当东方遇到西方:

跨国空间中的国际旅游体验 (英文)

李志○著

WHEN EAST MEETS WEST

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Preface

In the context of a fast changing world, everyday lives of people are increasingly impinged upon by an unprecedented compression of time and space. International travel, as one major force of contemporary mobility, not only generates large-scale human movements across national boundaries, but also facilitates the construction of dynamic and meaningful experiences. This book is based upon a project which sought to explore international travel experience from a transnational perspective by determining for a selected group of travelers from mainland China who visited the U. S. primarily for educational purposes, how they invested their experiences with meanings and how these meanings were reflected in their identity construction and development. This project involved 18 semi-structured interviews conducted in the United States. The findings of this project suggested that the travelers' international mobility afforded them an opportunity to experience the places they visited 'in the flesh', to build new connections through the encounters between the self and the other, to gain a greater sense of knowing of different cultures at a more personal level, and to affirm a fuller sense of their identity. It is the hope of this book to expand the knowledge of tourism and leisure in a more connected world from a non-Western perspective and to provide a step toward the understanding of how travel contributes to the formation and development of identities among Chinese overseas travelers in the age of globalization.

This book is the result of my years of engagement with leisure and tourism research. Learning is the greatest of joys and I have been lucky to be able to devote my time to it. The research and preparation of the project has been one of the richest and most enjoyable journeys of my life. Through this journey, I am grateful to many. To begin, my sincere thanks go to the 18 people who vicariously took me on their travel in the U. S. Every conversation I had with these people was nothing but pleasurable and engaging. I thank them all for giving me such treasured memories. My greatest debt of thanks goes to all the colleagues of mine at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) and Beijing International Studies University (BISU) for their assistance, ideas, inspiration, and encouragement at various stages of the development of this project. It has been an exciting process to bring to fruition a project that progressed with a series of discussions with these knowledgeable and supportive people. This project has benefited a lot from careful reading, editing and incisive suggestions by them.

I owe a special debt of thanks to my research adviser at the University of Illinois—Dr. Monika Stodolska for the light and encouraging hand she had kept on the helm during the production of this project. Her openness to ideas which push the thinking further in the area of leisure studies had encouraged me to take some risks in my own writing. She allowed me the latitude to pursue my own ideas. She worked with me tirelessly so I could complete the journey. She had been so patient, so giving, so caring, and so loving to me. She gave me just enough rope, yet was always available whenever I needed her advice and guidance. As everything I have written, she made extensive insightful comments on it. Most especially, she has been supportive throughout the journey, intellectually, mentally, and financially, for which I am profoundly grateful and cannot thank her enough. I am indebted to my friends for helping me learn and survive. Jouyeon and Jennifer have been two ever-helpful friends during my Ph. D. study years with all their advices and suggestions which saved me many hours of tedious work and with their support and encouragement whenever I shared with them my ups and downs. I would also like to say thanks to Gongmei, Xingrong, Pei-Chun, Maja, Christine, Xiao, Yan and many others who provided support and a lot of laughs along the way.

My family is and has always been part of every journey I have taken no matter where. Their encouragement has provided me the courage to venture new and exciting places. As always they never let me doubt that I should trust my ability to do what I consider worthy. They never doubt that I could accomplish it all. I am forever grateful to my parents Longen Li and Shenji Wang. If abiding by one Confucian belief, I as a Chinese daughter should not move too far away from the house I grew up when my parents are alive. But I stayed more than six thousand miles away from home for seven years to pursue my study. It was not easy for me, and it must be much tougher for my parents. I sincerely thank them for their unfailing love and support in my entire life. I also thank my sister who took care of my parents in the years of my absence. Finally, I dedicate this project to my husband Fan for his support at all times through my academic endeavors. I am grateful to our baby girl Ellie (yiyi) for making things difficult enough to help me maintain a sense of humor and some perspective on my work throughout. They are the best gifts I could ever expect in my life.

To finish, I would like to share an excerpt from an article written by Pico Iyer about why people travel. It inspires my thinking about the goal of tourism and leisure research and it justifies that it is a worthwhile and exciting area that I am going to be continuously working on.

"So travel, at heart, is just a quick way of keeping our minds mobile and awake... There is wisdom in turning as often as possible from the familiar to the unfamiliar; it keeps the mind nimble; it kills prejudice, and it fosters humor... And if travel is like love, it is, in the end, mostly because it's a heightened state of awareness, in which we are mindful, receptive, undimmed by familiarity and ready to be transformed. That is why the best trips, like the best love affairs, never really end."

Table of Contents

Chapter I	Introduction
1.1	Greater connectedness across national borders—the context of tourism
	and leisure in the contemporary world
1.2	Rationale for the study · · · · 5
1.3	The goals and the objectives of the study $\ensuremath{\cdots}$ 9
1.4	The setting and the delimitations of the study $\ \cdots \ 11$
Chapter II	Tourist Experience and Identity Development 15
2.1	Definition of tourism · · · · · 17
2.2	Conceptualization of tourist experience
2.3	Tourist experience and identity
2.4	Educational tourism—overseas study trips
Chapter III	Transnationalism and International Tourism 31
3.1	The concept of transnationalism
3.2	Theories of transnational practice
3.3	Transnational migration and transmigrants 40
3.4	Transnational orientations from home
3.5	Transnational experience and negotiated identities 43
3.6	Transnational space and international tourism

Chapter IV	Leisure, Tourism, and Identity Reconsideration in the Changing
	China
4.1	Leisure and tourism tradition in China
4.2	Emerging leisure culture and identity in contemporary China 54
4.3	Development of Chinese tourism and its social significance · · · · · 58
4.4	Summary 62
Chapter V	Methodology
5.1	Interpretive leisure and tourism studies
5.2	Interpretivism and the philosophical stance of this study 68
5.3	Data collection · · · · · 78
5.4	Data analysis ····· 80
5.5	Methods for achieving trustworthiness
Chapter VI	Constructing the Transnational Space of Travel 83
6.1	Imagining transnational connections at home 85
6.2	Building transnational connections on the road 97
6.3	Connecting home and destination through travel 112
6.4	Summary
Chapter VII	Locating Oneself in the Transnational Space
7.1	Living as a foreigner
7.2	Journeying as a traveler
7.3	Mapping China and being Chinese
7.4	Being reflexive as a human being
7.5	Summary 153

Chapter VIII	Discussion · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	155
8.1	Trans-cultural learning and understanding through international	
	travel	157
8.2	Formation of transnational space through international travel $\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	159
8.3	International travel and a renewed sense of self	166
Chapter IX	Conclusions	171
9.1	Summary of major findings · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	173
9.2	Contributions of the study	174
9.3	Limitations of the study	180
9.4	Suggestions for future research	181
9.5	Concluding thoughts ·····	183
D . f		196

Introduction

Chapter]

1. 1 Greater connectedness across national borders—the context of tourism and leisure in the contemporary world

In the context of a fast changing world, everyday lives of people are increasingly impinged upon by an unprecedented compression of time and space. Forces of geographic transformation, such as technology development, globalization, international migration, as well as tourism facilitate flows of people, money, commodities, information, and images across national boundaries (*Meethan*, 2001). As Giddens (1991) argued, nowadays we are dealing with "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (p. 64). In the leisure domain, various forms of mass popular culture, such as music, sports, films, satellite TV, the Internet, and global travel, have become the parts of a lifestyle of people around the world (Lu, 2001; Yan, 1997). It is evident that more and more people from different countries are engaging in the worldwide leisure pursuits such as surfing the Internet or traveling to foreign destinations (*Henderson & Presley*, 2003).

Tourism, as one of the major contemporary forces of mobility, provides the most significant means of large-scale, direct, physical contact and cultural exchange (Terkenli, 2002). Defined by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) as traveling for reasons other than obtaining income with at least one overnight stay abroad, international tourism has been developing at an exponential rate in the second half of the last century. It is responsible for the movement of millions of people each year, who travel for a variety of reasons, including holidays, business, education, health, and visiting friends and relatives. As Kaplan (1996) argued, travel, changing locations, and leaving home have become central experiences for many people around the world. Official statistics indicate that the number of global international tourist

arrivals reached an all-time high of 760 million in 2004 (WTO, 2005), and is expected to reach 1 billion by the year 2010 (Graburn, 1995). It is important to note that the significance of international tourism rests not only in the large-scale human movements, but also in the dynamic and meaningful experiences constructed through travel. Tourist experiences help establish bonds with people around the world (D'Amore, 1988) and, more importantly, shape the ways in which people relate to and understand self and the others (Palmer, 2005). In this regard, large-scale human movements, such as tourism, not only involve institutionalized economic, political, and cultural initiatives, but also entail the "transformations in the very texture of everyday life... affecting even intimacies of personal identity" (Giddens, 1996, p. 367-368).

Although the ever-expanding globalization and the concomitant flows of people, money, information, and images have reached many countries around the globe, there exist differences between the reasons for and the ways in which people participate in the globalized culture (Kaplan, 1996). In the case of mainland China, the tremendous political and economic changes that occurred in recent decades have provided, in part, the conditions for the current social and cultural transformations. As one manifestation of such changes, there exists among Chinese citizens a growing awareness of new leisure lifestyles. Due to the exposure to a wider assortment of cultural experiences brought in by globalization, the interest of Chinese people has turned toward the burgeoning mass culture and entertainment, such as soap opera, MTV, fashion shows, and tourism. As a survey conducted in 2000 reported, 54% of Chinese urban population expressed their intention to increase expenditures on leisure, recreation, and tourism in the future (Du, Li, Qin, & Li, 2002). Endowed with more discretionary income and free time, Chinese people are now eager to travel out of the country and see the outside world. As a result, the number of Chinese outbound tourists has reached 10.47 million in 2000. As estimated by the WTO, this number is expected to reach 50 million by 2010, and 100 million by

1.2 Rationale for the study

The exponential rate of global expansion of leisure and tourism during the last decade has spawned a variety of means of analyzing the phenomena. Leisure is increasingly viewed by the researchers as an emergent experience that ultimately enriches one's life (Patterson, Watson, Williams, & Roggenbuck, 1998). This view directed research attention to how leisure experiences are constructed and remembered by the individuals in their interactions with situational leisure contexts. In other words, researches have begun to acknowledge the fact that the concept of leisure encompasses the subjective meanings given by individuals to their leisure practices, and the individual and social interactions implicit in it (Kelly, 1987). Furthermore, the leisure contexts, which are relatively consequence-free, are believed to offer alternative lifestyles that incorporate a sense of self-worth and a process of identity formation (Kelly, 1983, 1987, 1996; Loeffler, 2004; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Silbereisen & Todt, 1994). It is also in leisure that people form social bonds with their family members, friends, and intimate others, and establish and adjust their identities (Kelly, 1983; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Kyle & Chick, 2002).

As one embodiment of leisure, tourism and its social impacts have long been the subject of research among tourism sociologists and anthropologists (e. g., Aramberri, 2003; Boorstin, 1964; Cohen, 1979; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Graburn, 1983; MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990). Yet opinions are divided over what the nature of the tourist experience is. On one side of the debate, tourism is described as a trivial, superficial pursuit of vicarious and contrived experiences (e. g., Boorstin). The other side of the debate, however, argues that tourism should be considered as an earnest quest for the authentic (e. g., MacCannell, 1973). In line with the authenticity argument, some previous literature suggested that the perspectives of tourists themselves offer insights into the tourist experience. From the tourists' point

of view, travel experience has been described as a meaningful event which entails a course of discovery and a progressive evolution (Botterill & Crompton, 1996; Cohen, 1972; Weber, 2001). The main theme underlining this view was that tourists have enlightened and invigorated experiences during their trips through which they express their innermost desires (Aramberri; Botterill, & Crompton). The view of tourism as a meaningful experience led further to the exploration of associations between tourism and the construction of the self, identity, and subjectivity. It has been argued that tourism includes an inner dimension beyond exterior travel activities (such as sight-seeing, visiting historical sites, souvenir shopping, or communicating with local people) (Desforges, 2000). This inner dimension offers opportunities for self-reflection and self-development among tourists (Squire, 1994; Wearing, & Wearing, 1996).

Although the significance of tourism in the process of identity development has been discussed in the previous literature (e.g., Botterill, 1989; Desforges, 2000; Giddens, 1991; Golik, 1999; Muller, & O'Cass, 2001; White, & White, 2004), how tourists experience their trips and how they create representations of themselves through travel should be afforded more research efforts and attention. As Desforges argued, there still seems to be a general lack of empirical engagement with tourists "in the flesh" (p. 931). Writers who relied on empirical data to understand the nature of tourist experience have either employed questionnaire surveys or analyzed the existing travel writings, promotional brochures and souvenirs, and the writings of other theorists. Little of what has been written about tourists was based on what tourists themselves have to say about their own experiences (Harrison, 2003). Relatively less research has been conducted on the social and cultural meanings of travel and how such meanings impact the construction of identities (Dann, 1996; Desforges, 2000).

In addition, few studies have been conducted to understand leisure and tourism from the perspective of transnationalism, although understanding of leisure and tourist experience has been developed in recent years against the backdrop of constant flows of people, values and ideas across national borders. The concept of transnationalism, developed in 1992 by Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc Szanton, broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 1999a). As transnationalism studies suggest, a growing number of people live dual lives and maintain regular contacts with their home communities. They are different from traditional immigrants in the sense that they do not settle in the host society and undergo an inevitable process of assimilation. Rather, they constantly cultivate strong political (e.g., multiple citizenship), economic (e.g., financial remittances), and social and cultural (e.g., celebration of ethnic holidays) networks across national borders (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). They establish these linkages by developing and sharing experiences, perceptions, and subjective understandings of the host and destination countries and of themselves. Therefore, transnational spaces are considered as a place for developing, testing, and transforming multiple and diversified identities (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Blanc Szanton, 1994; Cohen, 1994; Rosewarne, 2004; Vertovec, 1999). Recognizing the active engagement of tourism in the transnational flows of people, capital, and culture, some researchers have attempted to embrace tourism in the conceptual landscape of transnationalism (Appadurai, 1996; Coles, Duval, & Hall, 2005; Hannerz, 1996; Harrison, 2003; Louie, 2003; Portes et al. 1999; Torres & Momsen, 2005) . However, such investigations of tourism within the framework of transnationalism are still rare, both within and outside of leisure and tourism studies.

Furthermore, despite the fact that the meanings of leisure and tourism as situated in complex social and cultural contexts have been extensively discussed by social scientists, such understanding has yet to take an international perspective. Most of the studies conducted so far in these areas drew mainly from Western frameworks of knowledge and, as such, excluded non-Western perspectives

(Watkins, 2000). It is important to note that leisure and tourism have their own particular histories and may develop differently. They are not immune to changes in social worlds including society's structural and cultural patterns, such as population dynamics, technology, values, and beliefs. Moreover, social and economic policies which vary tremendously in different countries and in different historical periods are likely to influence the ways in which the meanings of leisure and tourism are produced, reproduced, resisted, challenged, or transformed among individuals and communities. In this sense, it can be argued that leisure and tourism research should be more sensitive to the fact that leisure practices in different social contexts could have different meanings and, therefore, need to be interpreted differently. Rather than imposing or testing Western assumptions about leisure and tourism and their relationship to their antecedents and outcomes, it is important to discover their meanings from groups outside of the North American and Western European countries.

Lastly, tourism and leisure have long been regarded as two separate areas of research and there has been relatively little exchange of theories between them (Harris, McLaughlin, & Ham, 1987; Smith, & Godbey, 1991). The opinion that tourist experience, as happening in the specific time and geographic location, is different and should be separated from everyday leisure pursuits at home is widespread among leisure and tourism researchers (Carr, 2002; Pearce, 1995; Ryan, & Kinder, 1996). It is worth noting, however, that leisure and tourism can be studied using a more integrated approach. On the one hand, situating both leisure and tourism in the context of everyday life could contribute to the understanding of both experiences. In contrast to the perception of tourist activities as "relatively rare and infrequent leisure episodes" (Mannell, & Iso-Ahola, 1987, p. 315-316), it is possible to conceive tourism, along with other forms of leisure, as a part of "everyday life." In fact, planning to take trips, discussing past or future trips in social settings, reading about other places and cultures, being told about overseas