed in the studies of ethics by the philosophers (i.e. normative ethics that convey how things should/ought to be). Values can also be those that were held and/or practised by the agents of the previous morphogenetic cycle, which are being passed on and thus affecting the present agents' own practice (i.e. prescriptive ethics that individuals hold that guide their actions). These values predate the present status quo and condition the presence whereby they enable or constrain the present agents' actions vis-à-vis their respective situational concerns.

In the discourse of value-laden tourism, Fennell's work (2006a, 2006b) has provided the, possibly, most large-scale introductory text on ethics and its application to tourism, referencing classical Greek philosophers, such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, German philosopher Immanuel Kant, Scottish philosopher David Hume, and English philosopher John Locke. Fennell has presented the philosophical positions of, for

example, unitarianism, altruism, social contract, and Kant's categorical imperatives. He suggests how these principles can be applied in tourism. Confucian philosophy, which has a great influence in Asian countries, such as China, Korea, Japan, and Singapore, is however not featured in his work.

The Confucian tradition is known by the Chinese as 儒家思想 or Rú School of Thought. It can be traced back to Chinese philosopher Confucius who lived at the end of the 6th century B.C.E. (Csikszentmihalyi 2002). His teachings were reflected and documented by his students and followers, which evolved through the intellectual movement known as 百家争鸣 or Contention of a Hundred Schools of Thought from the 6th century to 221 B.C.E. This tradition still plays an important role in China now (Li and Rivers 2018).

Confucianism is essentially a philosophy of ways of governing or way of life. It prescribes practical social orders, emphasising familial and social harmony. Confucian philosophy has a feature of being humanistic. It believes that people are perfectible through self-cultivation of virtues, such as Rén 仁 (benevolence), Yì 义 (the upholding of rightness and the moral disposition to do good) (Shun, 2002), and Lǐ 礼 (how a person should act appropriately in daily life that is in harmony with the greater, cosmic ways of things or Dào 道) (Van Norden 2002, 2011; Wilson 2002).

Moving from the value system level to the agency level, the following section discusses social practice. Bandura et al. (2001) distinguish the inhibitive form of morality from the pro-active form of morality. The former refers to occurrences wherein one refrains from transgressive behaviours because one's negative self-sanctions for actions violate one's standards or moral template. The latter refers to occurrences wherein moralisation is 'expressed in the power to behave humanely' as the positive

self-sanctions for actions confirm one's moral standards (Bandura et al. 2001, 126).

Kreps and Monin (2011) suggest that moral muteness can take place where private

moralisation has occurred, however, due to social pressures such moral framing is not

publicised. Research into managerial life reveals that middle managers almost

inevitably withhold their personal morals in the workplace because of the

bureaucratised context of modern managerial work (Jackall 1988). Watson (2003), on

the other hand, reports that personal moral concerns can be brought into managerial

work if justification is given in 'business terms'. Similarly, Sampaio, Thomas, and Font

(2012) discuss the varying levels of environmental engagement among small tourism

firms as a result of the worldviews and context beliefs of the firms' owner-managers.

Thus, moral pronouncement can take the form of pro-social conduct (pro-active

morality), refraining from a detrimental act (inhibitive morality), keeping one's voice

undisclosed (moral muteness), or satisfying the pragmatic needs of a particular call in

public moralizations (moral hypocrisy or pragmatic moralization).

In a realist perspective, moral pronouncement is dependent on, but not reducible

to, the actor. It is conditioned by the historical structural and cultural systems that are

given at time point T^1 (see Figure 1). It is influenced, not determined, by the generative

powers of structural and cultural properties as well as agential powers from T^1 to T^3.

Within this period of time, human agency takes the forms of 'inner dialogue' and

(in)actions vis-à-vis the natural, practical, and discursive orders of reality (Archer 2007,

2012; Popper 1996). Such a socio-cultural, reflexive elaboration contributes to the

reproduction or transformation of the structural and/or cultural configuration of the

moral system at T^4, which is the T^1 of the descendent cycle of the formation of morality

in society. Thus, moral mechanisms can be structural, cultural, and agential in nature (Li

2021). For example, in a society there can be forces exerted from its political and legal

systems (i.e. structural), forces from its historical and/or present ideologies and discourses (i.e. cultural), and people's own powers to make a difference (i.e. agential).

Fennell's introductory texts to Eurocentric moral and ethical positions have formed a foundational point of entry into the complex subject of ethics in tourism for scholars of tourism alike. As summarised by Li (2022), there have been studies that attempt to provide analytical accounts of behaviours by aligning the ethical values that individuals and businesses hold (i.e. descriptive ethics) with philosophical positions in ethical theories (i.e. normative ethics). For example, Hudson and Miller (2005) report that moral considerations related to tourism are limited to the utilitarian subscale, focusing on the economic perspective (i.e. 'the greatest benefit to all'), but lacking in social and environmental dimensions of sustainability. Likewise, Tolkach et al. (2017) remark that morally dubious behaviours are more likely to be justified by utilitarianism and egoism. There is also a growing concern for the natural environment and animal welfare (Spalding et al. 2017; Ziegler et al. 2018). Malloy and Fennell (1998b) have discussed the codes of ethics in tourism companies being generally deontological in nature (i.e. focusing on rules more than the consequences of an action) and suggested ways to improve codes' effectiveness by for example incorporating teleological terms in them. A good summary is given by Schultz (2001) and Schultz et al. (2005) who rightly point out that discussions in these ethical behavioural studies tend to mirror the distinctions between utilitarian, egoistic, and biospheric environmental concerns.

This study holds a reservation over the exercise of aligning descriptive ethics with normative ethics. Descriptive ethics and normative ethics overlap sometimes but they are different entities. The former denotes ethical beliefs people and society hold that drive behaviours at the social interaction level whereas the latter is concerned with what we morally ought to do, which are a corpus of intelligibilia (Archer 1996) in the

Page **8** of **46**

cultural system at the structural level. Descriptive ethics and normative ethics do not directly relate to each other. It is not uncommon to witness a person's embodied set of internalised moral values and rules i.e. moral template (Bandura 1991) fully or partially disagreeing with the normative values and principles held in society. The best outcome of aligning these two types of ethics is no more than classifying tourists and tourism businesses according to their preferred moral pronouncements. It does little to explain the mutual causal relationship(s) between the two levels.

Ethical tourism is not only the morally right or wrong behaviours displayed by the tourists and ethical conduct of tourism organisations. Rather, it is concerned with both the morally-guided mindsets expressed in the cultural system and the practices by the social agents including not only the primary agents such as individual tourists and residents of the destinations, but also the corporate agents such as tourism commercial companies, governmental tourism agencies, and indeed the World Tourism Organization. Thus, to explain ethical tourism is to describe how the properties of the structure and that of agency function and the conditions for their operation. In doing so, we will understand how the workings of structure and agency reproduce the existing system and/or bring changes to the system that will permit morally-guided mindsets and practices to continue to emerge.

Agential properties

According to social cognitive moral theory, each individual has his/her own moral template. Within the template, the internalised moral values are concerned with things that are valuable (i.e. the ends), thus they need to be protected, maintained or acquired. The internalised moral rules are about what is right and wrong with the ways in which the "things" are protected, maintained or acquired (i.e. the means). In value-beliefs-

norms theory, value is defined as "a desirable trans-situational goal varying in importance", which serves as a guiding principle in one's life or other social entity (Schwartz 1992, 21). The author would argue that values embraced in one's moral template are more than "trans-situational" goals or a standard utilised by customers when making a purchasing decision (Bjork 1998, cited in Han et al. 2019, 432). They are, more importantly, philosophical beliefs and concerns of the person about the worthiness of the existence of the natural environment (eco-centric values), non-human animals (biocentric values), and humanity (anthropocentric values). They may be measured in monetary terms in a buying/selling exchange, or in altruistic benefit in a social exchange, or in egoistic value (Rand, 1964), for example, through self-fulfilment or by becoming a better person.

Reiss (1965, cited in Bandura 1991) suggests that the adoption of values and standards is governed by familial transmission and, more primarily, by dissemination of institutionally organised systems, such as education, mass media, and political and legal agencies. Thus, for Bandura (1991), one's moral template is selective and sensitive to the consistency and evolution of socio-cultural values held in families and those held in society. This is not to say that Reiss and Bandura regard people as 'the gift of society'. In fact, social psychology has provided us with rich knowledge about our embodied capabilities to interact with our external environments. In other words, it advocates human powers, or agential properties in realist terminology, in our social lives.

Archer (2012) argues that reflexivity is one of the powerful agential properties that human beings possess and that it is imperative in mediating the interplay between reality and self. It is the capability of an individual to construct an understanding of 'the location of self within a social system' and to reflect upon and redefine their understanding of the surroundings (Maclean, Harvey, and Chia 2012, 388). Human

agents "routinely 'keep in touch' with the grounds of what they do as part of doing it" (Giddens 1990, 306). Reflexivity is intrinsic to all human activities (O'Brien 2013), entailing strong evaluation of one's social context in light of one's concerns or what the person values and adjusting these concerns in light of one's circumstances (Archer 2012). Thus, it may be said that one's moral template is the emergence of the person's awareness, acceptance/rejection, and selective application of descriptive and normative moral values and principles through reflexivity, wherein 'I' have a private conversation of moral judgement vis-à-vis 'my' surroundings with the 'self' or 'me'. It is not the mirror effect of the external moral system derived from socialisation of culture.

Further, self-belief in one's efficacy to 'mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources, and courses of action needed to exercise control over environmental events' impacts on a course of action directly (Bandura and Jourden 1991, 942). Booker (2021) reports that one's self-efficacy possesses generative power facilitating Archer's (2000) internal conversation which leads to agency. Bandura et al. (2001) reveals that a strong sense of self-regulatory efficacy towards righteous conduct can promote pro-socialness and weaken the propensity to disengage moral self-sanctions from transgressive behaviours. Empirical research has indeed highlighted the mediating role of one's efficacy for a pro-social tourist behaviour and owner-managers' environmental engagement (Sampaio et al. 2012; Shahzalal and Font 2018; Wu, Font, and Liu 2020).

The processes

What are the processes that connect moral thoughts with moral conduct? In the past, Kohlberg and Candee (1984) have argued that one's intention defines one's action as moral or immoral. 'Intention' is featured in many positivist studies on ethical conduct in tourism e.g. Han (2015), Han and Hyun (2018), Han et al. (2019), Juschten et al. (2019),

Kiatkawsin and Han (2017), Lee et al. (2017), and Wu et al. (2020). These studies calculate the influential powers of selected variables as endorsed in, for example, planned behaviour theory (Ajzen, 1991) or value-beliefs-norms theory (Stern et al. 1999), in predicting one's intention to perform an ethical act. If selected variables show some statistically significant relationships with intention to carry out the act, then the variables are said to be the predictors of the act.

There are two issues in this formulation of 'factors → intention'. Firstly, social cognitive moral theory reveals that our moral thinking and moral pronouncement are not connected via intention (Bandura 1991, 2001; Rottschaefer 1986). Bandura (1991) argues that people can find reasons to justify their wrongdoing and that if the good intention of a transgressor can define the transgressor's action as moral or immoral, then most behaviours that violate the moral codes of society will be 'laundered as righteous' (68). Secondly, aforesaid predictive studies try to capture variables, such as one's attitude to pro-social and pro-environmental acts and subjective norms, which may play a role in one's intentional moral framing, but does not necessarily determine the actual behaviour (Lee et al. 2017; Miller et al. 2010). Bunge (2004 201) has argued that this inverse problem reasoning (i.e. 'factors → intention') only poses 'the problem of conjecturing the mechanism(s) likely to transduce inputs into outputs', but cannot explain the actual process.

Both social cognitive moral theory and stage moral development theory (Kohlberg 1969, 1981) appreciate the importance of social influence in moral development. Yet, the two theories hold different assumptions and disagree on the developmental process. Kohlberg advocates that moral reasoning can be developed as maturity develops in six orientational stages at three levels that occur sequentially, namely pre-conventional level (punishment and obedience orientation, and instrumental

relativist orientation), conventional level ('good boy/nice girl' orientation, and law and order orientation), and post-conventional level (social contract legalistic orientation, and universal ethical principles orientation).

Some ethical tourism studies are greatly influenced by Kohlberg's progressive principles. For example, Garrigan et al. (2018) speak of situational factors that guide moral decision while Malloy and Fennell (1998a) argue that the advanced stages of moral development in tourism organisations can be realised by incorporating opportunities that are concerned with the political, cultural, and technical aspects of the cognitive environment. Malloy et al. (2000) also suggest that right behaviour, good behaviour, and authentic behaviour can be encouraged by embracing teleological, deontological, and existential positions in the ethical decision-making process.

However, Bandura (1991) argues: firstly, people experience multiple moral mechanisms at any given time - there is no uniformity of judgement but relativity of moral principles (Bandura and Jourden 1991; Bandura et al. 1996). Secondly, social responsibility and concern for others (Kohlberg's stage 3) are arguably equally valuable as morality rooted in law and order (stage 4) (Bandura 1991). Thirdly, Kohlberg's higher stages of reasoning are not cognitively superior – the maturity of moral reasoning measures personal preference, not a level of competence, in moral thinking (Gilligan 1982; Locke 1979, 1980; Mischel and Mischel 1976; Rest 1973). The stage moral development theory provides reasons for actions, but fails to establish the relationship between moral thinking and moral conduct (Bandura 1991). Fourthly, the author of this paper argues that the sequential approach treats individuals as passive bearers of socialisation, or 'the gift of society' (Archer 2000). The denial of human power to make a difference marks the ontological fallacy of 'downwards conflation' (Archer 1995).

This reductionism eliminates the active role of humans in society, effectively shutting the door to human agency.

Social cognitive moral theory's position that moral thinking and the actual action are connected by self-regulatory mechanisms is plausible. These mechanisms are exercised through three main sub-functions: self-monitoring of conduct, evaluating the conduct in relation to the actor's moral template and environmental circumstances, and affective self-reaction (Bandura 1991). The first sub-function is concerned with reflexively monitoring one's conduct vis-à-vis one's concerns and the environment. For Bandura (1991), it provides little basis for self-directed reactions. However, reflexive self-monitoring of conduct is an imperative agential property as discussed above. Thus, it can be an important form of moral agency that takes the form of 'question and answer' in one's inner dialogue to make sense of the situation and to arrive at an anticipatory course(s) of action - what 'I' should do about them.

Self-sanction and social-sanction are two major sources of sanctions that people react to (Bandura 1991). For example, in self-sanction one pursues a moral conduct because doing this will generate self-satisfaction, self-respect, or self-reproof whereas in social-sanction one refrains from a transgressive conduct because one anticipates that such conduct will result in social censure and other adverse consequences. There are also cognitive mechanisms that encourage moral disengagement (i.e. that lead to immoral conduct). Moral disengagement mechanisms can influence, when they are activated, the internal control at four points of the self-regulatory process, namely the reprehensible conduct itself (1), its contingent relationship with detrimental effects (2), detrimental effects (3), and the victim (4) (Bandura 1991). Thus, self-sanction can be disengaged by reconstruing conduct, obscuring causal agency, disregarding or

misrepresenting injurious consequences, and blaming and devaluating the victims (Bandura et al. 1996).

When an action violates one's personal moral values and rules, one can experience self-condemnation, which people tend to avoid (Bandura 1991). Humans are sentient, evaluative beings (Archer 2000; Sayer 2011). Our emotions and valuations of ourselves, our relationship with others and the environments, and others as unique individuals form an integral part of moral agency (Norrie 2018a, 2018b; Sayer 2011). Neutralisation theory discusses moral disengagement mechanisms for coping with cognitive dissonance of opposing or even conflicting moral positions, which include denial of responsibility (a), denial of injury (b), denial of victim (c), condemnation of the condemners (d), and appeal to higher loyalties (e) (Sykes and Matz 1957, cited in Zhang et al. 2018). Sykes and Matz's neutralisation techniques can be comfortably positioned on Bandura's points of influence as being a-2, b-3, c-4, d-2, e-2.

People can experience multiple self-regulatory mechanisms at the same time in varying degrees of importance in moral reasoning; however, the major mechanism is 'developed and mobilised in concert with situational factors' (Bandura 1991, 68). Both sources of sanctions are anticipated to generate certain incentives that will motivate the performer to engage in moral conduct. Motives may combine additively; however, when there is a conflict of interest, self-benefits may take the lead and undermine the other motives. Indeed, it is repeatedly reported that tourists and members of the public appreciate the importance of protecting the environment, yet their ecological values are not always exhibited in their travel behaviours: self-interests tend to take over (Juvan and Dolnicar 2016; Miller 2003).

Research methodology

Philosophical stance and research design

The design of this research is set in the metatheoretical context of critical realism. An intensive procedure with the use of qualitative case study strategy (Yin 2003) was adopted for the inquiry. Danermark et al. (2019, 180) remark that '[f]or detection of the causal mechanisms, the most important element … is the intensive procedure where retroduction plays a vital role'. The research seeks to understand individuals' moral agencies, thus their thoughts and experiences in a real social context are a vital source of knowledge. The research strategy allows the researcher to retain in-depth descriptions of personal experiences and meaningful characteristics of real-life events.

A variety of strategies were employed to ensure the rigour of this research. Firstly, homogenous-purposive sampling was employed to deliver the transferability of findings (Decrop 2004). Secondly, data source triangulation (Stake 1995) achieved through consensus and/or peer-sanctions during group interviews allowed the establishment of the descriptive validity of the researcher's observations of the events and that of the interpretive validity of the participants' perspectives (Maxwell 2012). Thirdly, to ensure the theoretical validity of the research's hypothetical conclusions, framework analysis procedures were followed to analyse data whereby inferences and abstractions were carefully formulated on the basis of the participants' accounts and the underpinning theories to eliminate ontological slipping into the relativist philosophical position (Botterill 2007; Li 2021).

Sampling strategy and cultural context

The investigation involved purposive sampling. A group of Chinese students who were studying International Tourism Management through a European university at its

overseas centre (hereafter referred to as the Centre) in China were recruited. Marnbury (2006) also uses a student sample to investigate learners' moral framing, but he did not take participants' own moral value system into consideration. The present study's intent was to find out if the participants' moral reasoning would be influenced by their embodied moral values and those that they have been exposed to. In the Centre's programme, Fennell's (2006a) Tourism Ethics was adopted as a core textbook for use in a one semester course. Thus, unlike students in Chinese universities, this group of students had unique and rare opportunities to engage with Eurocentric propositions that are introduced in the textbook, which affect, or can affect, tourism, such as those prescribed in Global Codes of Ethics for Tourism (World Tourism Organization, n.d.). On the other hand, according to Li and Rivers' (2018) study, Chinese students generally hold values that are rooted in Confucian philosophy.

Data collection

Semi-structured group interviews were used to collect data. This method was considered appropriate because at the time when the field work was conducted, the researcher was also the lecturer of the programme. The overlapping roles could affect the participants' willingness to express their thoughts freely if interviews had been solely with the researcher given the hierarchical Confucian social order between teacher and student embedded in Chinese culture. Group interviews softened the potential power struggle between the participants/students and the researcher/lecturer and made it possible for the participants to exchange experiences and thoughts with each other in a relatively relaxed atmosphere and on an equal footing. Further, they were informed that their participation in the research would not have any bearing on their grades.

Data were collected in November 2013. One group consisted of 15 students whilst the other group had 16 members. They were invited to discuss how they perceived ethics in tourism as a subject of study and as an industry practice, what they would do when they witnessed socially unacceptable behaviour and how they foresaw the future of ethical tourism in China. The interviews were video recorded to capture group members' interactions, which were then transcribed for data analysis. Each interview lasted approximately 40 minutes.

Data analysis

Realist investigation is theory-laden, thus a flexible deductive approach is more suitable than, for example, grounded theory (Fletcher 2017). Framework analysis was employed to analyse the data. It involves stages of familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, mapping, and interpretation (Spencer et al. 2013). The method allows both deductive (applying known theoretical concepts to data) and inductive coding (creating new concepts from data) (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor 2003). The majority of the codes were developed deductively whilst a few emerged from the data. For example, the code 'reflexivity/cultural mechanism of structure - interaction' has its root in realist social theory whilst 'moral template/Confucian values' was a product of a combination of deductive and inductive coding. Identified passages were attentively coded and charted in a big table manually to facilitate the mapping and interpretation processes. An extract of the table is presented in Appendix A.

Framework analysis not only permitted the researcher to apply known concepts to the data so that events can be interpreted from the concepts known to the researcher (i.e. abduction), but also allowed room for new perspectives to emerge, illuminating possible mechanisms of moral agency (i.e. retroduction) (Danermark et al. 2019). The

outcomes of abductive and retroductive thought operations will be presented in Findings and then reviewed in Discussion wherein the transcendental argument, which is the core of retroduction (Danermark et al. 2019), is developed.

Findings

The participants were in their early 20s, coming from 19 different cities across the country. All of the students were born and brought up in China. They had all followed the Chinese education system prior to undertaking the programme at the Centre. Pseudonyms are used in the following sections.

Moral muteness and the future

Moral muteness was the dominant form of moral pronouncements in the data. All the participants indicated that they would 'walk away' from reprehensible conduct such as someone else littering in public or theft on the bus because they were concerned that their involvement could lead to 'fighting and conflicts'.

There are mixed views on the future of ethical tourism in China. Some participants have expressed that it is impossible to have ethical tourism in China. A few participants challenge this pessimistic position and believe that there is a future for ethical tourism, although it may take a long time for it to be widely accepted and practised in China.

Moral thinking

Two key themes were identified: categorical domain and mechanismic domain. The former is concerned with the participants' identification of ethics and morality located in the cultural system and their embodied, subjective interpretation of these objective

entities. The latter reflects moral agency, or the functioning of systemic moral thinking of the participants. A number of sub-themes were identified in each key theme.

Categorical domain

Ethics and morality were generally perceived as an 'important' matter because 'ethical or unethical behaviours occur around us every day', said Suyang; however, they were considered 'complicated', 'abstract', and 'difficult to apply'. Further analysis revealed three interrelated dimensions, namely (a) first association, (b) structural positioning, and (c) regulatory function.

(a) *First association*

The dimension of first association conveys the immediate impression of ethics and morality. Confucianism was found to be the first reference, to which the participants related ethics and morality. The majority of the participants found Western ethical philosophies 'difficult to understand' - 'We didn't really understand it. What we did was a bit like drawing a spoon by following the shape of a gourd' [依葫芦画瓢 - an ancient Chinese phrase that describes surface learning], said Mei.

(b) *Structural positioning*

The participants made sense of ethics and morality in relation to law, self, experience, the tourism and hospitality industry, and society in general. Four different viewpoints were expressed by the participants: 1) ethics resides in people; 2) ethical values are 'above the law'; 3) ethics is a prerequisite of the tourism industry but its appreciation comes after one has gained some life and working experience; 4) there is a convergence of ethics and law. Viewpoints 1-2 mirror a reflexive internal dialogue about what

'ethics' is vis-à-vis self and other social entities, whereas viewpoint 4 mirrors a reflective sense-making of external social entities. Viewpoint 3 poses an interesting and contradictory positioning of ethics: if ethics is pre-conditional for the tourism industry, then industry professionals would need to possess a good set of ethics prior to working in the industry; yet, the participants believe the appreciation of ethics only comes after having some experience - they felt that they should learn how to manage business and gain some practical skills before studying the ethics module.

(c) *Regulatory function.*

The common agreement among the participants is that laws and ethics are two different sets of mechanisms to regulate one's behaviour. The former 'cannot regulate every aspect of the society' (Tai) whereas Confucian moral values and rules are deeply embedded in the Chinese society, as such they 'cannot be defined by using laws' (Zhao). Some participants believe that the Chinese government needs to strengthen its legal system to regulate individuals' and industries' conduct, such as heavier penalties for noncompliance of environmental protection legislation. However, this is challenged by Tai who stated: `according to the Chinese tradition, governing through humanity [Rén 仁], which is about ethics, is considered relatively better than governing through laws.`

Mechanismic domain

The participants debated over some behaviours, such as littering at attraction sites, tour guides forcing tourists to purchase goods on tour, and if one should help an old lady who has tripped over in the street. Four mechanismic processes emerge from their debates: (a) ethical principles and their applications, (b) national civility improvement

through education, (c) ethics, education or economy, and (d) demonstrative social norms.

(a) *Ethical principles and their applications*

The participants felt that it was difficult to apply ethical principles in tourism businesses in China and that this was due to the 'subjectivity of ethics' (Suyang) and the 'poor applicability of Confucianism' in business settings - Eurocentric ethical philosophies were considered better developed as an instrumental means in commercial laws in Western countries. In their comparison, references were also made to people: Chinese people were described as being traditionally obedient and lacking the 'spirit of rebellion' (Ailin), unlike the Americans who possess a strong 'sense of citizenship' (Jiaqi) and 'believe that justice needs to be protected' (Ziming). References were also made to laws: Suyang described laws in the Western societies as a .exe file, meaning the laws being 'executable', whereas the laws in China were a .txt file – 'they are just regulation that is not functional'. He explained: 'whether you would be punished or not, to a great degree ... is dependent on your quality of guanxi [networks] with the politicians, legal officials, and the police'.

(b) *National civility improvement through education*

The participants expressed that, overall, people's public etiquette across the nation needed improvement through educating the new generation. They all agreed on ethical education being a prerequisite of proliferation of ethical tourism. However, in reference to their own education - learning about professional ethics was deemed secondary to subject matters (see the 'structural positioning' section above). There seem to be two sets of standards: one for others that is more universalist and utilitarian and one for the self that is more egoistic (i.e. 'what is in it for me?' (Zhao)).

(c) *Ethics, education or economy?*

Since the 'open door' policy in the late 1970s, the nation's focus has been on economic development with so-called 'Chinese characteristics'. The development was described as 'a form of abnormality' (Meng) or 'a wolf in sheep's skin' (Mei). In that, economic values supersede other social values as Ziming sees it. Tourism businesses were said to be profit-driven. Some participants felt that China's ethical tourism 'does not exist' or 'has not made its appearance'. They commented that ethical conduct was important for sustainable tourism development, but this has not been given sufficient attention from the government, nor from the public. The paradox is: should ethics come before economy or vice versa? Meng argued:

> 'The West says to the East that you need to consider ethics, but it is just impossible. We can't even feed all our people and don't have capability [sic] for education, how can we talk about ethics? You need to let us be able to feed our people and to improve our education first and [when] the national civility is improved; we can then talk about ethics.'

Fangmin disagreed with Meng, arguing that the West suffered from pollution as a result of their economic development and 'we don't need to repeat that same mistake'. However, Ailin raised concerns over the economic, social, and political impacts of closures of all chemical factories in favour of environment protection.

(d) *Demonstrative social norms*

The participants debated a particular incident reported in the media where no one offered help to an old lady who had tripped over in the street and over the phenomenon of 'getting off the bus'. 'If there was a criminal on the bus, the first reaction of all the

people would be to get off the bus', Bing said, 'it is not like before when people see injustice and show the sword to help the victim' [路见不平, 拔刀相助]. People have been 'educated to walk away from situations' that did not concern them (Jiaqi) and 'are in a state of self-protection' (Bing). Suyang exclaimed: 'a basic [participant's emphasis] moral standard of right and wrong is not being held by many people'.

The participants debated authoritarian-autonomic negotiations embedded in institutional interactions. Some participants believed that the Chinese government should increase forces in implementing environmentally friendly initiatives (e.g. national waste recycling) and strengthen the punishment mechanisms to combat littering. In contrast, Bing said: 'the reality is [that] even when the government introduces any enforcement, people do not comply'. Ming explained: 'the imposition of policies from the top leads to the generation of countermeasures from the bottom of the social orders' [上有政策, 下有对策].

China's tourism industry features bureaucratic structures of the public sector and its partnership with the private sector, which was considered to hinder the consistent communication of policies from the top level to the operational level, and consequently the 'outcome does not reflect the initial vision anymore,' Mei said, 'besides, self-interests penetrate the process'. 'The implementation of ethical tourism would affect the conflicting interests of those who have guanxi in local economies' (Ailin).

Discussion

The participants' accounts reflect the externalised version of their internal conversations that are ontologically subjective (Archer 2003). These subjective accounts can be fallible but true to the participants at the time of being expressed. One may disagree

with some of the accounts, for example, the Chinese government's involvement in promoting sustainable tourism development and the participants' trust in the Chinese government, which may be said very differently if they are interviewed now. This, however, does not pose a problem in the attempt here to search for agential mechanisms that entail the formation of ethicality at the agency level. The following sections will discuss the agential properties that link to the data and justify the mechanismic processes proposed in Findings.

Agential properties: moral template, reflexivity, self-efficacy, and emotions

The participants' moral templates show a mixed set of moral values and rules that are identifiable as, largely, related to Confucian philosophy and to social norms in the current Chinese society, and to a lesser degree, moral values advocated in Western ethical philosophy. Confucianism is deemed by the participants as their first point of association of moral philosophy. This is not to say that Western ethical propositions do not have a place in the participants' moral framing. In fact, they made references to some taught elements of the module. Interestingly, however, none of the participants has mentioned Global Codes of Ethics for Tourism. Overall, their moral templates are largely influenced by Confucian philosophy, which is consistent with Li and Rivers' (2018) finding.

The participants' moral templates are negotiated through their comparative and reflective evaluations of external values that they are exposed to and reflexive evaluations of moral values and rules that they have embodied through their upbringings and learning about ethics in tourism. This reflexive negotiation involved private conversations which were then expressed and further negotiated through discussions with their peers at the interviews. Through the reading of the interview

scripts, it is evident that the negotiations proceed with the first person voice ('I' and 'We') about moral judgement vis-à-vis 'my' and 'our' surroundings with the 'self' or 'me', which echoes Archer's (2012) discussion on reflexivity being an imperative agential property that mediates the interplay between reality and self. As such, the negotiated moral template is embodied by the 'I' - the agent. It is a product of reflexivity that has become a part of 'me'; as such *my* moral template is not the mirror effect of the external moral system derived from socialisation of culture but an embodiment that is selective and sensitive to evolving values held in society, as Bandura (1991) has commented.

The participants described their learning of Fennell's Tourism Ethics as being superficial; yet, they reflected upon their embodied moral values and rules in relation to their upbringings and made impressive comparative evaluations of Western ethics and Confucian philosophical positions in relation to economic development, business practice, law, politics, and citizenship. This has demonstrated not only their agential power of reflexive questioning about 'morality' and 'ethics' vis-à-vis self, but also their self-efficacy to mobilise what they already know and what they have recently acquired to make sense of what moral conduct is, and indeed, should be. This suggests that ethical education can influence learners' moral development, signalling social transmissions of moral values and principles (Reiss 1965, cited in Bandura 1991). More importantly, this has also evidenced that self-efficacy is an emerging agential property, which goes very closely with reflexivity and moral template. Indeed, Booker (2021) has reported that one's self-efficacy possesses generative power that facilitates reflexive thinking while Bandura et al. (2001) have revealed the power of self-regulatory efficacy with regard to moral conduct.

Some participants have shown their self-belief in their capability to mobilise courses of action to exercise control over a future ethically challenging work situation - so, there is an intention to conduct a good act. However, their moral muteness suggests that their self-regulatory efficacy in challenging a present unethical behaviour is troubled. They attributed their moral muteness to the lack of a sound social environment, where the public's level of citizen civility was perceived as low whilst the authorities were considered to have failed to create and sustain institutional systems that would protect righteous conduct. Thus, it seems that self-regulatory efficacy is an agential property of the participants, which may result in, or has the tendency to cause, a righteous action; however, this process seems to have been taken over or weakened by their recognition that the sound and protective social environment is absent in the present time in the context that is relevant to them.

The participants' emotions or emotional elaboration (Archer 2000) are evident in the research process. This is demonstrated, for example, in Jiaqi's account: 'corruption in the government is so severe that the public trust is very low. Even when they introduce some good policies, it would be like talking about fighting a battle in paper [纸上谈兵], and [ethical tourism] could not be implemented in real terms'. This position was challenged by some other participants. Their debates on the future of ethical tourism in China remind us of Norrie's (2018b) discussions on 'moral transactions' concerning blame and responsibility and his calling for love-informed transactions for a transition to a better world.

Further examples are seen in the participants' passionate and enthusiastic dialogues about ancient Confucian positions, and their frustrations about current social situations e.g. Suyang's exclamation about lack of '*basic*' moral standard of right and

wrong (see the *Demonstrative social norms* section). Their subjective propositions are more overtly conveyed through their facial expressions and tones of speech than the words themselves. As Archer (2000) has said, emotions are 'commentaries on our concerns' (207), which often words only cannot express. The participants' passion, enthusiasm, frustration, and strong evaluative accounts run through the dialogues, and sometimes even debates among them, because the things being spoken about are concerned with their flourishing and possible suffering (if the things have gone wrong), to borrow Sayer's (2011) words.

Mechanismic processes

Four mechanismic processes are proposed, namely *ethical principles and their applications*, *national civility improvement through education*, *ethics, education or economy?*, and *demonstrative social norms*. It is argued that these processes are the expressions of the aforesaid agential properties. This is because, firstly, the dimensions of the categorical domain intersect with the mechanismic processes of the mechanismic domain. For example, the participants' moral templates feature the first association of ethics and morality with Confucian positions. This feature is expressed in their reasoning processes whereby they question the applicability of Confucianism in business settings (see the *Ethical principles and their applications* section). The way that the participants see the position of ethics and morality in relation to law and society in general and their views about the regulatory functions of law and ethics being different (reported in the *Categorical domain* section) conjoin with their evaluative and reflexive reasoning processes wherein they disagree with the 'walk away' social norm and disapprove the countermeasures from the bottom of the social orders (see the *Demonstrative social norms* section). This suggests that the constitutive elements of the

moral template are imperative points of reference, from which reasoning processes derive. Thus, the proposed mechanismic processes are the best possible interpretation of the empirical data that are available to the author.

Secondly, as discussed in the previous section on agential properties, reflexivity has been discussed in a great depth by Archer (2012) and other scholars (Giddens 1990; Maclean et al. 2012; O'Brien 2013). Moral template, self-efficacy, and emotions are all well-established concepts that have been extensively discussed in social psychological research e.g. Bandura (1991, 2001), Bandura et al. (1996, 2000) and Bandura and Jourden (1991). Given the strong theoretical grounds established by these researchers, it seems to be correct to accept the explanations that their theories provide.

Thirdly, the proposed processes echo the notion of structural and cultural conditioning, which many realists have elaborated on, to name a few, Archer (1995, 1996), Go (2021), Lawson (2019), and Porpora (2019). For example, to react to the increasing reports of incidents of 'bad behaviours' by Chinese tourists overseas (Branigan 2013; Kuhn 2015) and within China (Zheng 2017), the Chinese authority and its tourism agencies have strengthened mechanisms to regulate tourism and to educate Chinese tourists (Toptour 2013). In recent years, the term '中国公民旅游文明素质' (the tourist civility of Chinese citizens) has been increasingly cited in national media, creating a discourse to increase the awareness of morally guided tourist behaviours and industry practices.

This social development has influenced the participants. From their perspective, if the public (who had heightened moral conscientiousness as a result of ethical education) challenged a predicament and if the authorities had created protective systems, they would step forward to challenge transgressive conduct and pursue a

righteous action. This is not to say that if such a condition is created, transgressive conduct will be challenged while the righteous actions will be pursued. However, their perspective does recall Archer's (1995, 1996) argument that present social practice is irreducible to the present actors. Indeed, realists argue that social reality emerges from the working of mechanisms derived from structure and agency (Go 2021; Lawson 2019; Porpora 2019).

Fourthly, the co-existence of the four mechanismic processes is in line with Bandura's argument for the relativity of moral principles. Bandura and other authors e.g. Gilligan (1982), Locke (1980), and Rest (1973) have questioned the uniformity of judgement and the progressive principles which really cannot justify the complexity of powers of human agency. As Archer (2000) has argued, humans are not passive bearers of socialisation; we have powers to make a difference, subject to the given social condition, access to resources, and our capacities of physical, cognitive, and emotional. Thus, the co-existence of the four processes seems to be a correct position to adopt. In other words, the study rejects the uniformity of judgement that underpins the progressive principles (Kohlberg 1981; Garrigan et al. 2018; Malloy and Fennell 1998a, 1998b; Malloy et al. 2000).

Archer (1995, 1996) has argued that over time socio-cultural variations bring about new systemic configurations that depend upon human agency. Thus, moral pronouncements adopted/practised by tourism stakeholders (see Figure 1) shall, over time, contribute to the reproduction or transformation of the structural and/or cultural configuration of the moral system at T^4, which is the T^1 of the descendent cycle of the formation of morality in society. Clearly, the initial reason for the participants' moral muteness is to protect themselves from being harmed. The sense of self-protection is reflexively activated to disengage from the pro-social action. This finding is consistent

with what literature has suggested, that when there is a conflict of interest, self-benefits can take the lead and undermine the other motives (Bandura 1991; Juvan and Dolnicar 2016; Miller et al. 2010).

However, the moral muteness, arguably, contributes to the normalisation of a social pattern where transgressive conduct is not always challenged by righteousness in society. Walking away from (or remaining silent about) a reprehensible conduct can be an outcome of one's moral reasoning (i.e. the consequence), which can be, at the same time, a demonstrative social conduct potentially encouraging more moral muteness and moral disengagement (i.e. the consequence of the consequence). Thus, it may be said that the elaboration of moral muteness eventually contributes to the structural configuration of the descendent cycle of moral formation that would sustain moral muteness unless changes take place in society. Having said that, issues concerned with how moral elaboration acts back to the structure is beyond the scope of the paper. However, it is indeed a topic that is worthy of future investigation.

Implications

The study has three practical implications. Firstly, at the micro level in terms of learning/teaching professional ethics, moral development involves the betterment of one's moral template and self-regulatory mechanisms. The participants felt it was difficult to follow Fennell's (2006) Tourism Ethics while identifying their first association of ethics and morality was Confucianism. This suggests that professional ethics courses in Sino-foreign institutions need to take into consideration of the moral value systems that Chinese learners are more familiar with, and thus a more meaningful explanation of universalist ethical propositions (e.g. the Global Codes of Ethics for Tourism) can be provided to the learners. Further, research suggests that one's

competence in moral reasoning is related to experiences of coping with social conflicts of moral matters (Haan 1985, 1991; Zimmerman and Blom 1983). Thus, tourism ethics courses shall incorporate different scenarios in their pedagogy to help the learners to practise their self-regulatory mechanisms.

Secondly, at the macro level in terms of tourism development, efforts to promote morally guided tourism requires contributions from the wider social and cultural systems. During the participants' moral reasoning process, references were made to law, social norms, Confucian philosophy, economic development, education and so forth. This echoes (1) the inter-connectivity of social and cultural systems - the tourism system has its own characteristics that define what it is but its existence is also dependent on the working of other related systems, and (2) the significance of social sanctions in moral reasoning. With regard to (1), the participants have provided their perspective, making reference to a more democratic political system that does not tolerate bribery and use of guanxi for personal unethical gains. With regard to (2), Reiss (1965, cited in Bandura 1991) has suggested that values and standards adoption is governed by transmission in families and, more primarily, by dissemination of institutional systems, such as education, mass media, and political and legal agencies. Therefore, the adoption of socially promoted values that underpin tourism stakeholders' ethical practice may be enhanced by utilising these channels so as to create a national atmosphere for morally guided tourism practice.

Thirdly, given the uniqueness of Chinese society in terms of its Confucian-led culture that is inevitably attached to communist ideologies, as well as to political and social movements in recent years, 'citizen civility' and its cousin concept 'tourist civility' may be good vehicles to connect Eurocentric ethical propositions with those

held by members in Chinese society. This calls for further investigation on the properties of the cultural items (i.e. consistencies, inconsistencies and their inherent situational logics (Archer, 1996)) and the interplay between the cultural system and the agents.

In terms of the theoretical implication of the study, the developed conceptual framework (Figure 1) is built upon the tenets of critical realist thinking and social psychology. It offers a fruitful approach to future investigation of moral agency in other tourism contexts. This is because (1) the critical realist paradigm allows the identification of sources of cause in the real domain (Bhaskar 1986); (2) Archer's (1995, 1996, 2000) morphogenetic cycle model provides a strong theoretical ground for conceptualisation of contextualised tourism inquiries; (3) by employing analytical dualism, the break in continuity due to lapsed time or spatial distanciation in the duality of agency-structure (Hartwig 2007) is addressed whereby structure (laying down the constraining and enabling conditions for the actions of agents), actions (what is happening in social interactions between agents), and elaboration (reproduction or transformation of the structure) (Danermark et al. 2019) are analytically separated; and (4) the framework is supplemented with social cognitive moral theory, thus psychological causes can be identified to provide a fuller explanation of morally-guided tourism conduct.

Conclusion

This study investigated moral agency. It confirmed the imperative of human reflexivity and social cognitive moral theory's position that moral pronouncements are regulated through self-reactive influences. In the moral reasoning process, multiple embodied moral values, rules, and principles are purposely and reflexively selected, weighted, and

integrated to serve anticipatory incentive motivations. Therefore, to help one progress to a more sophisticated level of moralisation, ethical education should address the betterment of one's moral template and how to improve one's reflexive reasoning skills to mobilise moral knowledge and courses of action. Yet, the role of social-sanctions cannot be underestimated if ethical tourism is to be accepted and practised. Ethical tourism development requires a holistic approach.

Despite all the challenges that the participants have discussed, there is a hope, among some of the participants, that there is a future for ethical tourism. From the participants' perspective, this hope for better tourism is concerned with the flourishing of the nation's tourism as a whole; thus, it is a more collectivist perspective than an individualist sense. Indeed, like any other forms of social development, ethical tourism development is a long journey that can be accelerated if we know what the generative processes are - this is where the realist paradigm can make a contribution.

Finally, one interesting by-product of the project is the identification of connectivity of tourism with other social systems. The interviews started by asking the participants about their views on ethics in tourism. As the dialogues among the participants developed, a wide range of issues emerged which were concerned with law, social norms, Confucian philosophy, economic development, education and so forth. These emerging topics have indicated the complexity of moral reasoning of tourism matters, triggering the question: Where is the boundary of 'tourism' and 'ethical tourism' in this case?

References

Ajzen, I. 1991. "The Theory of Planned Behaviour." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Process*, 50 (2): 179-211.

Archer, M. S. 1995. *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. 1996. *Culture and Agency: The Place of Culture in Social Theory.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. 2000. *Being Human: The Problem of Agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. 2003. *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. 2007. *Making Our Way Through the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. 2012. *The Reflexive Imperative in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bandura, A. 1991. "Social Cognitive Theory of Moral Thought and Action." In *Handbook of Moral Behavior and Development: Volume 1. Theory,* edited by William M. Kurtines and Jacob L. Gewirtz, 45-104. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bandura, A. 2001. "Social Cognitive Theory: An Agentic Perspective." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52 (1): 1-26.

Bandura, A., C. Barbaranelli, G. V. Caprara., and C. Pastorelli. 1996. "Mechanisms of

    Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency." *Journal of Personality*

    and Social Psychology, 71 (2): 364-374.

Bandura, A., G. V. Caprara, C. Barbaranelli, C. Pastorelli, and C. Regalia. 2001.

    "Sociocognitive Self-regulatory Mechanisms Governing Transgressive

    Behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80 (1): 125-135.

Bandura, A., and F. J. Jourden. 1991. "Self-regulatory Mechanisms Governing the

    Impact of Social Comparison on Complex Decision Making." *Journal of*

    Personality and Social Psychology, 60 (6): 941-951.

Bhaskar, R. 1986. *Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation*. London: Verso.

Booker, R. 2021. "A Psychological Perspective of Agency and Structure within Critical

    Realist Theory: A Specific Application to the Construct of Self-efficacy."

    Journal of Critical Realism. Doi:10.1080/14767430.2021.1958281.

Botterill, D. 2007. "A Realist Critique of the Situated Voice in Tourism Studies." Chap.

    8 In *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies,*

    edited by Irena Ateljevic, Aannette Pritchard, and Nigel Morgan, 121-130.

    London: Routlege.

Branigan, T. 2013. "Chinese Tourists Warned Over Bad Behaviour Overseas."

    Guardian, May 17. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/17/chinese-

    tourists-warned-behaving-badly-wang-yang

Bunge, M. 2004. "How Does It Work? The Search for Explanatory Mechanisms."

    Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 34 (2): 182-210.

    doi:10.1177/0048393103262550.

Caton, K. 2012. "Taking the Moral Turn in Tourism Studies." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (4): 1906-1928.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2002). "Confucius and the Analects in the Hàn." Chap. 7 in *Confucius and the Analects New Essay*, edited by Bryan W. Van Norden, 134-162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Danermark, B., M. Ekström, and J. Ch. Karlsson. 2019. *Explaining Society: Critical Realism in the Social Sciences.* 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.

Decrop, A. 2004. "Trustworthiness in Qualitative Tourism Research." Chap. 9 in *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, edited by Lisa Goodson and Jenny Phillimore, 156-169. Abingdon: Routledge.

Emirbayer, M., and A. Mische. 1998. "What Is Agency?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 103 (4): 962-1023.

Fennell, D. A. 2006a. *Tourism Ethics*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Fennell, D. A. 2006b. "Evolution in Tourism: The Theory of Reciprocal Altruism and Tourist-Host Interactions." *Current Issues in Tourism*, 9(2): 105-124.

Fletcher, A. J. 2017. "Applying Critical Realism in Qualitative Research: Methodology Meets Method." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 20 (2): 181-194.

Garrigan, B., A. L. R. Adlam, and P. E. Langdon. 2018. "Moral Decision-making and Moral Development: Toward an Integrative Framework." *Developmental Review*, 49: 80-100. doi:10.1016/J.DR.2018.06.001.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gilligan, C. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. London: Harvard University Press.

Go, J. (2021). "Overview Discussing the Main Themes Introduced in 'A Realist Theory of Science'". Pre-conference workshops, International Association Critical Realism 2021, 20-24 September.

Haan, N. 1985. "Processes of Moral Development: Cognitive or Social Disequilibrium?" *Developmental Psychology*, 21 (6): 996-1006.

Haan, N. 1991. "Moral Development and Action from a Social Constructivist Perspective." Chap. 7 in *Handbook of Moral Behavior and Development: Volume 1. Theory,* edited by W. M. Kurtines and J. L. Gewirtz, 251-273. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Han, H. 2015. "Travelers' Pro-environmental Behavior in a Green Lodging Context: Converging Value-belief-norm Theory and the Theory of Planned Behaviour." *Tourism Management*, 47: 164-177. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2014.09.014.

Han, H, J. Hwang, M. J. Lee, and J. Kim. 2019. "Word-of-mouth, Buying, and Sacrifice Intentions for Eco-cruises: Exploring the Function of Norm Activation and Value-attitude-behavior." *Tourism Management*, 70: 430-443. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2018.09.006.

Han, H., and S. S. Hyun. 2018. "What Influences Water Conservation and Towel Reuse Practices of Hotel Guests?" *Tourism Management*, 64, 87-97. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2017.08.005.

Hartwig, M. (Ed.) 2007. *Dictionary of Critical Realism*. London: Routledge.

Honderich, T. 1995. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University
Press.

Hudson, S., and G. Miller. 2005. "Ethical Orientation and Awareness of Tourism
Students." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 62 (4): 383-396. doi:10.1007/s10551-
005-0850-8.

Jackall, R. 1988. *Moral Mazes: The World of Corporate Managers*. Oxford: Oxford
University Press.

Juschten, M., A. Jiricka-Pürrer, W. Unbehaun, and R. Hössinger. 2019. "The Mountains
are Calling! An Extended TPB Model for Understanding Metropolitan
Residents' Intentions to Visit Nearby Alpine Destinations in Summer." *Tourism
Management*, 75: 293-306. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2019.05.014.

Juvan, E., and Ss Dolnicar. 2016. "Measuring Environmentally Sustainable Tourist
Behaviour." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 59: 30-44.
doi:10.1016/j.annals.2016.03.006.

Kiatkawsin, K., and H. Han. 2017. "Young Travelers' Intention to Behave Pro-
environmentally: Merging the Value-belief-norm Theory and the Expectancy
Theory." Tourism Management, 59: 76-88. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2016.06.018.

Kohlberg, L. 1969. "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-developmental Approach to
Socialization." In *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, edited by
David Goslin, 347-480. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.

Kohlberg, L. 1981. *The Philosophy of Moral Development: Moral Stages and the Idea
of Justice*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Kohlberg, L, and D. Candee. 1984. "The Relation of Moral Judgement to Moral

    Action." In *Morality, Moral Behavior and Moral Development*, edited by W. M.

    Kurtines and J. L. Gewirtz, 52-73. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Kreps, T. A., and B. Monin. 2011. ""Doing well by doing good"? Ambivalent Moral

    Framing in Organizations." *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 31: 99-123.

    doi:10.1016/j.riob.2011.09.008.

Kuhn, A. 2015. "For Chinese tourists behaving badly, a government blacklist." *National*

    Public Radio, May 8. Accessed 14 August 2021.

    https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/05/08/405183120/beijing-clamps-

    down-on-chinese-tourists-behaving-badly

Lawson, T. 2019. *The Nature of Social Reality: Issues in Social Ontology*. Milton Park:

    Taylor & Francis.

Lee, H. Y., M. A. Bonn, E. L. Reid, and W. G. Kim. 2017. "Differences in Tourist

    Judgement and Responsible Tourism Intention: An Ethical Scenario Approach."

    Tourism Management, 60: 298-307. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2016.12.003.

Li, L. 2022. "Critical Realist Approach: A Solution to Tourism's Most Pressing

    Matter." *Current Issues in Tourism*, 25(10): 1541-1556.

    doi:10.1080/13683500.2021.1944994.

Li, L, and G. Rivers. 2018. "An Inquiry into the Delivering of a British Curriculum in

    China." *Teaching in Higher Education*, 23 (7): 785-801.

    doi:10.1080/13562517.2017.1421626.

Locke, D. 1979. "Cognitive States of Developmental Phases – Critique of Kohlberg's Stage-structural Theory of Moral Reasoning." *Journal of Moral Education*, 8 (2): 168-181. doi:10.1080/0305724790080303.

Locke, D. 1980. "The Illusion of Stage Six." *Journal of Moral Education*, 9 (2): 103-109. doi:10.1080/0305724800090204.

Macbeth, J. 2005. "Towards an Ethics Platform for Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32 (4): 962-984. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2004.11.005.

Maclean, M., C. Harvey, and R. Chia. 2012. "Reflexive Practice and the Making of Elite Business Careers." *Management Learning*, 43: 385-404. doi:10.1177/1350507612449680.

Malloy, D. C., and D. A. Fennell. 1998a. "Ecotourism and Ethics: Moral Development and Organizational Cultures." *Journal of Travel Research*, 36: 47-56. doi:10.1177/004728759803600406.

Malloy, D. C., and D. A. Fennell. 1998b. "Codes of Ethics and Tourism: An Exploratory Content Analysis." *Tourism Management*, 19 (5): 453-461. doi:10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00042-9.

Malloy, D. C., S. Ross, and D. H. Zakus. 2000. S*port Ethics: Concepts and Cases in Sport and Recreation*. Ontario: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Marnbury, E. 2006. ""I Hope it Won't Happen to Me!" Hospitality and Tourism Students' Fear of Difficult Moral Situations as Managers." *Tourism Management*, 27: 561-575. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2005.02.001.

Maxwell, J. A. 2012. *A Realist Approach for Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Miller, G. A. 2003. "Consumerism in Sustainable Tourism: A Survey of UK

   Consumers." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11 (1): 17-39.

   doi:10.1080/09669580308667191.

Miller, G. A., K. Rathouse, C. Scarles, K. Holmes, and J. Tribe. 2010. "Public

   Understanding of Sustainable Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (3):

   627-645. doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.12.002.

Mischel, W., and H. N. Mischel. 1976. "A Social-cognitive Learning Approach to

   Morality and Self-regulation. In *Moral Development and Behavior*, edited by T.

   Lickona, 84-107. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Norrie, A. 2018a. "Love Actually: Law and the Moral Psychology of Forgiveness."

   Journal of Critical Realism, 17 (4): 390-407.

   doi:10.1080/14767430.2018.1472409.

Norrie, A. 2018b. "Love and Justice: Can We Flourish without Addressing the Past?"

   Journal of Critical Realism, 17 (1): 17-33.

   doi:10.1080/14767430.2018.1426525.

O'Brien, M. 2013. "Theorising Modernity: Reflexivity, Identity and Environment in

   Giddens' Social Theory. Chap. 1 in *Theorising Modernity: Reflexivity,*

   Environment and Identity in Giddens' Social Theory, edited by M. O'Brien, S.

   Penna, and C. Hay. Abingdon: Routledge. (eBook)

Popper, K. 1996. *Knowledge and the Body-mind Problem: In Defence of Interaction*.

   Abingdon: Routledge.

Porpora, D. V. 2019. "A Reflection on Critical Realism and Ethics." *Journal of Critical*

   Realism, 18 (3): 274-284. doi:10.1080/14767430.2019.1618064.

Pritchard, A., N. Morgan, and I. Ateljevic. 2011. "Hopeful Tourism: A New

    Transformative Perspective." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38 (3): 941-963.

    doi:10.1016/j.annals.2011.01.004.

Rand, A. 1964. *The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism*. Exeter: Signet.

Rest, J. R. 1973. "The Hierarchical Nature of Moral Judgement: A Study of Patterns of

    Comprehension and Preference of Moral Stages." *Journal of Personality*, 41 (1):

    86-109. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1973.tb00662.x.

Ritchie, J., L. Spencer, and W. O'Connor. 2003. "Carrying out Qualitative Analysis." In

    Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and

    Researchers, edited by J. Ritchie and J. Lewis, 219-262. London: Sage.

Rottschaefer, W. A. 1986. "Learning to Be a Moral Agent." *The Personalist Forum*, 2

    (2): 122-142. Accessed 14 August 2021. www.jstor.org/stable/20708482.

Sampaio, A. R., R. Thomas, and X. Font. 2012. "Why Are Some Engaged and Not

    Others? Explaining Environmental Engagement among Small Firms in

    Tourism." *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 14 (3): 235-249.

    doi:10.1002/jtr.849.

Sayer, A. 2011. "*Why Things Matter to People: Social Science, Values and Ethical Life*.

    Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schultz, P. W. 2001. "The Structure of Environmental Concern: Concern for Self, Other

    People, and the Biosphere." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21 (4): 327-

    339. doi:10.1006/jevp.2001.0227.

Schultz, P. W., V. V. Gouveia, L. D. Cameron, G, Tankha, P. Schmuck, and M. Franek.

    2005. "Values and Their Relationship to Environmental Concern and

Conservation Behavior." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36 (4): 457-475. doi:10.1177/0022022105275962.

Schwartz, S. H. 1992. "Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, edited by M. P. Zanna, 1-65. Cambridge: Academic Press.

Shahzalal, M., and X. Font. 2018. "Influencing Altruistic Tourist Behaviour: Persuasive Communication to Affect Attitudes and Self-efficacy Beliefs." *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 20 (3): 326-334. doi: 10.1002/jtr.2184.

Shun, K. 2002. "Rén 仁 and Lǐ 礼 in the Analects." In *Confucius and the Analects New Essays,* edited by B. W. Van Norden, 53-72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spalding, M., L. Burke, S. A. Wood, J. Ashpole, J. Hutchison, and P. zu Ermgassen. 2017. "Mapping the Global Value and Distribution of Coral Reef Tourism." *Marine Policy*, 82: 104-113. doi: 10.1016/j.marpol.2017.05.014.

Spencer, L., J. Ritchie, W. O'Connor, G. Morrell, and R. Ormston. 2013. "Carrying out Qualitative Analysis. In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researcher,* edited by J. Ritchie, J. Lewis, C. M. Nicholls, and R. Ormston, 295-346). London: Sage.

Stake, R. E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.

Stern, P. C., T. Dietz, T. Abel, G. A. Guagnano, and L. Kalof. 1999. "A Value-belief-norm Theory of Support for Social Movements: The Case of Environmentalism." *Research in Human Ecology*, 6 (2): 81-97.

Tavitiyaman, P., A. Zhang, H. C. A. Ko, and A. W. Ng. 2019. "Effects of the Hospitality Industry's Code of Ethics on Organizational Performance." *Journal*

of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism, 20 (1): 66-88. doi: 10.1080/1528008X.2018.1483286.

Tolkach, D., S. Pratt, and C. Y. H. Zeng. 2017. "Ethics of Chinese and Western Tourists in Hong Kong." *Annals of Tourism Research,* 63: 83-96. doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2017.01.004.

Toptour. 2013. "*Shao Qi Wei: six tasks to improve Chinese outbound tourists' civility"* (邵琪伟：提升中国公民出境游文明素质需要抓好六项工作). *Top Tour*, August 8. Accessed on March 28, 2018. www.toptour.cn/detail/info95151.htm

Van Norden, B. W. 2002. "Introduction." In *Confucius and the Analects New Essays,* edited by B. W. Van Norden, 3-36. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Norden, B. W. 2011. *Introduction to Classical Chinese Philosophy*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

Watson, T. J. 2003. "Ethical Choice in Managerial Work: The Scope for Moral Choices in an Ethically Irrational World." *Human Relations*, 56 (2): 167-185. doi:10.1177/0018726703056002890.

Wilson, S. A. 2002. "Conformity, Individuality, and the Nature of Virtue: A Classical Confucian Contribution to Contemporary Ethical Reflection. In *Confucius and the Analects New Essays,* edited by B. W. Van Norden, 94-115. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Tourism Organization (n.d.). *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism*. The World Tourism Organization. Accessed on March 28, 2019. https://www.unwto.org/global-code-of-ethics-for-tourism

Wu, J., X. Font, and J. Liu. 2020. "Tourists' Pro-environmental Behaviors: Moral Obligation or Disengagement?" *Journal of Travel Research*, 00 (0), 1-14. doi:10.1177/0047287520910787.

Yin, R. K. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage.

Zhang, H., W. Chen, Y. Zhang, D. Buhalis, and L. Lu. 2018. "National Park Visitors' Car-use Intention: A Norm-neutralization Model." *Tourism Management*, 69: 97-108. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2018.06.001.

Zheng, S. 2017. "Elderly flight passenger throws coins into engine for 'luck', delays take-off for hours." *South China Morning Post*, June 27. Accessed on August 29, 2018. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2100242/elderly-flight-passenger-throws-coins-engine-luck-delays-take

Ziegler, J. A., J. N. Silberg, G. Araujo, J. Labaja, A. Ponzo, R. Rollins, and P. Dearden. 2018. "A Guilty Pleasure: Tourist Perspectives on the Ethics of Feeding Whale Sharks in Oslob, Philippines." *Tourism Management*, 68: 264-274. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2018.04.001.

Zimmerman, B. J., and D. E. Blom. 1983. "Toward an Empirical Test of the Role of Cognitive Conflict in Learning." *Development Review*, 3 (1): 18-38. doi:10.1016/0273-2297(83)90005-9.