

# **“Performing tourism: Chinese outbound organized mass tourists on their travels through German tourism stages”**

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## Abstract

Tourism studies have understood tourism as a “Western” phenomenon, which tended to neglect the presence of “non-Western” tourists and to over-generalise the application and universality of their theories. By now, tourism has become a global phenomenon with growing numbers of “emergent tourists”, especially from China. However, its quantitative importance, the touristic performances of this source market, and especially those of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists in western tourism stages continue to be under-researched. Moreover, the analysis of the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena encompasses mostly economic and business driven-studies and reports, which look for homogeneity instead of plurality of voices.

Drawing from all of the above, the aim of this interdisciplinary research is, therefore, to explore and provide further understanding of the tourism performances of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists on German tourism stages. To achieve this, the research draws on the performance approach in tourism research. The conceptual framework includes notions of the dramaturgical metaphor of performance developed by Erving Goffman (1959), the performance process as theorized by Richard Schechner (2002) in his writings on Performance Studies, as well as the performance turn in tourism studies, where the work of Edensor (1998, 2001), Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Rakić & Chambers (2012), among others, is included.

The research is based on a phenomenological approach, appropriate to this research due to its ethnographic character. Part of the study’s field research was conducted largely from 2011 to 2012, both in China and Germany. In China, information was gathered by using open and semi-structured in-depth expert interviews with representatives from the Chinese tourism industry, tourism boards, as well as with tourism academics. In Germany, the ethnographic fieldwork consisted of participant observations, semi-structured interviews and short questionnaires to Chinese outbound tourist members of group package tours organized by Chinese-German travel companies. Complementary to tourist contributions, is the information provided by the groups’ tour guides and tour leaders during semi-structured in-depth interviews and “on the run” talks. Furthermore, expert interviews were conducted with German industry representatives, experts and academics in 2013. As far as the analysis of the field research is concerned, the study relies on the GABEK qualitative method of research analysis supported by the WinRelan 32 software. Complementary to the GABEK generated structures is the information from field notes, diaries, photos and videos, as well as those materials sent by tourists after their performances and the virtual ethnography of tourists’ photos on Chinese social media platforms.

As part of the discussion, this research argues that the examination of tourism practices and behaviours of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists under the performance metaphor is able to provide further understanding on the previously neglected tourism consumption of “non-Western” tourists. Within the findings, it was possible to identify both modern and post-modern characteristics of the Chinese outbound organized mass market. This concurs with the recent de-differentiation between the typical tourism binaries (everyday-holiday and home-away) found in tourism theory by acknowledging that everyday conventions and habits inform touristic performances of Chinese tourists in Germany. Moreover, the research presents insights that allow to corroborate the future presence of organized mass tourists in the Chinese outbound market, as well as to de-inferiorise and de-homogenise the segment. With regard to German stages, the research highlights the opportunities and challenges Germany’s tourism industry still has ahead of it. Finally, the study presents a number of implications for future practice, which can be useful to plan a long-term strategy for Chinese outbound tourism.

Keywords: China, Tourism, Cultural Geography, Performance, Organized Mass Tourists



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## Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Jonas Pendzialek, my partner in life.

## Chapter 1. Setting the Thesis

The Chinese citizens' lust for travel has been growing steadily throughout the past decade. By 2013, China had become the number one touristic source market worldwide, both in terms of border-crossings and expenditure. However, its quantitative importance, the touristic performances of this source market, and especially the organized mass tourists on western tourism stages have not yet been extensively researched. Thus, this thesis seeks to shed further light on the tourism performances of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists on German touristic stages.

Borrowing from dramaturgical vocabulary, this introduction serves as a proto-performance phase, where the reader gathers the skills to comprehend why I decided to perform research by analysing Chinese tourists using the performance approach in tourism studies and selecting Germany's touristic stages. In this chapter, which is subjective and reflexive by nature, I provide the background and importance of the topic and present the rationale of my research. Moreover, I introduce the aim and objectives, as well as present an overview of the research process and shortly introduce the chapters of the thesis.

### 1.1. Background and Rationale

Over the years, there has been an increasing interest in Chinese outbound tourism worldwide. The media has repeatedly reported on the rise and remarkable development of China's outbound tourism market (China Daily, 2012), (BTN, 2012); about the need for understanding the market (FT, 2011) in order to entice the tourists (i.e. to visit Latin America (CNN International, 2011) about specific behaviours and eccentricities of Chinese while travelling worldwide, as well as about the new "Grand Tour" versions of Chinese around Europe (The Economist, 2010, Osnos, 2011, Orth, 2013). For their part, academics have described it as a "sleeping giant" (Davidson, Hertrich, & Schwandner, 2004), which is radically "changing the world's tourism pattern" (Zhang & Liu, 2008).

One of the reasons for the positive development of China's outbound tourism is the rise of the middle class. After China's economic reform and opening up in 1978, Chinese citizens have improved their standard of living, as well as increased their disposable incomes. Along with these changes, appeared China's middle class<sup>1</sup>. In a study of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) the academy had estimated that 19% of China's population could be called middle class in 2003, whereas, by 2020, the study forecasts that 40% of the population will belong to the middle class, with about 400 million people (CASS, 2003).

Along with China's middle class, other rising middle classes from the so-called emerging markets are reshaping the international tourism geographies with their ever increasing mobilities. In 2011, European middle classes citizens continued to represent more than half of international tourism arrivals worldwide (UNWTO, 2012). This was followed by Asia and the Pacific regions with 22%, Americas 16%, the Middle East, 4%; and Africa with 3%. From these regions, the emerging markets (countries such as China, India, Singapore, South Korea, Russia in Asia; South Africa and Latin

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<sup>1</sup> Following the CASS categorization of 2004, families that are part of China's middle class have assets valued from US\$18,100 to US\$36,200 (150,000 to 3000,000 yuan) (Wang, 2010, p. xxii). In terms of annual disposable income per urban household, McKinsey breaks down China's middle class in mass middle class (range from US\$9,000 to US\$16,000 or 60,000 to 106,000 yuan) and upper middle class (range from US\$16,000 to US\$34,000 or 106,000 to 229,000 yuan) (McKinsey, 2013). Similar to these two, there are quite many other definitions, which vary among them.

America's Brazil, amongst others) represented nearly 47% of the tourism industry in 2011, whereas by the early 1990s, it was only 32% of the total (Yang, 2013).

Other motives for the increasing number of Chinese outbound travellers come from the domestic and international fronts, as listed by the CTA Report 2011 (CTA, 2011, pp. 11–38), they are the appreciation of the RMB versus dollar, improvement in foreign economic and political cooperation of China with its international counterparts, visa relaxation, air connectivity, marketing of destinations in China and overseas payments facilitation, amongst others.

Owing to the previous, the number of Chinese outbound tourists has been growing steadily in the past decade and it is possible to recognize specific segments on the market. From 2000 to 2013, the compound annual growth rate (CAGR) was almost 19%. While 2000 saw 10.5 million Chinese crossing a border, in 2013, 97.3 million did so (CNTA, 2013). Important is to highlight that approximately 90% of the itineraries are to Asian destinations, with 71 per cent to Hong Kong and Macao (ILO, 2010, p. 38). Moreover, with 2012's figure of 102 US\$ billion spent abroad, China is ranked as number one in international tourism expenditure followed by Germany and United States. Beyond the quantitative expansion, the market has diversified. Tourism demands can be recognized mostly in two travel segments: group travellers and self-organized travellers or what some call the "new Chinese tourists" (COTRI, 2011). Group travel continue to be significant for mainland Chinese, 62% of the total border crossings in 2011, not including Hong Kong and Macao, were done by Chinese being part of a group package tour (Xiang, 2013, p. 135).

However, the importance of emerging tourism markets such as China and the touristic experience of Chinese outbound tourism continue to be under-researched (Uriely, 2005); (Arlt, 2006); (Cai, Li, & Knutson, 2008); (King & Tang, 2009); (Ryan, Huimin, & Zhang, 2009). The controversies and knowledge gaps found in the literature, as well as the reasons for starting this research on the performances of Chinese outbound organized mass group tourist are explained in detail in the following paragraphs.

First, tourism studies are still dominated by "western" theoretical approaches, which over-generalise the application and universality of their theories and tend to neglect the presence of "non-Western" tourists. Tourism academia has been conceived "in the historical, cultural and social changes occurring in Europe and North America" (Winter, 2009a, p. 23), as well as Oceania (Arlt, 2006, p. 212), and scholars have sought to apply meta-theories, without taking into consideration the characteristics of other emerging travellers. This can be illustrated with the following excerpt from a research paper:

"The interpretation of tourism places has already begun to move from fascination with authenticity (the one real thing or story) to a respect for significance (the varied and often competing meanings of any particular tourism object representing the interests of different stakeholders who have some kind of claim upon the object)" (Chambers, 2009, p. 355).

In his assessment of tourism, Chambers neglects the nature and motivation of other emerging samples. Chinese tourists, as reported for example in (Nyiri, 2009), are not in search of authenticity in their trips. Thus, we cannot assume that Chinese are currently undertaking an evolution into significance. By the time of Chambers' article was published, it was increasingly evident that tourists from emerging destinations were eager to start consuming world destinations, and even the writer himself briefly highlighted China's rise of domestic tourism and its effect on the cultural and

environment heritage resources. However, it could be implied that the study follows the Western resistance to the “new tourist”, characterized by a need to keep having the binary “us” and the “other”. This, mainly because the natives or “exotic others” represent those aspects that Westerners love to hate (like “loss of authenticity, degeneration, vulgarization, and even death of culture, commercialization, globalization-as-homogenization, Westernization” Alneng, 2002, p. 135) and seek to protect the natives from.

Therefore, now that the once “exotic other” becomes itself the tourist, the fixed perceptions of orientalism act against its inclusion in tourism research. Said (1978) argues that, the orient is constructed as the “other”, as the periphery for the European centre of the world, as the weaker party dominated by the powerful West, and most importantly, as a mirror where Western societies reflect their world. Consequently, it is most likely that researchers in tourism studies have tried to continue in this position, reflected on the construction of theories and concepts in the past years.

Furthermore, Western theories have been too fast in predicting the replacement of mass tourism for other tourism alternatives in order to follow post-modern times experienced in the West (Aramberri, 2010). Whereas the West was talking about the end of modernity, China and other emerging countries were on their way to modernity. In this respect, the studies failed to recognize the rather different levels of tourism development worldwide, where mass tourism, as mentioned before in the case of China, continues being one of the main possibilities to travel abroad.

Taking this into account, in the past decade the tourism studies arena has witnessed the contestations to the once handled universal theories, and has constantly issued an appeal to the worldwide research community to contribute with more studies that shed further light on these new international travellers. For example, Erik Cohen, who at early stages of his work once stated that tourism is for the modern Western, recently recognized that: “Tourism thus ceased to be a primarily Western phenomenon, but became fully internationalized” (Cohen, 2012, p. 2178). Ryan (2009), challenged academics to question their approaches and make use of the following:

“China thus potentially offers many gifts to western researchers through forcing a reevaluation and questioning of taken-for-granted assumptions about the research paradigms used and the cultural milieu within which they are formed” (Ryan et al., 2009, p. 336).

In light of these controversies, I set to advance our knowledge of the under-researched “non-Western” samples, in this case Chinese outbound tourists, and try to make a contribution to the decentralisation of tourism studies, as well as become part of “a new generation of researchers capable of stepping out of the analytical and disciplinary straitjackets that have formed over the last three to four decades” (Winter, 2009b, p. 315)

Second, the current status quo of research on Chinese outbound tourism promotes homogenization and a static representation of the sample characteristics. This has been supported by the use of quantitative methods that seek to depict the consumer profiles, images of destinations (Tse, 2009, p.23) and motivations. As Law et al (2012) highlighted in their revision of publications in the Journal of China Tourism Research: “Tourist behaviours/ experiences was the most widely studied area, and questionnaire survey were the most popular method of data collection” (Law, 2012, p.37).

One problem identified in these analyses was the uncritical use of Western concepts, which not necessarily fit China’s tourism reality and characteristics. Cai et al (2009) argued in this respect:

“A significant number of these studies have applied, in the Chinese context, some existing conceptual and empirical models developed and tested for consumers in the developed societies and in western cultures. Mainland China is a non-western society and a developing country as well” (Cai et al., 2008, p. 17).

It is said that this uncritical implantation of concepts has been undertaken by young Chinese educated in Western schools (Pearce 2004, Arlt 2006) or by Chinese academics, which even when being aware of the different politic, economic and cultural discourses, decided not to highlight these differences in their studies “perhaps because of undue respect being given to western paradigms of research” (Ryan et al., 2009, p. 335). Thus, researchers need to find a “confident voice” (ibid.), one that considers the key differences between Western and Chinese discourses of development (Nyiri, 2006).

Homogenization is also evident in the discourses regarding mass tourists. Academics and media have tried to report the travel experience of mass tourists as “same”, in this fixed perception all group members consume the same itineraries in the same fashion. The stereotypical mass Chinese-style tour includes, amongst others: rushing from one place to the next, coach trips, eating in Chinese restaurants, preference for low quality offers and conspicuous shopping (inewsweek.cn, 2012, translation from Chinese by the author). Apart from this, a judgmental tone can be recognized that highlights the inferiority of mass tourist versus other international travellers. The media has over-exposed the misbehaviours of whom are usually called “ugly Chinese tourists” (Chua, 2005; amongst the pioneers of the term) in a sensationalist art, instead of presenting the causes behind the actions of these so-called “worst kind of nouveau riche” (Sebag-Montefiore, 2012). It seems as if they have forgotten the behaviours of previous tides of new tourists, “from Britons behaving badly in the Victorian era and ugly Americans in post-war Europe to the snapshot-happy Japanese of the 1980s” (Arnold, 2005). An inferiority tone is also present in the recurrent comparison of the mass tourist against the upcoming educated independent traveller in the reports of Chinese mass tourism (i.e. Xie & Li, 2009; Kastner, 2011).

The superficial analysis of the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena, which encompass studies and reports that look for homogeneity instead of plurality of voices, represents a knowledge gap that this research aims to fill. In doing so, this study seeks to move away from the hegemonic economic and business driven-studies, towards structuring research that considers the Chinese tourists “psychological, social, cultural, and economic background and conditions in a holistic and dynamic manner” (Cai et al., 2008, p. 14) and a study that responds to the need of “humanistic, qualitative, value driven research” (Winter, 2009a, p. 23) in Chinese tourism studies.

Furthermore, this study seeks to test an approach that has not been applied in a non-Western context before. Wanting to investigate Chinese tourists from an insider-humanistic perspective, my initial inspiration for an alternative holistic approach came from Franklin and Crang’s article: *The trouble with tourism and travel theory?* (2001). Thus, this research follows the authors’ advice to “move beyond a study of representation towards seeing tourism as a system of presencing and performance” (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 17). With this in mind, I embark on finding out more about the performance approach in tourism research and discovering if it needs radical adjustments or just small changes in order to study and create further knowledge of the Chinese tourists’ reality.

Third, besides the research status quo, my own personal background and my devotion to China and Chinese tourism, especially outbound tourism to Americas and Europe, have driven this research. I

have always been interesting to know more about other people's culture. And as a way to achieve this, I have dedicated myself to learn languages (English, Chinese, German and French), which are an essential part of finding about someone's culture. At the same time, I have also shared my cultural knowledge, namely by teaching languages (Spanish, my mother language, English and Chinese). My personal interest in China dates back to my childhood, and to satisfy my curiosity about the country, I have had different stations in life, which have brought me closer to China and its people. For example, as an International Relations bachelor student, as Au-pair and student in the United States, as a student of Master in Business Administration (MBA) at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico (UNAM), while studying Chinese Mandarin lessons, amongst others. Moreover, in my early professional career I had the opportunity of developing a project in Beijing for the government of Mexico City to attract Chinese outbound tourists. After that, I continue in this direction during my work as Economic Analyst in the Economic and Commercial Section of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Mexico.

Fourth, the support encountered in Germany was an equally important reason to start this study. After moving to Germany to work at the China Outbound Tourism Research Institute (COTRI), I started to structure the general foundations of the research during the discussions with my two supervisors, Prof. Dr. Hans Hopfinger and Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Georg Arlt, and Mr. Rainer Fugmann, like me, a doctorate candidate of the Department of Tourism Geography at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. The selection of the organized mass group tourist segment came as part of an application of funding submitted to the German Research Foundation (DFG) for a project in which both Chinese outbound mass group tourists and free independent travellers (FIT) were to be researched. It is certain that the initial selection of both my segment and the case study of Germany came from the opportunity to take part in this research project. However, after almost 3 years of trying to receive founding, unfortunately without success, I have decided to nonetheless continue in this direction on my own because of my current interest of the mass tourists' performances on the stages of my new home, Germany.

## 1.2. Research Aim and Objectives

Drawing from all above, the aim of this research study is therefore to explore and provide further understanding of the tourism performances of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists on German tourism stages. The following objectives were set in order to achieve the research's aim:

- 1) To utilise different research theoretical approaches and methodologies to shed light on the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena.
- 2) To explore the performance processes taking place from role selection to performance.
- 3) To describe the stages where the performances are performed.

As far as the first objective is concerned, I accomplished it by carrying out a comprehensive literature review of current tourism studies' approaches and by tailoring a conceptual framework for the analysis of Chinese tourists in Germany. With respect to the second objective, I principally achieved it by undertaking ethnographic field research in order to develop a closer research-research partner relationship. This allowed me to perceive the nuances and complexities of the Chinese touristic performances from an emic perspective. For the third objective, I particularly relied on Chinese and German expert interviews to achieve it. Their answers were complemented by my own observations

of stage during the ethnographic fieldwork. Overall, I additionally made use of collected media articles, tourism information materials and other relevant documents that could help me to accomplish the previously mentioned objectives.

Thus, this study provides an exciting opportunity to advance our knowledge of Chinese outbound tourism in Germany, in particular in connection with the organized mass market. Moreover, the findings should make a contribution to the field of tourism, not only due to their conceptual nature, but also due to their practical application. Therefore, the study might be of particular interest to students, academics, policy makers and practitioners worldwide.

A word of caution is necessary at this point. The reader should bear in mind that the study does not seek to present objective explanations but subjective understanding of the Chinese tourism reality. Additionally, the findings of the study cannot be generalized or extrapolated to all Chinese tourists taking part of groups or travelling around Europe or Germany. This would be simply impossible due to the small sample researched in this study, and due to China's large population and heterogeneous society.

### 1.3. Research Process

Wanting to undertake a dynamic and exploratory analysis of Chinese outbound organized mass tourism, I first adopted to follow inductive rather than deductive reasoning. Moreover, I decided to base the study on a phenomenological approach, which is advisable due to the ethnographic character of the research. The methodology taken in this study is a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative methods. These tools were used throughout the four general research phases undertaken between 2010 and 2014, as shown in Figure 1.1.

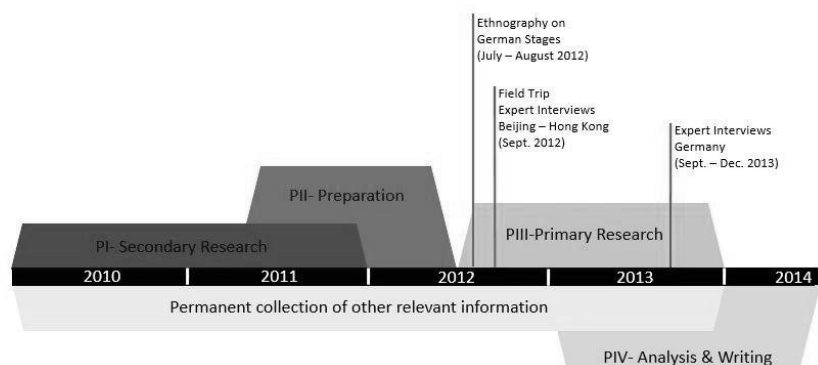


Figure 1.1. Research phases of the study, 2010-2014

In the first phase, I principally performed secondary research. Initially, I did a literature review of general theories in tourism studies and their previous application in non-Western or in Chinese samples. Afterwards, I selected the relevant concepts for this research. Parallel to this, I reviewed the overall development of Chinese outbound tourism. To do so, I employed quantitative modes of enquiry for the analysis of relevant tourism statistical information from China and Germany. In the second phase, I started by preparing the necessary instruments for conducting field research. Amongst others, I wrote official letters and email templates for requesting interviews, interview



guidelines and questionnaires. At the same time, I selected possible research partners, searched for groups to undertake the ethnographic strategy and coordinated dates for performing field research.

During the third phase, I started with the primary research of the study. In Germany, the ethnographic fieldwork consisted of participant observations, semi-structured interviews and short questionnaires aimed at Chinese outbound tourist members of three group package tours organized by Chinese-German travel companies. Complementary to the tourists' contributions is the information provided by the groups' tour guides and tour leaders during semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted and "on the run" talks. Next, in China, information was gathered by using open and semi-structured in-depth expert interviews with representatives from the Chinese tourism industry, tourism boards, as well as with tourism academics. Lastly, similar to those in China, I conducted expert interviews in Germany. In the fourth phase, I dedicated my time to analyse the field research information gathered. For this, I relied on the GABEK qualitative method of research analysis supported by the WinRelan 32 software and complemented the GABEK-generated structures with the information from my field notes, diaries, photos and videos, as well as those materials sent by tourists after their performances and the virtual ethnography of tourists' photos on Chinese social media platforms. Finally, I shaped the nine chapters that form this thesis, and its complementary parts (e.g. Appendices).

#### 1.4. Thesis Outline

The overall structure of this study takes the form of nine chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter Two presents a literature review which, above all, identifies different research streams with regard to Chinese outbound tourism worldwide and to Germany. Here, I start by taking the reader throughout a journey of the development of Chinese outbound tourism. While doing so, I present economic, social, cultural and political aspects influencing the tourist's flows and simultaneously define those concepts relevant to this study. For this, I draw on the well-known work of: Zhang (2003, 2010, 2011, 2013), Li (2005, 2008), Arlt (2006, 2013), Tse (2009, 2011) and Leung (2004, 2006, 2009), amongst others. Additionally, I highlight the hegemony of quantitative studies and agree with other scholars about the need for alternative and holistic approaches to understand the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena.

Chapter Three serves as an arena where I develop a tailored made conceptual framework for this study. It constitutes notions of Goffman's (1959) everyday performances, Schechner's (2002) performance studies and the performance turn in tourism studies, where the work of Edensor (1998, 2001), Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Rakić & Chambers (2012), amongst others, is included. This chapter allows the reader to put on the performance lenses before entering the practical field research report of the upcoming chapters.

Chapter Four is concerned with the methodology and methods used for this study. I start by discussing the philosophical features underpinning the research. In this respect, I give reasons for my decision of adopting a phenomenology paradigm and inductive reasoning. In the following sections of the chapter, I go on to describe my research performance from the initial conception of the study to the presentation of findings. Details of the field research and the data collection methods used with the different research partners are covered in this chapter, as well.

Chapter Five identifies and analyses the activities of the pre-performance. The chapter starts by explaining the motives for selecting the “organized mass tourist” role, then moves on to examine how performers prepare their roles. Lastly, those previous imaginations that the tourists have about Germany are discussed. With regard to role preparation, here, I show how future performers have limited pre-conceived conventions of what is necessary to play their role as outbound tourists. As for those discourses associated with German stages, I recall the typical imaginations, which are namely related to German quality, clichés and stereotypes. In connection to these attributes, I discuss the lack of attractiveness they represent for the Chinese adoption of their role as tourists on German stages.

Chapter Six presents the touristic performances and aftermath enactments observed while conducting ethnography with three group packaged tours travelling in Germany. In this chapter, without aiming at an authoritative classification, I argue that there are identifiable performance modes, which are influenced by the stage management, spontaneity, and cultural and political aspects. Moreover, I outline the interactions among the performance’s key players and the power relation between them. Lastly, I briefly trace those activities as part of the aftermath. Here, I present the critical response of the actors towards their performances, as well as shed light on the changes experienced by the actors after performance (e.g. from novice to aficionado).

Chapter Seven examines the creation and current status of German tourism stages, as well as their future challenges. It explores the political influences on stage from European, German and Chinese authorities. From this, visa continues to be a key factor influencing the role selection and choreography design in Europe. As for China, the chapter shows the evolution of the Chinese tourism strategy from controlling the tourists’ flows by using the Approved Destination Status (ADS) to control the behaviour of tourists in order to spread the country’s soft power worldwide and achieve their current geopolitical goals. Afterwards, I move on to describe how the choreographies and scripts to perform are prepared, namely by Chinese migrant workers. At the end of the chapter, I illustrate the latest changes in the mass market, which can no longer be associated with only cheap price and low quality, and finalize by discussing the opportunities and threats that the stages have ahead of them.

Chapter Eight presents the spatial movement and multi-sensual enactments of Chinese tourists during the consumption and, simultaneously, creation of stages. The chapter starts by distinguishing the characteristics of the Chinese touristic body on German stages. Then it maps their space patterns in Germany and underlines the spatial movement as perceived by outsiders. Lastly, I present an insider analysis of spatial consumption of Chinese tourists. With this, I argue the democracy of senses part of performance and outline the hegemony of the gaze on Chinese performances. Moreover, I highlight how tourists create new stages, namely due to their presence and interaction with space and other performance key players.

Chapter Nine draws upon the information of the entire thesis. In this final chapter, I start with a discussion of the findings in connection to the objectives set to achieve the research’s aim. Here, I critically present and contrast ideas and defend my opinions by using the findings of this study. Next, I present the knowledge contributions to both theory and practice and suggest future areas for research. Finally, I reflectively describe my research performance aftermath.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review on Chinese Outbound Tourism

In the introduction chapter, it was briefly explained that Chinese outbound tourism is attracting growing attention worldwide. However, much of the information highlighted by the press or market research analysis draws on impressive figures and “abnormal” behaviours of Chinese tourists worldwide. For this reason, it was necessary for me to evaluate and select those pieces of information that would help me understand the touristic performances of Chinese tourists on German stages. Thus, this chapter serves as an arena where I explore not only the research streams found in the literature available on the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena, but I also highlight those concepts relevant to this research.

The three first sections of this chapter are structured according to the three main research streams identified during the literature revision: (1) market development; (2) cultural aspects; and (3) governmental participation. This categorization was partially influenced by the work of Cai *et al.* (2008). In their study “*Research on China Outbound Market: A Meta-Review*”, they did a survey on 20 top-ranked tourism studies journals and discovered that only 30 research papers were published regarding China outbound tourism as of 2006. Those papers were grouped by the authors on the following research streams: market overview, destination specific-secondary data, and destination specific-primary consumer data. Moreover, the classification used by Law *et al.* (2012) in their article “*An Analysis of Publications in the Journal of China Tourism Research*” (Law, Leung, & Lee, 2012) was also helpful to shape this chapter. I used both works as a starting point and, for the purposes of this thesis, I included other research streams and studies published up to 2012. The fourth section of this chapter concentrates specifically on Chinese outbound tourism to Germany.

The discussion of this chapter draws on the work of well-known authors in the Chinese outbound tourism field worldwide and to Germany, such as: Zhang (2003, 2010, 2011, 2013), Cai *et al.* (2008), Li (2005, 2008), Arlt (2006, 2013), Tse (2009, 2011) and Leung (2004, 2006, 2009), amongst others. Moreover, throughout this chapter and Chapter 3, I draw attention to the specific ideas and relevant concepts to be used in this thesis in separate boxes. With this, the reader can follow different voices, interact with texts, and embrace diversity, as it is associated with studies under the performance approach (Schechner, 2002, p. 1).

### 2.1. Development of the Chinese Outbound Tourism Market

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, the vast majority of research found at the starting point of this project depicted the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena under a quantitative approach. These research projects mainly consisted of two types. In the first one, the revision of the development of the Chinese outbound market and its economic importance of the market were highlighted. In the second, tourism behaviours and motivations, market segments, and travel decisions were presented mostly drawing on quantitative methods. This section is divided into two parts, each of which presents a general overview of the categories of this research stream.

China’s economic miracle and outbound tourism

The review for this research stream, namely in books, journal articles, studies and reports, showed the growing body of literature focused on the economic characteristics and potentials of China’s outbound tourism market (Wang & Sheldon, 1996, Zhou, King, & Turner, 1998, Mok & Defranco, 2000, Guo, Turner, & King, 2002, Pan & Laws, 2003, Wang, 2004, Zhang, 2005, Arlt, 2006, Lim & Wang, 2008, Xie & Li, 2009, Arlt, 2013). Most publications link the economic reforms (related to the

1978's "Reform and Opening" policies), their impact on China's inhabitants per capita income and the possibility of incurred in tourism activities. As summarized by the UNWTO Report (2003): "Outbound tourism has been developing at an accelerating pace in accordance with the open policy, the degree of economic growth and the improvement of the living standard of the Chinese people" (Fan & Høllede, 2003, p. 17).

China's economy has been growing steadily for the past years, but it is now entering a deceleration phase in order to balance and reshape its growth and overall goals. From 2007 to 2011, the average annual increase of China's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was of 10.5% (Oxford Economics, 2012, p. 6). For 2012, the GDP increased only 7.8%, significantly lower than the 9.2% from 2011. By lowering the GDP growth rate, the government bets on "accelerating the transformation of the pattern of economic development and making economic development more sustainable and efficient ... over a longer period of time" (gov.cn, 2013). Under this announcement, different forecasts have been presented, such as one by Oxford Economics, where China's GDP will present an average annual percentage change of 8.3% between 2012 and 2016 and 7.2% between 2017 and 2021 (Oxford Economics, 2012, p. 6).

In 2012, the urban per capita disposable income increased 9.6%, showing a year on year growth of 1.2% between 2011 and 2012 representing 24,565 Yuan (3,912 US\$). Respectively, the rural per capita disposable income increased 10.7%, with an average of 7,917 RMB (1,260 US\$) (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012). Even when inequalities between urban and rural areas continue to be present in the income structure, these indicators represent a positive trend to Chinese outbound tourism, especially when taking into consideration that "every 1% increase in per capita GDP and disposable income may lead to an increase of 1.01% and 1.22% of the number of outbound tourists, respectively" (CTA, 2012, p. 3).

Within economy-based articles, development on arrivals and expenditure of tourists are two of the main analysed features of the market. With regard to arrivals, Arlt (2006) provides a complete analysis of the development of Chinese outbound tourism arrivals from 1991 to 2004 and explains the "fine print" of the statistical information. Firstly, he points out the lack of statistical information for the 80s, when tourism was mainly to visit friends and relatives in Hong Kong or border areas with the Soviet Union. Secondly, he outlines the adjustments and changes to the statistic methodologies carried out by the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) in the 1990s, where: "the way of calculating was changed to include service personnel, sailors and other persons not included before in the outbound statistics" (Arlt, 2006, p. 67). Therefore, he recommends using statistical information on outbound tourism starting from 1995. Thirdly, he highlights the special conditions of Chinese statistics, which "are known to have been instrumentalized for many centuries and until this day to serve politics rather than faithfully reporting the reality" (ibid.11).

As a consequence, discrepancies on statistics are expected with regard to China's outbound tourism. For instance, the European Travel Commission (ETC) for its Market Insights – China (2011) report warns: "Departure figures such as these always differ substantially from arrivals as measured in the individual destinations" (ETC, 2011, p. 4). Mostly because China's official 'citizen departures' figures of the CNTA only report the first port of call, and do not include travellers reaching Europe through other ports like Singapore or Hong Kong. On the European side, the statistics are mostly delivered under the UNWTO definitions and lack monitoring the activity "across the frontiers on multi-country tours" (ibid. P.6). Therefore, arrivals are to be read as rough indications of the situation.

Chinese demand for travelling abroad has been increasing in the past decade. The compound annual growth rate (CAGR) from 2000 to 2013 was almost 19% (See Figure 2.1). In 2012, 83.2 million border crossings were reported in connection to outbound travel. Therefore, 1 out of 12 international border-crossings<sup>2</sup> started in Mainland China in 2012. Currently, China has become the number one tourism source market worldwide with 97.3 million tourists abroad by the end of 2013.

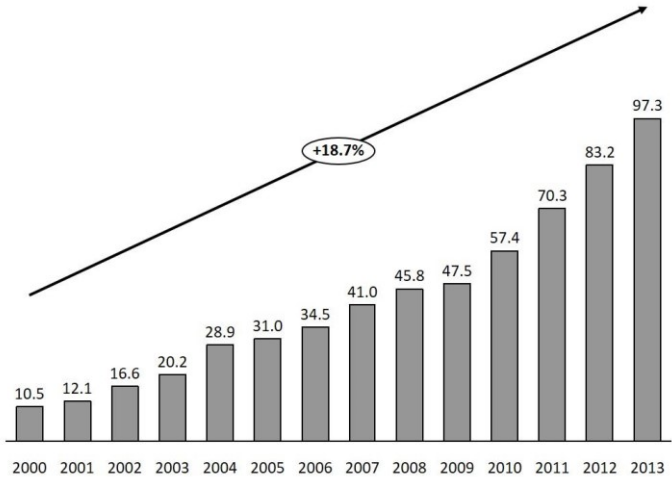


Figure 2.1. Chinese outbound tourism in million border-crossings and the compound annual growth rate (CAGR) from 2000 – 2013 (Adapted from CNTA and CTA)

Forecasts are mostly available on the analysis of tourist’s arrivals. In 2000, the UNWTO published in its *Tourism 2020 Vision* that China, when growing at a rate of 13% per year, would reach 100 million arrivals in 2020 and become the fourth largest outbound tourism source worldwide (UNWTO, 2000, p. 12). This forecast was widely used in the years to come, but it needed to be revised due to the growth trend of nearly 20% per year in the 1995-2007 period. In light of this, the UNWTO released its new projection in 2007, where this time the 100 million arrivals were expected to be reached by 2015. The CNTA, under a cautious projection, also shares this amount of arrivals by 2015. Contrary to this, the China Outbound Tourism Research Institute (COTRI) has through the years released more optimistic forecasts (2009, 2010 & 2012). In 2012 for example, COTRI expected “the number of border crossings from mainland China to surpass 80 million” (COTRI, 2012, p. 3). The forecast proved to be right and in 2012, 83.2 million arrivals were recorded, which was an approximate 20% growth rate. At the same time, the CNTA only forecasted a 12% increase that year. As for the 100 million arrivals mark, COTRI expects, if a double digit growth continues, that it will be reached by end 2014 (ibid.).

With regard to tourism expenditure, most articles emphasise the rapid development of outbound tourism spending and its position next to other countries, known for their international tourism spending (see a comparison in Figure 2.2). Expenditure has been growing from US\$2.7 billion in 1994 to US\$16 billion in 2004 and to US\$102 billion in 2012. With 2012’s figure:

"China leaped to first place, overtaking both long-time top spender Germany (US\$84 billion) and second largest spender United States (US\$83 billion), which are now 2nd and 3rd in the ranking” (UNWTO, 2011, p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Calculation following UNWTO (2013) figure of 1,035 million international tourists’ arrivals in 2012.

Moreover, outbound tourism expenditure has also been compared with other sections of China's tourism market. The balance between China's tourism markets: inbound, international and outbound; has been presented annually by the China Tourism Academy (CTA), CNTA's think tank, in its *Annual Report of China Outbound Tourism Development* (2009/2010, 2011, 2012). Since 2008, China's tourism has recorded an adverse trade balance, on what Zhang (2013) calls a "pattern with two highs (highs growths in domestic and outbound tourism) and one low (downturn of inbound tourism)" (Zhang, 2013, p. 8) For 2011, the deficit between outbound expenditure and international tourism receipts to China was of US\$ 24.1 billion (CTA, 2012, p. 3).

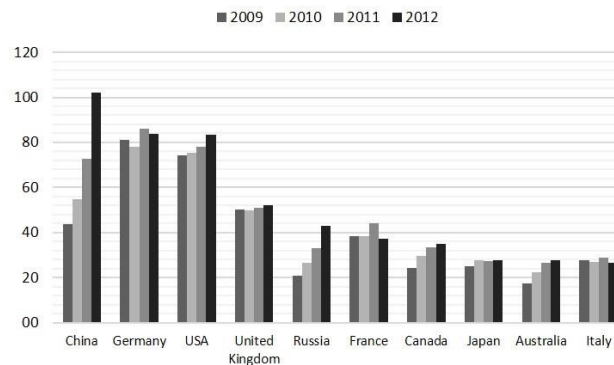


Figure 2.2. Top spenders in international tourism, in US\$ billion 2009- 2012 (Adapted from: UNWTO)

#### Segments, motivations and behaviours

Further on this research subdivision are those articles which aim to provide an account of the characteristic of the tourists and respond to the need of more empirical studies, as highlighted by *Cai et al.*: "Reports on market trends are becoming more commonplace in trade magazines, but empirical studies about the market characteristics remain scarce and sketchy" (Cai, O'Leary, & Boger, 2000, p. 133). Most of the empirical studies were based on quantitative methods. Under this approach, a large body of literature has presented the demographic profiles (Hanqin Qiu Zhang & Hailin Qu, 1996, Cai, Boger, & O'Leary, 1999, Cai et al., 2000, Cai, Lehto, & O'Leary, 2001, Zhang & Heung, 2002, Jang, Yu, & Pearson, 2003), travel motivations (Hanqin & Lam, 1999, Yu & Weiler, 2001, Ryan & Mo, 2002, Hsu & Lam, 2003, Huang & Hsu, 2005, Kau & Lim, 2005, Lu, 2011, Hua & Yoo, 2011, Yang, Reeh, & Kreisel, 2011, Li, Wen, & Leung, 2011), satisfaction with a destination (Jie Li & Carr, 2004, Zhang & Chow, 2004, Lin & Lin, 2006), perceptions and destinations attributes (Weifeng, 2005, Kim, Guo, & Agrusa, 2005, Sparks & Pan, 2009, Yun & Joppe, 2011), behaviour and consumption patterns in a destination (Li, Lai, Harrill, Kline, & Wang, 2011, Chang, Kivela, & Mak, 2010, Xu & McGehee, 2012, Su, Lin, & Liu, 2012) and segment-based (Kim, Cai, & Jung, 2004, Kim, 2005, Chen, Mak, & Guo, 2011, Wong & McKercher, 2012) sometimes drawing on COT market worldwide or just destination specific and using either primary or secondary research. See example of this nature to Germany in Box 2.1.

### Box 2.1. Motives of Chinese tourists during Oktoberfest in Munich

Yang et. al (2011) provide a cross-cultural analysis of Chinese motivations and perception of the festival. Based mostly in semi structured questionnaires, the authors reported Chinese tourists' socio-demographic details, behaviour patterns, motives and image-image variation of the festival. As far as motivation is concerned, the festival visitors mentioned the following as their main aims: "enjoy German beer and delicious food", "experience novelty/culture difference" and "gain knowledge of German/Bavaria festival cultures". (p. 387). Interestingly, the authors traced elements of Chinese culture on the motives found.

As regards to market segmentation, studies show that it ranges from purpose of travel, level of experience abroad and mode of travel. The China Tourism Academy (CTA) analyses the market by diving it into motive of travel and uses the following categories: sightseeing, leisure/vacation, visit friends and relatives (VFR), business, conference, cultural/education/scientific and technological exchanges, religious/pilgrimage and health care (2012, p.52). From them, sightseeing accounts for 51%, leisure for 38% (where more than one answer possible, *ibid.*). The Association also briefly divides the market according to the tourists' travel experience and for 2011, first-timers accounted for 64% of outbound tourists (p.52). Similarly, but with their own definition<sup>3</sup>, a report carried out by The Boston Consulting Group (2011) suggested that inexperienced travellers represent 77% of the total of outbound tourists and 70% of the domestic ones.

From a more qualitative approach, segmentation as mode of travel, is shown by Fugmann and Aceves (2013), who identified two segments: "mass travellers" (see the relation to this thesis in Box 2.2) and "free independent travellers". As they summarize:

"The first segment can be characterized mainly as tourists in search of an intensive sightseeing experience, who have almost no travel know-how, are highly price sensitive, have no foreign language skills to confront the destination alone while simultaneously seeking security within a group. On the other hand, there is the "FIT" segment. These tourists have travelled in groups before and are now seeking individual adventures that allow them to stand out from the typical tourism flows. They are increasingly tech-savvy and most of them have some experience outside of China, often because of their studies" (Fugmann & Aceves, 2013, p. 161).

In relation to changes in the preferences of each market segment, Xie & Li (2009), in their article *The Development of China's Outbound Tourism and the Characteristics of its Tourist Flow*, highlight that the fast-paced sightseeing package tours, characteristic form of tourism consumption of mass tourists, have progressively been replaced by slow-paced, in-depth tours (p. 239). Moreover, they suggest that routes with heavy itineraries and several countries are being interchanged for in-depth experiences. Amongst their examples, they mention those trips to the Rhine River in Germany (*ibid.*).

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<sup>3</sup> Inexperienced travellers are defined as those with less than 3 years travel experience and those who have travelled fewer than 3 times in the past 12 months (BCG, 2011, p. 11).

### Box 2.2. Organized mass tourists

The organized mass tourist is the segment used for the analysis of this thesis. The role depends to a large extent on what is dictated by the industry, concerning modes of transportation, itineraries, encounters with locals, etc. This segment is part of Cohen's typology released in his 1972 *Toward a Sociology of International Tourism* essay. In his typology, he uses different combinations of two essential features of the tourism experience: novelty and familiarity. The former refers to the tourist's degree of engagement with the local-host environment and the latter to his attachment to what he names the 'environmental bubble', in other words the contrived version of the tourist's cultural centre provided by the tourism industry. The organized and the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter are the four types of tourists described by Cohen (1972). From the categories, the organized mass tourist enjoys the comfort of the 'environmental bubble' more than any other tourism role.

The typology appears inflexible and somehow limits the tourist motivations and behaviours. However, the term is used as a starting point and still remains to be discovered if it applies to the Chinese outbound tourism phenomenon.

The studies presented in this section provide evidence on the hegemony of quantitative methods, as encountered when starting the design of this project. At the time, they raised questions about other approaches and if existent for Chinese samples. Furthermore, this section sought to narrate the development of Chinese tourism market worldwide and to highlight some of thesis specific aspects. What follows is an outline of the second research stream found, where culture is related to China's tourism.

## 2.2. Cultural Elements behind Chinese Outbound Tourism

"Culture is the accumulation of shared meanings, rituals, norms and traditions among the members of an organization or society. It is thought of as the collective memory of a society" (Solomon, 2006, pp. 498–499). It defines a human community and distinguishes from others. The Chinese collective memory, regarded as a fusion of ancient and globalized Chinese values, is discussed in this section, as well as its influence on travel behaviour.

### Relation of culture and behaviour of Chinese tourists

A considerable amount of literature has been published on "Chineseness" (see Box 2.3) elements and their relation with tourists' behaviour in general and on a specific destination (Mok & Defranco, 2000, Arlt, 2006, Li, 2005, Xu, Ding, & Packer, 2008, Koch & Koch, 2007, Kwek & Lee, 2010, Chang et al., 2010, Fu, Lehto, & Cai, 2012, Zhang & Shelton, 2012). The following paragraphs widely explore the most recurrent topics of the study of Chinese culture and tourism. However, they do not aim to deeply describe each of the Chinese cultural values. To achieve this, more than one thesis would be needed.

Researchers have explored different Chinese traditional values and their influence on tourism consumption values. In this sense, Mok and De Franco, after a comprehensive literature review, presented in 1999 one of the first conceptual frameworks of dominant Chinese cultural values and their implications to the hospitality and tourism industry (Mok & Defranco, 2000, p. 105). The framework shows the predominance of the following values in China's culture: respect for authority,



interdependence, face or personal honour, group orientation, harmony and external attributions or fate outcomes.

### Box 2.3. Chineseness

Chineseness is a concept that has been discussed from different angles. However, this thesis centres the discussion on Feng Mei Sarah Li's (2008) concept. In her article *Culture as a Major Determinant in Tourism Development of China*, she further develops Meerwald's (2004) two-feature concept of Chineseness by adding a third feature. Thereafter, Chineseness combines ethnic definitions or biological remarks about being Chinese and cultural semantics; regarding the acceptance of what is meant to be Chinese. These two features are reinforced by the capacity of Chinese to access 中华文化, *zhonghua wenhua* or Chinese common knowledge. The latter refers to information shared by Chinese about: "Chinese philosophies, history, religions, literary heritage, the classics of Chinese literature and poetry, art, calligraphy, famous people, places and sites, events and festivals..." (Li, 2005, p. 493).

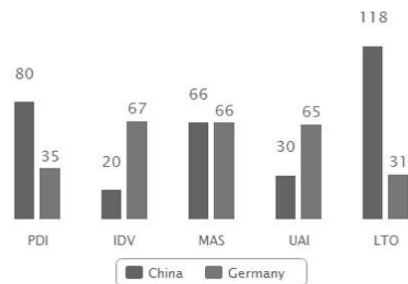
Based on its characteristics, Chineseness should be understood as a continuous construct. A lively concept to which each individual attaches a different meaning but that, at the same time, belongs to a shared historical performance. Therefore, it is almost certain that traces of Chineseness would take part of Chinese outbound tourists' performances while travelling abroad.

Similarly, Xu, Ding and Packer (2008) analysed how Chinese traditional philosophies and their promoted values have an effect on Chinese tourists' motivations and attitudes toward travelling. They concentrated on both Confucian and Taoist philosophies. Under Confucius, tourism should be undertaken only for the purpose of learning. Somehow it should not be promoted for other reasons, since for Confucianism "one should not go far away while one's parents are still alive" (Xu et al., 2008, p. 482). This reflects one characteristic of Confucius' most fundamental virtue: *Ren* or humanity (see Kwek & Lee, 2010, for more on Chinese tourists and Confucianism). In this context, when Chinese travel to foreign destinations they might wish to learn from "others".

In both philosophies, learning does not only come from people, but also from nature. For example, Taoism encourages the man "to follow nature, search for aesthetic values and joy from experiencing nature and being fully integrated with nature" (Xu et al., 2008, p. 482). This explains why Chinese tourists prefer to see harmony between man and nature, instead of the pureness of a landscape, as searched by Westerners. Therefore, Chinese look for a human touch when encountering nature, as explained in a Chinese proverb: "山不在高, 有仙则灵, Shan Bu Zai Gao, You Xian Ze Ming"; the mountain does not have to be magnificent as long as there's a story behind it" (Fu et al., 2012, p. 327).

A number of studies (Mok & Defranco, 2000, Steenkamp, 2001, Arlt, 2006, Koch & Koch, 2007, Fu et al., 2012) have included Hofstede's dimensions of national culture (1984, 2010) as a basis for their analysis on Chinese culture and tourism. For more than 35 years, Prof. Geert Hofstede has been analysing how culture influences the individual's values at her/his workplace. He researched and grouped values that distinguished countries from each other and created four clusters or dimensions: Power Distance (PDI), Individualism versus Collectivism (IDV), Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS) and Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI). In 1991, after his research team spent some time with Chinese managers and employees, a fifth dimension was introduced: Long-Term Orientation (LTO), which is based on "Confucian dynamism" (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 516). Working with these dimensions and

the results of his World Values Survey, Hofstede gave country-scores to more than 70 nations. These can be compared with each other, as presented in Figure 2.3, where China and Germany scores are shown.



*Figure 2.3.* Comparison of China and Germany according to Hofstede’s dimensions of national culture (Retrieved from: Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 516)

In the PDI dimension, which denotes to what extent an individual, with less power within a society, expects and accepts that power is distributed unequally, China scores high. Especially when taking into consideration that Malaysia’s score, the highest in this dimension, is 104 and Austria, the lowest one, 11. For China, this means that society members take inequalities as acceptable, tend to strictly follow orders, even allow abuse by higher ranked workers and, moreover, do not pursue activities which are not part of their rank. Germany is ranked between China and Austria. Therefore, Germans acknowledge that equality and opportunities to rise in a society should be available for all individuals.

IDV measures to what degree an individual interdepends upon other society members. China, with a score of 20, is not an individualist culture. Owing to this, Chinese citizens tend to see themselves as belonging to “in-groups”, for example immediate family or close work colleagues. These “in-group” members ought to receive special attention, while, on the contrary, outsiders can receive hostile treatment. Furthermore, being part of a collectivist society, their members stress personal relationships over task and workplace. When in a group, members expect to be taken care of by the members and leaders, and when feeling safe they will remain loyal to that group. On the other end, Germany, at a score of 67, is a society based on “I” terms. Personal achievements and self-actualization are the values that prevail among their members. Additionally, loyalty is for them not only a result of personal preferences but also stems from a sense of responsibility and duty.

MAS indicates what motivates people, either to achieve success by competitively being the best at what they do (masculine) or modestly pursue success while liking and enjoying the way to the top (femininity). At 66 points, both China and Germany are masculine societies. Sacrifices are made for the sake of success and self-improvement; for instance, late hours of work or study and separation from the family in order to get a better job away from home. Sacrifices have their rewards, which often come in the form of expensive articles that denote prestige and status.

The UAI score reflects the extent to which a society deals with and reacts to uncertain, ambiguous or unknown situations. China possess a low UAI score, which make them comfortable with flexibility, pragmatism and ambiguity. Germany, as part of an uncertainty avoiding culture, relies on laws and rules to minimize ambiguity. Therefore, deductive approaches, aid with thinking, presenting and planning, are preferred by Germans over inductive ones.

LTO measures the degree to which a society shows a pragmatic future-oriented or a conventional historical short-term perspective. China, ranked number 1 within the countries analysed by Hofstede with a score of 118, considers that a long term orientation, based on perseverance and persistence, is a normal characteristic. Therefore, Chinese search for investments in long term projects and

usually act thriftily and save for future plans. Germans, with a score of 31, are keen on quick results. This can be regarded by the Chinese as impatience.

Although culture is an important determinant of tourism behaviour, two criticisms found are that the studies provide a static analysis of cultural values and they neglect other sources that influence behaviour. Ong and DuCros (2011), for example, criticized Mok and DeFranco's (2000) passive revision of cultural values and conducted a dynamic analysis of tourism gaze construction and performance and its cultural influences. Furthermore, Oakes (2008) mentioned that behaviour does not only depend on the cultural characteristics of tourists, but also on the situations in which travel occurred.

#### Changing cultural values of Chinese tourists

Another research stream has explored the presence of globalization and modernity and their influence on China's society. Sofield and Li (1998) have analysed how the government has used tourism as a way to reach a balance between "traditional Chinese culture, socialist culture, and 'modern' culture" (Sofield & Li, 1998, p. 363). The authors highlight the tensions between the three cultures. Socialism, held as scientific, democratic, and revolutionary, criticizes traditional Chinese culture for being feudal, unscientific and antisocialist. However, tradition and Chineseness aspects serve to keep national unity and identity, which results fundamental for society order. Further contradiction arises between socialist and modernity. Even when socialism proclaims modernity, it was proven to be inflexible, limited and incapable to include many of the values and needs essential to modernization during Mao's mandate. Consequently, China started the transition to an open market economy for the sake of progress and modernity.

In the need to compromise socialism in a limited way, but at the same time embrace tradition and modernity, tourism started to be a suitable tool for the government. Particularly because it embraces and promotes cultural heritage and, being a symbol of modernization worldwide, serves "the country's goal of modernization and at the same time remain true to socialism" (ibid. p. 387). Being a key political and social tool, tourism, as much as every other activity outside the economic sector, is strongly controlled and has been carefully orchestrated since its beginning (More on the government role in shaping tourism in the following section).

Yin (2005) argues that the impact of foreign lifestyle is reflected in Chinese leisure consumption patterns. By lifestyle, the author namely refers to the increase in leisure time, a characteristic brought by the Westerns, which was established in China in 1995, when the work week went to five days' work. Interesting is Yin's view on leisure, which reflects the governmental and socialist nature of it:

"Leisure life not only has an impact on comfort, but also impacts the quality of life, the development of people, and the progress of society. It is very important to spend one's leisure time in a civilized, healthy, and scientific way" (Yin, 2005, p. 177).

Wang's study (Wang, 2004) draws on the development of China's domestic and outbound tourism between 1978 and 2001 and argues that "touristic consumerism" (See Box 2.4) is part of China's urban everyday life. He explains four factors that have encouraged the expansion of consumerism in China: the state (government and state-run institutions' policies toward tourism), the market (opening up of the economy), culture (massive spread of information and external values through media channels) and technology (improvement in transportation, payment methods, amongst others). Likewise, Klingberg and Oakes (2012) present evidence on how tourism and leisure has been heavily promoted among the urban middle class of China and argue that "consumption is guided by

social norms, industrial priorities and government policies” (Klingberg & Oakes, 2012, p. 196) and it is not just a result of economic growth.

The factors that promote Chinese consumerism shape it into a characteristic one, where global trends are to be recognized but also Chinese specificities aspects are apparent. Chinese preferences are to be understood under “quality and reliability, as well as status” (Jackson, 2004, p. 169), characteristics similar to global practices. However, on the other end, Chinese consumerism is to be shaped by Chineseness and by the government’s endeavours to control its citizen’s consumption.

This review has shown that culture is present in the physical and cognitive consumption of a destination. However, it should be considered as one of many other reasons that promote specific behaviour. Additionally, culture in China should be understood as in constant flux. Changes in political ideologies and insertion of new practices, due to foreign influences, are noticeable in China’s present cultural values and consumption. The government role on China’s tourism was briefly mentioned in this section. Thereafter, the following section moves the discussion to shed light on its involvement.

#### Box 2.4. Touristic Consumerism in the form of GPT

Much of China’s touristic consumption is based on mass products in which the group package tour (GPT) is still the main touristic product for mainland Chinese. In 2011, of the 20 million border-crossings (this figure excludes those crossings to HK and Macao), 62% were made by tourists on a GPT and 38% by non-group tourists (Xiang, 2013, p. 135).

A GPT is “a trip planned and paid for in a single place, in advance, covering transportation, accommodation, meals, and sightseeing (Morrison, 1989)” (Jin, Lin, & Hung, 2013, p. 1). When incurring upon international trips, Chinese tourists are known to participate in GPTs at a greater scale compared to Western travellers (Wang, Jao, Chan, & Chung, 2010, p. 154). This lies in economic factors since a tour is one of the cheapest and accessible ways of travelling abroad; and on cultural factors due to Chinese collectivist orientation (Mok & Defranco, 2000). Furthermore, being in a GPT facilitates the tourist’s visa application; as well as to avoid confusion due to language difficulties or lack of travel experience (Xie & Li, 2009).

For the purpose of this research, GPT’s members are tourists coming directly from Mainland China (individuals, families, couples, friends and working colleagues) but also Chinese nationals living in Europe and abroad (students, travellers accompanying their friends and relatives visiting from China, amongst others). These travellers’ main purpose of travel is to spend their holidays visiting Germany’s tourism stages as well as other European destinations.

### 2.3. Governmental Participation in China’s Tourism Policy

Being a socialist country since 1949, the Chinese government plays a central role on the means of production, decision making and the pursuit of collective goals (Kendall, 2007). Accordingly, it imposes its power on the majority of aspects present in everyday China. One of them is the tourism sector. The following section will consider to what extent the Chinese government influences the tourism policy, industry, international destinations and the travellers themselves.

### *Tourism industry development under the government's control*

Scholars like Zhang (Zhang, 2003,Zhang, 2011,Zhang, 2013), who has reported since 2002 on the latest situation on Chinese outbound tourism in his article "*Analysis and Forecast on China's Tourism*" inside the *Green Book of China's Tourism*; Sze Ming (Tony) Tse,( Tse, 2009, Tse, 2011,Tse, 2013) and Barry Mak (Mak, 2000,Mak, 2013), among others, remind Western scholars, tourism enthusiasts and the general public not to neglect the socialist nature of China's tourism policy, which is created and applied under the government's supervision.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, tourism represented the opposite to the newly established communist ideology. Firstly, it was connected to "Western imperialism", since it meant contact with the "foreign devil", who, in the communist view of the time, caused many of China's misfortunes throughout history (Mak, 2013, p. 7). Secondly, it was considered a capitalist practice, "a product of bourgeois exploitation of the working class" (Klingberg & Oakes, 2012, p. 199) and a waste of resources that can be better employed for revolutionary purposes. Due to the contradictions that tourism symbolized, it was a highly controlled practice, used only as a political and diplomatic vehicle.

After Mao's Cultural Revolution, Chinese reformers embraced activities that would develop China's economy, even when they do not strictly follow communist values. Deng Xiaoping summarized the new course of action during a speech in 1978: "It does not matter whether a cat is white or black, as long as it catches mice". At this new stage, marked by the concept "socialism with Chinese characteristics", tourism was considered as "a necessary evil, a relatively easy mean of accumulating foreign currency, but one that carried the risk of "cultural pollution" (ibid. p. 198). The following years of tourism policy continued under the motto: "actively developing inbound travel, appropriately developing domestic travel, and restrictedly developing outbound travel" (Xie & Li, 2009, p. 240).

In the mid 80's and 90's, domestic tourism started to develop rapidly. At this point, domestic tourism served as a marker of China's economic development and as government propaganda of the success of the reforms done to the benefit of the country. What is more, the activity started to be promoted as an education-civilizing tool, not only for domestic tourists' well-being but also to the locals. As argued by Nyíri (2009):

"... residents of scenic areas improve and elevate their manners and politeness, speech and bearing, habits of hygiene, thinking and outlook through imitation and learning from tourists. Thus, (...) tourism is seen as a two-way civilizing tool" (Nyíri, 2009, p. 154).

In the 1980s, outbound tourism started cautiously. It began restrictedly because it was seen by the government as a possible "leakage of foreign exchange" (Mak, 2013, p. 9). To avoid that, tours were permitted only when financed at the expense of relatives and friends abroad. Hong Kong was the first travel destination open to travel in 1983 when Guangdong Province started operating visiting friends and relatives (VFR) tours, Macao entered the scheme the following year (Lim & Wang, 2008). By the end of the decade, permissions were granted to inhabitants from Liaoning, Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia, Jilin, Xinjiang, Yunnan and Guangxi to visit the boarder countries of North Korea, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Myanmar and Vietnam (Arlt, 2006, p. 123).

Travel outside Mainland China started to become a reality and many did not only participate in tourism activities, but used the opportunity to start a new life abroad. According to King and Tang (2009), the 1980's saw the first contemporary Chinese diaspora movement, with the so called

“*chuguo chao* or waves of going abroad” (King & Tang, 2009, p. 24). The phenomenon was encouraged due to the resilient political situation of the decade, where many Chinese citizens did not trust in the “frequently short-lived and quickly overtaken by upheavals and policy reversals” (ibid. p.18) government campaigns and wanted to search for safer and better living conditions abroad. These waves of travellers saw travel as an opportunistic investment for life, rather than just for pleasure seeking consumption. Either border travel or a permission to study abroad were the disguises for a new start in foreign lands.

Official start of international outbound tourism

Scholars such as, Arlt (2006), Lim (2008) and Mak (2013) have argued that real international outbound tourism started when the state authorized VFR tours to Thailand (1988), Singapore, Malaysia (1990) and Philippines (1992). A trip to these countries meant the first encounter with international ground. Nevertheless, on those trips family and friends served as the guarantee of the tourists’ return to China.

Outbound tourism continued expanding and the second half of the 90’s saw two new measures to speed tourism abroad. By 1995, even when overlapping the VFR authorization, the government implemented the Approved Destination Status (ADS) to limit and monitor the places, where mainland Chinese were allowed to travel privately, as well as to assure its inhabitants return to China and their safety (See more in Box 2.5). This measure was followed by the Provisional Measures of Self-Financed Overseas Travel of Chinese Citizens which was formally issued by the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), the Ministry of Public Security and the Security Council in July, 1997, to allow Chinese citizens to travel abroad under their own expenses.

#### Box 2.5. ADS and group tourists

ADS is a bilateral agreement signed between the Chinese government and a foreign destination with the objective of allowing Chinese tourists to engage in leisure travel in that destination (Tse, 2009, p. 237). Upon signing the agreement, the Chinese authorities give permission to selected Chinese tour operators to organize and promote group tours (more than 5 people per group) to a destination country while offering a special group visa or ADS visa (Mak, 2013, p. 11). Additionally, the new group tourists could apply for a private tourism passport and self-finance their travel. For the destinations, having the ADS meant to actively start marketing their destinations to mainland Chinese and also offering the ADS visa in their consulates within China. Scholars present different reasons as to why the ADS was adopted. Firstly, the ADS aimed to control the illegal stays overseas (Arlt, 2006, p. 42) which might bring a “negative effect on foreign relations” (Mak, 2013, p. 11). Secondly, the scheme would help to avoid the loss of foreign currency (Tse, 2009, p. 238). And thirdly, ADS would help to protect the development of the Chinese emerging tourism industry and the competition in it (ibid.).

Another governmental measure to promote tourism was to increase the paid holidays. In 1999, the government introduced the three 黄金, *huángjīn zhō* or Golden Weeks which commemorate China’s Spring Festival, May Day (Labour Day) and National Day. Having three 7-day holiday periods encouraged not only domestic but also outbound tourism. However, mobilizing an entire country on the same dates brought saturation of both domestic touristic destinations and also means of transportation (Pearce & Chen, 2012 present an interesting analysis on advantages and disadvantages of the Golden Weeks). Therefore, after years of discussion on the matter, in

November 2007, the government continued with the two Golden schemes for Spring Festival and National Day, but modified the May Day Golden Week and turned it into a 1-day paid holiday followed by a weekend. To compensate the other days, it allowed long weekends for other national celebrations, such as: Tomb-Sweeping Day, Dragon-boat Festival and Mid-Autumn Festival. These national holidays continue to be the highest season for Chinese to travel, but more voices arise towards abandoning the “golden mess” (South China Morning Post, 2013) and distribute holidays through the whole year.

At this point of Chinese outbound tourism development, the fast track of approval ADS destinations started. In 1999, the first two long-haul destinations, Australia and New Zealand, were approved. As shown in the Table 2.1, the first European country to receive the ADS was Malta in 2001, followed by Germany in 2002. Egypt, also in 2002, was the first country from Africa, and in 2003, Cuba was the ADS pioneer of the Americas. In the years to follow, China granted status to countries from all the continents and by the end of 2012, China had 148 destinations (UNWTO, 2013) available for travel.

In some negotiations of the ADS agreement, it has been used to advance diplomatic issues. Tse presents in detail the political nature of the ADS and states that China has “effectively turned the position around from seeking permission to visit a country to granting permission to visit a country” (Tse, 2013, p. 150). Drawing on the example of Canada, China delayed the ADS process due to Canada’s government “unfriendly comments and gestures toward China in the past few years” (Tse, 2011, p. 498), which were related to Canada’s criticism to China’s foreign investment policies and the honorary citizenship granted to the Dalai Lama. Therefore, the ADS was only granted in 2010, once the Chinese government considered that Canada was on the same line of China’s diplomacy.

#### *China’s preparation and entry to the World Trade Organization WTO*

Interesting has been to several tourism scholars (Wang & Qu, 2002, Zhang, 2004, Arlt, 2006, Zhang & Morrison, 2007, Fugmann & Aceves, 2013) how China’s government has gradually adopted the World Trade Organization (WTO) tourism sector clauses in order to allow its tourism industry to first internally develop, before opening to foreign competition. This is explained in detail by Wang & Qu (2002), who investigated the impacts and challenges on China’s travel industry before and after its inclusion to WTO<sup>4</sup>. They mention that China, unlike other WTO members, presented an initial offer of access to the tourism sector in 1993, where only one of the four clauses<sup>5</sup> of accession was included: the market access and national treatment of hotels and restaurants. Therefore, the government allowed foreign investments and joint ventures that helped speed up domestic and national holiday resorts, in line with the emphasis on attracting inbound travel. In 1998, close to the definitive accession to the WTO and due to the negotiation pressures, China allowed joint ventures of foreign and national travel agencies, slowly enacting the second clause of the WTO’s initial offer. These joint ventures operated under the condition that China’s share could not be less than 51% and handled mainly inbound and domestic travel. At this point, the hotel sector was extremely open, not being the case for the travel agencies one.

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<sup>4</sup> China’s accession process to the WTO lasted 15 years, from 1986 to 2001. The country became a member on November 11, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> These clauses are: (1) market access and national treatment of hotels and restaurants; (2) market access and national treatment of travel agencies; (3) market access and national treatment of tour guides; and (4) others Wang & Qu, 2002, p. 65.

Table 2.1. *List of ADS Destinations Open for Chinese Tourists by 2011*

Year	Asia (32)	Oceania (9)	Europe (37)	Africa (16)	America (17)
1983-1992	Hong Kong SAR, Macao SAR, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines				
1998	Korea				
1999		Australia, New Zealand			
2000	Japan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma, Brunei				
2002	Nepal, Indonesia		Malta	Egypt	
2003	India, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Pakistan		Germany, Croatia, Hungary	South Africa	Cuba
2004	Jordan, Cyprus		Greece, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Denmark, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Romania, Switzerland, Liechtenstein	Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mauritius, Tunis, Seychelles, Kenya, Zambia	
2005	Laos	Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Fiji, Vanuatu	UK, Russia		Jamaica, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Chile
2006	Mongolia	Tonga			Grenada, The Bahamas
2007	Bangladesh, Syria, Oman		Andorra, Bulgaria, Monaco	Uganda, Morocco, Namibia	Argentina, Venezuela, USA
2008	Taiwan China, Israel	The French Polynesia			Costa Rica
2009	United Arab Emirates	Papua New Guinea	The Republic of Montenegro	Cape Verde, Ghana, Mali	Guyana, Ecuador, Dominican Republic
2010	North Korea, Uzbekistan, Lebanon	Micronesia	Serbia		Canada
2011	Iran				

Source: (CTA, 2012, p. 109)

Further opening came in 2003, when joint ventures with bigger foreign shared equity started (Arlt, 2006, p. 59). At this point, the government's goal was to allow the local tour agencies to learn from



and adapt those administration business concepts and tourism operations brought by foreign companies (Zhang, 2004, p. 371). After almost ten years of their access to the WTO, in May 2011, China's government provided outbound tourism licences to just a handful of foreign tour operators, Germany's TUI China Travel Co Ltd., CITS American Express Travel Services Ltd. and Japan's JTB New Century International Tours Co Ltd. (Xinhua, 2011). By doing so, it aimed to provide "more options for tourists and improve the tourism industry's management" (ibid.). This gradual opening of the tourism sector is an example of how the government interferes in operations, which in other countries could be considered as a result of free travel trade (Fugmann & Aceves, 2013, p. 3).

#### *Visa regulations and schemes*

Obtaining a visa for a foreign country is one of the major problems slowing down outbound tourism (Zhou et al., 1998, Hsu & Lam, 2003, Huang & Hsu, 2005, Sparks & Pan, 2009, Aceves, 2010, Li, Zhang, Mao, & Deng, 2011). Countries worldwide, especially developed ones, are afraid of the possibility of illegal overstaying and, therefore, draw on cautious tourism visa procedures (Li et al., 2011, p. 640).

Difficulties in getting a visa is one of the reasons why many Chinese are still part of a group tour and rely on the travel agency to arrange the ADS visa for them. But, as the market evolves into a more experienced one, the definition of a group has been diminishing from travelling among strangers into enjoying the company of small groups of friends and families, which has supported "the development of a more individual traveller-focused sector" (Hilton & SOAS, 2011, p. 19).

The Chinese government has also responded to the market's shift and has progressively moved towards a more individual tourism policy. In 2003, Hong Kong and Macao were the first two destinations opened by the government for "individual tours" (Zhang, 2010, p. 14). The arrangement known as the Individual Visit Scheme (IVS) was originally launched for the cities of Beijing, Shanghai and eight Guangdong cities and not only implemented to boost individual tourism but also to boost the SAR region's economy (Tse, 2009, p. 248). Now, after 10 years of the scheme, IVS permits 270 million residents from 49 mainland cities to travel individually, but the perspectives of the scheme are being revised due to incidents related to overcrowding and lack of infrastructure (Nip, 2013).

Accordingly, the international community has not only established more individual travel schemes but also eased visa restrictions in general. The China Tourism Academy presents a yearly analysis of changes made with regard to visa issues. In its 2012 issue they highlighted that improvements are mainly visible on: "required materials, simplified visa procedures, reduced visa fees and implemented visa-on-arrival system" (CTA, 2012, p. 34).

#### *Constant intervention and regulation*

The popularity of both domestic and outbound travel, as shown before in the deficit of the tourism trade balance against inbound tourism, has pushed the government into creating a comprehensive approach, which operates on the three levels and allows "cultivating the tourism industry into a strategic pillar industry of the national economy and a modern service industry more satisfied by the people" (Zhang, 2013, p. 9). Satisfied in the sense of protecting the tourist against incidents reported previously, such as low quality services, typical forced shopping and "zero-fare" tours (See Box 2.6).

#### Box 2.6. Zero-fare tours association to GPT worldwide

Alongside the growth of Chinese outbound tourism, emerged the so-called “zero-fare” tours. Within these tours, the operator sells the tours below its real cost and must rely on rebates paid by shops, restaurants and attractions as the primary source of revenue. Considered as the extreme case of the commission-based business model in the package tours industry, there is a link of the “zero-fare” tours to a wide range of inferior quality incidents, included, but not limited to:

"tour operators' price discrimination in the source market, changing travel itineraries at the destination without approval by tourists, arranging shopping at shops favoured by tour operators rather than by tourists, misguiding and deceiving tourists to spend on what they do not really need, and, in general, cutting service quality throughout the supply chain of packager tours" (Chen et al., 2011, p. 426).

After the decay of tourism arrivals due to the SARS epidemic of 2003, “zero-fare” tours started to become a tool to attract more customers (Dev, Yang, & Yu, 2013) to these regions. These incidents, which lead to problems between tourists, travel agencies and tour guides (Min & Juan, 2011, p. 1417), are still the reality of many GPTs around the world. The problem is usually associated with neighbouring destinations as Hong Kong, Macau, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia, but it has rampantly developed in other top destinations for Chinese tourists, such as Australia and Europe (Zhang, Heung, & Yan, 2009, p. 2).

With regard to the specific policies to develop and control the tourism industry, Zhang (ibid.) highlighted one of the recently adopted policies by the Chinese government: *State Council on Accelerating Tourism Development (State Council Doc. No. 2009 041)*, issued in December 2012, in which for the first time enactments are explicitly delegated to pertinent departments and grouped by terms. One of the first instruments to implement Document No. 41 is the Tourist Law, accepted on April 25, 2013 and which came into effect on October 1<sup>st</sup> of the same year.

This section has reviewed four key aspects of the connection between the Chinese government and the tourism industry in an attempt to lead the reader through the main events of tourism policy development both on a national and international scale. It also responds to the need to include the participation of the Chinese government in research related to Chinese individuals. Having discussed three important research streams on Chinese outbound tourism found in literature, the section that follows draws on the discourses regarding Germany's situation towards the market.

## 2.4. Germany as a Destination for Chinese

At first glance, Germany is not associated as a tourism destination. However, the country is one important tourism destination for European and long-haul travellers, including Chinese tourists. The favourable economic and political relations between the countries have contributed to the positive development of the Chinese outbound market to Germany. In spite of this, the situation demands more adaptation from Germany's tourism industry, as well as the analysis of the Chinese tourists beyond quantitative approaches. This section shows studies which describe the general characteristics of Chinese outbound travellers to Germany both from a quantitative and qualitative view point.

### Market Perspective

The German National Tourism Board (GNTB) reported that tourism's direct contribution to the GDP in 2004 was of 3.2% (does not include business trips, VFR trips and open investments) (GNTB; 2010). Later the organization started to provide the total national Gross Value Added (GVA)<sup>6</sup> as a measure of tourism and travel contribution to the GDP. The GNTB incoming-tourism facts and figures reports from 2012 and 2013 indicated that travel and tourism had a 4.4% direct effect on the total national GVA and a 9.7% direct, indirect and induced effect. Furthermore, the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), using their own methodology to measure the direct, as well as indirect and induced impacts of travel and tourism in the world, a region and a country specific economy, reported that travel and tourism's direct contribution was 1.7% of Germany's GDP in 2013. As for the total contribution (this includes indirect and induced effects), the total contribution to GPT was 4.7%.

With these figures, in 2013 Germany ranked number 164 (out of 184 countries analysed by the WTTC) in relation to travel and tourism's direct contribution to the GDP. The country is far from Spain, Europe's number one with a 5.7% share and under Europe's average of 3.1% and the world's 2.9%. As for travel and tourism's total contribution to GDP, Germany ranked 159. Once again under Spain (15.7%), the world's average (9.5%) and Europe's average (8.7%). These figures show that tourism is present in Germany's economy, however, it does not play such an important role as in other European countries.

Table 2.2. *Top 15 Source Markets for Germany by Number of Overnight Stays, in million, 2010-2012*

Country	2010	2011	2012
Total overnight stays by foreign visitors	60.3	51.3	68.8
Netherlands	10.5	Netherlands 10.7	Netherlands 10.9
USA	4.8	Switzerland 4.8	Switzerland 5.2
Switzerland	4.2	USA 4.7	USA 4.9
UK	4.2	UK 4.3	UK 4.5
Italy	3.3	Italy 3.3	Italy 3.5
Austria	2.8	Austria 3.0	Austria 3.2
France	2.7	France 2.9	France 3.1
Belgium	2.6	Belgium 2.8	Belgium 2.9
Denmark	2.5	Denmark 2.6	Denmark 2.9
Spain	1.9	Spain 2.0	Russian Fed. 2.3
Sweden	1.5	Russian Fed. 1.8	Spain 2.0
Russian Fed.	1.5	Poland 1.7	Poland 2.0
Poland	1.4	Sweden 1.5	Sweden 1.7
<b>PR China/HK</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>PR China/HK 1.3</b>	<b>PR China/HK 1.6</b>
Japan	1.1	Japan 1.2	Japan 1.3

Adapted from: GNTB (2011, 2013).

The country has developed as a popular travel destination for Europeans and overseas markets. It has been for three consecutive years the second most visited destination for Europeans after Spain

<sup>6</sup> GVA as defined by the UN Statistics Division: "The Gross Value Added is the value of output less the value of intermediate consumption; it is a measure of the contribution to GDP made by an individual producer, industry or sector; gross value added is the source from which the primary incomes of the SNA are generated and is therefore carried forward into the primary distribution of income account" UN, 2014.

(GNTB, 2014). In addition, as shown in Table 2.2, travellers from the USA and the emerging markets; such as Russian Federation and China, have increased their share in Germany’s incoming tourism. Additionally, the table shows that the Chinese market (includes Hong Kong Chinese in the figures presented by GNTB) has been the third overseas source market for Germany in terms of overnight stays, after USA and UK since 2010. It is also the country’s main Asian source market followed by Japan.

China’s increased arrivals to Germany relied on the positive economic and political relations between countries. Before its designation as an ADS country, Germany was already receiving a considerable amount of Chinese delegations either travelling for business or on governmental missions. To this day, trading relations between the countries remain strong. In 2012, China was Germany’s most important export partner in Asia and fifth worldwide (after France, USA, Great Britain and the Netherlands). From the year’s exports, 6.1% of the total of Germany’s exports went to China, mainly on machinery and autos. (Die Zeit, 2014, translated from German by the author).

The official start in leisure tourism relation came with the designation of Germany as an ADS country by the end of 2001. The formal signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) took place in July 2002, making Germany the second European country, after Malta, to receive this status. Contrary to many of the current ADS countries, Germany had already opened a representative office of the GNTB in 2001 before receiving the status (Arlt, 2006, p. 181).

According to Fugmann & Fugmann (2010), European and German industry stakeholders were optimistic of receive the ADS status due to the potential of thousand Chinese visits. However, the realities of the market (illegal activities under the tourism label, cultural shocks and low margins of profit) made many doubt of the future benefits, especially when still a lot of obstacles needed to be solved (Fugmann & Fugmann, 2010, p. 49). Despite the scepticism, the number of Chinese tourists has been growing throughout the years.

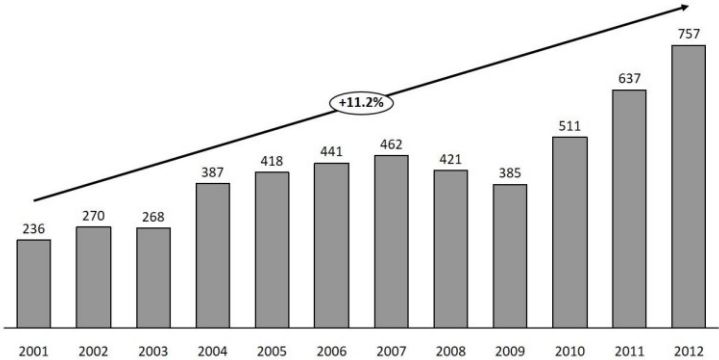


Figure 2.4. Chinese tourists’ arrivals to hotels and similar accommodations in Germany, in million, and CAGR from 2001 – 2012 (Adapted from: GNTB 2010-2013). Note: This figures include Mainland and Hong Kong Chinese

In relation to Chinese tourists’ arrivals to Germany, Figure 2.4 shows the unsteady growth of arrivals experienced from 2001 to 2009, as well as the move upwards after 2010. From 2002 to 2003, the outbreak of SARS in Hong Kong and South China inhibited the growth of arrivals to Germany and to other countries worldwide. Year later, in 2008 and 2009, the lowest negative growth was reached at - 8.8% und -8.7%, respectively. This decrease in arrivals is connected to the world economic crisis and travel restrictions implemented due to the H1N1 flu pandemic. After 2010, arrivals saw a remarkable growth. In 2011, a year-on-year increase of 24.7% was recalled and in 2012, the 757,290 arrivals

meant 18.8% growth from the previous year. Even in times of crisis, Germany has had a positive 11.2% CAGR from 2001 to 2012.

The evolution of the Chinese tourist’s overnight stays can be seen in Figure 2.5, where overnight stays are counted only as those incurred in hotels or similar accommodation businesses with more than 10 beds (after 2012, before it was more than 9 beds). These figures do not include private accommodation or small establishments. Furthermore, the nationality of the guest is determinate by their passport not by their place of residence, which makes difficult to differentiate a traveller from a temporal resident in Germany or Europe. By 2020, the GNTB (2013) forecasts that the overnight stays of Chinese tourists will hit the 2 million mark.

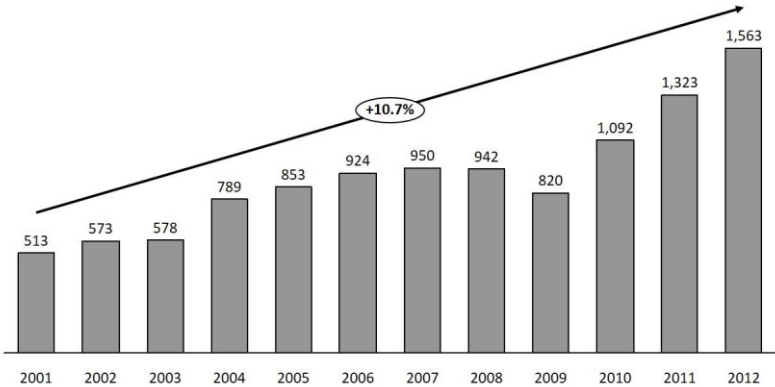


Figure 2.5. Chinese tourists’ overnight stays in Germany, in million, and CAGR from 2001 – 2012 (Adapted from: DZT 2010-2013). Note: This figures include Mainland and Hong Kong Chinese

In the previous years, Germany had also become one of the preferred destinations for Chinese. According to the GNTB, via World Travel Monitor, Germany’s market share from the total number of European trips taken by Chinese in 2012 was of 16.2%. This ranked Germany, for the first time, as the number one destination for Chinese after France (14.7%) and the Russian Federation<sup>7</sup> (14.5%). 2012 also presented other changes. For the first time, another country besides the Russia Federation took the first place, Great Britain and Ireland were not part of the top 5, and Switzerland entered the top 5 (See Figure 2.6 for detailed development).

Germany, along with some of the previously mentioned European destinations, is most certainly packaged in the typical “10 countries in 14 days’ itineraries” (Aramberri & Liang, 2012) available for Chinese mass organized groups in Europe. These GPTs are known for their low price and stays in hotels located far from the destination’s touristic centres (Hilton & SOAS, 2011). Moreover, they usually provide only shopping and photos opportunities, while enjoying “Europe from a coach window” (Arlt, 2013, p. 132).

<sup>7</sup> This amount only takes into consideration the European part of the Russian Federation.

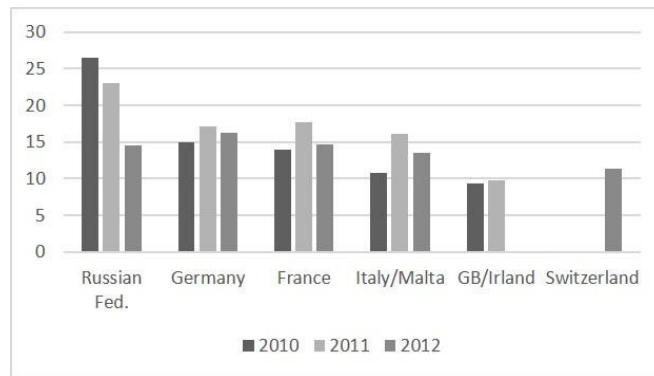


Figure 2.6. Top European destinations for Chinese tourists, % of total European trips 2010 – 2012 (Adapted from: DZT 2010-2013). Note: more than one answer possible. A trip can include more than one country

Chinese tourists spent in Germany an average of 2,996 Euros per trip and 458 Euros per night in 2012. Table 2.3 below illustrates the breakdown of the average expenditure of tourists in relation to their purpose of travel. Business travellers continue to be the major spenders during their trips in Germany with an average of 3,308 Euros per trip and 570 Euros per night, above the world and Europe’s average. Leisure travellers follow, which also spent more than the European and worldwide average.

Table 2.3. Expenditure of Chinese Tourists by Trip and Night in Euros 2010-2012

Region/country	2010		2011		2012	
	per trip	per night	per trip	per night	per trip	per night
<b>Worldwide</b>	2,302	344	1,813	288	1,690	295
<b>Europe</b>	3,307	398	2,536	325	2,418	373
<b>Germany</b>	3,447	320	2,329	311	2,996	458
<b>Business</b>	3,788	541	2,312	379	3,308	570
<b>VFR / others</b>	3,500	177	2,440	134	2,240	236
<b>Leisure</b>	3,200	266	2,355	251	2,728	379

Adapted from: GNTB (2011, 2013)

Chinese are known for their high amount of spending and their shopping habits. Global Blue (2013), finance service provider focussing on tax free shopping, reported that in 2012 Chinese tourists spent per tax free shopping transaction in Germany an average of 628 Euros. This positioned the Chinese as the number one tax free shoppers in Germany and represented almost double the 333 Euros average of all the countries that did tax-free shopping that year. Figure 2.7 presents the growth in number of tax free shopping transactions of Chinese in Germany from 2006 to 2012. The transactions grew 147% more in 2012 than those from 2006. Interestingly, a considerable amount of the spending goes to those products that are associated to Germany or German quality. Wohlfart (2007), in his study of Chinese tourists to Cologne, Germany; mentions the predilection of Chinese towards objects such as knives and scissors and German brands as Zwilling and WMF (p.48).

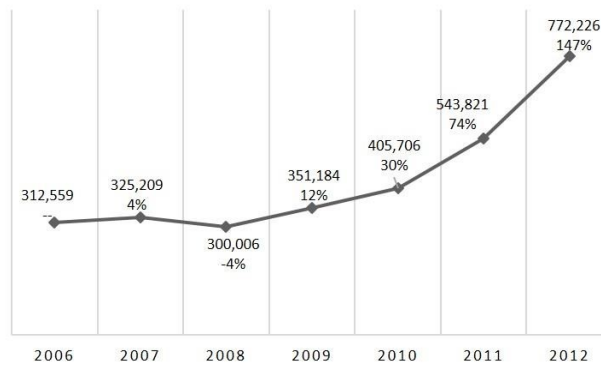


Figure 2.7. Number of tax free shopping transactions per year by Chinese tourists in Germany 2006-2012 (Adapted from: Global Blue (2010-2013))

Beyond the association of Germany's image with quality products, Lott (2007) noted that Chinese regard the country as the home of "outstanding researcher, engineers, soccer players and artists" (translation from German by the author, p.23). Additionally, in her manual *Was Sie schon immer über chinesische Touristen wissen wollen (What you always wanted to know about Chinese tourists)* addressed to tourism hosts and business people, she argues that Germany is not (yet) recognized as a destination for holidays and relaxation for Chinese (p. 32).

More on the specific characteristics of the Chinese in relation to purpose of travel, stay and main cities visited will be explained in detail in Chapter 8 in relation to the narratives created for Chinese tourists.

#### *Understanding COT to Germany from other perspectives*

The previous section served as a partial example of the common information findings on Chinese tourists to Germany. Figures showing market development both in terms of arrivals, expenditure, European competition for the destination Germany, forecasts, and market segments are some of the essential information included in reports and journal articles. In search of understanding Chinese outbound mass organized tourists from a different perspective, some articles proved rather interesting. The following paragraphs draw on the authors and their works which have served as inspiration for the design of this research project (explained in Box 2.7).

Arlt (2006) offers an overall picture of the routes followed by Chinese group tourists when travelling in Germany. Based on secondary literature, he explains that Chinese usually visit urban areas of German famous cities where the majority of iconic attractions are located. Cologne's Cathedral and Berlin's Brandenburg Tor in Berlin are some examples. Other places are famous due to their shopping possibilities, such as the city of Metzingen, or because they are internationally renowned, like Munich with its Oktoberfest or Nuremberg's Christmas Markets. Unfortunately, concrete activities and behaviours of the Chinese tourists in these touristic places have not been analysed. Elsewhere, Arlt mentions that Chinese tourist behaviour is majorly influenced by their culture and draws on Hofstede's analysis (explain in previous sections) to explain the different behaviours of Western and Chinese, as well as of Chinese and Japanese tourists.

Drawing on an extensive empirical research in Germany, Leung's (2004, 2006, 2009) research examines the relationship between migration and tourism, what she regards as two major interrelated trajectories of human mobility. In her study *Power of Borders and Spatiality: A Study of Chinese-operated Tourism Businesses in Europe (2009)*, she explores the interaction of the Chinese

migrants and the mobility-ambitious Chinese tourists. Besides the business transactions, these tour operators often (re)make and interpret their new home for the tourists, who are to experience a prototype of Europe that does not portray its everyday culture.

Fugmann (2008, 2009, 2010) presents a complete analysis of Chinese outbound tourism to Germany. His work gives an overview of the development of Chinese tourism worldwide and narrows down to the specific characteristics and implications of the source market in Germany. The author points out political characteristics and regulations of the market, including the ADS negotiations and signature, and the political control and use of tourism by the Chinese government. Furthermore, he sheds light on Chinese tourists' preference of mass packages and connects this with their low level of travel experience in the market. Interestingly, he examines the visitation of non-typical touristic cities by the Chinese during their fast-track trips around Europe and Germany. Cities like Trier, Metzingen, Titisee-Neustadt and Hameln, amongst others. Each of them is important to the Chinese due to their political and cultural background. For example, Trier, which is the birthplace of Karl Marx, or Hameln, the location of a well-recognized German fairy tale in China. In his conclusion, the author is overall positive of the future development of Chinese tourism, however, he questions whether Germany will adapt to the needs of the Chinese customer and if it can become a leading inbound destination for Chinese.

#### Box 2.7. Inspiration from Germany focused research mentioned in this section

1) Arlt's (2006) pioneer book on the topic China outbound tourism inspired me to find out more about the enactments of tourists in German cities. And also to find out what other determinants, beyond Chinese culture, influence the behaviour of Chinese tourists.

2) Reading Leung's work, written from the migrant worker's perspective, inspired me to explore other networks that tourists create during their journeys around Germany. How are the interactions among group members, locals, and other tourism industry people?

Her research also inspires this research to find out more about the current role of Chinese migrants on the construction of German tourism stages and how they make Chinese tourists feel "at home" while being away from home" (2009, p. 647). Furthermore, if everything is so carefully prepared for the tourists, is there any time left for spontaneity?

3) Fugmann's analysis based on both primary and secondary sources is quite complete; however, he mostly draws on third party information and not the tourists themselves. Fugmann's work inspired me to pursue a more insider approach. Furthermore, his analysis can serve as a comparison point of the situation in order to identify whether an evolution on the offers, behaviours and industry has occurred.

## 2.5. Conclusion

This literature review has presented the meaning of concepts such as organized mass tourists, group package tour (GPT), Chineseness, ADS agreement and zero-fare tours, which are primordial to the understanding of Chinese tourism with regard to the organized mass tourism segment.

In the market overview section, I presented not only the development of the market, as depicted in the vast majority of studies, but also warned the readers about the use of statistical information,



which is to be implemented as a quantitative indication of the reality. As far as segments, motivation and behavioural studies are concerned, what surfaced as one key aspect was the hegemony of quantitative methods used for these analyses. These “likert-scale” studies are usually in search of strict and fixed classifications of the tourist, rather than a complete understanding of the tourism experience. Following that, I went on to discuss the traces of Chinese cultural values on tourism behaviour. Important here, is to consider both traditional and current (mostly influenced by foreign practices and Chinese political ideology) cultural aspects. On this point, I agreed with other scholars that Chinese culture should be regarded as in constant change and as one reason of many that promote specific tourism behaviour.

In the section where I explored the government influence, I presented a series of events that shape China’s tourism industry. The section helps the reader understand why tourism was first regarded as an anti-revolutionary activity and why it is now seen as a strategic activity on the government’s agenda. In the final section, I depicted the quantitative situation of Chinese outbound tourism to Germany, as well as discussed some qualitative studies on incoming Chinese tourism to German stages. In particular, these studies’ interesting findings and shortcomings further inspired me for the design of this research.

By assessing the status quo of Chinese outbound tourism research, this chapter identified the strong presence of quantitative-based studies. To understand the mass organized tourists travelling on German stages from a different perspective, a more holistic one and also away from universal-static truths, I went on reviewing different theoretical approaches in the tourism studies. After careful scrutiny of concepts and theories, I selected the performance dramaturgical approach as the theoretical base for this study, which I will thoroughly discuss in the following chapter.

## Chapter 3. Performance Conceptual Framework

For years, tourism was regarded as a western phenomenon, but, as explained in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the growing tourism mobility of citizens from emerging countries have weakened this assumption. As a consequence, tourism studies have gradually adapted to these new actors on tourism settings. As a result, this research study responds to the need of further understanding of the tourism experience of these emerging tourists and, in my case, Chinese tourists.

For this study, I have selected the performance dramaturgical approach. As will be explained in this chapter, performance embraces a plurality of samples, senses and interactions, and moves away from inflexible thinking. Furthermore, it has been adapted to tourism studies before, however, mostly to Western samples. Consequently, I needed to take into consideration warnings as the one Winter (2009) gives: "the uncritical transplanted ideas like modernity and post-modernity, risk and performances into accounts of Asian tourism is of very limited value" (p. 322).

Hence, I searched for a critical adaptation and implementation of this Western-born theory. Thus, this research is structured by following the main characteristics of the performance approach, yet, where necessary, changes have been made in order to include the historical and current discourses and practices in China's society. Accordingly, I have borrowed concepts from well-known scholars to fashion a theoretical framework that can provide understanding on the performances of Chinese organized mass tourists. For example, whereas, Goffman (1959) neglected the power relation in the performances, Schechner's (2002) included it. Following just Goffman's seminal idea would be rather insufficient in order to comprehend China's tourism. Especially because of the strong control and regulation that the government has on Chinese tourists, as explained in the previous chapter. Similar examples of adaptation, concepts and ideas that theoretically underpinned this research will be unfolded throughout this chapter.

Some authors under the performance dramaturgical approach and the performance turn in tourism studies mentioned in this chapter's discussion are: Goffman (1959), Schechner (2002), MacCannell (1973), Edensor (1998, 2001, 2007, 2009), Franklin & Crang (2000), Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Urry & Larsen (2011), Rakić & Chambers (2012), amongst others. As well as authors from other disciplines, whose work is intertwined with performance, such as: Turner (1985), Thrift (1997), Crouch (1999), Cresswell (2004) Hannam (2006) and Cresswell (2004). Moreover, studies of Chinese tourists relevant to the topic are also included, such as the work of: Li (2005), Chan (2009) and Ong & DuCros (2012).

### 3.1. Performance in Tourism

Historic and social happenings have influenced our view of tourism and how we have tried to make sense of it. Through the years, tourism scholars have tried to adapt to what they considered proper to the époque. However, their theories have proven to sometimes being not all inclusive or representative to the tourists' reality. Without attempting to create a comprehensive analysis of each of the major developments in tourism history, this section's first part traces some of the main events which lean on the adoption of the performance dramaturgical approach in tourism studies. Following, the second part draws on well-known authors in the performance field and provides several examples of the approach's application in tourism.

Setting the stage to performance in tourism studies

Early studies described tourism “merely as an exotic, marginal topic” (Cohen, 1984, p. 374). Few scientists wanted to make sense of “fun, pleasure and entertainment” (Larsen and Urry, 2011, p. 7), but later they realized that even when tourists might seem comical, tourism is a serious business (Cohen, 2008, p. 330). The first serious discussions and analysis of tourism as a sociological contribution emerged during the 1970s with MacCannell’s (1973) “staged authenticity” and Cohen’s (1972) tourist typologies. Both theoretical approaches are regarded as pillars of tourism education and have been widely adopted since their publication.

MacCannell (1973) compares the tourist’s motivation with that of a pilgrim: “both are quests for authentic experiences” (MacCannell, 1973, p. 593) in sacred sites. These quests help the members of modern societies to overcome the difficulties of everyday life and to find meaning by looking for the “authentic” in other cultures. The search takes place mainly in non-Western locations, where simpler – purer lifestyles can still be found. Aware of the value of these authentic experiences, the locals create “social structural arrangements to produce them” (MacCannell, 1973, p. 595). These arrangements are organised in what MacCannell calls “staged authenticity”. Drawing on Erving Goffman's (1959) social division of front – back regions, he argues that tourists are not allowed to back stage experiences, and are only presented with “false backs” or “mystified” front stage productions. Owing to this, the tourist’s quest is condemned to fail from the beginning and the possibility of experiencing “real life” lays on accidental encounters within the host society.

Later in his book *The Tourist* (1976, 1999), MacCannell presents his second seminal idea, where he associates tourism with sightseeing. “Sightseeing is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society” (MacCannell, 1999, p. 13). The tourist searches for difference, which can be found in attractions, defined as “an empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight and a marker” (MacCannell, 1999, p. 41). Within this relationship, the mechanical production of markers (travel guides, photos, souvenirs, etc.) would inform the tourist on what sights to consume and, at the same time, would turn the tourist places into ones that are sacred or significant. MacCannell thus states that “[...], anything, is potentially an attraction. It simply awaits one person to take the trouble to point it out to another as something noteworthy, or worth seeing” (MacCannell, 1999, p. 192).

MacCannell’s authenticity has served as inspiration for further tourism studies, but has also been target of criticism as well. As an opposition to the search for authenticity, Maxine Feifer (1985) proposes the term “post-tourists”, for those individuals who are self-aware of the artificial constructions in tourism, as well as the necessary games to play as tourists. Post-tourists do not regard inauthenticity as a problem or a deceit, instead they decide for a playful attitude because: “for such (post)tourists there is no separately authentic experience, since all experiences may be viewed as authentic or real” (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 151).

For his part, Cohen highlights the need to move from the unitary role-type used by MacCannell and Boorstin (1961) to “pseudo-events” when referring to tourists, mostly mass tourists, and considering how “actual tourists differ considerably from one another in their motivations, travelling styles, and activities, among other things” (Cohen, 1984, p. 378). Accordingly, he releases different tourism typologies (briefly described in Chapter 2), or under the performance lenses, roles played by the tourists during a holiday.

One limitation to Cohen’s approach is that due his concentration on identifying concrete tourist types, he fails to take the performativity of tourism into account. As summarized by Edensor (2009):

"... although this typology provides a step beyond the singular versions of tourist theory, it nevertheless entrenches notions that a limited range of motivations and experiences characterize tourism and, moreover, suggests that distinctive kinds of tourists and tourism can be identified rather than conceiving tourism as constituted by a fluid and diverse series of sensations, practices and desires." (Edensor, 2009, p. 306)

John Urry's seeks for something different in his notion of the 'Tourist Gaze'. In 1990, John Urry published *The Tourist Gaze* in which he maintains that "tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/every day and the extraordinary" (Urry, 1990, p. 11). Central to the tourist's experience is the consumption of goods and services, which being not available in everyday life are, therefore, worth on being gazed upon. Urry's is based on a "post-modern" approach that questions the previous focus of tourism research on the 'production' side and emphasis on the tourist's 'consumption'. This view is support by Larsen (2004) who writes that Urry's ordinary-extraordinary division, results more embracive and post-modern than MacCannell's authenticity-inauthenticity one.

Urry's, inspired by Foucault's (1973, 2003) medical gaze, argues that the gaze "is a socially organised and systematised, as is the gaze of a medic" (Urry, 2002, p. 1). He further declares: "There are many ways of gazing within tourism, and the tourist looks at 'difference' differently" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 3). This gaze at 'difference' is authorized by multiple discourses, for example, education, health, group solidarity, pleasure and play, heritage and memory; and nation (2002, p.149). These discourses produce different modes of gazing, like the romantic and collective gaze (part of Urry's first edition book), the spectatorial gaze, reverential, environmental, mediatised gaze (included on the second edition) and the family gaze (from the book's third edition). Through the years, many other gaze modes have emerged: the second gaze (MacCannell, 2001); the Chinese gaze (Li, 2005), mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006), initial gaze, mass gaze and authentic gaze (Xie, Osumare, & Ibrahim, 2007); Post-Mao gaze (Ong & Du Cros, 2012), and so on (See those China-related in Box 3.1). However, it does not mean that each destination is bound to only one mode of gazing; it depends on the role the tourist is to take during her/his holidays.

Despite Urry's influential accounts on tourism research, many academics have challenged his thesis' main ideas. One criticism in much literature is the unidirectional perspective of the gaze. Where "the powerful subject possesses the gaze while the powerless other is completely defined by its status as the object of the gaze" (MacCannell, 2001, p. 29). In this respect, feminist writers argue the male orientation of the gaze. As stated by Craik (1997): "..., 'the tourist gaze', [...], has been normatively male, that is to say, it is conceived as being structured by voyeurism" (p. 130). This pleasure of looking at another person has been reflected in tourism representations, where in many cases "images of women, in particular, but not exclusively, function as the passive object of the gaze from a masculine point of view" (Craik, 1997, p. 130).

Another criticism to this approach is that it fails to incorporate other senses. In his seminal thesis, Urry acknowledged "the visual nature of the tourist experience" (Urry, 1992, p. 172), however, as widely discussed by other authors (Perkins and Thorns, 2001; Franklin and Crang, 2001; Franklin, 2003; Edensor, 1998, 2001, 2007; amongst others) much of tourism is related to "other embodied sensations particularly evident in the tactile, auditory and gustatory pleasures" (Edensor, 2009, p. 307).

### Box 3.1. Chinese and Post-Mao gazes

After comprehensive field research in Chinese domestic tourism destinations, Li (2005) coined the term Chinese gaze. She identified subcomponents of it. First, the relational gaze. This is about gazing as part of a whole, where no individual exists in isolation. Second, a harmony gaze. This means to visually consume the characteristics that encircle man and nature. And third, the ludic gaze. It consumes playfulness and promotes participation in Chinese games. She went on to describe how the first two subsets comprised core elements of Chineseness and the third one represents a more specific aspect of it. After her thorough revision of Urry's common characteristics of the gaze and her comparison with the Chinese sample, she concludes that Chinese cultural elements formed the gaze and counters the supposedly universality of Urry's gaze, and well as showing its Eurocentric bias.

In connection to outbound tourists, Ong & DuCros (2012) introduced the term post-Mao gazes. By conducting a study on Chinese budget tourists in Macao using virtual space ethnography, the authors examine how the gazes are constructed and performed at a postcolonial landscape. They conclude that the consumption of Macao was superficial and based on cinematic nostalgia, rather than on narratives of its colonial past. Furthermore, the gazes, displayed and described on the online forums analysed, were not individualistically created, but communally, as a result of interchanging experiences and sharing ways of gazing.

This view is supported by Perkins and Thorns (2001) in their analysis of New Zealand tourism. They state that:

"tourists are about 'doing' rather than just 'seeing' and thus about putting their bodies into tourism in a way that is not reflected in much of the analysis arising from a focus upon the tourist gaze" (Perkins & Thorns, 2001, p. 199).

They also claim that "is too passive to encapsulate the full range of the tourist experience". (ibid. p.186)

However, Urry's focus on the visual element as the key sense for the tourism experience leave the analysis of tourism incomplete. At this point in tourism research starts a broadening of theories, as stated by Edensor:

"Many researchers have moved away from old conceptual models and theoretical preoccupations (tourism motivation, relationship between hosts and guests, quantitative depictions of tourist flows, models for resort development and marketing and management strategies) and developed approaches that are informed by some of the most influential new ideas emerging out of the social sciences." (Edensor, 2009, p. 308)

But not only tourism theory experienced changes, as people, objects and places become more intertwined, their mobility also increased. Tourism represents the largest ever movement of people across national borders and, at the same time, becomes a constant producer of place. On the one side, tourism is likely to take place everywhere in the world. For example, North Pole excursions, space trips, excursions in the middle of the Brazilian jungle, or visits to 'dark tourism destinations' like former concentration camps or the terrorist-affected sites as New York's Ground Zero (more on the relation 9/11 2001 and dark tourism, see also (Potts, 2012). There are also places that come to 're-enter' the global order. As highlighted by Urry and Larsen (2011) in the case of China after the

1978's opening policy, Cuba's reopening to tourism during the 1990s and ex-Soviet Union countries, which gradually opened to tourism after the USSR's official end in 1991. On the other hand, tourists emerge from different countries. As observed by Franklin and Crang (2000, p.9): "tourism may be less of a one-way street than the all-engulfing westernizing tidal wave it sometimes seems". Most of these new tourists come from eastern countries, China being the number one source market from Asia, in what has been called the reverse of tourism flows.

This global mobilities order comes to destabilize previous concepts. As Urry and Larsen (2011, p.30) say: "One thing that is sure about the emergent global order is that it is only at best a contingent and temporary ordering that generates its massive and complex disordering." Therefore, basic common-sense binary concepts in tourism studies, like work and leisure, study and entertainment, reality and fantasy, ordinary and extraordinary, home and away, domestic and international, have been destabilized, blurred and de-differentiated.

Orientated towards new mobilities and multidisciplinary approaches, performance seeks to detach from tourism as constructed only on Western binary concepts (we-others, authentic-inauthentic, ordinary-extraordinary), which incline "to produce hegemonic, disembodied, and masculinist knowledge" (Johnston, 2001:181), to a more plural analysis of the touristic phenomena. The following section presents the performance approach, which theoretically informs this thesis.

#### Performance turn in tourism studies

Back in the 1990's, tourism scholars started writing about a "performance turn" in tourism studies (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 3). It can be considered a "turn" since it represents "important departures from classical mainstream tourism theories" (ibid.). The turn uses Erving Goffman's (1959) analysis of human interactions, under the dramaturgical model, as a base for the investigation of tourists' behaviours and practices. Here tourism "might be conceived as staged and a form of performance" (Edensor, 2009, p. 309). More in Box 3.2.

#### Box 3.2. Performance turn in tourism studies

Urry (2011, p.14), after moving his tourist gaze argument under the performance approach, summarizes:

"A so-called 'performance turn' within tourism studies highlights that tourists experience places in more multi-sensuous ways, touching, tasting, smelling, hearing and so on, as well as the materiality of objects and places and not just objects and places viewed as signs".

Tourism studies have used performance from different angles. Crang (1997) follows MacCannell's idea of tourists as an audience and traces how tourism workers are trained to perform before tourists (Crang, 1997). Adler (1989) analyses travel information and explains how it helps with the preparation of tourists for eventual performances and also recognizes that the performances are susceptible to be directed and also evaluated (Adler, 1989). In the same direction, Hyde and Olesen (2011) draw on Goffman to explore how tourists pack specific items (in dramaturgical terms: props and costumes) as means of preparation for tourism performances. Furthermore, they explore what happens during the performance and further connected performance with the construction of self-identity by using Giddens (1991) sociological theory.

Of all the contributions of performance to the field of tourism, Edensor (1998, 2000, 2001a, 2007, 2009) presents the most comprehensive ones. Edensor maintains a Goffmanian approach and, hence, borrows terms like: performers, stages, back/front stage, stage management, choreographies, cast members, etc. In his book *Tourists at the Taj*, Edensor expresses that performance is interesting because it “specifies the relationship between people and the sites they visit” (Edensor, 1998, p. 67). Later he argues that performance also informs about the tourists' own situations:

“They are also constrained and enabled according to external constraints, peer-group pressure, conventions about what constitutes ‘suitable’ behaviour, the degree of reflexivity mobilised, the historical relationship between sites and visitors, and the parameters and management of the touristic stage on which performance occurs” (ibid. p.67-68).

Edensor moves beyond Goffman and includes characteristics of performance studies in his analysis as well, even when not discussing the discipline in his writings. He challenges the strict character of impression management and points out “the unreflexive, habitual, unintentional enactments of tourists” (Edensor, 2001a, p. 60). Furthermore, he explores the roles of key workers (directors, stage-managements, performers) to reveal the spatial and social control of the performance. These regulations produce specific performances. Based on this affirmation, he presents different modes of performances: directed performances, identity-oriented and non-conformist performances.

Moreover, he presents a geographical perspective of performance, by engaging with conceptions of space and place, and mainly by contesting the inactive – passive notions of them. He states: “Thus, stages can continually change, can expand and contract” (ibid.p.64). Writers like Rakić and Chambers (2012), have further research on the consumption and simultaneous construction of space during tourism activities. Their analysis relies on the performance turn, and the embodiment and mobilities concepts in tourism studies.

Also influential is the work of Haldrup and Larsen. In their book *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday* (2010), they explore how tourists' everyday realities inform tourists' performances. They use Goffman as the base of their analysis, but also include notions of performance studies and non-representative theory of Thrift (2008). Their analysis is strongly influenced by the mobilities approach in tourism, and they highlight “how tourism performances happen across multiple sites, ordinary as well as extraordinary, where many mundane everyday practices are also performed” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 13). Haldrup and Larsen are also keen to point out one of the limitations of the performance turn. First, they consider that it has been superficially introduced to tourism studies. In addition, under Western beliefs, performance is related to convincing people and making them believe something unreal. As a consequence, outside the theatrical world “performing is deception, a trickster world of false impressions” (ibid. 6).

In this section, it has been explained how tourism scholars began their search for new theoretical approaches in tourism studies one of them being the performance metaphor. Their awareness of the increasing mobile world situation, gave them the impulse to leave behind static theoretical concepts and approaches, such as the search of authenticity as a motive for tourism, the fixed motivations and typologies characteristic of tourism studies during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the hegemony of the gaze on the touristic experience. Academics like, MacCannell, Adler, Edensor, Haldrup & Larsen and recently Urry adopted concepts from Goffman (sociology influenced) and Schechner (dramaturgical and ethnographical influenced) to the analysis of tourism under

performance. The following section shows the core concepts of the former two scientists use in the in tourism studies and also in this thesis.

### 3.2. Theorising Performance

There is no single definition for performance, but rather different ones with common characteristics. In a broader sense, performance is about “the action or process of performing a task or function” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013). Related to the social sciences, Erving Goffman uses the term performance:

“to refer to all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers” (Goffman, 1959, p. 22).

Similarly, Richard Schechner, in the dramaturgical field, defines it: “as a concept or metaphor that foregrounds the creative, constructed, collaborative, and contingent nature of human communication and interaction” (Schechner, 2002, p. 13).

In his publication *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, Schechner (Schechner, 2002, p. 22) argues that to perform comprises four interrelated characteristics. First, *being*; in relation to the existence or the self. This category is meant to be understood from a philosophical point of view, turning the being into something either material or spiritual. Second, *doing*; with regard to all possible actions available for the being. Third, *showing doing*; it is about displaying doing. Both doing and showing doing are about actions, they presuppose constant motion and changes. Lastly, *explaining showing doing*; as for the work of scholars and critics, when trying to explain and make others understand performance and also the world as performance. Based on these characteristics, it can be recognized that performances are present in our ordinary lives, during business, sports, religious activities, rituals, entertainment, intimate moments, time spent with communication technologies, tourism, and many others. My definition is presented in Box 3.3.

#### Box 3.3. Performance as defined for this thesis

Throughout this thesis, the term performance will be used in its broadest sense to refer to enactments, encounters and the results coming out of those interactions at a particular time and space.

Performance in the everyday

Goffman (1959) uses the performance dramaturgical approach to explain the everyday social encounters of individuals. In his seminal work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman traces the expressions given by the individual by acting before another person or group. He recognizes that people can either express directly, as to “give”; or can do it involuntarily, as to “give off”. Being, especially, those uncontrolled behaviours, the main focus on Goffman’s analysis. Whatever expression is given or whichever the objective of the encounter or the performance, the individual will be interested “to control the conduct of the others, especially their responsive treatment of him” (Goffman, 1959, p. 3).

In order to achieve this, he or she would use a series of techniques of what Goffman calls *impression management*. These techniques are: *dramatic realization, idealization, concealment, maintenance of*



*expressive control, misrepresentation, lying, mystification*, etc. Additionally, the individuals are to come across difficulties in controlling their expressions and are also needed to develop relationships with various *performance teams* which perform at the same time as them.

For Goffman, "we all act better than we know how" (Ibid. p.74) and the meanings of our acts are on the surface. These meanings are to be developed on stages, either on the "back" or "front" region of the stage. Back stage is where the performers prepare their performances and where they come back after them. On the other hand, front stage is where the performance is presented to the audience and where performers will play specific roles, previously learned and rehearsed, and will utilise a variety of resources contained in the stage, as scenography, props and staff services.

Goffman (1959) himself briefly refers to travel and performances. At the conclusion of his analysis on everyday performances, he recognizes that his analysis is based on illustrations from a Western society, but advises that: "we must not overlook areas of life in other societies in which other rules are apparently followed" (p.244). By following, he refers to how stories from Western travellers are characterized by situations "in which their dramaturgical sense was offended or surprised" (ibid.). Goffman draws on an example the differences or "otherness" that people can encounter in China, and encourage his readers to not generalize but to consider the contrasting dramaturgical rules and aptitudes.

Goffman's contributions on understanding the human's interaction order has remained influential until today. However, his approach has been subjected to criticism from several scholars. Giddens (1987), for example, is critical to Goffman lack of analysis of the power geometries within interactions. As he summarizes: "..., Goffman for the most part chooses to analyse situations in which there is no obvious disparity of power between participants" (Giddens, 1987, p. 134). Further related to Goffman's selective way of analysis, Willems argues, he "did not systematically consider the historical and social conditions and dependencies of his subjects. (...) He focused on tiny moments of people's behaviour, which they themselves find more or less natural and are unaware of..." (Willems, 2001, p. 6298).

#### Performance studies

Beyond Goffman's use of performance to explain society's daily interactions, the field "performance studies" arose to give a theoretical lens to theatre, to explore its connection with other disciplines (for example, anthropology with the influence of Victor Turner) and with the everyday occurrences (drawing on the work of Goffman). Initially, performance studies were considered as only pertinent to the performing arts. However, the flexibility of the approach, which focuses on the analysis of actions, makes it usable to describe all activities of people's lives.

In order to take actions seriously, Schechner (2002), a pioneer in the development of performance studies as a theory, highlights four characteristics of performance studies (p.1-2). Firstly, performance studies' object of attention is behaviour. Using Schechner terms, performance studies are about the "repertory" of what people are now doing rather than on the "achievement" of past behaviours. The latter can indeed be used by scholars but do not represent the approach's main focus. Secondly, while studying performance the researcher also becomes a performer, thus, there is an integral relation between both roles. Thirdly, borrowing from anthropology, participant observation is the most suitable method. Lastly, involvement. Performance scholars should actively take action in social realities and avoid a "neutral" position.

Performance studies are fluid, playful and in line with postmodern times. As stated by Schechner (ibid. p.19):

“In modernity, what was “deep” and “hidden” was thought to be “more real” than what was on the surface (Platonism dies hard). But in postmodernity, the relationship between depths and surfaces is fluid; the relationship is dynamically convective”.

Therefore, performance studies relate to anti-hierarchical ideas and respond to an ever-changing or a performative world.

Central to performance studies is that all performances result from “twice-behaved behaviors” or “restored behaviors” (ibid. p.22). All of our actions are made from previously learned, trained, practiced and rehearsed behaviours. Even those actions believed to be original or “once-behaved” would come from early demeanours or their different combinations. Haldrup and Larsen (2010) further suggest:

“this is also the case with the performances of everyday life, when training and rehearsal revolve around learning appropriate culturally specific bites of behaviour, to such an extent that they appear natural, become taken-for-granted rituals” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 12).

Even though when the performers make use of restored behaviours, there are no identical performances. As mentioned before, performances are to be presented before audiences within different events, therefore, it is not possible to copy those characteristics exactly or to emulate the embodied interactions between the performance teams (Schechner, 2002, p. 23).

Back to the emphasis on choreographies and their intercultural background on performance studies, this comes from Schechner’s move towards anthropology as a result of his academic relation to Victor Turner. For Turner, performance was a vehicle to understand culture:

“A performance is declarative of our shared humanity, yet it utters the uniqueness of particular cultures. We will know one another better by entering one another’s performances and learning their grammars and vocabularies” (Schechner & Appel, 1990, p. 1).

Tourism is briefly discussed in Schechner’s work. For him, tourism involves “shows that simultaneously preserve, distort, and display traditional performances, daily life, or anything else that may be packaged and sold to an ever increasing audience of world travellers” (Schechner, 2002, p. 226). His position places the tourist as the audience that is amused by the intercultural performances of service providers. Furthermore, he pictures the tourist as a colonizer in search of the authentic, similar to MacCannell’s (1973) classic idea of “stage authenticity”.

Contrary to performance studies, Goffman’s work did not thoroughly research the individual’s historical background and social conditions. Another characteristic of performance studies, that differs from Goffman, is the analysis of the relations and also the power relations of the participants of a performance. Beyond the point of view of the performer, Schechner (2002, p.215) analyses the dynamic relation between four main players: sourcers, producers, performers and partakers. He suggests that, even when the link between the players is meant to be equal in power, most of the time that is not the case. Thus, he provides further examples on dominance by one or more of the categories.

Performance embodies a multitude of characteristics, and although differences between authors exist, there appears to be some agreement when referring to actions, processes, flexibility, social

involvement, key players, interaction, postmodernism, everydayness, stages, power relations and multiculturalism, among others (See more on the relation to this dissertation in Box 3.4). For the detailed study of performance, Schechner has divided it in several phases, to be discussed in the following section and also used as a structure for the Chinese organized mass tourists' performances.

#### Box 3.4. Interconnection between key concepts related to performance

Both the Goffman and Schechner approaches of performance are used in this research. As shown in this section, both are complementary to each other. Goffman's notion of encounters and impression management during everyday performances will be brought up with notions of the performance studies discipline. To be more precise, the importance of scripting, choreographing and rehearsal, the spontaneity allowed, the intercultural background of the performers, as well as the power relations among participants.

### 3.3. Performance as a Sequence

A performance can be understood as a sequence of activities or phases that the performer encounters. Schechner (Schechner, 2002, p. 188) offers a time-sequence process of the performance, which is divided into three phases: Proto-performance, performance and aftermath. His structure draws from Van Gennep (1960) 'rites of passage' phases: the preliminal, liminal, and postliminal and Victor Turner's (1985) ritual process, which also presents three periods: separation, liminal and reaggregation.

Schechner process consists altogether of three phases and ten parts: training, workshop, rehearsal, warm-up, performance, performance context, cool-down, critical response, archives and memories (2002, p.191). Not all parts are necessarily present in one performance; they can also overlap in the time of the performance. With regard to the time when performances are enacted, this thesis analysis starts by not considering that tourism performances are enacted in isolated, extraordinary times, or following Turner's concept in "liminal" time, but as enactments that are part of our everyday lives. (More in Box 3.5).

In the following sections, each of the parts are explained both from a dramaturgical and touristic perspective.

Proto- Performance: Training, workshop and rehearsal

During training, the performers acquire the necessary skills to act, they are aware of the role to be played and revise the script given by the directors or managers. During the workshops, the performer seeks to apply the learned skills into his or her own reality. Finally, during rehearsals, the performer practices and repeats his or her routines, absorbs their meanings and prepares to perform in front of an audience.

*A Role to play*

Roles are constructed during this phase, which are to be taken seriously, since it becomes the second skin of a performer. In Goffman's work a role is:

"the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status, we can say that a social role will involve one or more parts and that each of these different parts may be presented by the

performer on a series of occasions to the same kinds of audience or to an audience of the same persons" (Goffman, 1959, p. 16).

#### Box 3.5. Performance as opposed to the binary everyday – holiday

Early theorists stressed the contrast of the ordinary versus the extraordinary, suggesting that tourism was about an 'escape from the routine and to break away from the everyday life'. In this context, "the tourist is positioned as being a kind of subject that would not experience something extra-ordinary at home" (MacCannell, 2001, p. 25). As if people's quotidian life was based on duty, boredom, habit and dullness, therefore the need for excitement on holidays.

However, "the everyday [...] also provides opportunities for dreams and fantasies, moments of creativity, and unexpected happenings" (Edensor, 2009, p.312). Otherness is available in our everyday travels and in global societies full of signs, multi-cultural encounters, media flows (on the television, internet and movies), everyone can be a performer, either virtual or actual. On the other side, ordinary life practices inform actual travel. Such as drinking, sleeping, spending time with friends, reading, working, sending messages, yelling, having sex, among others. Yet, and as encountered in everyday life, not all practices during tourism are routines, there is also disposition for "creativity and the unexpected" (more on Larsen, 2008, p. 31). In this regard, Löfgren points out: "Getting away from it all might be an attempt to get it all back together again" (Löfgren, 1999, p. 269).

Roles are constantly changing within performances, therefore, the performer cannot prepare just for one static role. There is "a manifold of roles that can be played" (Weaver, 2005) in real life, for instance, a female person can be a tourist, a wife, a sister, a good friend, a lawyer (if that is her profession), and her "real self" when being alone back home or in a recess. Moreover, in mediated times, people have the opportunity to constantly create new roles, multiple new versions of themselves in virtual spaces.

#### *Prepare for the role*

"The role can be best performed if information from the audience is known in advance" (Goffman, 1959, p. 3).

The production and development of this information is partially a result of the work of many industry experts. This information includes features of the tourism product, like:

"a number of commercial tourist services, accommodation, catering, transport services, events and so on, as well as product components which sometimes represent an integral part of the destination, e.g. landscape, culture, heritage or destinations inhabitants" (Osti & Pechlaner, 2001, p. 234).

To lure customers, destinations rely on a traditional promotional mix, which can have one of the following forms: advertising (newspaper, radio, magazines, television, outdoor, direct mail, directories, brochures), personal selling (field Salesforce, retail Salesforce, door-to-door), sales promotion (coupons, sampling, discounts, contests, point-of-purchase, co-op advertising, deals, shows) and public relations (press releases, news conferences, films, tours, sponsorship) (Bennett & Strydom, 2001, p. 142). And they also use e-marketing forms such as: e-mail/viral promotions, socialnetworking, websites, search engine optimisation and interactive TV, among others (UNWTO, 2008).

Information about the audience is also available through “word-of-mouth”, or WOM. This form of interpersonal communication has been influenced positively and negatively by the tourism industry for years in the way “that it is the innovative and adventurous tourists that discover new destinations or tourism products, who then, acting as opinion leaders, share their experiences with their ‘less intrepid cousins’ (Litvin, Goldsmith, & Pan, 2008, p. 461). Interpersonal influence is also available online, with what is called “electronic word-of-mouth,” or eWOM. One increasingly popular form of eWOM is the user-generated Content, or UGC (Blogs, Wikis, Forums). Both communication types help to create imaginations or anticipation of the stage, and thereafter, prepare for the role.

Besides the information susceptible to be gathered in advance, the performers use their own personal characteristics to prepare a performance. Social encounters are never free of personal conventions, and some of them cannot be hidden by the performer. Goffman recalls:

“Items of expressive equipment, intimately identify with the performer and will follow him wherever he goes ... includes: clothing, sex, age, and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expression; bodily gestures; and the like” (Goffman, 1959, p. 24)

The physical items brought by the tourists are known as material affordances that enhance the otherwise ‘pure’ body. Performers select with anticipation the materials they might need, for example clothing, which represent the biggest challenge during packing phase (Hyde & Olesen, 2011, p. 910), shoes, electronics, and even lucky charms. In case of doubt on what items to bring for a specific destination and activity, endless advice can be found off- and online under the commonly named section “packing list to”.

On the less tangible front, the performers bring cultural aspects with them. Jack and Phipps (2005) highlight the following cultural items: “language, attitudes, education, knowledge, research, reading, stories, traditions, etc., that are bagged in the memory, the mind, the experience and the body” (p.49). Some of these aspects might be known in one society but not in another. Goffman (1959) highlights, even when his analysis is based on Western settings, that it is necessary “not to overlook culture specific of other societies” (Goffman, 1959, p. 264).

Performance: Warm-up, performance, performance contexts and cool-down

For the second phase, performers warm-up immediately before the performance. During the performance enactments are presented, different kinds of acting are on display, ritual or play actions, as well as techniques of impression management. Finally, comes the cool-down part, where the performer comes back or re-enters his or her real life again.

#### *Warm-up*

Most of the time, this is a visualization part where the performer imagines how the time in front of the audience would be, how to react and what to do if it is necessary to improvise. Some performers might do nothing and simply go on into the performance, independent of the rituals or actions on the warm-up; “it is a time before, when the performer can ready herself for putting on the role” (Schechner, 2002, p. 205).

#### *Performance*

Within this section, enactments are presented to the audience. As mentioned before, they are not done for the first time, they are mostly about previously learned behaviours. To cite Schechner: “The units of behaviour that comprise ‘me’ were not invented by ‘me’” (Schechner, 2002, p. 27). Instead,

he suggests that they are a result of synergies of ritual and play, which together create a second reality.

Ritual performances are marked by disciplined, codified, predictable and repeatable enactments. Additionally, rituals are present on people's life transitions. According to Van Gennep (1960), life presents different stages, and the progression from one to another is marked by a rituals. Birth, naming, puberty, initiation, betrothal, marriage, and death are part of a ritual, each has recognisable patterns and involve other people presence (Franklin, 2003, p. 133). Besides old known rituals, new ones are constantly created either by individuals or official culture, mostly to reinforced social solidarity.

Play, on the other side, builds upon uncertainty, risks and taboos. Play transforms a person temporarily, for a while he or she breaks free or travels back to their childhood. While ritual is about repetition and predictability, play is contingent, innovative and creative (Bial, 2004). Play is essential to performing "because it creates the 'as if', the risky activity of make believe" (Schechner, 2002, p. 81). More in Box 3.6.

#### Box 3.6. Permission for tourists to be out of tune

The experiences of tourists are not static, there is some play, improvisation and sometimes absence of social constraints (Doorne & Ateljevic, 2005, p. 192). One of the characteristics of the performance turn is that it challenges representational textual readings of tourism and researches the "tactics" that tourists employ to be out of tune during their performances (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 194).

While analysing the embodied expression of the performers during ritual and play, the performance turn supports the views from the embodiment approach in tourism studies. Embodiment detaches the tourist practice from mainly seeing and objectifying, somehow in a representative way, and develops it as "a more feminine, subjective, human spatial practice" (Crouch, 1999, p. 4). (See Box 3.7)

#### Box 3.7. Performance with all the senses, connection with embodiment

During performance, the actor not only uses the stage, but integrates himself with it, as an expressive ongoing relation with the world (Thrift, 1997). This integration is explained by Crouch, who summarizes:

"'Embodiment' is a process of experiencing, making sense, knowing through practice as a sensual human subject in the world. The subject engages space and space becomes embodied in three ways. First the person grasps the world multi-sensually. Second the body is 'surrounded' by space and encounters it multi-dimensionally. Third, through the body the individual expresses him/herself through the surrounding space and thereby changes its meaning. It is evident that the world is not only 'out there' at a distance but surrounds the individual. It is touched and smelt and so on with all the senses working together. It is grasped multi-sensually" (Crouch, 2000, p. 68).

During the encounters with the audience, the performer will employ different techniques of impression management "conveying a view of the situation which he feels the others will be able to

find at least temporarily acceptable” (Goffman, 1959, p. 9). *Idealization* is a technique, which presents the most appropriate performance according to the situation, it may involve pretending. *Maintenance of expressive control*, deals with the gestures and body control. *Misrepresentation* intentionally conceals the reality of a situation. *Mystification* consists on both emphasize and hide aspects of the situation, as well as add a halo of mystery to it. This technique “generates the belief that there is something more than meets the eye: even where no secrets are actually kept” (MacCannell, 1973, p. 591). During a performance the techniques overlap and are used consciously or unconsciously.

At the same time, different interactions take place within the performance context. The actors tend to interact with other “performance teams”. Haldrup and Larsen’s (2003) analyse the social relations and simple interactions between family, friends or the significant other during the performance of photography. Posing, laughing, dancing and acting are some of the corporeal and social activities to be performed during these interactions. Simultaneous to the interactions of the performance teams, other activities happen between the performance’s key players (to be defined on the stage section of this chapter).

#### *Cool down*

After the performance, the actor takes some time to reintegrate back into real life. Following a tourism example, this could be the time tourists come back to the bus after having walked a few hours around the city centre of a destination. Each actor uses this time differently, some of them relax, others process the input received and some others use the time to edit the performance for future audiences. Knowing that they would tell the story of this performance back home or wanting to instantly share their performances online (as a result of the increasingly mobile everyday, see more in Box 3.8), the tourists use their time to select, edit, even mystify the performance in order to give the desired impression back home (Doorne & Ateljevic, 2005, p. 185).

#### Aftermath: Critical Response, archives and memories

This phase includes the reactions to the performance. After the performance, there are simultaneous “response(s) by the agents of official culture” (Schechner, 2002, p. 212). Critics, audience, stage directors, people who were not there, but find out about the performance; start to interchange opinions as well as archives (in the form of films, photos, documents, objects or other props) of the performance. The archives produce reactions that remain for years, and if the performance fades quickly, there is always the possibility to evoke memories by telling others about it, in the form of WOM or eWOM, or by exhibiting self-generated documentation or items.

The mobilities of the archives and materials brought by the tourist back to their homes have been investigated by Haldrup and Larsen (2010). Beyond performing ethnographies in Cairo, Egypt; they followed the flow of tourism items and analysed how they are “consumed, seen, worn, displayed, performed and disseminated” (p.49) in their new homes. By doing so, they pioneered a new approach to ethnography, a “mobile tourism ethnography”.

So far, this section has focused on the parts commonly, but not always, present during a performance. The sequence provides a kind of checklist or guideline for analysis during the field research. Therefore, under the performance lenses, the following aspects should be closely analysed in relation to each phase. Before the performance: how the Chinese tourists need to comprehend their roles, along with their routines, and gather the necessary skills to perform, as well as, make use of their cultural coded patterns or previously learned behaviours. During performance: ritual and play

actions, embodied consumption, acting skills, management of their impressions, subgroups formed, recover after performing. After performance: what is discussed about the performance, what is generated, are there objects or just memories shared? Having discussed the actions and process a performer undertake while doing tourism, what follows is an outline of stage creation and power relations presented on it.

#### Box 3.8. Mobile performances

Performance is influenced by the concept of “mobilities” of tourism studies. The concept was ignited due to the changes within Western societies. In what the European sociologist Zygmunt Baumann (2000) termed as ‘liquid modernity’, which presupposes a shift from a hardware and solid modernity to a more software and fluid one. Globalisation, internet and the possibility of being mobile transformed aspects of social life, allowing what is call “time-space compression” (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 23). People were offered the possibility to cross the globe and be closer to places and peoples they once dreamed of, all thanks to technological developments. Aware of these changes, John Urry highlighted the need for a “novel agenda for sociology, of mobility” (Urry, 2000, p. 186), concentrating on the “diverse mobilities of peoples, objects, images, information and wastes.” (ibid.)

Later he claimed: “diverse mobilities [...] are materially transforming the ‘social as society’ into ‘social as mobility’” (ibid.) Mobilities include large-scale movements of images, objects, information, capital and people (either in virtual, corporeal or imaginative travel), “as well as more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life” (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006, p. 1). These mobilities are interconnected by places of intermittent movement, known as hubs or nodes. These may include airports, hotels, stations, cities, attractions, internet cafes, plazas and so on.

Although people are becoming increasingly mobile, there are still unequal opportunities for using this new mobility. Even when technological developments allow for mobility, they also “heighten the immobility of others, especially as people try to cross borders” (Timothy, 2002). Not everyone possesses an equal relationship to mobilities, for example, “rights to travel are highly uneven and skewed even between pair of countries” (ibid.). Therefore, the mobilities approach focus on “tracking the power and politics of discourses and practices of mobility in creating both movement and stasis (Cresswell, 1999; Maurer, 2002; Franklin et al, 2000)” (Hannam et al., 2006, pp. 4–5).

### 3.4. Stages and Regulation

“All the world is not, of course, a stage, but the crucial ways in which it isn’t is not easy to specify” (Goffman, 1959, p. 72).

This section extends the discussion in the previous section from body to stage. Definitions and examples of tourism stages will be provided. Interesting is also, to understand how the nature of a stage is directly connected to the performances enacted upon it, as well as the interactions happening between the stage-performer and among the performance’s key players.



## Stages

Tourist performs in specific spaces, namely stages. They can be cities, museums, amusement parks, restaurants, historical sites, beaches, mountains, tracking routes, streets, etc. Places, that, according to Robinson and Picard (2009): “work simultaneously as a giant theatre, a giant theme park, and a giant Freudian couch, confronting tourists to various personas they think that they are, they desire or image to be or, wish to become” (p.10). More on definitions in Box 3.9.

### Box 3.9. Stage, space and place

Throughout this thesis, the term “stage” is connected to the meaning of tourism space concept. In relation to the term place, it is used to refer to a destination, which already represents concrete meanings to tourists and is anticipated and imagined by them. This selection is based on the conceptualization of both terms in the tourism geography scholarship, shown as follows.

Space is susceptible to interpretation. It is “general and universal” (Hall, 2013, p. 606), a “realm without meaning” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 10). Accordingly, the concept tourism space presents a combination of:

“geographical space (subspace), understood as a space consisting of the natural elements of the Earth’s crust (natural environment), the long-term effects of human activity in this environment (economic environment), as well as the human environment in a social sense” (Liszewski (1995) in (Włodarczyk, 2011, p. 59)).

With these components, tourism space is about “how the city (*or the space where tourism is performed*) is physically and socially engaged on the ground” (Thurnell-Read, 2012, p. 810). “Space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning” (Tuan, 1977, p. 136). Place is related to the “local and specific” (Hall, 2013, p. 606), it is established “in relation to material environments and objects as well as to human meanings and interactions” (Sheller & Urry, 2004, p. 6). Difficulties raise, when wanting to allocate the concept, since it has been analysed from a manifold of different approaches (descriptive, social constructionist, phenomenological) by various scholars (physic and human geographers, humanists and philosophers, among others) (See Cresswell, 2004 for a complete Genealogy of Place)

Stages are characterized for their bounded nature. Goffman’s stage is divided in two bounded regions: backstage and front-stage. As mentioned before, the front is where the performer plays his or her assigned or selected role before an audience and, in the backstage, the performer enters in a private and informal area, where he or she can learn and drop out the role, as well as perform him or herself (for example, hotel rooms, toilets, buses, reunions in sub-groups or with the family, regions outside the tourist bubble, travelling in a bus, plane, auto; etc.). Critical discourses and technological improvements have, however, redefined spatiality. Further explanation in Box 3.10.

### Nature of the stage contextualize the performance

The front stage is carefully prepared so it allows specific performances. On the one side, it is equipped with materials that support the performances to be played upon it. In Goffman’s words: “the ‘setting’, involves furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items” (Goffman, 1959, p. 22). These elements are carefully designed and staged by the “stage-management” personnel (to be further explained on the following section) and are available for the tourists. To enhance their performance, tourists use both the props on the stage and also make use of their own

objects, as explained in the previous section with regard to material affordances. On the other side, the stage promotes specific behaviours. A study of backpackers on Fiji exemplifies how different stages, demand different behaviours: “Some resorts emphasise ‘party’ behaviour, others are places to ‘chill out’ and relax, yet others to engage in particular activities (village visits, snorkelling, bush walks)” (Doorne & Ateljevic, 2005, p. 180).

#### Box 3.10. Blurred stage boundaries

If following early tourism delimitations, performances could geographically take place only at stages at “home” or “away”. However, according to mobilities scholars (Uriely, 2005, Hannam et al., 2006, Urry and Larsen, 2011), globalisation, digital media, communication technologies and postmodernism influences have undermined the application of this binary. As summarized by Cohen and Cohen (2012): “This is destabilized by contemporary communication technologies, which enable tourists to feel as being simultaneously at ‘home’... while also being ‘away’...” (p. 2181), and it is also weakened other mobility-related developments.”

In spite of the organization of the stage, which promotes some performances, it is also important to consider the intrinsic elements of play within a stage. Whybrow (2010) uses an irregular expansion of the German word *Schauplatz*, which is commonly used to describe a ‘place for viewing’ on a theatrical analogy, to explain this. For him, the word *Schauspielplatz*, translated as a ‘place of performance’, which brings to life both “‘staged drama’ or ‘drama for show’ (*Schauspiel*) and play(ing) (*spiel[en]*)” (Whybrow, 2010, p. 5). This *komposita* exemplifies the planned ritualized nature, and also the random, free aspects of a performance, susceptible to being performed by the touristic body on a given stage. Dance, as an example, can be pre-choreographed but can also present unpredictability or even the possibility of the performer to go into a trance, as in a spiritual stage (as illustrated in Argyriadis, 2008; as to Afro-Cuban religious dance). This is supported by Edensor (2001) who writes: “The organization, materiality and aesthetic and sensual qualities of tourist space influence –but do not determinate– the kinds of performances that tourists undertake” (p.63).

#### Touristic spaces definitions

Edensor (1998, 2000, 2001) further analysed the relationship between tourists and spaces where they sojourn or just visit, with his classification of ‘enclavic’ and ‘heterogeneous’ touristic spaces. He uses Sibley’s (1988) binary of ‘purified’ and ‘weakly classified’ spaces, conjointly with Oppermann’s (1993) analysis of ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ sectors in tourism space as the basis for his notions of space. Enclavic touristic spaces are mostly developed by local and international institutions directly or indirectly involved with tourism. The spaces are carefully planned, monitored and managed, facilitating the protection of the financial interests of the stakeholders. As argued by Edensor: “The imperatives of modernist planning and consumer capitalism have tended to transform space so that it maximises consumption and facilitates transit” (Edensor, 1998, p. 47). See more in Box 3.11.

Contrary to the enclavic spaces are the heterogeneous ones. Edensor (2000) describes the spaces as those usually situated in non-Western destinations and argues that, they are “part of a mixed purpose space ..., and tourist and locals mingle and go about their separate business” (Edensor, 2000, p. 331). There is a mutual co-existence, and in contrast to enclaves, businesses are not to present the tourists with international service standards. Inside these spaces, “tourism has often emerged in as an unplanned and contingent process and an unplanned bricolage of structures and designs provides a contrasting aesthetic context” (Edensor, 2001a, p. 64).

### Box 3.11. Mass tourists' performances on enclavic spaces

Edensor links enclavic spaces with of group tourists, which only enjoy a limited amount of performances occurring on these kinds of stages. Essentially, the enclave allows gazing. However, which is to be seen, it is also carefully planned, since most of the time tourists are sheltered from displeasing sights, as well as smells and sounds. Therefore, tourists inside these 'environmental bubbles' are feed with small doses of "otherness" or local reality. The limitations and surveillance of the performances are "likely to be deterred by guards, guides and managers, but usually through a 'soft control'" (2000, p.328). Additionally, these spaces are characterized by their shopping orientation. Attractions and shopping sites are located closely together, and when this is not the case, arrangements can be made to visit nearby outlet villages or businesses where commission schemes between the workers of the enclave have been previously negotiated.

For the analysis of Chinese tourists and tourism industry interactions in Hong Kong, Singapore and Vietnam, Chan (2009) used what she called "disorganized tourism space". This space, which evolved from a previous enclavic space designed for Western travellers to be dominated by Asian and Chinese travellers, has developed new types of power relations. Contrary to Western tourists' domination over the hosts, in the new configuration of space, Chinese tourists are "subject to stereotypical gazes and disciplinary guidance" (p.76).

### Body-space interaction

Important to the analysis of stages is also the investigation of "how the tourist 'body subject' (Li, 2000) interacts with tourism spaces" (Rakic, 2011, p.1618). Crouch (1999) roots on the matter by stating that bodies are able to make tourism as a result of encounters. He argues:

"it (*the encounter*) occurs between people, between people and space, amongst people as socialised and embodied subjects, and in contexts in which leisure/tourism is available. The encounter is also between expectations and experience, desire, and so on." (p. 1)

The focus of these encounters is on what the tourist does and how he or she makes sense of her/his doings. Space represents a key role in these encounters, since it shades light on the way the body is engaged in it and how the subject negotiates: "the material and metaphorical spaces in and through which life is experienced" (Crouch, 2000, p. 64).

Therefore, being a tourist involves both agency and subjectivity, is to be practised. Practice means: "the actions, movements, ideas, dispositions, feelings, attitudes and subjectivities the individual possesses and uses in being a tourist" (Crouch, Aronsson, & Wahlstrom, 2001, p. 254). This approach of the body as a subject of practise rather than only as the object of practice or that of a police, has been central "in the work of geographers as a means of returning to human activity and in the form of 'non-representational geography'" (Crouch, 2000, p. 64). More in relation to the thesis in Box 3.12.

### Regulation within the stage

The performance turn complements the lack of analysis of "power, control and conflict... in Goffman's research" (Weaver, 2005, p. 8). For this reason, it discusses the existence of various agents that help bring performances and their stages to live. These key players behind, on and in front of the stage regulate each other's performances and monitor that the coherence is maintained. Since regulations inform a performance (Edensor, 2001a), it is necessary to understand the

connections between key workers and the production of roles, settings, choreographies, and the general stage-management.

#### Box 3.12. Not only consumption but creation of space

Influenced by aspects of embodiment, mobilities and non-representational theory, the performance turn follows the assumption that the touristic body, being a subject of practise, not only consumes the stages, but also constructs new ones at the same time. With regard to performance, Haldrup and Larsen (2010) stated:

“studies of tourist performances highlight how tourists not only consume experiences but also co-produce, co design and co-exhibit them, once they enact them and retell or publish them afterwards” (p.5).

Similarly, Rakic and Chambers (2011), in their study of tourism performances at the Acropolis, argue: “although places are undoubtedly socially and culturally constructed they are also subjectively constructed and consumed through bodily `being-in-place” (p.1629).

In order to shed light on the key players in Chinese performances on German stages, Schechner's (2002) Performance Quadrilogue will be used. The Quadrilogue goes beyond the performer as the centre of the performance and includes other participants involved in the production of it, as well as exploring the relationships between them. Schechner's basic theoretical approach to a performance process come from his experience in the theatre, however it is not exclusive to the aesthetics, since it can be applied to other disciplines and genres from performance. Part of the quadrilogue are four key players: sourcers, producers, performers and partakers (Schechner, 2002, p. 215). Their functions are explained as follows:

1) Sourcers. They find raw materials susceptible to becoming a performance, create narratives upon possible stages, and propose the specifications for the casting of performers. They are not alone in the search of actions to be performed, most of the time they receive ideas from the producers and performers themselves. Feedback from the partakers also shapes future performances. For the purposes of this research, sourcers are: governments, industry and academic representatives.

2) Producers. Arrange and shape the sources into a “finished performance”. Producers are in charge of making connections and links between the quadrilogue members. Sometimes the producers are to manage the whole process and tend to work closely with the performers and sourcers, but also with the partakers. As Edensor (2009) says: “not only do tourist workers directly serve tourists but also manage them, in a role comparable to choreography and stage management” (Edensor, 2009, p. 309). Producers perform the touristic product and for this research they are: tour operators, travel agents, tour guides and tour leaders, Chinese speaking staff, amongst others.

3) Performers. Enact the actions prepared for them. Much literature concentrates on the performances of specific tourism samples. The following are examples on this: performances of adventure, international and domestic tourists in New Zealand (Perkins & Thorns, 2001), performances of national and international tourists in destinations in Denmark; Jammerbugten, Roskilde and Bornholm (Bærenholdt, 2004), performances of backpackers on the Fiji Islands (Doorne & Ateljevic, 2005), and performances of cruise industry workers (Weaver, 2005). For this research performers are organized mass Chinese outbound tourists in Germany.

4) Partakers - Audience. They experience the performances, but might also be asked to actively participate in the performance. Partakers are the local residents and industry personnel not directly involved with the Chinese tourists, as well as other tourists, domestic, international or either Chinese travelling individually. Furthermore, audiences are not just those within the tourism space, they can also be people waiting back home. Therefore, there are some performances that are prepared in advance, just to please the audiences back home (Doorne & Ateljevic, 2005, p. 180). Touristic photographic performances are a good example of this, where tourists negotiate meanings and produce special shoots that are meant for significant others at home. (More on the connection of performance and photography in (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012).

Through the field research, one person or research partner can occupy one or more categories within the quadrilogue. Especially since categories are not exclusive for one key player but are in a constant flux. In addition, it is not always the case that all the categories receive one same significance but a single category can be dominant in the performance. This research study places the performer as the dominant player and investigates her/his relation with the others.

This section began with a stage definition and its characteristics followed by an explanation of the techniques used to condition the performances. Choreographies and settings are created in advance, and during the performance the personnel or stage-management invigilates that the performance is enacted according to plan. However, even in enclavic spaces, there could be opportunities for acting out of script. Furthermore, tourism is staged by different players, where functional and hierarchical interactions between them can be spotted. All these aspects, nuances and maybe complexities of stage should be considered while performing tourism research.

### 3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I began by discussing the context within which performance emerged as part of tourism studies. I highlighted that the approach arose in times when tourist scholars sought to move away from the supposed universality of tourism theories and static production of knowledge. Tourism under the performance approach refers to a multi-sensual experience, which is mostly influenced by mundane behaviours. Furthermore, it is enacted by actors, who had somehow prepared their role in advance, on specific stages.

Nevertheless, stages are not just there only for consumption, they also acquire new meanings during the performance. Thus, in the performance approach, tourists consume, transform and create tourism stages by filling them with new meanings. Interaction with space, as explained in the previous sentence, and also amongst the performance key players (sourcers, producers, performers and partakers) are also considered under the approach, as well as interaction with objects, which serve as body extensions to afford specific performances. Other technologies that usually blurred the geographical boundaries of stage are also considered in the performance approach. Especially interesting is the possibility to explore the regulation of stages and power relations established upon them. A graphical explanation of the performance sequence and the concepts used in this research are shown in Figure 3.1.

After the review of theories and selection of the theoretical concepts for this research, I could formulate concrete questions that will lead my upcoming field research under the performance lenses, and will help me to fulfil the research aim of understand the performances of Chinese

outbound organized mass tourists on their travels through German tourism stages. The questions are as follows:

Before the performance: If roles are adopted and skills are gathered to perform in this phase, are they influenced by culturally coded patterns or previously learned behaviours?

During performance: Once the performers are on stage, how do they spatially and culturally consume it? Furthermore, what interactions between performers and other key players can be traced?

After performance: How are the memories of a performance preserved?

Stages: If stages (which in relation to GPT tend to present an enclavic nature) are carefully design, what is allowed for tourists to perform?

Concepts	Sequence		
	Proto-Performance (Training, workshop, rehearsal, warm-up)	Performance (Performance, performance context, cool-down)	Aftermath (Critical response, archives, memories)
Spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Backstage</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front-Stage</li> <li>• Touristic Space: Enclavic and Heterogeneous</li> <li>• Body-Space Interaction</li> <li>• Consumption-Creation of Space</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Backstage</li> </ul>
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Role</li> <li>• Restored Behaviour</li> <li>• Scripting</li> <li>• Choreographing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encounters</li> <li>• Impression Management</li> <li>• Performance Teams</li> <li>• Ritual &amp; Play</li> <li>• Interculturality</li> <li>• Embodiment</li> <li>• Mobility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mobility</li> </ul>
Objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Material affordances</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Setting</li> <li>• Material affordances</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Third party archives</li> <li>• Self-generated documentation</li> </ul>
Power relations between key players	Sourcers (governments, industry and academic representatives), producers (tour operators, travel agents, tour guides and tour leaders, Chinese speaking staff), performers (Chinese organized mass tourists) & partakers (local residents, other tourists)		

Sources: Goffman (1959), Schechner (2002), MacCannell (1973), Edensor (1998, 2001, 2007, 2009), Franklin & Crang (2000), Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Urry & Larsen (2011), Rakić & Chambers (2012), Li (2005), Chan (2009), Ong & DuCros (2012), Turner (1985), Thrift (1997), Crouch (1999), Cresswell (2004) Hannam (2006) and Cresswell (2004), amongst others.

Figure 3.1. Performance sequence and the concepts used in this study

Having these questions, I went on with the research journey. In the following chapters, I will seek to answer these questions and some others that came while performing research. But before, in the next chapter, I will discuss the methodology and methods used throughout this research study.

## Chapter 4. Methodology and Methods

This chapter discusses the methodology and methods used in this research. The first section will discuss the ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies associated with the phenomenology or constructivist paradigm. The constellation of principles and methods directly applied to the research are described in the second part. Here, I depict in greater detail the use of either quantitative or qualitative methods in different phases of the research, from desk research for literature review to field research in China and Germany, from the analysis to the finding's presentation. Since the paradigm selected heavily depends on the researcher's voice, the chapter then goes on to discuss the use of the self as a method for this research. Lastly, restrictions during the research are reviewed.

### 4.1. Philosophical Context of the Research

A paradigm represents a basic set of beliefs that characterize a person's world view (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004, p. 34). This set, which influences the researcher's enactments, is constituted of at least three elements: ontology (world view), epistemology (knowledge construction) and methodologically (regarding information collection and analysis) (ibid.). Additionally, other scholars (Lincoln Guba (2000) (Jennings, 2005), bring out a forth element: axiology (values and ethics).

Table 4.1. *Comparison of the paradigms of positivism and phenomenology*

	<b>Positivism</b>	<b>Phenomenology</b>
Synonym	Empiricism	Social constructivism, interpretivism
Intent	Realism	Relativism
Purpose	Explanation	Understanding
Ontology	Causal relationships	Multiple realities
Epistemology	Objective	Subjective
Methodology	Quantitative	Qualitative
Axiology	Extrinsic, value-free	Intrinsic, value-laden
Genre	Scientific report	Narrative
Representation	Generalizable, representative	Localized, possibly generalizable to similar settings and context

Source: Jennings (Jennings, 2005)

Within tourism studies, two research paradigms are commonly used: positivism and phenomenology (see Table 3.1 for a comparison of both). Positivism stresses providing a universal truth, an objective definition of a phenomena, which can be either positive or negative. These qualities make it difficult to apply on the analysis of social experiences, which tend to be subjective and variable. Therefore, the phenomenology paradigm is commonly related to the social sciences research field. It is not the aim of this research to discuss in detail the capabilities or limitations of both paradigms, but to recognize their existence and their usability according to the nature of a research project.

This research relies on the phenomenology paradigm. Owing to this, it is marked by multiple voices, not only of the people researched but also the one of the researcher, whom brings their own values

and opinions into the research process. Moreover, knowledge is subjectively constructed by the use of qualitative methods.

By adopting a phenomenological approach, this research responds to the need of analysing the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena from a different angle. On this, Winter (2009) points out:

*“The complexity of the research and the need to understand tourists’ meanings, representations and the multiple realities of the performance players, implied the need of methods that embrace a more plural language of subjectivities” (Winter, 2009, p.4).*

Similarly, two of the experts interviewed in China and Germany expressed:

*“For Chinese visitors, it is pretty much oriented on the market but not the people. If you want to increase the market you have to understand the people” (SCH1, interview, 2012).*

*“For innovative research, continue with surveys about satisfaction and motivations that is not the way to go. No need for yet another survey to quantify what they do and how much turnover they leave” (SG9, interview, 2013).*

In light of this reality, the research builds upon an ethnographic approach. Ethnography, is encouraged by Chinese scholars (Ryan et al., 2009, Winter, Teo, & Chang, 2009) that have previously analysed cultural values and social encounters of Chinese tourists. As highlighted by Ryan et al. (2009):

*“Research that is purely quantitative and depends on Likert-type questions is poorly situated to capture the nuances of such important cultural norms, especially when dealing with the impacts of tourism. Ethnographic approaches are important, and thus change the nature of the researcher-researched relationships” (p.330).*

Chinese researchers promote ethnography since it allows the establishment of personal relationships, or “guanxi”. Being part of a society strongly based in connections, Chinese people emphasize more on personal relations than on legal rules or contracts. By performing ethnography, the researcher is part of an interpersonal net that allows for reciprocal flow of information.

As well as their Chinese counterparts, international scholars working under the “performance turn” call for the use of ethnography in tourism studies. Goffman’s work itself has been connected to various labels such as: symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, role theory, structuralism, ethnomethodology, etc. (Willems, 2001, p. 6301). Schechner (2002), respectively, points out ethnography as the preferred method (p.1). Haldrup and Larsen (2010) take on Miller (1997) by stressing that ethnography means “to be in presence of the people one is studying, not just the text or objects they produce” (p. 72).

This research also depends on multiple disciplines in order to capture the different dimension of the Chinese tourism phenomenon. Following an interdisciplinary approach, tourism – or its “touristic autonomous logic that has been emerging within `tourism studies” (Darbellay & Stock, 2012, p. 455) - and other disciplines such as geography (precisely culture geography, the sub-field of human geography), sociology, anthropology, political science, sinology and economics work in a dynamic interaction over this thesis in order to understand the complexities of the sample. Cultural geography has great influence in this thesis, - even when thought of as a challenge, since I do not have a geographer's background myself. Geographical concepts (e.g. space, place, migration, consumption, encounters, amongst others) and theoretical contributions widely inform this thesis, along with the work of renowned geographers.



Additionally, this research recognizes the turn of tourism scholars from modernism to postmodernism perspectives. Uriely (2005) summarizes the attributes of both perspectives: “while the modern era is characterized by processes of differentiation among normative, aesthetic, and institutional spheres of social activity, the postmodern condition involves processes of de-differentiation that blur these distinctions” (Uriely, 2005: 203). Similarly, Urry and Larsen (2011) illustrate this point by drawing on artistic work: “Postmodern culture affects the audience via its immediate impact, through what it does for one, through regimes of pleasure and effect, and not through the formal properties of the aesthetical material” (p.99). These sentiments can be perceived by members with high or low artistic culture, which reflects the non-dualistic and anti-hierarchical logic of postmodernism (Lather, 1991). Other aspects are the discourse’s emphasis in the diversity and richness of life (Ryan, 2002; Uriely, 2005), and the conception of reality in terms of relative truths. Postmodernity theories include deconstruction, subjectivity, scepticism, anti-empiricism, intertextuality, and relativity as forms and modes of theorising (Ryan, 2002).

Contrary to the basis of postmodernism, there is still a strong differentiation between modernist and postmodernist theorizing styles, which have caused controversy in the social sciences. Baumann (1987) refers to postmodernism as, less conclusive, “absent of a single authoritative stand point” (p.90) and more pluralized than modernist systems of knowledge. In the same way, Antonio (1991) associates it with over-free writing in which all can be included, but does not provide enough alternatives to structure knowledge. In order to avoid the confrontation between both forms of analysis, some theorists (Giddens, 1990, Wang, 2000, Uriely, 2005) have adopted the following position:

“one might be aware of a collection of similar developments that occur in various domains, including tourism or the social sciences, but still disagree with the view that these developments involve such an acute change that they justify the claim that postmodernity has already replaced modernity” (Uriely, 2005, p. 202).

Bearing in mind the characteristics of both theorizing perspectives, this research considers both notions as complementary, rather than contradictory. Thereafter, the development of the thesis relies on postmodern attributes, proper of the performance approach in tourism studies, but do not exclude the possibility of make use of modern theorizing perspectives.

A mix of quantitative and qualitative methods

The methods or tools used to collect information on the performances of tourist are mainly qualitative, as based on the philosophical approach of phenomenology. However, there is a pair of quantitative exceptions, namely, the review of secondary data on Chinese outbound tourism and the statistical analysis of demographic information from the questionnaires applied to tourists.

This research interconnects both types of methods to maximize the understanding of the performances of tourists, and does not seek to find the perfect combination of methods to analyse them. On the one hand, qualitative methods allow the exploration of a vast range of views of the direct and indirect participants of the performance. On the other, quantitative methods provide a statistical analysis of China’s tourism market and its key players. This research recognizes that both types of methodological tools do not exclude each other, but rather complement each other and, apart from this, using this combination would not provide the right recipe for the analysis of Chinese

outbound tourism. Instead, this research relies on the following affirmation from Goodson and Phillimore (2004):

"There is no one set of methods that can bring total insight, the concept of objectivity is rejected, and consequently there is no perfect outcome, no 'right' answer to research questions posed. The messy research process is highly subjective not through choice but because that is the nature of social research" (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004, p. 34).

After explaining the central characteristics of the phenomenology paradigm, justifying its application to the Chinese sample and briefly describing the nature of the methods used under this paradigm, the following section thoroughly describes the methods used in this investigation.

## 4.2. Methods

To gather information from an insider and outsider perspective, a variety of methods were used throughout this research journey. The following sections provide a clear and detailed explanation of how the research was conducted, which relied mainly on primary information collected by using qualitative tools.

### Quantitative Research

#### *Secondary research*

During the initial phase of the research, I concentrated on discovering more about the quantitative development of the Chinese outbound tourism market (this is included in the literature review in Chapter 2). It was important to know the economic factors that propelled the emergence of China's tourism industry and also those that have allowed the market to increasingly grow for the past years. To achieve this, I analysed secondary data of tourists' arrivals, expenditure, micro- and macro-economic indicators, and forecasts. Likewise, I analysed Germany's tourism industry and its relation to Chinese tourism (also included in Chapter 2).

### Qualitative Research

#### *Secondary research*

Parallel to the quantitative secondary research, I started the search for literature that would help me define the key concepts relevant to this research. The desk research consisted of the evaluation of books, academic journal articles, official publications, theses, reports, internet resources, amongst others. Sources were identified by using the following keywords: "china", "china tourism", "china outbound tourism", "performance", "performance studies", etc. After collection, the sources were selected and read. Following this, ideas, quotes and paraphrases were recompiled using the reference and knowledge management software CITAVI Pro 3.4.0. Note-taking was mainly realized by using Microsoft Office's OneNote software.

#### *Primary research*

The strategy for primary data collection consisted initially of employing qualitative interviews and ethnography. However, as the research unfolded, there was a need to design questionnaires for Chinese outbound tourists in order to maximize the benefits from each group observed. The data was gathered between 2011 and 2013 both in China and Germany. The following paragraphs describe the methodological journey of this phase.

### Interviews with experts

In order to gain an emic perspective of the research object, 17 planned, open/unstructured interviews and semi-structured expert interviews were conducted in China (8 interviews) and Germany (9 interviews)<sup>8</sup>. The interviews were carried out face-to-face in the following cities: Beijing, Hong Kong, Hamburg and Frankfurt; as well as by telephone with experts based in Flörsheim am Main, Dusseldorf and Cologne, and via Skype with a German expert based in Shanghai. Furthermore, one expert sent the answers of the interview via email.

The experts were representatives from the tourism industry, tourism boards and academics. The selection was not random but based on my previous observations of the market. The criteria for the selection was their level of involvement and expertise with the Chinese outbound tourism market. And with regard to the interviews in China, their availability on the dates of the field research was also determinant for their selection. In addition to my sampling, new contacts came as a result of a snow-ball technique, where the individual that I was currently interviewing would provide me with leads for other experts. The interviews conducted in China and Hong Kong present the perspective of the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena seen from outside Germany. In the following chapters, the reports of findings from these interviews will be referred to as “Chinese experts”, even though the expert nationality is not Chinese per se. The same applies to “German experts”, which information draws on the phenomena seen from Germany.

The interviews were conducted following a conversation-like style and taking consideration of ethics by asking for permission to record the interview and by confirming the confidentiality of the information gathered<sup>9</sup>. Even when a semi-structured guideline was prepared for the interview, many times I found myself leaving the structure aside and allowing the open or story-telling type of interview. This open flow resulted easily for some experts, however, not for all. The interviews lasted between 40 – 90 minutes each and represented a constant change of roles from interviewer to participant and vice versa.

### Ethnography

To collect information from an emic perspective, both physical and virtual ethnography were performed, as well as conducting semi-structured interviews with tourists and handing them questionnaires.

**Participant observation.** By using this tool, I was seeking to holistically shed light on the behaviour, enactments, body language, gestures and interactions of the Chinese group members and in doing so, try to understand how they make sense of German tourism stages. Observations were conducted in the summer of 2012 within 3 groups of Chinese mass organized tourists, travelling in southern Germany, the Berlin-Potsdam region and around the whole country (a comprehensive explanation of the stages is part of Chapter 8). The groups were organized by Chinese travel agencies, two of them owned by Chinese diaspora members based in Hamburg and Hannover, and the third one completely organized by a Shanghainese travel agency, which places the ground operation of the tours in the hands of a group of Chinese students.

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<sup>8</sup> The list of all research partners is available in Appendix 1. Additionally, examples of the interview questions are found in Appendix 2.

<sup>9</sup> For valuable advice on how to conduct interviews, see the “Guidelines for Qualitative Interviewing” offered by Jennings, 2005, pp. 105–107.

From the vast number of agencies offering organized group tours around Germany, the selection criteria were narrowed down due to the following issues. Firstly, some agencies were reluctant to allow a foreigner researcher inside their groups, during a phone call one of them expressed that “the tourism experience would be somehow interrupted by having a stranger around” (Pendzialek, Research Diary, May 2012), thus they would directly deny a reservation. Secondly, agencies would only offer the typical European itinerary of 10 countries - 9 days (which overextends this study’s reach) and would not sell only the German part of the trip. Thirdly, agencies would not have seats lefts for the desired dates or their prices would have surpassed my budget. After narrowing down my search, finally, I concentrated on agencies that offer the two tourism product extremes available to Chinese groups: the typical southern Germany packages and the emerging routes, as those groups covering northern Germany, as well as a customized group.

During the first contact with the group, my basic Chinese language skills served to construct rapport and trust amongst the group members. During the observation, I would try to analyse the situations under the performance eye. Furthermore, borrowing from Goffman, I required a lot of “impression management” techniques to be included in the groups. My time as insider was divided between brief talks and semi-structured interviews with tourists, making notes about the interaction of group members and locals, taking photos and videos, answering curious questions (namely on the reason why I was travelling with Chinese or why, being Mexican, I had ended up living in Germany), finding out about the stage characteristics and their adaptation to Chinese, etc.

**Semi-structured interviews.** During the participant observation, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 4 tourists from the group. Time was a determining factor for the reduced number of interviews. As it will be explained in the following chapters, the itineraries prepared for tourists were packed with activities from 7:30 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. During their time performing tourism, it was not possible to conduct interviews, since it represented stealing their precious time. As a consequence, I needed to wait for those “back-stage” moments and search for the time for interviews, one strategy that also proved to be ineffective, because this time was used either to discuss the results of their performances or to recover from the day.

**Questionnaires.** Prior to commencing the field research, tourism industry representatives advised me to complement my research with a questionnaire, mainly because of the limited amount of free time available for group tourists. Following this, I designed a questionnaire based on the guidelines of the semi-structured interviews, planned initially as the core data collection tool, and consisted of 11 demographic questions in the form of check-lists and 8 open-ended questions<sup>10</sup>. The questionnaire was distributed at the beginning of the tour and collected at the end of it. A total of 37 questionnaires were completed by the end of the ethnography phase.

The use of questionnaires represented a challenge to the philosophical underpinnings of this research. Especially when acknowledging the qualitative nature of the methods, which rely heavily on social interaction. I was sceptical of the findings coming from such a structured and non-reciprocal tool, however, it turned out to be a valuable source of information. A significant number of questionnaires were filled out as if they were actually telling me their travel story.

**Virtual ethnographies: photos, travel diaries, invitations to Sina Weibo.** Upon completion of their tours, tourists were asked to send a diary with photos and explanations of their activities while

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<sup>10</sup> See the structure of the questionnaire both in Chinese and English in Appendix 3.

travelling in Germany, 6 of them shared their performance in writing, 2 others also gave me their user names of Sina Weibo (a Chinese social media platform that its equivalent in the Western digital world would be a hybrid of Twitter and Facebook) and advised me to see their postings about their trips online.

Interviews with tour guides and tour leaders in Germany

Semi-structured and open/unstructured in-depth interviews were conducted with 3 tour guides and 1 tour leader during the tours. These interviews were designed so they could both provide information from an outsider and insider perspective. In an attempt to expand the knowledge of the tourists' performances, questions were asked so they could report the tourist performances of their clients. With all the interview partners being Chinese diaspora members and also Chinese tourists themselves, it increased the credibility of their answers from the tourist perspective. Simultaneously, the respondents would report about their interaction with the performers and with the stage management from an outsider perspective.

The interviews with experts were conducted mostly in English. However, sometimes they were conducted in German, Spanish, Chinese or a mix thereof. During the observations and interviews with tourists, I had the support of a Chinese master student, Mandarin and Shanghainese-speaker, who acted as an interpreter. As for the interviews with the Chinese tour guides and leaders, the German language was principally used.

### 4.3. Analysis and Reporting of the Information

After finishing each phase of the field research, all recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim and complemented with non-verbal communication notes. Next, translations into English were made, not only of the interviews but also of the questionnaires, which were in the vast majority answered in Chinese. Then, the information collected from interviews, questionnaires and travel diaries of tourists was analysed by using the qualitative method of research analysis GABEK (*GA*n*z*h*e*i*t*l*i*c*h*e *BE*w*ä*l*t*i*g*u*n*g *von* *K*o*m*p*l*e*x*i*t*ä*t* – Holistic Processing of Linguistic Complexity) supported by the software WinRelan 32.

GABEK allows a transparent organization of knowledge and presents an integrated view of complex social aspects of the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena as seen by the tourists themselves and others influenced by it. Colloquial statements, answers and texts from interviews function as input, which in turn "are condensed into a transparent network of opinions, estimations, knowledge about causes and effects, values and emotional attitudes in form of 'linguistic gestalten', higher order 'gestalten', 'gestalten-trees', 'causal networks', 'assessment profiles', et cetera" (Zelger, 2000, p. 206).

Besides being applied for different disciplines worldwide<sup>11</sup>, GABEK has also been used for the tourism industry. Pechlaner and Volgger (2012) used GABEK as a research strategy in the hospitality industry. In their paper, they evaluate two approaches to the promotion of interorganizational cooperation and recommend GABEK as a tool that aids finding commonly shared solutions. With regard to the method and software, they conclude: "GABEK may be useful for tourism research and practitioners who need to collect, order and interpret existing collective knowledge" (Pechlaner & Volgger, 2012, p. 927). In addition, they stress that GABEK provides a "clear and traceable analysis process" (ibid. 929). Thus, by using GABEK, they contribute to the commonly neglected data analysis phase in

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<sup>11</sup> See the different application fields of GABEK here: <https://www.gabek.com/en/applications/>

tourism research. Furthermore, during my participation in the colloquium of doctoral candidates, organized by the Leuphana Universität Lüneburg from Oct. 31 to Nov. 2, 2013, some participants shared their experience with the software applied for their tourism related theses.

For the analysis of this research's information, I selected GABEK due to its application to the tourism industry, its traceable data analysis process, the clear presentation of knowledge in the form of networks and causal effects and the availability of learning to use the programme during a training session held by Prof. Josef Zelger, creator of the GABEK method.

The two-day training, directed towards tourism students and held December 13-14, 2013 at the facilities of the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, provided the participants with the main steps for the operation of the software WinRelan 32. During this training, I could directly discuss with Prof. Zelger the scope of my research and he kindly revised the field research information I had collected at the time. Afterwards, he suggested to divide the information in 3 groups or GABEK projects: interviews with Chinese experts, interviews with German experts and information gathered from the tourists' perspective, in this case information from interviews with tourists, diaries sent after the trip, questionnaires and information received via tour guides and tour leaders. He also recommended not to analyse my travel diary information with GABEK. It should be analysed using a metalinguistic coding because this information was assigned by me about the phenomena. These excerpts from diaries are used as a support and complementary voice in my findings. In conclusion, the information from the training allowed me not only to learn the practical operation of the software, but also to get personalised advice from Prof. Zelger, who instructed me on how to make the most out of the method and software in relation to my research objectives.

As a first step for the analysis of the field research information with GABEK<sup>12</sup>, the interviews were separated in lexical text units. These units needed to be meaningful and understood as thoughts expressed by the research partner. Following this, the metalinguistic coding was done. In this phase, criteria, which did not appear directly in the text but needed for the analysis of statistical frequencies, were defined. The criteria related namely to the features of the research partners, for instance, sex, age, profession, actual residence, income, travel companion, travel experience, mode of travel used before, etc. These features were applied according to each of the research groups analysed with GABEK. After setting the criteria, the object-linguistic coding was carried out by identifying the keywords in each lexical text unit, followed by the elimination of synonyms and homonyms and, if needed, orthography fine-tuning. For example, the terms "group", "group tour", "group travel", "tour group", "tour", "trip", "groups" and "tours" conveyed the same meaning and were used indistinctly by the research partners. Therefore, all these synonyms were replaced by "Chinese mass groups".

In the following step, the association graphs of the keywords were analysed. By doing so, the meaning of a keyword is constructed through its relation with other term parts of the verbal data base. These association graphs for the research's key terms were also compared between projects. Subsequently, the coding of evaluation was performed. Evaluation coding shows the positive or negative assessments of the respondents to actual and future situations, enactments, measures, characteristics, amongst others. Following this, the causal relations between expressions were

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<sup>12</sup> The following paragraphs are based on personal experiences by using the software, as well as notes of the GABEK training and information from the WinRelan short manual in English, not available for publication, provided by Prof. Zelger after receiving the license for using the software.

coded. Creating cause-effect networks led to understanding the complex relation between terms and thoughts. Furthermore, the visual representation of these networks allowed for an easier interpretation of the given situation. Finally, relevance lists were generated for each of the projects. The list ranks on top those topics that are markedly important according to the respondents. The list includes the results of the highest level of the gestalten tree in which the specific keyword is placed (for a function that does not apply for this research, see below), the number of positive and negative assessments and the number of causal connections.

Roughly explained, those are the two major steps followed during the data processing in the software WinRelan 32, designed for the GABEK Method. Beyond these two steps, the software permits deeper analysis options such as cluster analysis on sentences, construction of gestalten trees, amongst others, which aid in the construction of theory. In this research case to further analyse the field research information with GABEK would have meant a detour in the original direction of this study.

As pointed out by Prof. Zelger during our seminar and also by Pechlaner and Volgger (2012), GABEK emphasises on coding and data organization, however “interpretation is less prescriptive” (p. 932). Because of this, lists and graphs for interpretation were selected by taking into consideration the study objectives and theory. As a result, the following items, generated by GABEK, were selected for each of the groups or projects. First, relevance lists. Secondly, both association and causal graphs of the main keywords resulted from the relevance lists. Thirdly, the overall present (“Ist-Situation”) and future situation (“Soll-Situation”) evaluation for each group in general and for its main codes. Additionally, the criteria, where personal attributes were set for each individual, illustrated the representation of frequencies. These are registered in the socio-demographic list created for the tourists’ research group (See Appendix 1). Statistical frequencies of the other two groups were not relevant for the purposes of this research.

Along the writing phase, I made use of the items in the “Academic Phrasebank” compiled by The University of Manchester<sup>13</sup>. The catalogue provides samples of phrases commonly used in academic works and serves as a starting point for the writing. It is quite useful for academic writers, who like me, are non-native English speakers. Moreover, the generic nature of the phrases does not merge in plagiarism. The core chapters of this thesis are written in a narrative-first person voice; proper to the phenomenological paradigm, present a collage of thick descriptions of GABEK-generated findings, which I would call the ritual and structured part of the findings, and playful and spontaneous materials, such as excerpts from interviews, travel diaries and my own observation sessions, visual materials (photos, maps, diagrams), etc.

All these pieces of information “may be included to allow the voices of the participants *and the researcher* to be heard and evident” (Jennings, 2005, p. 112), own italics). Being the research voice, a major determinant of the design and performance of research, as well as the analysis and presentation of findings, the upcoming section presents my own social profile and how it influences this research project.

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<sup>13</sup> Available online on <http://www.phrasebank.manchester.ac.uk/>

#### 4.4. Performing Research, on what myself brings to this study

“The conscious use of the self as a resource for making sense of others”  
(Hervik, 1994, p. 92).

Reflexivity of researchers is necessary, especially when using ethnographic work, including methods as participant observation, to provide insights on performances (Crouch, 2004, p. 94). Being reflexive "requires researchers to acknowledge and question their own culture and identity in order to provide some insight into their understanding of themselves in the context of their interactions with others" (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004, p. 41). Under this premise, the researcher him- or herself turns into a key methodological tool for the research, who influences each of the stages of his or her study.

Aware of the importance of the self in the research process, in this section, I wish to invite the readers into my “back-stage”, and explain how my personal cultural background has strongly influenced the way this research study has been shaped, conducted and interpreted. Similarly, my own profile characteristics impacted how my research partners decided to behave during our research encounters and into what extend they open or constrain their statements and enactments.

The reasons for the conceptual foundation of this study were manifold. Some of them were entrenched to my personal attraction and curiosity to China. Coming from Culiacan, small city<sup>14</sup> in northern Mexico and capital of the state of Sinaloa, my opportunity to encounter international people was limited, but this was not the case with Chinese nationals. They represent a sizable community based in the northern states of Mexico, to which voyages started between the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and continue until now. Those arriving in the early 90s were mainly Chinese migrant workers from the southern Chinese province of Guangdong. They came as a response to President Porfirio Diaz's (President of Mexico nine times between the years 1876 to 1911) search for labour to modernize Mexico's railroads or were deported from the United States (more on the topic of Chinese diaspora to Mexico during these times can be found on Romero, 2011). After their arrival, Chinese diaspora members opened businesses such as restaurants, shops, laundries and coffee shops. My first conscious international experience was that with Canton Chinese running a restaurant some blocks away from my house. They represented “difference” to me and besides the food, I was quite attracted to their language. Canton Chinese sounded somehow melodious, but I would always find it more interesting when they spoke something different. With the years, I learned that the intriguing difference was when they spoke Mandarin.

My curiosity about China intensified during my bachelor studies. As an International Relations student, I chose to do a considerable number of assignments related to Mexico-China politics and trade. After two years of bachelor studies, I took a one-year break as an Au-pair in the United States. There I took care of two Chinese-born girls, who were adopted by an American couple. Their new parents wanted them to continue staying in touch with their Chinese roots, a reason why part of my work was to take them to Chinese culture and language lessons. Instead of leaving them at school and picking them up later, I would stay for the afternoon to learn about China myself. After my year was over, I went back to my home town and it was not possible for me to continue learning Mandarin. At that time, no public institution offered that language at affordable prices and our economic situation of the time would not allow me to pay for private lessons. The lack of international life and further learning were some of the motives that made me move to Mexico City after finishing my bachelor.

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<sup>14</sup> For Mexico or China, Culiacan will be considered a small city even though it has more than 700,000 inhabitants.



In Mexico City, I studied a Master in Business Administration (MBA) and took Logistics and Tourism Marketing with a focus on China as my main subjects. At the same time, I took Chinese Mandarin lessons, which cost only 0.20 Euros per semester. My specialization of tourism in China led me to develop a project in Beijing for Mexico City's government about strategies to attract Chinese outbound tourists to the city. After that, I began working as an Economic Analyst at the Economic and Commercial Section of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Mexico City. At this point, I had progressed from mere curiosity about China to acquiring, creating and sharing my knowledge about it. These same thoughts have been presented in the context of this research.

Further on, my professional career in Germany turned into one of the most influential reasons for why I decided to undertake this particular research. During my work as General Manager at COTRI China Outbound Tourism Research Institute, besides being in charge of the operation of the institute, I did consultancy work with both a quantitative and qualitative focus on the market. The quantitative analyses were highly demanded by our clients and consisted, amongst others, of reports on growth trends and forecasts on arrivals of Chinese outbound tourism worldwide and region specific. In the qualitative part we would provide our clients with product adaptation strategies, which highly rely on the cultural knowledge of the market. In my opinion, the tourism industry saw the market just as figures that have been climbing for years, but have not been keen on discovering more about what is behind those individuals that cross borders. My critical opinion of a market concentrated on numbers, made me want to understand the roots of the market, in this case the people travelling to my current geographical space: Germany. I discussed this with my former boss and current second supervisor, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Georg Arlt, who told me about the possibility of starting a doctoral project with the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, specifically with Prof. Dr. Hans Hopfinger, at that time Dean of the Mathematics and Geography Faculty and currently my first thesis supervisor.

Being an insider in the business sphere put me at an advantage to 1) get access to recent books and publications focused on the topic and use them for my first draft of the research; 2) discuss my research during after work meetings with my former boss, and expert on the subject for more than 30 years, Prof. Dr. Arlt; 3) collect information on possible research partners, namely people whose expertise is backed-up by some projects previously realized in cooperation with COTRI; and 4) build trust during my interviews and research encounters by showing my credentials as a professional specialized on the topic since 2005.

The conceptual foundation turned specific during the working sessions with Prof. Hopfinger and other members of the Department of Tourism Geography. My segment of the market, mass organized tourists, was selected as part of an application for funding submitted to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) or the German Research Foundation. In order to get the DFG scholarship, our initial work proposition was to comprehensively analyse "non-Western" tourism performances of Chinese outbound tourists especially in its two main segments: FIT (Free Independent Traveller) and GPT (Group Package Travellers). The analysis would have been performed separately by the two researchers, being Mr. Rainer Fugmann from the Dep. of Tourism Geography responsible for the FIT and myself, and it required a final comparison of the results of both segments at the end of the field research phases. After an almost 3-year process of a creation-submission-revision-new submission process of the application, it was unfortunately not accepted, due to the financial situation of the DFG. Both my colleague and I had already invested time in our respective segments (see some of our preliminary results on Fugmann & Aceves, 2013), so we

continued with our respective samples but agreed to exclude the comparison at the end due to time and budget reasons.

During the field research, I did not experience significant difficulties in building trust. As I realised, my different roles opened doors for me when contacting research partners. When playing my role of the doctoral student, with no direct affiliation to a specific company, tourism industry stakeholders lowered their guards and accepted granting me an interview and, subsequently, freely answered my questions since I did not represent any competition to them. Furthermore, being a student away from home, some Chinese families travelling with their teenaged children asked me to tell their offspring about my experience living and studying abroad. This also happened with the Chinese student members of the groups who were eager to know about the process for being taken into a doctoral programme in Germany. Interestingly, those families and students spent more time answering my questionnaires, one family even invited me to their hotel room to have a chat while they were filling them out.

Further on, my “biography of mobility” (Leung, 2004, p. 36) also functioned as an entry strategy to establish trust and rapport. Being a Mexican that had lived in the United States, China and now a permanent resident of Germany was a fundamental matter of inquiry for many research partners. Questions about my life in Mexico were frequently asked, as well as a comparison with the time in China. I used that opportunity to give my opinion about the many cultural similarities that Mexicans and Chinese share, which served to establish common ground. Not being a German myself made the research participants feel free to express their positive or negative opinions towards Germany. However, my outsider position did not diminish their perception of me as an authority on German culture, politics and other aspects, a position I had, in their eyes, acquired after residing in Germany for a number of years and, at that time, being engaged to and now married to a German national.

My biographical and personal characteristics also influenced how I interpreted the field research information. Being non-European, I received comments that placed me as the “exotic other”. Those comments put me in a box full of clichés about Mexico and some people I encountered, without aiming to generalize, tried their best to point out those behaviours they recalled, which regularly were sentences that used either the adjective “weird”, “strange” or “interesting”. Aware of the negativity of using labels, due someone’s geographical and ethnical background, during the interpretation phase I tried to avoid those marks to report on the performances of Chinese. Instead I went through the information being aware of the differences of everyone’s performances. This I discussed with one of the research partners, who replied: “we all perform, but interesting is our different agendas behind it, how the discourses circulate” (SG9, 2013).

With this personal reflection, I ask the readers to consider my personal background items, such as being female, young, Mexican, constantly on the move, industry professional, cosmopolitan, curious, extrovert, part of a community of outsiders, etc. Keep this in mind while reading, analysing and using my research findings. Moreover, do consider to what extent these items alter the research process or served as one more method.

#### 4.5. Research Limitations

The research was limited in several ways. First, funding was determinant on the duration of the fieldwork. My limited budget only allowed me to follow 3 middle-priced tours. It would have also been interesting to follow a high-end priced group, however, these exceeded the research budget.

Second, time. The research design and part of the field research was carried out when I still had a full time job. Had I had more time to dedicate only to the doctoral research, I might have been able to enjoy the creation of the research structure much more. Still, the lack of time during the initial phase was compensated by the time off taken in 2013 and 2014, used for last leg of the field research (interviews with German experts), the analysis and writing of this dissertation.

Third, the questionnaires to Chinese tourists. Even when receiving far more answered questionnaires than expected, some of the answers were exactly the same. It was traceable for two subgroups from the "South Germany" tour, which gathered and collectively filled the questionnaires. In addition, the answers from the performers need to be interpreted cautiously. Especially if:

"Chinese tourists, like most Chinese citizens, are articulate people who are likely to alter and censor (intentionally or unintentionally) their responses when they are conscious of being researched" (Ong & Du Cros, 2012, p. 742).

In the search to promote authentic answers, I counted on building trust and rapport. Nevertheless, the seriousness of the answers cannot be guaranteed. A future alternative to minimize intrusion is the use of virtual ethnography or netnography (as used by *ibid.* and UNWTO, 2012). However, this method can put at stake intrinsic characteristics of the embodied enactions and interactions of performances.

#### 4.6. Conclusion

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this research is philosophically influenced by the phenomenology paradigm, which highly influence the knowledge created by this project. Knowledge depends on the interaction of different voices and disciplines. Research partners and my voice shape the construction of knowledge, as well as hints of cultural geography, sociology, anthropology, political science, sinology and economics. Ethnography also plays an important role in the research. Being an approach that promotes closer relations between the researcher and co-researchers, it proved to be more beneficial for a personal relationship based society such as the Chinese, rather than static methods based on multiple choice answers. Furthermore, its use responds to the need of new approaches on the investigation of Chinese tourists' reality.

Understanding of the Chinese phenomena was reached both from an *etic* and *emic* perspective, by using a mix of qualitative and quantitative tools. The main data for the research project was collected through interviews with experts both explaining their point of view from a Chinese and German perspective, respectively. Equally important, was the data collected during the ethnography field research when participating in three mass organized Chinese outbound tourist groups on Germany's different stages. Afterwards, the information was analysed by using the software WinRelan 32, developed for the qualitative analysis method GABEK. Categorisation and reporting was presented as a collage of GABEK-generated structures and other materials.

I also used one section of this chapter to reflect on my position in the research and how my personal background interferes on the conception, trust and rapport building with my co-researchers and

interpretation/presentation of the data. In the last part of the chapter, limitations during the research performance, namely, funding, time and unauthentic answers, were discussed.

The findings of my empirical research on the performances of Chinese mass tourists are described in the following chapters. Their performance will be presented according to Schechner's sequence. Preparation before the performances will be presented in Chapter 5 and during and after performance in Chapter 6. Chapters 7 and 8 explore the creation of stage and the consumption of it by the Chinese tourists, respectively.

## Chapter 5. Before Performance

The performance sequence starts with what it is regarded as the hidden part of the performance. This is the one that takes place in back-stage areas and serves to inform and prepare the actor on when to move front-stage and consequently encounter the audience. Seeking to understand more on this aspect, this chapter presents the various processes registered from role selection to presenting the “show”. In the first section of this chapter, I present the main motives to assume the role of the “mass organized group tourist”, as well as the criteria for joining a performance company. The next section examines how the roles are directly prepared by using representational texts of third-party information and also abstractly from previously learned social behaviour, greatly influenced by cultural characteristics. The last section finally outlines the performer’s mental images of Germany as a tourism stage.

### 5.1. Selection of the Role and a Company

The “organized mass group tourist” is one of the many roles performed throughout the tour of Chinese citizens on German stages, in companionship of tourist workers affiliated with a particular performing company. This section starts by illustrating the motives to assume this one role and moves on to show what the main determiners for selecting a company to enact with are. Interestingly, decisions were sometimes individually taken, but in the majority of cases the performer’s significant others, followed by co-workers to a minor extent, were those who had the final word.

Selection of the role

Followed by the socio-demographic section, the interviews and questionnaires required the respondents to give information on why they or Chinese individuals, when interviewing experts, decided to assume the role of mass organized group tourist. Each of the groups analysed referred to similar intentions, however, they placed importance differently. Table 5.1 shows the main categories by group and order of importance.

Table 5.1. *Performers’ Motives to Select the “Mass Tourist” Role as Regarded by the Co-researchers*

Performers	Experts China	Experts Germany
1. Product offers	1. Performers’ skills or lack thereof	1. Performers’ skills or lack thereof
2. Performers’ skills or lack thereof	2. Stage regulations	2. Performers’ travel experience
3. Performers’ time to prepare	3. Performers’ travel experience	3. Product offers
4. Destination’s attractiveness	4. Performers’ time to prepare	4. Performers’ cultural background
5. Someone’s recommendation.	5. Destination’s attractiveness	
	6. Product offers	

When the performers were asked about their motivation, the majority commented that travel in a group is convenient. Furthermore, they placed emphasis on the characteristic of the touristic product offered to them. The main positive characteristics of the product they regarded were: cheap, guided by a Chinese tour guide, fixed schedule, transportation included all the time, some free time to explore alone, more value for money, permits me to see everything and makes me save money and time. The following comment by a Chinese woman summarizes the majority’s opinion:

*“I chose the group tour because it is convenient, cheap and run by Chinese” (F26).*

Other participants alluded to the notion of their lack of communication skills. Not being able to communicate in the country's language or in English, is one of the main push factors in joining a group and relying on the tour guide. A middle-aged Chinese man stated:

*"I chose this group tour because, if I travel by myself I have to worry about safety. Also I do not understand German, alone it is difficult to communicate, and ... is a Chinese company, having Chinese tour guides is convenient" (K01).*

Amongst young Chinese research partners the responses were similar. First, they explained about their previous travel experience and their predilection for individual versus group travel. Second, they gave the specific reason why they decided to join a group this time. For the majority of them it meant not having to invest much time on travel arrangements, as well as being able to save money. One Chinese student from Shanghai mentioned:

*"Being in a group is convenient. I am travelling with a friend and we are both studying outside China. The group save us time, no need to do the arrangements myself. Also the costs are low" (H01).*

Furthermore, joining a group helps fill the gaps of their individual travels. Such as the case of this young Chinese doctoral student:

*Usually I like to travel by myself, choose how to use my time and locations to visit, there is more freedom. I have no barriers with regard to language and location abilities. Travel by myself makes me feel free. I planned a whole trip to Europe alone. However, I had no specific arrangement from July 26 to 31, and so I took part in this group to South Germany. It was for the opportunity (S01-02).*

Another, newly employed, young Chinese joined the group due to the complication of scheduling a trip with his friends back home:

*This time I chose the group tour because of the itinerary. During this period of time my friends are all busy, therefore I travel alone with a group mainly for safety and convenience reasons". (I01 – I02)*

Furthermore, even when travelling alone amongst strangers, a group presents the opportunity to make new friends and expand their network. The following diary excerpt exemplifies this:

*On our way to Marienplatz, I was talking with a Chinese lady that currently studies for her master in Cologne, we talked in German about the reasons of joining this group. She said: "it was easy to organize". Furthermore, "I started the group being alone and now I found nice people to hang around". She spent most of the time with the Chinese lady studying in Denmark. They further explained that they are in the same situation: "away from home and looking forward to visiting new places around Europe" (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012).*

Interestingly, the destination's spots highlighted on the organized tour were not key determinants that pushed the participants to join that specific group. The following are the only comments, which mentioned something about Europe or Germany as a reason to join a group:

*"I joined this group because I want to learn about European culture and architecture" (T26).*

*"I booked a group tour because I was not really familiar with South Germany and needed others to arrange the trip" (P01).*

Turning now to the experts interviewed in China, the majority emphasized on the lack of language skills amongst group members, the regulation of the stage, the travel experience of the performers

and the possibility of save money by choosing a GPT. The following interview fragment outlines these four main motivations:

*“A reason is the language barriers. For example, the first-timers, they don’t speak the language of the destination. These people with the language problems are more likely to join a group. Joining a group is also much easier for getting a visa and also economic, you can save money” (SCH1, A03).*

Moreover, a tour operator commented:

*“Our company do have the FIT department for Chinese travellers, the FIT is getting more and more. The groups still dominate the market for Europe destinations, mainly for the language problem and the visa is difficult for them. For FIT, individual clients, also the visa requirement is very strict, sometime they need a property, cash, wherever” (SCH5, E13).*

Only a government representative emphasized on the stage attributes as motivators to join a group. She expressed:

*“Many Chinese tourists... they go to South Germany, it is much related to the visa application, secondly to the flight connection and thirdly to the image of Europe as a travel destination” (SCH7, G01).*

As shown in the previous quotes, the experts in China discussed that the difficult visa application is one of the reasons why Chinese join groups. The visa situation and its relation to the tourists’ performances are examined in detail in Chapter 7 in connection with Germany stage regulations.

With regard to the experts in Germany, in the vast majority of interviews, they mentioned the language barriers as the main motivation of tourists to join a group. To avoid cultural communication problems, tourists seek safety in a group and accept having to highly depend upon Chinese tour guides. And, as a consequence, they usually stay in a bubble and maintain neutral relations with members outside the group (See Figure 5.1).

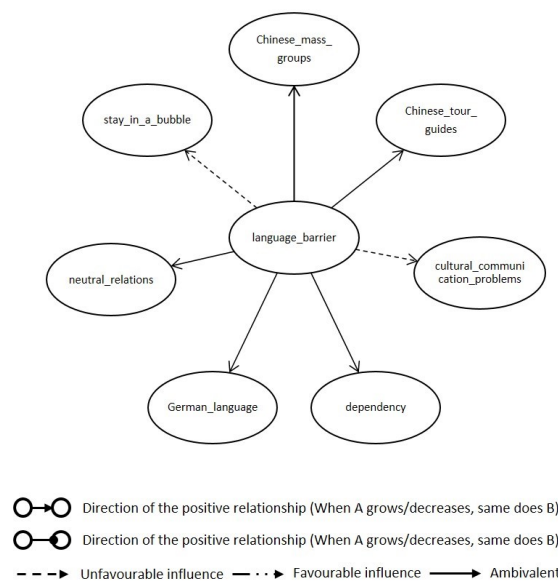


Figure 5.1. Causal influences on “language-barrier” assumed by German experts supported through at least 2 text units.

Other responses to this question included the level of travel experience of the performer and the characteristics of the touristic products offered. On the first item, experts connected group travel, for the most part, to first-timers or inexperienced travellers. Related to the offers, they commented on the cheap offers and price sensitivity of the market, which leads to join groups. One individual stated:

*"The market is extremely big, so there will always be people travelling for the first time. Maybe they do not have a lot of experience. Maybe they have a limited budget, limited education and limited language capability. These all influence where you go and where you travel" (SG, D20).*

Only one research partner highlighted the influence of the performers' cultural background when deciding to join a group:

*"They continue on the GPT because that is what their mind tells. It has to be on the one side on their mentality but on the other side on the security of being in a group. That is what the Germans also do. Especially due to the language problem, Chinese still need support during the trip and also comes an important point, a financial problem. That is why GPTs are good, because they are cheap and give an overview of what travelling is about" (SG6, F20).*

While the experts in China thoroughly discussed that the difficult visa situation leads tourists to join mass organized groups, the experts in Germany considered the situation as restrictive and as a burden to tourism development; but not as a reason to join a group.

Choose a tour operator

Once the role has been assumed, the future performers took their time to find a company where to perform. Choreographies offered, aspects of the producer and critical responses from previous actors' performances, were some of the reasons that influence which performances the future Chinese performers choose with a specific director.

The majority of those who responded to this question mentioned that the company they chose had its offers available online, which made easier the comparison of prices and package characteristics between providers. The selection of the operator was undoubtedly quite straightforward and mainly consisted of finding the offer with the most interesting travel package and the lowest price or the best price available in comparison with the services provided. The tourists compared, amongst others, dates, itinerary's tourism highlights, hotel offered and whether the tour had a Chinese speaking tour guide. The following interview excerpt illustrates the general combination of criteria reported by the participants:

*"I choose this tour operator because it was the best when comparing the price, plan, tour guide" (R02).*

From all the respondents, only one woman indicated that her decision was made by researching the service quality information of the travel agency. She commented:

*"I selected this tour operator because of the travel plan offer. For example, when I want to travel to Paris, I just look online for an agency that provides that. When many agencies provide that, I search for the one with less price and the one with the best hotel. Also I search for information of the Service Quality of that agency" (T03).*

Interestingly, an elderly couple from Beijing mentioned that for them the fact that the travel agency offered the possibility to customize different mass products into one tour around Europe was their main motivation to select it. Here is what the woman of the couple shared with me:



“When walking towards the *Bundeskanzleramt*, German Chancellery, I asked the lady about their decision to visit Germany and why they chose this travel agency. She said that they searched online and found (name of the agency) as a trustworthy company. What they liked the most was the possibility to mix and match destinations and put together a whole group tour. She further explained: ‘We did not want to be part of just one group, but of different ones going through Europe ... not just a lot of destinations in one rushed group’. They received help from (name of the agency) and have travelled mainly by train and joined different groups in Italy, Switzerland, Poland and now Germany” (Pendzialek, diary entry, August 09, 2012).

Participants also mentioned that friends and family recommendations were also determinants in the selection of the travel agency. Especially young Chinese tourists asked for advice from friends living in Europe. This is one example:

*“I chose this tour operator because of my friend's recommendation” (T27).*

Most respondents that spoke about family recommendations also mentioned that beyond suggestions their relatives organized everything for them. This is explained in detail in the following subsection, where the imposition of a role by others is described.

A role imposed by others

Roles are not always decided by the performers themselves but are often imposed by others around them. Some of the performers reported on how their families appointed them the role of a “mass organized group tourist”. Also, they mentioned that by granting incentive travels, their working places imposed this role to them.

*Young generations promote travel to the old generation.*

Chinese students or workers residing in Europe may not have time to show their relatives around during their visit, and, as a consequence, arrange one or several organized tours for them. By joining a group, the relatives use all their available time and take advantage of their stay by travelling safely, cheaply and conveniently. An example of this can be taken from an interview with a tour guide, when talking about the main segments inside the groups, he said:

*“The main segment is that of the elderly visitors, which come to visit a younger generation. The young ones are at school or working and they don't have time to travel together with the parents” (A28).*

One conversation in particular, which I had with one of the leaders of the group to South Germany, exemplifies the point made here:

“A lady from the group, from Yunnan and travelling with a colleague, approached us and asked about my research. She had heard from the other tour members about my reason for being there. She has a daughter my age, who is also studying. After I explained about my research, she showed interest in it, but did not ask any further questions. Instead, she took the opportunity to brief us about the group members: ‘many of them come from Shanghai and the organization of their travel was done by their relatives, mainly their sons and daughters, in Europe’” (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012).

*Old generation introduce the young ones to travel.*

In the other direction, older generations, namely parents, have assigned the group traveller role to their children. Their aim is to introduce their offspring to travel, so they can have a look of what is outside China. The following interview passage is a case in point:

*“My husband and I have been here many times before, so we now thought about bringing the children this time. My daughter had the idea of going abroad, and we saw it good to show them abroad” (G01).*

#### *Incentive travel*

The group of travellers around Germany were granted the trip by their employer back in Shanghai as a reward for their good work in 2011. Their employer offered them a trip to Europe and left the selection of one country to visit to them. Prior to their trip, the performers, which had been working together for at least 2 years at an institute for architecture, summited to vote between the following European countries: Italy, UK and Germany. The result was Germany. Their decision was influenced by Germany’s architectural and design diversity. Many of the tour members had travelled to Europe before and possessed significant independent travel experience. They adopted their group traveller role, due to the bonding opportunities it brings. A young architect illustrated this:

*I prefer both group and individual travel options. Both have their pros and cons. To understand a lot of Europe, I would prefer to travel by myself. This would be more relaxed and closer to the German life style. But, now I like to travel in this group tour because travel with colleagues makes the team spirit stronger... also the whole group is based on close interests” (G26-27).*

Once the performer is convinced of the role he or she selected, the preparation of it then follows. The performers might want to display confidence during the enactment and, thereafter, make use of information materials arrange for industry professionals and also collect them from people and media around them. The next section will present some of the findings in this direction.

## 5.2. Preparation of the Role

Travel information from sourcers and producers, WOM from family and friends; eWOM from strangers; and the performer’s own social profile served as “means of preparation, aid, documentation and vicarious participation” (Adler, 1989, p. 1367), and will be discussed in the following section.

Prepare the role by reviewing information from the stage

The performers depended principally on the information provided by the travel agency for their preparation as an organized group tourist. The key sources of information offered by the travel agency or tour operators<sup>15</sup> can be listed as follows: (1) travel agency’s website; (2) website links suggested by the agent; (3) travel agency’s brochures and (4) personal advice. Additionally, the tourist visited third party government websites for information on the destinations Germany and Austria (country included in one of the routes observed). The following fragment exemplifies the majority of responses:

*“I read the tour operator information on its website and I also checked the government websites information” (G28).*

Just two male respondents mentioned that they visited a Chinese government website to find out more about government suggestions on how to travel or behave abroad.

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<sup>15</sup> Both terms were indistinctively used by the respondents.

*“I went to the tour operator website, also had a look at one governmental booklet with behaviour regulations... My friends living in Germany gave me more information and I did my own research on baidu.com” (L02).*

Young group members reported doing extensive research before the trip. A young married Chinese woman reported in her questionnaire:

*“I received personal advice from the tour operator and also some website links. Besides, I also checked the government website’s information. I also got info from friends living in Germany, German- Chinese friends. Online I reviewed the information on German tourism websites, also Weibo and the info from the embassy. We also bought the Lonely Planet Germany” (B29).*

The production of this information by the sourcers and director to the future performer will be analysed in detail in Chapter 7 as part of the section of choreographing and scripting of this thesis.

Prepare the role by imitation

*Ancient role models*

Prior to the interviews, I heard during my professional experience that “Chinese tourists do not have a tradition of travelling abroad and that the famous Chinese travellers were not as those in the Western world”. In the section of the interview related to preparing the role, I started with this sentence and asked my research partners to let me know what they thought about it. Interestingly, during the interviews with the experts in Germany three of them placed special emphasis on discussing this question.

Two experts mentioned that it is necessary to clarify this point because, against many people’s beliefs, there was indeed a tradition of travelling in China since ancient times. The idea of Chinese not having a tradition in travel originates from the way the history of travel and tourism has been shown. According to this governmental expert, tourism history has been examined since the Cultural Revolution. He explained:

*“Before some of the famous Western travellers, there were in China other travellers. They built trade ships and travelled to India, Africa and Western Europe. In the trade area, China is way ahead on tradition with more than 5,000-year tradition, somehow in relation to foreign travel. But when talking about tourism, the history is shown in a shorter period of time, most of the time since the Cultural Revolution and Mao, in that perspective it does look different” (F14).*

Another expert recognized that some of the famous ancient travellers covered only China’s territory. For example, Li Bai, a Chinese poet during the Tang Dynasty, is famous for his solitary travels and romantic descriptions of China’s landscapes. In relation to foreign travel, the expert appeals to:

*“On the other side, what means long-haul travel, 1,000 – 3,000 km? If that is the case, Li Bai should be considered a foreign traveller because he went all around China. It can be regarded as foreign travel especially due to the country’s diversity. There are different climates, nature, for example from Beijing to Yunnan, everyone is different, and the people speak differently. It is almost as foreign” (SG1, A21).*

He also explained that the size of China’s kingdom in ancient times would as well allow describing a simple visit from the Emperor’s residence to Xian, Liaoning and Inner Mongolia as a foreign trip. Moreover, he acknowledged, as the first expert did as well, that early trade expeditions undertaken by Chinese admirals in international countries. He recalled Zheng He, admiral during the Ming Dynasty, as famous in Chinese trade history and also as the last expeditionary allowed to travel

outside China. The results of previous expeditions and piracy forced the Kingdom to close to the external world. He stated:

*“After him (Zheng He) they noticed that outside there was nothing they could consider valuable, but just something exotic and in that time to engage in something exotic had no sense. It was then necessary to concentrate in own self, in the culture, in the own country. What it was foreign, it was pretty and fun. But what brings to our education or to us something not perceived as valuable. China was big enough to confront everything” (SG1, A25).*

Overall, these two experts acknowledge that the travelling culture was interrupted both in ancient history times, as commanded by the Ming Dynasty, and in modern times, during Mao’s regime when travel was seen as a bourgeoisie action against the revolution. The experts suggested not implying that there was nothing before those periods of time.

These interruptions in the travel culture and culture in general after the Cultural Revolution, have lead China’s population to a current loss of cultural knowledge. Chinese admire their millennial culture, but many of them do not know about it. A third expert commented on this aspect in relation to famous Chinese travellers:

*“They are proud of Xu Xiake, Zheng He, but they don’t know about them. Many are simply proud about their culture but they have no idea of it” (SG7, G16-17).*

He further highlighted that the enactments of these previous travellers were far remote to the behaviours of the current tourists. He exemplified this by talking about Xu Xiake, one more famous Chinese traveller who only travel inside China and wrote about China’s climate and geography. The remaining travel diaries of the famous traveller show how travel and writing in ancient times were not about recounting personal experiences, but about reporting the situation of China at the time. The expert said:

*“Traditional Chinese travel writing is about the universe, nature, law of nature, how you can see change as a constant thing, how the spring turns into summer and a blossom into a flower. It is philosophical, it is about learning and not about you. It is only you being a small aspect of the universe. And this is far away from the guys taking photos of themselves all the time” (SG7, G18).*

From this discussion, it can be stated that there is an ancient travel tradition. However, interruptions during Chinese history prevented tourists from being influenced by Chinese travelling culture and general cultural characteristics regarded as important before those events. Therefore, many aspects of Chinese culture need to be learned once again.

#### *Family and friends’ recommendations*

Imitation of the performances previously enacted by friends and family were also considered amongst the answers. Surprisingly, their recommendations on how to prepare their trips were not placed on the top of the list. Many of the group members, as mentioned in the previous section, did not arrange or prepare anything beforehand because this was carried out by either a younger or older member of their family. The answers in this regard were either certainly straight forward:

*“I received help from my daughter” (O02).*

or in combination with one other sources of information:

*“I read a few government websites and also received information from my family. The trip was arranged by my child” (Y03).*

*Other travellers (Blogs, internet)*

Only two young Chinese tour members reported that they did their own search on the travel website go2eu.com. This website, which now has a new domain www.qyer.com, started as a forum directed to young Chinese living in Europe where they could exchange experiences and advice about travel around the continent. It was initially a small project of a Chinese student, at the time residing in Hamburg. From 10 workers in 2011, by 2012, the Beijing-based company had more than 100 workers and in 2013, Qyer.com, which by that year had about 10 million registered users worldwide, received strategic investments from China’s internet giant Alibaba Group (Techonomy.com, 2013).

The online community offered on the website, rich on User Generated Content (UGC), as well as free Chinese language eGuides created by the company, supply the future performer with first-hand information collected by previous young travellers. This information aims to inspire future travellers to go abroad and to help them to overcome possible challenges before and during their travel. This was explained by the company’s founder during our interview:

*“The basic goal of my website is to encourage average and rich Chinese people to travel abroad in places that Chinese can reach. When they travel, people encounter some difficulties, cultural backgrounds different, and some people have problems or difficulties in getting a visa, or prepare to get the visa. We think that we can help, we can encourage conquering some difficulties” (SCH6, F01).*

Previously learned behaviours

*Travel experience*

When the performers were asked about their past travel experience, the majority reported that they had travelled inside Asia at least once before. It can also be seen from the data in Table 5.2 that, after Asia, over half of those who answered have travelled to Europe before.

Table 5.2. *Group Members Travel Experience*

<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>
Inside Asia	33	73.3%
Europe	27	60.0%
Germany	23	51.1%
Others	12	26.7%

Note: (1) Before their current trip, more than one option possible to select.

This leads to infer that tourists bring with them those skills learned during their visits to other countries. Or at least their travel experience allows them to minimize the initial fear of visiting a new destination. An expert suggested that travel experience and the use of the internet were two reasons why the tourist felt confident while travelling. He said:

*“Chinese use the internet a lot. In China they prepare the whole trip and many of the current customers have been in Europe one or two times already. That initial fear is not present anymore, they know exactly what to do, where to go and what is offered there or not” (SG3, C24).*

*Chinese cultural aspects brought by the tourists*

This section of the interviews required the experts to give their opinions with relation to Chinese traditional values and tourism, especially those values that are brought by the tourists during their

travels. Interestingly, two of the experts' initial reaction was: "that itself is another doctoral research". In spite of this, valuable insights came from these challenging questions.

Confucianism was regarded as still influential by this expert as he commented:

*"The Chinese are really traditional, familiar and group oriented, Confucius continues to play a role, in general traditions are to be kept, either by education or by experience. The values are strongly associated with tourism. If it is compared with Germany, it can be said that Germany developed very differently after the war, somehow not so attached to traditions anymore, but it is not the case of China" (SG6, F12-13).*

Furthermore, being Chinese and part of a hierarchical and status-based society, a long-haul holiday represents an increase in symbolic capital. This expert connects the fast-way of travel of Chinese and status gain. She said:

*"This can only be understood, if we realize how precious holiday is and what it means. And how these 2 weeks can give them so much symbolic capital and so on. Then we can understand why they 'work' so hard on a holiday. If they could have 5 weeks' holiday, they could decide to spend 2 rushed ones and some other relaxing ones, but in China you don't have that" (SG9, I19).*

One more expert recalled the following values: hard-working and success oriented, organizational talent, reliable, security seekers, cooperative and determinate. He explained that these values have lead China to their current success and economic growth during the past 30 years. He further expressed that success did not come alone but needed support from foreign alliances, for instance with German delegations.

He went on to discuss those ancient values which, ideally by the Chinese government, should be present in Chinese society but, unfortunately, have been lost in China's new history.

*"In the reality and in the dreamed scenario, they should bring typical values, as those promoted nowadays by the Confucius Institute, for example modesty, humility, honesty, etc. But that is not the case. Those ideal values were there for more than 5,000 years but are not the reality anymore. Many things have been lost in our new history" (SG1, A18).*

This view was shared by another expert who mentioned:

*"The old traditional values, have no influence in the behaviour of mass travellers because they are no longer there" (SG7, G09).*

In addition, he also used Confucius and Confucianism to illustrate how ancient values have been reintroduced to the society, after their interruption due to political movements, and how this reinsertion has not kept the original sense of the ethical and philosophical system. He expressed:

*"They don't know how about Confucius. What is sold as Confucianism in China today, has nothing to do with the old. For example, the movie Confucius, he is caring for the slaves, cares for his wife, he is very far away from the real one. They have no connection on what Confucianism is, or what is their place on earth" (SG7, G05).*

This protection and distortion it is believed by this expert to have negative future implications. He pointed out:

*"The Chinese government has as an interest to protect the Chinese culture and try to keep alive what 'China' is. If it continues like that, what is China would gradually disappear" (SG3, C21).*

In Chapter 6, some other characteristics of Chineseness will be further explained in direct relation to the performances. Moreover, the objects brought to perform, which serve as an elongation of physical and personal characteristics, will be explained in the same chapter as well.

Recognition of a lack of cultural knowledge leads to an active learning process

From the experts' answers, Chinese people, both in general and future tourism performers, need to learn not only about their own culture but also that of the places they visit. The latter can be exemplified by the following autobiographical answer from a research partner, member of the Chinese diaspora in Germany:

*"There are many people that speak about culture, but in reality they don't know anything about it. My generation has not learned Chinese culture. I studied it in Germany. When we were in the school, we were in the middle of the revolution and we learned the revolution stories, but no cultural histories. So, after the revolution, China needed to start from zero, from a white piece of paper. So many Chinese feel pride of the culture and tradition but many do not know what it is. And now there is the need to cultivate and reactivate what is culture to us" (SG1, A25).*

With respect to learning from others, the discussion took place under two headings: how learning in advance prevents the tourists from being scammed and how learning can help to prevent undesirable behaviours and improve the image of the Chinese tourists abroad. One expert mentioned that their online information incites both independent and group tourists to inform themselves before travelling. He said:

*"Most of our readers, we want them to do everything by themselves, but some of them... they have some different situations or problems. They might need to use a group tour but still they can get the information before the departures, to know better the destination and this can protect them from some tricks". (SCH6, F04)*

Besides protecting them from scams, learning helps avoid intercultural misunderstandings with regard to different behaviours. One European tour operator criticised the lack of cultural respect from all levels of China's society. He works with high-end market customers, amongst them rich and influential personalities, and finds still difficult to believe that many of his clients try to enforce their own culture instead of learning how to behave in the country they visit. Another expert highlighted some of the behaviours associated with Chinese tourists in Hong Kong, his city of residence, and the need for advance in this direction:

*"China is also concerned about ethics and behaviour, because they know that Chinese tourists are not very well respected because they speak too loudly, they don't queue up, they create a mess in the restaurants. So that is an area that China wants to improve as well" (SCH8, H04).*

Learning has been intensively promoted by the government during the past years. However, according to this expert, there is still a long way to go:

*"They get information in advance, there is a lot from CNTA. Also all this behaving news. China is very much on the face side, some kind of being shame for people's behaving badly. On the other side, there is probably quite a gap. A lot has to be learnt" (SCH4, D36).*

For their part, German experts added that it is not only the Chinese government who should impulse this learning phase, but the Chinese people themselves.

*“I think that the Chinese criticise themselves. A Chinese article that I just read, tells how the Chinese do not behave properly abroad. For me, it is a good indicator on how the people in China want that the others to behave reasonably. In some, this highlights that the development should be committed and in awareness among all” (SG1, A03).*

Certain experts expressed that, contrary to Western people, Chinese are actively and consciously learning how to behave abroad either by imitation, as previously discussed in this chapter, or by attending behaviour lessons. The first expert drew on the behaviour of Chinese tourists during a cruise. He referred to an article from the Financial Times (Waldmeir, 2013), where a Western journalist lively narrated the cruise performances of the Chinese tourists during a cruise to Vietnam. Most members were on a cruise for the first time and it could be seen that they had no clue of what is commonly understood as cruise behaviour. In light of this, the general secretary of the China Cruise & Yacht Industry Association (CCYIA) shared with the reporter that in the future they will offer a crash course to cruise first-timers, so they can learn the key aspects of cruise etiquette.

A second expert gave an example on European etiquette lessons, he expressed:

*“I think Chinese are willing to learn. And that is why they attend classes of behaviour abroad, quite expensive actually. There, the tourists can learn the European etiquette. Different topics like manners, how to use cutlery, to enjoy beer and wine, etc. They start feeling behind by not knowing how other people behave, they want to adapt and it is something getting more popular” (SG3, C30).*

The importance of learning was placed as number one in the findings gathered from the experts in Germany. Learning in order to prepare oneself and for the destination, as explained in this subsection. In addition, learning to perform future roles, namely for being a “self-organized independent traveller”, to be discussed in Chapter 6.

### 5.3. Anticipation and Imaginations of German Stages

Tourists used the resources from the previous section to create expectations and to structure their future experience during the tour. As shown in Figure 5.2, the participants were mostly expecting to encounter destination specific characteristics. In their accounts surrounding this, they listed: German culture and German food (the most recurrent themes), Germans’ lifestyle, history, tourism highlights, German beer and Germany’s flora and fauna. Only a minority could mention specific information by each of the main categories mentioned. For instance, a few members mentioned “*Haxen and Bratwurst*” as German food and knew this because they had previously visited a *Bräuhaus*, brewery in Shanghai. For destinations, Munich and Berlin were repeated tourism highlights mentioned.

A number of respondents were expecting to experience differences between China and Germany, as well as to learn something new from those differences. As two interviewees said:

*“I was expecting different experiences. And to see the environment, punctual people and food” (L03).*

*“Besides learning something new, I want to understand a bit of Germany’s culture, history and society” (K04).*

Some only answered that they wanted to have fun and enjoy the group offers. While others responded that they did not have any particular expectation or were just expecting what was written in the itinerary.



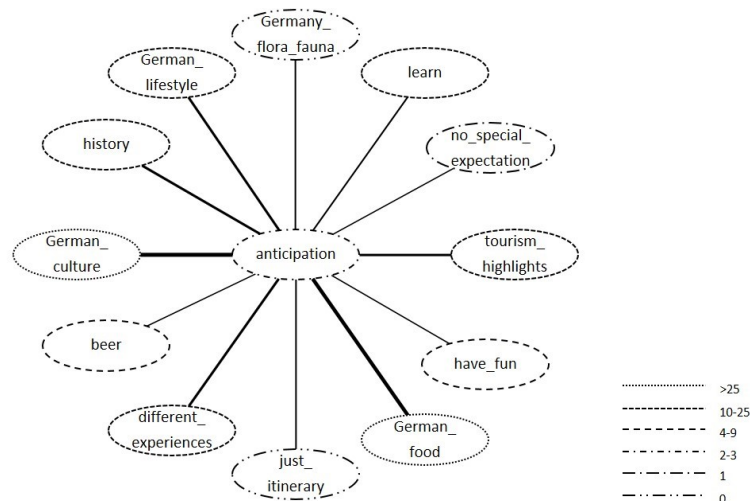


Figure 5.2. Association graph for “anticipation” in the context of the performers’ interviews. Only concepts that are related to the key word at least in 2 text units are shown. Lines according to the key word relevancy number, which is the sum of all evaluation.

Interestingly, the answers of a few participants were not even addressed to Germany, as was asked, but to Europe in general. For example, one individual stated:

*“I was expecting to understand more the popular European customs, culture, see the architecture and follow the hundred years of history” (P04).*

It is likely that some of the respondents had no geographical consciousness whatsoever, thus regard Europe as one stage. Later, during an interview with an expert, she commented on the discourses of modernity and civilization associated with Europa and the contradictions that the tourist encountered once they arrived to Europe and Germany. She explained:

*“You expect the usual not much new. But it is sometimes contradictory. When they come not only to Germany but to Europe in general, they think about the new and the civilization, but they would get disappointed because Europe is old and dirty. It is a contradiction on what they originally thought. For them Europe is actually one big stage. But everybody has their own reasons to come” (SG9, I12).*

Indeed, reasons, interest and imaginaries were different amongst the participants. Especially young Chinese group members shared in detail what they were expecting to experience in Germany. Being the majority still students, special interests turned around their subject of specialization. Answers included interests in: electronics and mechanical products, architecture and differences between southern and northern German societies. One particular student was glad to finally come upon what she had been learning during her German bachelor studies in Sydney, Australia.

The experts in China struggled to find a concrete touristic image of Germany. Everybody agreed that Germany has a positive image in China, one government representative commented:

*“The people believe that Germans are so strict, serious and it should be quite boring. But many people know that Germany has a very good image here in China for the products. They are well known for good quality. A very positive image for Germany, many people want to go there because they see Germany as a well-organized country” (SCH7, G16).*

Some others argued that the connection of Germany and tourism is quite limited for the mass organized tourists in comparison with other segments of the market. Talking about this issue, an interviewee said:

*“Germany has to have an image; it is not just one thing but something connected to their minds. Some technicians, university students, they have some experiences with Germany, but the mass market has a really blurred image” (SCH1, A38).*

Similar to the experts in China, the experts in Germany highlighted the good image of Germany in China. One expert commented on the opinions that Chinese tour operators have from Germany:

*“Many tour operators are interested in Germany due to the business travels but also because of leisure. Interesting is also German efficiency and what Germany stands for. Another thing is that we do not have any historical problems, it is more complicated to do business between China and Japan, or USA. In China, the point of view of Germany is positive, they have good images on the head” (SG2, B32).*

Another expert summarized the imaginations of the mass tourists about Germany as follows:

*“Romanticism, highlights. Also “made in Germany” is a very important factor. Just the cars are everywhere in China” (SG6, F25).*

One more expert mentioned the typical imageries of Chinese group tourists and also drew attention to the changes in Germany’s image as tourism destination. He commented:

*“The country is known for its machines, technology, infrastructure, safety, environmental protection, but I think more and more the people realise that Germany has culture and also famous sights. There quite a few cities that people can know about Germany, simply because Germany has relatively big cities, they would have heard about Munich, Berlin and there is also the chance of them hearing about Hamburg and Frankfurt. So it means that there is a place that people know” (SG4, D35).*

Tourists had some limited touristic knowledge about Germany, this could be partly explained by how the industry scripts the performances for Chinese tourists, which will be analysed in Chapter 7 of this research study.

## 5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has identified and analysed some of the activities of the pre-performance phase. Interestingly, Chinese tourists decide to take the role of “organized mass group tourist” because to enact in a group was regarded as convenient for them. Furthermore, mass organized choreographies tend to be cheap and lead by Chinese personnel, being essential for those not having the destination’s language skills or English skills. Other motives also mentioned were time saving and the possibility to make new friends even when travelling with strangers. Experts had similar answers but placed a strong emphasis on lack of language knowledge and also the easier visa process. What emerged as particularly interesting was that German stages’ attributes were not attractive enough to promote the role taking. Additionally, during the field research, Germany and Europe were indistinctively used, as if both were regarded as one stage.

Criteria for a company selection was led by price, followed by itinerary, accommodation and a Chinese tour guide as a permanent travel companion. Some performers mentioned friends and family recommendations and just one couple mentioned that the advice from the travel agency for

personalized offers pushed them to select that specific company. Many of the performers interviewed had a role assigned by others, mainly their children, which at the time were studying or working in Europe.

For their role-playing preparation, the information from the travel agency was ranked as number one. In-depth searching for information was carried out by young Chinese performers. Similarly, it was the young Chinese who searched to imitate the performances shared by other travellers online. With regard to pre-conceived conventions about the role, the German experts highlighted the absence of them. Because the own culture and travelling culture was interrupted during Chinese history, the current cultural knowledge might not be enough to prepare a role. Some of the research partners mentioned that performers need to undertake extra training in order to compensate the lack of own cultural knowledge and about the destination to be visited.

Moreover, this Chapter demonstrated that performers and experts found difficult to describe the touristic image of Germany. Much of the knowledge of the destination is built upon German products (quality products, cars, beer, pork and sausages), environmental protection, history (good relations through the years), clichés (romantic, fairy-tale) and stereotypes (strict, serious and boring). Only some performers connected specific characteristics due to their own interests. Having portrayed how Chinese tourists prepare for their roles before performance, the chapter that follows moves on to consider the actual performance on selected German stages.

## Chapter 6. Performing Tourism on German stages

In the previous chapter, it was explained that Chinese tourists had partially informed themselves of “pre-existing discursive, practical, embodied norms” (Edensor, 2001a, p. 71) that allows them to perform their role as “organized mass group tourist”. This chapter moves one step forward in the sequence to the performance of Chinese tourists on the stages selected for this research. For this purpose, this chapter, primarily drawing on three ethnographic periods, seeks to shed light on the following: 1) activities that are carried out right before the performance, during the warm-up, 2) a possible classification of the performances; 3) the interactions identified, 4) techniques used by the actor to come back to his/her regular self after the performance and 5) the outcomes that can be traced after the performance.

Ethnography was performed throughout three organized tours. The first group, called either “Around Germany Tour” or the “Architects Group” throughout the thesis, followed the country’s main attractions known by Chinese. Unfortunately, being a customized group, I was only allowed to observe one section of the route, namely, the south of Germany (points A and B from Figure 6.1 below).



Figure 6.1. Route of the “Around Germany Tour”

Contrary to the previous group, I accompanied the second group “South Germany Tour” most of their time in Germany (its route is mapped out in Figure 6.2). The same applies to the “Berlin-Potsdam Tour”. The observation of these groups took place between July and August 2012, when I had the opportunity to directly encounter and observe around 52 tourists part of the groups, as well as to have valuable discussions, interviews and talks with other key players of the performance. For example, the performance directors (3 guides and 1 leader), German retailers located on the stages, audience and the interpreter, whom at many times served as a cultural bridge between myself and the research partners. The following sections present the findings of the ethnography phase and recreate the activities of the Chinese tourists under the performance lenses.



Figure 6.2. Route of the “South Germany Tour”

### 6.1. Warm-up: Final Touches and Gathering Objects

During ethnography, different warm-ups were observed. Each performer had their own rituals to prepare for the leap into performance. Some checked the schedule, others had some questions to the guide, yet others just concentrated and awaited instructions. However, many of them used the time immediately before the performance to gather the objects they needed to perform. Those particular objects and their use will be explained in the following section.

#### Objects to perform

The performance turn in tourism studies considers the objects and technologies used by the tourists, which are necessary for specific touristic performances to happen. Many of these particular objects were brought by the tourists from their place of residence and were gathered and made ready to perform right before starting the performances, that is, in their warm-up phase. The following paragraphs present the objects and technologies used by the performers during their travels in Germany.

According to an experienced tour leader, the majority of group tourists usually bring umbrellas and body lotion, to avoid being under the sun and burning their skin. He further explained that “a white skin is culturally attached to beauty in China”. On the whole, the majority of older group members will also bring a travel kettle to make their tea. Unfortunately, most hotels do not provide this. Therefore, previous travellers, either friends or family have warned them about this. Senior members continue to travel around with cash, while the younger generations prefer to pay by credit card. The leader commented that during her time working with Chinese groups, she has noticed that:

*“Being well-prepared means bringing enough cash. However, some of those groups that bring more cash than normal tend to be involved in money laundering activities” (D19).*

When asked about what Chinese packed for their performances in Germany, a tour guide commented that, for him, the top items brought are food and snacks. Noodles, crackers and Taiwan-style rice snacks were spotted amongst the participants. Some others asked to stop in a supermarket to buy fresh fruits and vegetables, see Figure 6.3.



Figure 6.3. Chinese tourist's objects to perform

With regard to technologies, tourists carry their cameras with them, video cameras and mobile phones, which are used depending on the age and experience in travelling of the performers (See some of those objects in Figure 6.4). They were regarded as survival objects, since they are there to create proof of the performances. Every group member had access to a photo camera during their trips either by using their own, the couple's camera or the family camera. Every subgroup will have at least one camera at their disposal; some couples had one each, so there was no need to bother the other or miss anything on the road, and families had at least one, and sometimes an old one for their children, as well. The majority of the older group members had normal hand cameras. In contrast, the majority of young group members (also with more travel experience) used sophisticated professional cameras.



Figure 6.4. Technological objects to perform

The use of the mobile phones was highly restrained due to overseas mobile fees and the willingness to pay them. Many members had their mobiles with them, but turned off. Many commented not having activated the international use. Others activated it, but only in case of emergencies. They kept it off in order to avoid receiving calls, which would lead to paying exorbitant amounts of Yuan back home. Even when the majority had smart phones, mainly Chinese brands, they did not use it as a camera. Amongst the young people only a minority of participants (most of them part of the Architects Group) used their mobile phones. They did not use it for international calls but to immediately share photos on Chinese social media channels or as a GPS to find their way around during their free time activities. The following diary excerpt exemplifies this:

Before dinner, the architects had free time around the *Marienplatz*. The time was planned for shopping. The tour guide instructed them to go around the "*Rathaus*", the City Hall, where there are some shopping streets for them. Some of the members did not pay attention to the instructions and gestures of directions made by the guide. Many were already planning their route with their phones. The guide said after: "these kinds of groups

are easier because they are self-sufficient by using their mobile phones (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012).

Location devices were brought by young Chinese as well, which allowed them to save on mobile internet fees. When asked about what he usually packs before travelling, one young Chinese engineer, partly group and individual traveller in Europe, expressed:

*“Just some clothes, GPS and my phone. That is enough for me. I get to the city, ask for a map and search for what I can visit or travel. I can find the way with the map and my GPS, you know, and do it myself” (E04).*

As far as documents and printed information is concerned, the majority of group members brought with them the confirmation sheet given by the travel agency at the time of purchase. They were asked to carry it along at all times because of the safety information and emergency phone numbers included on it. Some tour members brought the whole travel contract with them. Just a minority of members brought travel guides or travel information with them. One case was that of the leader of the group of architects. He was carrying the *Lonely Planet* Germany guide in Chinese and was in charge of modifying the itinerary, if necessary. Their tour included transportation and hotel stays in several cities, but the attractions were selected by the tour members individually. They knew in advance what they wanted to see, but still made changes on the road using the travel guides and ground information from the tour guide. (More about the routes of the group will be presented in Chapter 8).

Other objects, which enabled performances but were not brought by them, were the audio guides received at the tourist attractions. Being part of a group allows fewer opportunities for performances where the tour guide is not the main source of information. Additionally, the limited amount of time in each place does not let people make full use of the audio guide. These two aspects were noticeable during the field research. From the groups observed, the members only made use of the audio guides inside *Neuschwanstein* and *Sanssouci* Castles. This was an obligation rather than a desire, due to the constitution of the stage. This will be further discussed in Chapter 8 in connection with enactments on German stages.

## 6.2. A Vast Range of Performances

As was mentioned earlier, performance is about actions, interactions and relationships (Schechner, 2002, p. 24). This section investigates the tourists' performances in three parts. The first presents general performance modes recognized during the ethnographic phase. The second, the interactions and power relations amongst the performers and other key players. And third, the cool down section, briefly reports on the activities undertaken immediately after the performance.

### Modes of performances

Influenced by Edensor's (2000) modes of performances, the following subsections illustrate particular performances observed within these groups. I do not aim to generalize or create a categorization of Chinese tourists' performances in Germany, but rather inform about the performances that took place under the particular stage conditions and were also influenced by the social- cultural background of the performer. The narratives presented here are a mixture of performers and expert comments, as well as my own voice.

## *Ritualized performances*

### Sightseeing

Performances of this nature are routines and rituals, focusing on the “must-see” and “must-do” of a specific tourism stage. The performances are quite strict and rely on rigorous stage management from the tour guide. The following excerpt exemplifies the visit of a “must-see” attraction:

The guide was in a rush; she wanted to be at *Marienplatz* before 17:00 hrs. to hear the clock. A must for tourists from everywhere. (...) We all watched and heard the clock at *Marienplatz*. Photos, videos and some boring faces. At the beginning all the group was still together, after 10 min. some of them found the clock boring and decided to leave for shopping. The rest stayed until the end. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012).

As can be read from the fragment, it might not be a performance that pleases the participants, but it is the overall ritualistic-mandatory nature that motivates the performers to take part in it. Another ritualized performance is that of photographing “mandatory” spots. The tour guide, based on his or her previous knowledge of a destination and the cultural background of the group, would lead the performers eye to those “worth- the-photo” buildings, objects, actions, people, etc. Interestingly, the tour guides always acted as “by the way, here you should take a photo”, in such an unanticipated manner. The following was a case in point:

We started our walk to the BMW Museum. The museum is just a few minutes away from the Olympia Park. The tour guide stopped us suddenly on the bridge right before the museum. He said: ‘here it is a nice photo spot’. Immediately after, everyone took their cameras out. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012).

In connection with the ritualized performance of sightseeing is the information provided by the tour guide. It was a ritual performed right before encountering or entering a specific place. In some cases, the groups received quite concise information read directly from a brochure or the tour guide’s notes. However, in other cases, information was scarce and mostly about times to move on to the next stop, as shown in the following diary note:

Once in front of the museum the tour guide gathered everyone together and announced that he will briefly explain about the museum. He said: “*This is the BMW Museum, here are many autos and remember that we meet back here at 14:50*”. He just abruptly gave times, but no further information. The group members looked at each other, no questions came, they were eager to go on. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012).

### Consume

Beyond sightseeing, consumerism was another ritual. Within, the most common performances were to sample typical food and acquire some gifts from the destination. Eating turned out to be a rather controlled performance for the groups, where the guide would decide and choreograph every single enactment. The following diary passage shows this:

The main course was already decided by the guide. She usually orders directly for the tourists, to avoid complications. She said: “*I always order the same, half of the dishes are Haxen and the other half Sausages. Those are typical from the region*”. Unlike most other tourists, they had no possibility to further look in the menu and decide, but it also looked as they did not want it. I saw how some of the group members had a look at the menu. For a second, I thought that they will ask for something different, but they did not actually read what it was written on it, they just made photos. To drink, a young Chinese said that he tried the *Schwarzbier*, black bier before. The guide said that she would also recommend that.



Consequently, they all got a one-litre mug of *Schwarzbier* each. (Penzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

In addition, the eating scene created by the stage-management was rather similar to a Chinese one. The food was eaten in an informal Chinese banquet tradition, when possible to arrange, as in the following case:

The meals came followed by applauses and photos. Immediately, the tour guide, tour leader and the group leader took the responsibility of cutting the meat so everyone could get some of both varieties. The food was left at the centre, placed as it is usual to eat in China. (Penzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

However, performers, strongly influenced by their European stays as in the case of students or workers, would order their own dishes and eat individually. These performers, mostly youngsters, would try to convey a different message to the other performance teams and would also show their experience with western food by recalling the names of some European dishes and their initial reaction when eating them.

Regarding shopping, the groups observed had no obligatory shopping stops, but free time slots for shopping around the city centre. As one of the tour guides pointed out:

*“This group is not about shopping or commissions; they can choose wherever they want to go but they can also get suggestions from the tour guide of where to go”. (D09)*

This is far from the business models commonly applied in main South-East Asia destinations for Chinese group tourists, such as described by a Chinese tour operator:

*“For the group tour, the tour guide is not looking for the people to buy 1,000 or 2,000 Euro worth of goods, but he knows that the selling price of the tour is really cheap, basically the agent sells the tour on the market, and the cost is negative so they have to make the money from the shop commission. So, the tour guide also makes money from the shopping, so they will push really hard, but as far as I know there is no travel agency with a standard rule with an amount for shopping” (SCH5, E03).*

Contrary to many other groups, the performers of the groups observed were not actively shopping during their trip since they were extremely price sensitive. Some of the group members acquired souvenirs, books, postcards or little objects. Interestingly, the majority of times photographs took the place of shopping. Young Chinese tourists were reluctant to be “put-in-a-box” or associated with the stereotypical image of Chinese tourists shopping everywhere. They mentioned that shopping was only practiced to bring back something to friends back home. As two interviewees put it:

*“I shop just to bring gifts for my friends; especially if it is my first time abroad. But I don't like shopping” (E07).*

*“I like to do sightseeing. I am not so interested in shopping. A lot of the others would like to shop, but I just got a few things back for my friends” (H02).*

Also concerned with shopping, one group member insisted on shopping for one item exactly from the city of origin. As shown in the following fragment:

The other group members lost the 13:06 train because they were discussing whether a student was going to Munich first or directly to Hamburg. He wanted to get a jersey from *FC Bayern München* and wanted to return and get it from the fan store there. I called friends

and asked for a place in Hamburg where he could get this. I told him about some shopping malls and fan stores. He was not very convinced. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 29, 2012)

#### *Comparisons*

Another ritualized performance was that of comparing their imaginations about the destination and the reality of it. One tour guide specialized in Berlin walking tours commented:

*“Some normal people from China, first time abroad, know some of the attractions themselves but have no deep understanding of what it is, and do not know much about Germany. For the Berlin Wall, they have the expectations of how magnificent the wall would be. When they stand there, it is not so much as expected. It's a conflict of what they have in mind and what it really is” (SCH1, A10-11).*

These moments of corroboration and contradiction were routine and unconscious, privately enacted in a common order: stare, process, compare, inaudible sounds and moving on. Unfortunately, I was not able to have the opportunity to ask about these “aha moments” to the tourists but only observed them from afar. A tour operator based in China explained in this case:

*“There are things that they compare. But it is really often on favour of Europe. For example, the clean air, the traffic situation, which is something they think is better than here. On the other hand, the development, the modern buildings, for example, are something that they enjoy in China. Sometimes it must be a really good 5-star hotel because, in general, they will see it as an old hotel. The buildings are also old” (SCH3, C12).*

#### *Playful performances: improvisation and spontaneity*

The rigorous choreographies created for the group performers left only few opportunities for improvised performances. From the three groups observed only the group of the architects had the possibility to spontaneously decide the tourist attractions visited. The other two groups were submitted to strict enactments and understood that not following the rules would lead to trouble with other performance teams and key players. Therefore, their improvisations came from opportunity. The following section reports on the semi-ritualized performances during the free times, as well as the improvised manoeuvres carried out by the performers to fulfil basic needs.

Improvisation came on times of no direct supervision

Times allocated for shopping could bring spontaneous enactments. These were somehow part of a whole controlled performance, but meant some freedom from the group and no direct supervision from the tour guide. Before this sporadic intermission of the whole group performance, the guide tried to prepare and inform the performer about what awaits her/him and what is normal to do in some situations. As in the following talk before shopping in Munich:

During the bus ride, the guide informed the tourists that they were going to Marienplatz, after that she mentioned that they will be there by themselves and will have time for shopping. She recommended: “Important is to be polite. After shopping the Germans always say: Danke, so it is necessary to say that after buying something”. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

Other similar examples occurred before the entrance to museums and castles. Nevertheless, this could not be considered as improvisation since the command was transferred from tour guide to other stage-producers.

Improvisation turned into seeking for guidance.

On this occasion, the participants could use their free time to shop and have dinner around Munich's main square. After a day of cohabitation in a same group sphere, one subgroup, instead of exploring around, decided to voluntarily change from one leader to another by asking us to lead them. They improvised by selecting me and the interpreter as guides, we improvised by turning into tour guides. Here is our performance as tour guides:

The woman from Yunnan asked us to guide them to a nice place for dinner, somewhere typical. We had been there the day before under the same circumstances. So, it was not difficult for us to assume the roles of tour guide and leader. Relying on our mini experiences with Munich, we planned the following one and a half hours together. We mentioned the following: 'what about going around the square for a while. But make sure to be back at 17:00 hrs. so you could see the clock from Marienplatz moving. After that, we can continue having dinner in the HB brewery'. (...) While waiting for the group members to come back, I heard a Spanish group being told what the clock is about. I remembered those facts so we could provide a full service to the group and give them information about the clock. For a moment, we acted as many other Chinese tour guides or leaders, students having just basic knowledge of the destination. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

Improvisation came from necessity

This example reflects the disorganization and lack of concern of the group's needs, which lead to improvising and finding some affordable food around the hotel. In fact, it was not a life or death situation, but a quest to overcome a need that, at the same time, helped to improve the team spirit amongst some of the group members, as was explained by the tourist personally:

"The tour did not include dinners, and the guide dropped us off at the hotel. Afterwards, we needed to find ourselves a place to eat. Unfortunately, we did not find anything around, the nearest place to eat was 2 kilometres away from our hotel. In this circumstance, we did not know anyone. I had my GPS and I feel proud of my English skills, so I volunteered to be the 'Pathfinder'. The group followed me to the choice I found. I was recognized by the group for my bravery and after that our relation grew stronger. It was a watershed moment in the trip! At the end, we did not find any place to eat. By the time we reached the town, it was already 7 p.m., and all restaurants were already closed. The only possibility around was to go into a grocery store. There, we bought pizza. We talked and had a good time together. This situation created a nice connection between us. (...) This photo is when we bought a beer to drink with our pizza. Maybe the can itself makes no sense. But it was like paradise after the long search. Everyone in the group reached it together". (Tourist, diary entry)

The tourist's quest for distinction and the search off the beaten track, brought him closer to the group, a connection necessary to bring group-consented performances to life.

#### *Group decided performances*

The faded credibility of the tour guide in one of the groups, due to his open-ended instructions and unreliability, lead the tourists to avoid conformism in certain parts of the tour. Individual performers and performance teams avoided breaking the rules of the group and script, instead acted as a group to find acceptable solutions. For these, negotiations with both the producers/choreographers were needed. The following diary excerpt is one example of this kind of performances:

Everyone was ready to leave. Before starting, the tour guide announced that the group only had an hour to walk around the Marienplatz square and that everyone should come back at 17.30. He said: 'you can have a look at the square and walk around, dinner can be eaten near the hotel'. The older members found the suggestion good enough. But this was not the

feeling of the rest. Those not agreeing recalled the experience of the previous night. One of them told me: *'Yesterday the hotel was 2 km away from a place to eat something, also the hotel prices were so high that no one could even think about eating there'*. (...) The tour guide assured that this was not the case, that the hotel had a nearby place to eat. They did not believe him and one man, the leader of one sub-group, said: *'We will not move until we have a better schedule'*. Negotiations started, I tried to follow the discussion with Xi's translation help, but I could not stop looking at the driver's face. He was puzzled by the scene, he kept looking as if saying, what is going on? Why are they all shouting in the middle of the street? (...) The group representative, in charge of the negotiations, kept on saying that the time was running. Finally, the tour guide gave in and asked everyone to be back to the bus at 18.30. Everyone agreed. The guide resumed the leading position and we all followed him towards the square. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

#### *Politically influenced performances*

Some tourist performances showed hints of political influences. In a first example, a tourist made allusion to the relationship of China and Japan:

On the way back an interesting thing happened. One of the members made a sound as if he was going to spit on the floor, everyone looked at him and he immediately said: *'I am Japanese'*. Some group members laughed after. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

In order to avoid cutting the mood, I waited until the next day to ask about the reason why they laughed. My previous assumption was that from the joke, he was making fun of the typical behaviour connected with Chinese people and at the same time passing the blame to the Japanese. When I asked a student, present at the time of the joke, he mentioned that my answer was almost correct. It was not about laughing at a typical kind of behaviour, but more on the ease to put the blame on Japanese due to the Western's lack of skills to recognize the differences between Chinese or Japanese.

It is easy to blame a country where current and historical relations are not the best. Over the years, the unsettled relationship between China and Japan, as a consequence of war memories and provoking tactics to conquer contested territories, has created a negative sentiment amongst the Chinese people. Anti-Japanese protest intensified in 2012 in cities across China due to the dispute over a group of islands located in the East China Sea and called the Diaoyu Islands by the Chinese and the Senkaku Islands by the Japanese. Current discussions revolve around a possible escalation of the conflict and the need to build peace in what some call "the world's most geopolitically dangerous bilateral relationship" (Bremmer, 2014).

A second example built on China's political ideology:

We continued walking until reaching the statues of Marx and Engels. The guide gave a short introduction, he explained the old location of the statues. After finishing, the man took away his hat, as a sign of respect (Figure 6.5). He said: *"those two men had given a lot to China"*. The couple took a photo each. (...) The younger generation took it differently. The guide said: *"These two characters are mostly important for people their age, not us"*. (Pendzialek, diary entry, August 09, 2012)



Figure 6.5. Politics influenced the performance

Marx and Engels analysis, writing and quotes are present in the mind of these tourists' generation, this can be explained by drawing on the Wang Essay (1991) *"Juxtaposing Past and Present in China Today"*. The Communist Party made sure to communicate in Chinese terms, the Marxist categories of class, stages of growth and process, "creating a Marxist interpretation of Chinese history" (Wang, 1991, p. 210). Thus, the information received by that generation integrates the right amount of Chinese past and present, according to the necessities of the revolution, under the universal Marxist categories. Accordingly, these two people play an important role in the minds of many Chinese. Furthermore, the constant contrast of the situation before and after the establishment of the People's Republic carried out within propagandistic speeches and writings has led to grateful statements as the one said by the man before.

The second part of the excerpt presents how Chinese younger generations do not share the same values as the ones who grew up under Mao's regime. The so called post-Mao generations, born in the 80s and 90s and the equivalent to the Generation Y in Western societies, grew up "at a time of rising capitalism and a retreat of socialism" (Ong & Du Cros, 2012, p. 3). The immense differences between them and prior generations have made them worthy of labels as "self-oriented", or they "don't care about politics", as it is explained by, the Chinese controversial blogger, Han Han (Han & Barr, 2012, pp. 1–2). In his book, a compilation of past blog entries, he argues that the first label is a result of the one-child policy, which made it normal to focus on the self. On the other hand, the second label is mistaken. It is not that his generation does not want to be involved in politics, but that it wants to participate in politics and not become victimized by it as happened with the previous generation.

#### *Home-like performances*

Tourism and mundane everyday performances are part of a complex and intertwined process taking place during a tour. Especially when being in a GPT, choreographers and directors make sure that the performers feel at home most of the time, even while away. This section provides an overview of the routine and everyday habits that are part of what I called home-like performances.

When tour guides, Chinese and German experts were asked about the everyday attitudes and behaviours present in the tourism performances during their travels abroad, in Europe and Germany, the majority commented that the groups are rather loud. An experienced tour guide said:

*"Generally they behave well, but some of them are very loud in public places, for Germans it is different and they look around". (A01)*

The difference in public behaviour was noticed in the negotiation phase exemplified in the group decided performances section. The following excerpt also provides an example of being “loud” during a performance:

Once in the hotel, the guide got the keys and delivered them to the group members. He screamed everyone’s names, right there in the lobby. Coming from Mexico, I am used to noise, but even for me this was a loud scene. This repartition went on relatively easily. (...) When returning to our room and passing through the lobby, we noticed that 3 more Chinese groups had arrived in the hotel. Once again the same ‘give the key’ loud performance. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

According to the GABEK analysis, for the German experts “loud” was one of the top keywords used in connection to Chinese groups.

*“It is a question of yard stick. A Chinese thinking, I don't speak very loud, I speak in a normal voice. That is right in China, but not in Germany where that is shouting across the room. And around my trips in the past, I noticed that the ones screaming across the room would be Chinese. So, from their point of view, they see themselves as polite compared to what others do in China, but they are not” (SG7, G36).*

Beyond being loud, one government representative based in China and one Chinese tour operator highlighted the fast tempo in which the tourists perform:

*“You never really leave home, especially when you travel in a group. When you see travel groups in Switzerland or Europe, especially Chinese groups are relatively loud, they spread everywhere, and it depends from where the group comes from. Specific behaviour, what is called ‘duck runners’” (SCH4, D12).*

*“Loud, they have money, but do not behave. The majority of the people do not notice something specific, but those involved with the tourists, they notice more. It can especially be seen that groups are always faster than other groups, and even faster than in China itself” (SG1, A38).*

Interestingly, the previous excerpt of the tour operator, who mainly works with high-end groups, indicated that being rich does not grant good manners abroad. Another tour operator based in China, working with small high-end groups, revealed that traces of self-importance can be perceived in their behaviour:

*“I have some impressions from people I know and from the hotels. Mostly from bigger groups, that are usually quite cheap and often not as well received. What they do there is noisy, the Chinese smoke in non-smoking areas. But I do not have this experience from our groups, which is actually going well. It is such a small group and it is easy to handle usually... if they are not drunk. They are relatively demanding, because they are rich and quite influential here and they think what they do here they can also do in Europe. Because it is a strange environment they are holding themselves back, but not all of them” (SCH3, C22).*

Other characteristics of the everyday life, such as smoking and drinking were also mentioned by the research partners, and observed during the field research, as well. Smoking was highly restricted by the tour guide, so it was not seen during the observation. Drinking, however, was part of the dinner time, as exemplified by this excerpt:

After eating fast, now it was time to get drunk. The tourists started playing this “challenge” game: one drinks, say half of the mug, and the other one has to drink more than that. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

One more habit observed within the groups, which has been widely highlighted in the news (just a pair of many similar articles: Cripps, 2013, Li, 2013), was to cut the lines when possible:

After the long bus ride, most of the ladies of the group wanted to go to the bathroom. While waiting, some of them got desperate and went into the men's restroom. They did as many do in China, especially the older members of the group, they just directly cut the line. A German tourist and her daughter watched the whole scene closely and tried to explain in English that they needed to wait for their turn. Their words were not paid attention to, the ladies continued as before. (...) The Germans found themselves in a chaotic story to tell afterwards. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 29, 2012)

Behaving same as at home leads people to think that Chinese are rude, somehow abnormal. But it is necessary to know how the performances are influenced by the cultural elements. For example, banquet rituals in China are generally festive, loud and accompanied by alcoholic drinks. Furthermore, even if smoking is banned in particular places in China, such as hospitals, schools, theatres, museums, public transportation, and taxis, amongst others, the application of the ban is not strictly enforced.

Chinese tourists are now under the spot light as the number one source market in the world and, as a consequence, the discussion on cultural habits and tourist behaviour is widely covered in international press, as mentioned in the introduction of this study. Beyond emphasizing the differences as extraordinary and stereotyped Chinese tourists, it is also necessary to consider that many of these group performers are on their first long-haul travel abroad and simply do not know how to behave or what it is that others expect from them. Experts in China and Germany have mentioned that they do not regard this as a problem, but more as a matter of habituation, learning and respect for each other:

*"And the Chinese people start to feel ashamed, they noticed that they are called loud and rude. But, in my opinion, being loud should not be a motive to feel ashamed, it is just a matter of where you are and if it is allowed and common to behave so. Therefore, one should learn their own culture but also be able to respect the other cultures. Better than just to take everything as the same" (SG1, A38).*

*"They just have to get used to each other. In the past it was the same with Japanese, Korean tourists" (SG4, D28).*

So far, this section has discussed the ritual and play performances of the tourists observed, some of them are not far from those performed by other international performance teams. However, there are some performances, namely the politically influenced and home-like performances, which cannot be separated from elements of Chinese common knowledge and, which reflect some of the changes that Chinese society has been through in the past years. The following section will discuss the interactions of the performers.

## Interactions

Performance is interactional by nature. From planned (amongst the group) to contingent interaction (locals), this section is structured according to the performer's level of interaction with other individuals performing on the same stages.

### *Group*

One of the main interactions, which determines the success of a performance, is the one amongst the performers and performer teams (sub-groups). Harmony, hierarchy and belonging were the main elements describing the group interactions. Harmony was a recurrent keyword throughout the

GABEK analysis of the performers. The comment below exemplifies the kind of short statements in this direction:

*"I like the harmony between the group members and the care of the driver and the tour guide" (C33).*

Just a few participants commented on the possible complaints resulting from the group members' habits and interactions. One tour guide summarized their views:

*"Within the tour members, they might complain. At the beginning people don't know each other, so you don't know the habits. After 2 days you know these people better, you get used to their way of being or simply complain about some of the habits they have" (D15).*

Hierarchy did not emerge from the research partners' answers, but was noticeable during the participant observation. In certain situations, especially when taking part in group decided performances, negotiations and representation of the group was executed by high hierarchy members. To designate the leaders, decisions were based on the person's age and level of travel experience abroad. Within the South Germany group, two main group leaders were recognized: first, a middle aged man, who had been working as a travel agent before and had plenty of experience abroad. And second, a middle-aged woman, who had been part of group tours quite often before in Europe during her visits to family and friends. For the architect's group, a third selection criterion was added: seniority at the work place. Therefore, their leader was a young male Chinese, the oldest of the group, with travel experience both for leisure and business trips and who had worked longer for the company than the others.

Also with regard to the relation between age and hierarchy, the following excerpt from a diary entry describes how a young Chinese group member behaved towards the older generation:

The two trainees from (name of the company) were also waiting for a train to Munich. They were concerned of the two elderly women travelling alone to Hamburg after the end of the group tour. Therefore, they were extremely persuasive with a young guy from Beijing, because he could be a companion for the two older ladies. He was still undecided about heading to Munich and getting his shirt or to Hamburg. One of the trainees told him: *'It is your duty to take these two old ladies with you'*. It could be seen that he had no intention of sharing so many hours with them on the train, but he decided to accompany them. He said: *"they are old and do not know any English, I will just join them"*. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

Some participants expressed the belief that being in a group gives them a sense of belonging. This was reinforced by the group photo ritual. The ritual was normally performed during the first or second day of the tour and was used as a tool to let the others know what they belong to and the unity they needed to keep throughout the tour. This ritual was suggested by the tour guide. For example, on the group tour Berlin-Potsdam, the guide suggested the photo right on the first touristic highlight visited on day one, the Brandenburg Gate. Failing to suggest the group photo ritual on time by the tour guide of the South Germany tour was one criticism amongst some of the group members. One Chinese woman complained:

*"I was hoping that the tour guide could explain more about the culture and historical background of the attraction. Furthermore, the tour guide did not suggest taking a group picture. It was said, until one group member reminded the tour guide" (C34).*



*Tour guide, tour leader and other stage-management personnel*

Follow the interaction with their travel companions and other group members, came the interaction with the tour guide. Being the main director of the performance, the tour guide's enactions have a vigorous influence in almost everything the tourists do. Thus, the quality of his/her performance of the tourism product determinates to great extent whether the tourists feel comfortable throughout the travel. As one interviewee said:

*"For me to feel uncomfortable within a group depends only on the tour guide" (M07).*

Interaction with the tour guide was undertaken for security and information. In relation to security, the guide was regarded as the one that ought to assure everyone's protection and the contact to the ones outside the group's bubble. During the tour, the guide became a paternalistic figure, which was split into a handful of roles: performance regulator, mediator, cultural facilitator, entertainer, friend, shopping assistant, ducklings' collector, group harmonizer, amongst many others.

The second main reason to interact with the guide was for the sake of gathering information about the tourist attractions. This reason was strongly present in the South Germany and Berlin-Potsdam groups, not in the Architects Group since the information was searched by them in advance. Interestingly, the knowledge exchanged during the interactions due information was rather poor, as it was perceived by the performers and tour guides. Later in this chapter, the opinions of the performers in relation to the tour guide's information will be presented in detail. This analysis reflects only the limited information provided by the tour guide of the South Germany tour not the Berlin-Potsdam tour guides, which were considered as knowledgeable by the performers.

On the other side, a Chinese woman guiding the group around Potsdam referred to the lack of interest of the group members in receiving deeper information about the attractions. This is exemplified in the following diary entry:

We were in the gallery and the guide quickly explained about the works of art there, who painted them and when they became part of the collection. One couple did not want to listen much and kept on walking only taking photos. I felt as if we were wasting something so useful. This time, the tour guide was over-prepared, there was much knowledge, which was simply not used. I asked the guide her opinion about that, and she said: *"Facts are not so interesting, photos are. (...) I use this information for guiding the groups (shows her notes), but I use a minimum amount, after that, no questions are asked. I noticed that the information I provided is enough for them, otherwise they cannot process so much or simply they have a face of not caring"*. (Penzialek, diary entry, August 10, 2012)

This demonstrates two extreme performances. On the one hand the guide performed only knowing a small part of the script. On the other, the tour guide needed to limit her knowledge in order to please and not bore the tourists.

The multiplicity of roles played in a fast past pace could be stressful, but it is considered by the tour guides and leaders as any other job. This view was supported by a Chinese academic, who based her research on the performances of the Chinese migrant tourism providers in Germany:

*"You might call it hectic or intensive programme for their clients. Yes, high stress, but it was taken as their job. In my feeling, they expected it to be demanding work and complained like everybody else does about their jobs sometimes" (SG9, I11).*

Furthermore, since three of the tour guides were young Chinese studying in Europe, they saw their jobs as something temporary. As the architects' tour guide expressed during a short talk:

*"It is a well-paid group, but the schedule is always changing, also the tourists are too demanding, anyway it is just a phase... I would do something else after I finish school". (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)*

Besides demanding and temporary, the job was also regarded as fun. As a Berlin tour guide mentioned:

*"I can get to know many different people. And many of them are very nice, for example today. That is something that I like, and one can have fun, when it is possible to show the others what they don't know or to explain or tell the history. That is fun. Also to help, that is why I find it really good" (PG2).*

Beyond the guides and leaders, interaction with other stage-management personnel was not significant. Interactions did not go beyond greeting the bus driver or the personnel of the museums, hotels and restaurants.

#### *International tourists*

Interaction with other tourists performing on the same tourism stages were not initiated by Chinese tourists themselves but by their Western or other world regions' counterparts. Only two examples can be recalled during the observations:

1) The Chinese euphoria when receiving the meals was a matter of curiosity for other tourists around:

After clapping and taking lots of photos of their dishes. The people around were surprised by the emotions that Chinese transmitted. The American tourists took photos of them, or screamed "Cheers". Afterwards, the Chinese raised their glasses in return. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

2) A Chinese couple in Berlin received an offer from French tourists:

When the couple was almost ready with their one on one photo session, a couple of French tourists suddenly appeared and offered to take a photo of both of them together. The Chinese couple was surprised by the offer and did not understand at the beginning why the tourists approached them. There was a lot of sign language going on. They looked at us, but before we had the opportunity to talk, they were already posing for the photo (See Figure 6.6). After that, the tourists said something in French, and they looked at us for help with translation. (...) At the end the French couple said: Thanks, and the Chinese said Merci. (Pendzialek, diary entry, August 09, 2012)



*Figure 6.6. Photographic interaction*

#### *Locals*

Interaction with local was extremely limited. The design of the tour simply does not allow it. Other than briefly interacting with retailer personnel, the only interaction observed was when a couple of German friends joined us for dinner with the group:

At that point, two German friends were with us by dinner. The Chinese group was curious and I explained they were with us. One of the members said “I am quite honoured to have locals at our table. I want to ask questions or tips for the trip”. Throughout the evening, the only question they got was: “*Why is the Bayern-Munich Fan Store closed so early? ... we tried in the afternoon but without success*”. The other question was “*Why you do not drink more with us?*” (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

The other interaction form was when the architects’ said “hi” to young ladies on the streets of Munich a few times. Some would kindly or awkwardly say “hi” back, but that was all the communication between them. A tour leader explained the possible explanation for this behaviour:

*“Contact with young girls, is only “Hello”, no further talk. They think something else will happen ... you know... (She blushed). Especially because, many other things start so in destinations like Thailand or Amsterdam” (D16).*

Having presented the different interactions observed, which are obviously governed by role-specific and situation-specific conventions (Schechner, 2002, p. 177), I will now move on to discuss the activities taking place immediately after the performance is over, in the transition from front to backstage and only on the backstage, as well.

Cool down

After the performance, two back stages served as the cool down area for the performers: the bus and the hotel. After leaving their role as tourists, the performers usually shared experiences with the other performance teams and exchanged opinions of their performances. The cool down phase was much of a ritual, where the following activities happened:

The tour guide, as usual, counted everyone. After the initial frenzy, the group members started to lose the desire to talk. Everyone looked tired and ready to get some rest. Some continued talking about their performances, others opened packages of their newly bought souvenirs or articles; but the majority sat back and relaxed or even slept. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

When different enactments were undertaken by different teams, sharing realities turned into competing and bragging about them. The following diary excerpt illustrates the point made:

The people that went with us to the restaurant were bragging about the experience of having eaten in a typical restaurant. They were proud and happy for the opportunity. They were eager to show that they had the best experience, and that instead of eating some fast food as the others, they sat and enjoyed a German meal. Dialogs went back and forth inside the bus. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)

At the hotel, performers did not do much else than shower, watch some TV and sleep. The lack of free internet connection at the hotel was commented by the young Chinese with disfavour because it limited the possibility of instantly sharing their photos with their friends and relatives back home.

The cool down phase also served to perform research. The majority of the questionnaires were filled out during these slots of time, as well as the interviews. Some interrupted their relaxation time and contributed to this research during the bus ride, others answered the questionnaire while waiting to perform or during their supper time, as it can be seen in Figure 6.7.

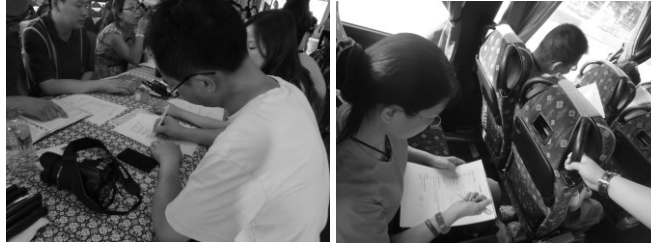


Figure 6.7. Chinese tourists performing research

Interestingly, moments alone or of reflection were not observed at the start of the cool down period. Rather it was usually a collective phase of discussion and opinion sharing. Even those tourists travelling alone sought dialogue. Some of the topics discussed after the performance, as well as the afterlife of the performances are shown in the following section.

### 6.3. Sharing Stories and Opinions after Performing

“The aftermath is the long-term consequence or follow through of a performance” (Schechner, 1985, p. 19). It is to discuss, review, reflex and critically address the performance and the key players involved in it. The first part of this section mostly gathers the backstage opinions of the tourists when they were still in Germany. The afterlife of the performance back home is briefly discussed in the second part of this section, not directly from the performer perspective but from the context of the experts.

Responses to the performance while the actors were still in Germany

In this part of the field research, performers were asked to discuss their performances on German stages. The way of addressing the performers was rather open, so they could freely discuss the positive and negative aspects of the performance section they preferred (preparation, acting, interaction, outcomes, etc.) or simply mention anything that came to their minds. From the discussion, four broad categories emerged from the analysis, which are explained in the following paragraphs.

#### *Contributions to a successful performance*

For the group members, having a fruitful performance depended on: (1) not having to worry much about transport or places to visit, but just following the others; (2) the possibility to rest in a comfortable hotel; (3) experiencing Germany, especially its nature, learning about its cities and countryside, as well as travelling on its highways; (4) seeing attractive, tourism highlights; and (5) harmoniously interacting with other group members, the tour guide and the people around them.

The following comments are examples for the points previously listed:

*“When travelling in a group, I did not need to think about itinerary and I had the coach all the time” (P07).*

*“I was really attracted by the hygiene, environment protection and friendly people” (F29).*

*“It's natural for the hospitality business. You need help so I have to be friendly with you because you are a foreigner and you are away from your family” (G09).*

*“Overall, I enjoyed my time in Germany. The people were very friendly and warm-hearted” (H03).*

*“I like that I had a leader” (X05).*

When interviewing a tour leader, she mentioned that group members tend to be easy to please and:

*“Generally they are pretty relaxed, so they are not into complaining. But the tour guide is very responsible for the enjoyment, he has to harmonize the atmosphere” (A24).*

But, how is it when the tour guide fails to do so? As highlighted in some of the diary excerpts provided before, the tour guide’s lack of organization and commitment was recognizable in one of the groups. Consequently, the guide was constantly reported by the tour members when expressing the negative aspects of their performances.

*Complaints*

In relation to what makes them uncomfortable about their performances, two main reasons emerged. (See main complaints identified in the GABEK analysis in Figure 6.8).

First, the poor performance of the tour guide and, second, the hurried itinerary. In relation to the tour guide, the majority mentioned the chaotic organization and constant change of plans. As one interviewee said:

*“Sometimes it too rushed. The tour guide did not introduce details of the daily itinerary, so we cannot manage our eating time, our shopping time or eating with the group”. (I06)*

Other interviewees alluded to the notion of the poor information provided by the guide. As one Chinese woman explained:

*“I was hoping that the tour guide could explain more about the culture and historical background of the attractions” (G09).*

“Fast pace of the group”, “little time in the attractions” and “long time on the bus” were recurred themes in relation to the itinerary. As exemplified in the following answers:

*“I don't like that everything goes so fast, less sleeping time and short time at the attractions” (S10).*

*“I find extremely uncomfortable that due to the itinerary we spend too much time on the bus. Also the accommodation is far from city centre, inconvenient” (J30).*

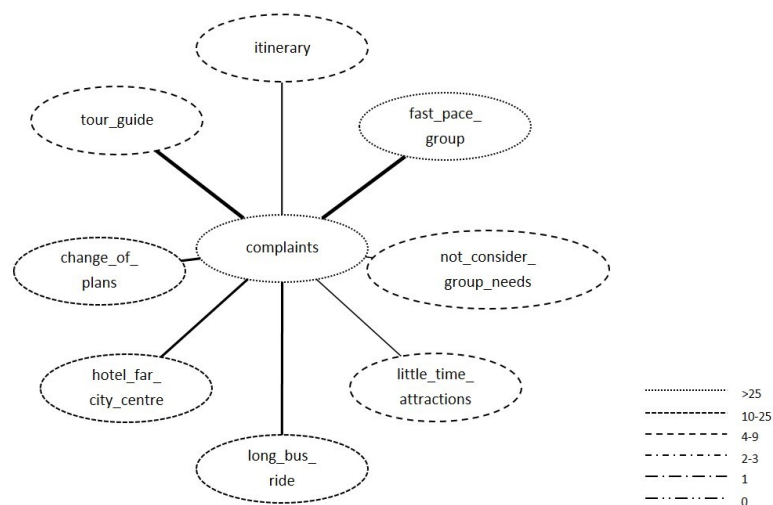


Figure 6.8. Association graph for “complaints” in the context of the performers’ interviews. Only concepts that are related to the keyword at least in 2 text units are shown. Lines according to the keyword relevancy number, which is the sum of all evaluations and the sum of causal relations for the specific keyword in the respective project.

Two negative issues were identified in connection to the selected hotel. Firstly, as mentioned in the previous quote, the location of the hotel, which normally was far from the city. Secondly, the lack of expected facilities. Young Chinese complained about the need to pay for the internet connection, whereas, other group members highlighted the unavailability of Chinese-oriented facilities. As it was stated by a woman:

*"I didn't like that they did not consider the Chinese group needs: hot water, accommodation and food" (L06).*

Also with respect to the hotel, another interviewee used the opportunity to talk about his experience in a group he participated in just before his South Germany one and organized by the same travel agency:

*"My stay was uncomfortable from 21-24 July. The hotel was too bad and too far. This clearly violates the contract, because in the contract it was written that it should be a 2-5-star hotel, but we slept on something like a camping site. As if the hotel structure was just temporarily built". (F31)*

Just a few respondents indicated that not finding a free toilet was seen as negative about the destination. Other than that, complaints were not addressed at the destinations themselves but the organizational work of the producers. As expressed by a tour guide working in Berlin:

*"They do not really complain about the destination Germany, but they do mainly complain that the hotel is too far from the city centre" (A26).*

Interestingly, when I asked the tour guide of the South Germany tour how he handled complaints, he was not interested in responding much. The only thing he quickly said was:

*"I don't know... Every day they have a long time in the coach and maybe a little time in the attractions, but they don't say anything to us directly because they know it is really cheap, and that is why they get". (Penzialek, diary entry, July 29, 2012)*

The previous quote summarizes why the tourists put up with the group inconveniences.

#### *Imaginary improvisation*

Some of the opinions of the performances were under the "if I could" form response. In this section, tourists did not directly praise or complain about the performance, but went around responsibility by responding and suggesting hypothetically (Findings in Figure 6.9). Interestingly, as with the two main reasons to complain highlighted before, the majority commented on make modifications to the itinerary so the pace could be slower and the information could be better understood.

One participant commented:

*"If I could modify the tour, I would have less attractions, but more time in every attraction. It was a bit rushed, very tiresome and did not understand anything from the explanations" (X03).*

Others responded indirectly, but having the same idea:

*"I would not modify anything. However, every attraction could have more time in order to go deeper into the meaning. But the time does not allow it" (B32).*

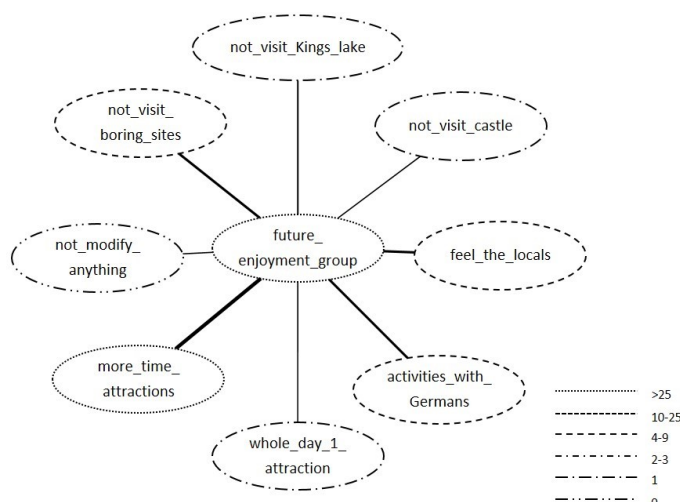


Figure 6.9. Association graph for “future\_enjoyment\_group” in the context of the performers’ interviews. Only concepts that are related to the key word at least in 2 text units are shown. Lines according to the key word relevancy number, which is the sum of all evaluations and the sum of causal relations for the specific keyword in the respective project.

Some participants expressed that skipping boring attractions and activities could have made their performances more enjoyable. Visits to the Kings Lake (Königssee) and Chiemsee were not interesting enough for the young members of the groups, as well as the visiting of non-historical sights. One interviewee was rather open about the situation of the groups:

*“I would like that the contents and sightseeing should have more emphasis other than just the price. We are under what the tour guide tells us, because the price is more important than the destination. Everything goes so fast” (F09).*

While another longed for the opportunity to be alone:

*“If I could have modified something, it would be to have more time for exploring alone. But, on the other side, it is difficult for the old people or the families, they do not speak the language and need the tour guide. In a group tour it is difficult to choose between the individual and the group interests” (T08).*

Just a few participants indicated that they would favour interacting with local people, to get a feeling for the local people. One participant commented:

*“The group tour should have more activities in the company of the locals” (Z06).*

Another interviewee said:

*“Need more time to communicate with Germans, the people and understand how they think. The last one is what I mostly want to know” (G14).*

#### *Either group or individual performances*

Some of the performers interviewed mentioned that after gathering experience in a group, they would prefer to travel individually. But they also mentioned that it depends on the situation, and if necessary they would also join a group. Respectively, the tour guides and leaders recalled that they continue expecting groups to be an important share of the market, where a significant number of group members will be elderly Chinese citizens (For all of their opinions see Figure 6.10).

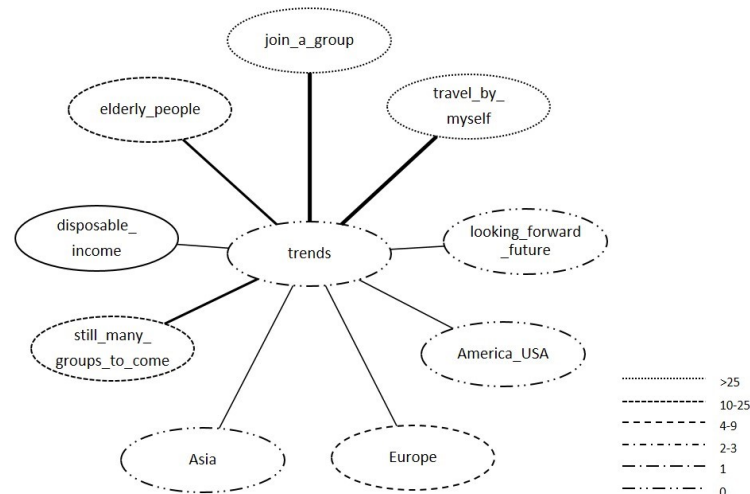


Figure 6.10. Association graph for “trends” in the context of the performers and directors’ (guides, leaders) interviews. Only concepts that are related to the key word at least in 2 text units are shown. Lines according to the key word relevancy number, which is the sum of all evaluations and the sum of causal relations for the specific keyword in the respective project.

As far as Europe as a big stage for Chinese tourists is concerned, performers mentioned that they might come again as self-organized travellers. Germany was not mentioned as a main destination, but as a possible part of a second European trip. The performance directors expressed that after Asia, Europe and America will continue to be on the list of “must see” destinations for Chinese. When asked whether Chinese groups will come again to Germany, the guides mentioned that they might, but only after they have covered other destinations on their lists. The USA was mentioned both by performers and directors as the next destination to visit after their trip to Europe.

Back home

Some research partners commented on how the Chinese communicate their performances when back home again. The majority used the keywords of “bragging” and “showing off” or the phrase “been there, done that”. One Chinese government representative explained in detail what is commonly communicated to family and friends back home. In these narratives, difficulties are omitted in order to avoid losing face. She explained:

*“This is a kind of psychological reaction of the travellers, for the Chinese tourists, especially for the first-timers, they will not tell their relatives or friends what they have experienced there during their trip but what they can show from it when back. ‘I went to Paris, I saw the Louvre or Eiffel tower, something really famous.’ It is a kind of problem of face” (SCH2, B16).*

At the end of their trips, I asked the performers to send a diary and photos of their trips. Interestingly, most information received served to explain the touristic consumption of stages rather than the aftermath of the performance. The information from the virtual ethnography (photos, diaries and revision of some performer’s Chinese social media profiles) will be included in Chapter 8 in direct connection to the consumption of stage.

This section has mainly reported the positive and negative reactions of the performers about their own enactments and the ones of other key players. Unfortunately, due to research limitations explained in detail in Chapter 4, the aftermath of the performances back home was not emphasized as equally as the others phases of the performance sequence. However, it could be an interesting issue for future research.



## 6.4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined and broken down the performance of Chinese outbound tourists in its different parts. It began by highlighting the objects gathered right before the performers' acting time. From all, cameras were fundamental objects in the performance. Mobiles were less used than expected, and especially as wished by young tourists, due to the lack of free internet connection.

I then went on to suggest that there are some identifiable performance modes. Ritualized, playful, group decided, politically influenced and home-like performances were distinguished and described. Without wishing to create a fixed classification, I instead sought to understand of the performance processes constantly identified during the ethnographies. Interestingly, the performances were predictable - due to the choreographies and stage-management enacted by the tour guide and leader - spontaneous and abound with everyday aspects (e.g. Chinese-like banquets, public behaviour, casual-loud conversations, hints of self-importance), influenced by Chinese cultural aspects (collectivism, negotiation, search for harmonious relations, hierarchy, soft "no's" instead of direct answers) and political issues (international relations and conflicts, political ideology). During the performances, interactions between companions, performance teams and directors were mostly perceived. Only in a few cases did Chinese performers interact with people outside their tourism bubble.

Lastly, the aftermath part shed some light on the positive and negative critiques of the performance. Not having to worry about the route, staying in a comfortable hotel and seeing the "extraordinary" within a harmonious group lead by a competent Chinese tour guide were the key aspects that made a performance successful. On the other hand, a hectic itinerary orchestrated by a weak director was the main ingredient for a failed performance. With regard to Germany as a future tourism stage, both performers and directors mentioned that they have other countries to visit before returning to the country. Nevertheless, some young Chinese said they would come again, but as individual tourists.

In the next chapter, I will move away from the performer's perspective and examine in more detail the stages available for Chinese tourists to perform, from their creation to their future perspectives.

## Chapter 7. Assessing German Touristic Stages

“All the world’s a stage, and all the men and women merely players: they have their exits and their entrances; and one man in his time plays many parts, his acts being seven ages”  
Shakespeare (As You Like It, 2.7, p.138-42).

Tourism, as everyday performances, happens on stages. Sustained by their location and design, stages acquire and grant a specific meaning to tourists (Noy, 2008, p. 511). I use this chapter as an arena to analyse how spaces and places are staged for Chinese outbound tourists. Contrary to other tourism source markets, stages are highly politicized both on the European and German government side, as well as by Chinese authorities. Thus, regulations on a national and supranational level, which influence the performances on German stages, will be shown on the first section of this chapter. In the following section, I will investigate further on the material and symbolic meanings included on the stage’s choreographies and scripts. And lastly, I will seek to present the future expectations of the industry with regard to the Chinese performers. Moreover, throughout the whole chapter, the power relations of the different key players on the creation and staging of touristic space and place will be identified, where Chinese diaspora members play a central role in enabling stages and giving them a home-like feeling.

### 7.1. Influential Politics of Stage

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, governmental control plays a significant role in China’s tourism. Governmental regulations both in China and Germany, also on a European level, allow or constrain visitation from Chinese tourists, as well as regulate and control their performances. This section outlines the influences of the government on the stage and the performances. Moreover, it discusses different instruments of control set by it and the future perspectives of the current regulations. For these purposes, the section is divided in two sections. The first one presents the German and European governmental measures of control, whereas the second concentrates on its Chinese counterpart.

European and German governmental influences on stage

When experts were asked about the influences of the government in the creation and regulation of tourism stages, the point at issue was about the difficulties that the visa represents for future travellers. According to the GABEK analysis, for experts based in China “visa” was the most recurrent topic and second for the experts based in Germany, just after market development expectations. Interestingly, the discussion principally included policies set by the “Schengen” countries and Germany, as well as their opinions to improve the current situation of the stage politics.

*Complicated visa application process*

According to the tour operators and travel agents interviewed, organized mass group tourists continue to travel with ADS visas, which are commonly applied for by the travel agents they hire. As shown in the previous chapters, the majority of group travellers are first-timers with limited time for travel. Due to this fact, they do not want to be troubled by the visa application process, which sometimes means travelling to another city. One tour operator mentioned:

*“About the visa application procedure. For example, the consulates are concentrated in certain areas like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Chengdu. Maybe Chongqing. For people living there it is pretty convenient to apply for a visa, but for the other areas it can be difficult or complicated. There are some people that travel abroad for the very first time and they might not be very familiar with what to do or how to apply for a visa, or reserve. Some others*

do not want to waste time for all these complicated issues. So they trust travel agencies to arrange everything for them” (SCH2, B12).

Having the procedure arranged by a travel agent does not mean that the tourist is free of responsibilities. Usually, they have to gather the documents asked by the consulate, as well as to take part in an interview. The former does not always apply to all members of the group, but only to some of them. On the travel agent front, the current regulations do not make their job easy. A tourism board representative in China pointed out that the rules for travel agencies’ personnel in charge of visas, makes all but impossible to meet the number of ADS visa applications of their clients. He explained:

“Groups are defined as a minimum of 5 travellers with a tourist escort that makes FIT tourism impossible and, what is even worse for groups, is the application process. Every tour operator has two visa messengers, which are named by each agency. This gives the tour operator an extreme headache, a company like CAISSA with a huge volume of operation has only two people and a small agency has also two people. They cannot meet the capacity. These two guys just for Europe, they deliver all visas for France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, they have to queue in front of every visa section, its physically impossible to do the work, what if one gets sick, has an accident? This is complete nonsense” (SCH4, D20).

A considerable amount of the ADS visa applications are not only filled out by first-timers, but for individual tourists that could not meet all the requirements for an individual visa or who could not wait longer for their visas. For individual visa applications, a number of negative issues were identified by the experts. These are shown in Figure 7.1, as well as some of the positive measures which might improve the situation in the short term.

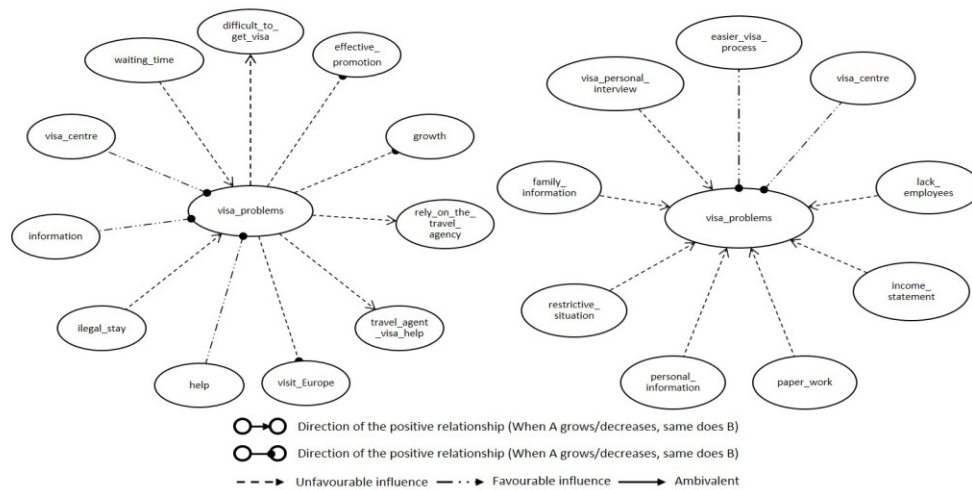


Figure 7.1. Causal influences on “visa\_problems” assumed by Chinese (left) and German experts supported by at least 2 text units.

Three broad themes were related to visa application difficulties at German consulates in China. First, the materials required. Some of the experts considered excessive that the consulates asked for quite personal information, such as property and income statements, or birth certificates of children. Second, the need for a personal interview. And third, long waiting time. Two major waiting phases were identified. One is for getting an appointment for the interview; usually the appointments are scheduled for dates long after the first contact with the consulate. The second is after the visit to the consulate. Here, the authorities need to prove the validity of the materials received, which also takes a long time. The following two statements exemplify some recurring themes:

*“The visa situation is still complicated and very restrictive. Germany continues to ask for an interview. Furthermore, the traveller has to give a lot of information about their family and income and this is thoroughly proof. Because of all this paperwork, we had up to 30% fewer applications, because the applications were not complete” (SG, F07).*

*“For Germany is not easy to get the visa, usually we don't have problems to get the visa after having the appointment, but to get the appointment is difficult, the waiting time is really long” (SCH, C31).*

In theory, under the Schengen regulations, all countries should use same terms and conditions for visa procedures. However, in reality there are pronounced differences between them. Amongst the experts, Germany and Switzerland were considered as those with the stricter procedures within Schengen. On the other extreme were Italy and Spain.

*“Basically, every country requires the same documents. Just at some consulates they sometimes make exceptions and do not really take it very seriously. In my experience, Italy is quite flexible or changes from time to time. As you know in Europe, Germany is very strict, Switzerland is extremely strict and correct. You know what you have and you do not get anything for free. There are differences and there is also what is called: Visa shop and pay” (SCH4, D15).*

Furthermore, *“Schengen visas should be applied for at the embassy or consulate of the country where the traveller will spend most of their time during the trip” (UNWTO, 2012, p. 20).* However, in reality, visa applications are started on those consulates that offer the easier and fastest option for visa. This constant search for quicker visa procedures amongst the countries is valid for both individual tourists and travel agents applying for individual and ADS visas, respectively. Furthermore, it determines a country selection and the design of travel routes.

*“Related to the travel program, which destination you choose first, very important is the visa. That means, it is an essential item on why they choose France or Italy, rather than Germany before. Because they don't have to spend so much time for the visa application, it is quick and doesn't ask for many materials to prepare for the visa application, or secondly they don't have to ask for a personal interview. The Germans ask that”. (SCH7, G02)*

Therefore, Germany might get tourists out of necessity, since it was their easier option for a visa and operators and travellers needed to include the country in their itinerary. On the other side, tourists that originally wanted to visit Germany needed to travel to another country first, because that was the one that granted them a visa. The following excerpts exemplify this:

*“If they like to go to Europe, if Germany is easier, they just go there. They try to use that. Not because they know a lot about Germany, but because it is the easier choice” (SCH1, A18).*

*“The problem is that Germany has the strongest regulations inside the Schengen. Many tour operators told me that they start with the Spanish and the Italian visa to get to Germany as well. And they take a European trip, so applying for visa of these countries is still one place” (SG2, B08).*

According to some experts, the inequality of procedures leads to illegal practices. It is common that travel agents modify the travel itinerary of their groups because they did not get the visa they first applied for. One research partner commented:

*“With the visa, there are times that the tour operator gets no chance to deliver the visa, so they have to change the itinerary at the last minute. I could not blame the tour operator for that, if you have sold the group for 40 people. Cases like Italy, where they just simply did not*

*get the visa. What should I do? To say, Sorry you can't go anymore. They try to find a solution for this. They do what is cheating. They will change the itinerary, something like a kind of insult for the visa section people... change the itinerary just before filing the visa application. You did not really plan to go to Germany, you just changed to get a visa to visit Italy, so that is the real trick, and it is really much on the moral side and stupid. What the consulates now do is to check if the group really goes, they call the hotel, maybe try to find out if they go" (SCH4, D16-17).*

The quote above also reflects the incapability of countries, known for their relaxed visa application process, to respond to the number of applications they receive. According to the tourist board representatives interviewed, these countries first attract the operators, but cannot deliver visas due to their limited personnel. Therefore, other countries' consulates need to do their job. One interviewee said:

*"It might happen that Switzerland has to do all the visas for the French, because France does not have enough capacity. On the other side, what should the tour operator do? It is understandable. It is a big issue, there is a certain movement, but I am pretty positive on the Switzerland side. We take it very seriously, foreign ministry, migration, visa section, tour operators, we work really hard to find practical solutions. We stay in the whole context of Schengen, of course. Switzerland cannot give a Schengen visa without the same terms and conditions of Germany, we have different processes. But we cannot say this document, we don't need, that is illegal. For Schengen as a whole, I am very negative" (SCH4, D18).*

As shown in the previous excerpt, the experts do not find the operators behaviour as their best. However, they understand that the current regulations and inequalities leave no other choice. Particularly in a business and a country where acting fast is quite important:

*"Tour operators would always like to send more people and if there is a country that cannot provide visas so easily or quickly or so many, for them it is always a problem. China is a market, where you have to act very quickly and timing is really important for them. The whole procedure is always a problem and since we don't have one European Schengen Visa Centre, by now all the countries handle their own visas, so there is always a limit on how many staff members you have, and how quickly can you actually process all these visas. Maybe in the past Germany was perceived as being slow or stricter but my feeling is that this is changing. Everybody is trying the best they can" (SG4, D08).*

#### *Improvements of the German visa application*

Even when the majority of experts extensively discussed the negative visa situation, they also argued that the evolution on the visa procedure in the past years has been improving and that they are optimistic in seeing how the implementation of new measures will ease the procedures in the years to come. Europe-wide, the participants are confident in the positive impact of outsourcing some parts of the visa application, which will decrease the process' time. One expert commented:

*"Nowadays there is a trend, many countries outsource some steps in the visa process. I think this would help make things quicker. They can book an appointment for an interview online, so my feeling is that especially over the last 2-3 years there has been a lot of work, you see how the visa regulations are constantly changing or have help from other companies. The visa is now more dynamic" (SG4, D09).*

In 2011, Germany started to handle its visa applications in a visa centre. During the interview with a GNTB representative in Beijing in September 2011, she was rather optimistic about the changes in Germany's ADS visa policy. She said:

*“Since we’ll change in the very near future, it is already known that as of the 15th of October we will have a new visa policy at the Beijing Embassy and we’ll do the same in Shanghai. All the visa applications will be done by a visa centre, they no longer ask for any personal interview” (SCH7, G04).*

Interestingly, when issuing the ADS visas, Germany has a procedure that takes from 2 - 10 days. But doing so means more time than of the competitors. Thus, even when there is an easing of the regulations for groups, the strategy of the GNTB, at the time of the interview, was to promote the application of individual visas, even when travelling as a group, in order to reduce application times. The representative mentioned:

*“For the consulates they prefer to issue the individual visa, if you do group visa for Schengen they have to wait 10 days to approve that. The competitors do not do that and Germans, you know, we follow rules. The operators and now I have to explain to every travel agency, that they can apply for individual visas together, for example for 40 people but they apply for an individual visa, but you could do this on the online visa centre” (SCH7, G07).*

She further explained about the individual visa procedure:

*“Still you have to prepare the materials and go online, or have the travel agents do this for them, no problem. The materials preparation should be done by the clients. The travel agency collects the materials and the travel passport for the visa centre, no need for the customer to come. It is more convenient. We now have an advantage. The visa will be much easier than before. We are now at the same level as France and Italy in times. Switzerland has a more competitive advantage. They have done even better. They have cooperated with some key accounts and travel agencies here in China, the big 5 or big 10, and they have a special policy for express visas. That means all members of this green express way can get the visa quicker” (SCH7, G08).*

With the new policies, Germany looks forward to issuing business and individual visas within 3-5 days. This, according to the GNTB representative, would theoretically put Germany at the same level of Switzerland, a country that in only 5 days issues a visa and which, similar to Germany, plays by the rules. In addition to the policies, she mentioned two other improvements. First, the opening of a fifth consulate in Zhenjiang, which would bring more possibilities for visa application. Second, the simplification of visa procedures to frequent travellers. People that have travelled at least twice before to countries such as the United States, Schengen countries, the United Kingdom, Canada, Saudi Arabia, Japan and Korea, can apply for the visa without having a personal interview.

#### *Future perspectives with regard to visa application*

As far as the future perspectives of the visa process at a European level is concerned, the respondents were confident that the Schengen area will find a simpler procedure or even have a unified European visa centre. None of the experts considered the possibility of having a visa-free Schengen area, as is happening with some neighbouring Asian countries.

While talking about the future prospects, there was a sense amongst experts that the main reason that stops the Schengen area and Germany from easing the visa application is the fear of illegal migration. The following quote shows the general opinion:

*“In Germany there are many opportunities to simplify the process. However, there is the fear of illegal migration. From it come other problems in the social area. Like the need for permission or granting permanent residences. That is why Germany stays conservative in the visa. (...) For example, the USA grants 3 year visas and so does Canada. Just Germany has something different in the visa regulations” (SG6, F09).*

Moreover, European tourism authorities tend to contradict each other. They actively seek to attract Chinese tourists. Nevertheless, they remain suspicious of the purpose of their visits. As one Chinese government representative stated:

*“Especially Europe and America, before, they were quite contradictory in their arguments, on the one hand, they want to attract people to spend money, especially in the hard beat of a financial economic situation. On the other side, they are afraid that Chinese go to the countries for other reasons, or stay for good. On the tourism boards, they are really active they do some promotions, but for the visa, the government has really tight control. That is a contradiction” (SCH1, A15).*

In relation to the ADS, previous statements showed how the ADS visas are slowly becoming obsolete due to the issue of individual visas by ADS countries. Experts were not certain of the future of the agreement and the ADS visas. Some argued that it will lose influence over the years but it will continue there because it is a tool for the government to exercise control over its tourists. Others did not know what to expect. The following excerpts show the two views:

*“I don't think that something will happen with the ADS. I think that China would continue signing more, at the moment there are about 120. (...) China uses this just to regulate how the tourist groups are to be managed. The topic has changed because of the increase in individual travels and the ADS refers to group tours only. That means that the number of delegation and individual trips are not included in these regulations. The more individual trips arrive, or the ones that do not form part of a group, the less influence the ADS will have”. (SG6, F04)*

*“The ADS system as good as it sounds, it was thought as a simplification of the visa process. First of all, the tour operator can deliver the visa on behalf of the client, has to bring all the group, which was a huge advantage, on the other hand it was just slightly simpler in terms of documents, but the process is far from being ideal. I don't know what is to happen with the ADS”. (SCH4, D21)*

Furthermore, some experts mentioned that international tourism is starting to be regarded as an everyday activity for Chinese due to their ease in visa procedures or visa exemption. These experts were convinced that this everyday condition will also be reached when talking about European travel.

Having explained European control and influence in the performances, where visa is a key component of role selection and the choreographies created for Chinese tourists, the following section moves on to discuss Chinese measures to control the performers and stages.

#### Control from the Chinese government

In this section of the interview, respondents were asked to indicate how the Chinese government influences the tourism performances. From their answers two broad themes emerged. First, they mentioned agreements, laws and regulations implemented by the China National Tourism Administration CNTA that affect stages, choreographies and performers directly. Second, they commented on the civilization campaign, which seeks to control the behaviour of the performers both domestically and internationally. Both themes are explained as follows.

#### *ADS and other instruments*

The overall response with regard to Chinese government control was towards the creation and implementation of the ADS agreement and its influence on the countries visited. One expert commented about Germany:

*“Many people are not freely deciding where to travel, but it is because of the agreements they have with the Chinese government. Germany was the first country that granted Chinese tourist visas to Chinese package tourists, as a single country in the EU before the EU as a unit. So back then tourists chose Germany because they could not get a visa from other countries and these groups were based on the agreements and the relationship between the two countries” (SCH1, A01 & 08).*

A few experts suggested that the Chinese government could establish the ADS regulations due to their authoritarian influence:

*“The government has the possibility to manage the outbound tourism because they have an ‘I am the boss’ attitude. They direct people in an official way and tell them what to do or not to do. Their role is to regulate, so the tourists feel safe, and they also have some freedom with regard to the group visas” (SG1, A15).*

Similar to the previous section, when talking about the ADS agreement in general, not just its visas, the experts were divergent on their opinions about the future of it. Whilst a majority mentioned that it will continue in the future, others mentioned that other policies, e.g. soft power, will take the place of the ADS. The extracts below show these two discourses:

*“If they make the ADS obsolete, that means opening up everything and it will be really difficult for the government to exercise control. I think the ADS will continue, the Chinese government uses it as a way of control and it could mean accelerating or holding back tourism” (SCH8, H09).*

*“So, ADS is somehow no longer existing. 10% of the visas are ADS. ADS is no longer important, but the government has now a clear policy of soft power, a clear policy that tourists are the ambassadors of China. They are part of big strategy, a big chess game to influence the outside world” (SG7, G01).*

The participants also mentioned other instruments for controlling China’s outbound tourism from the government. Some talk about the institutions created and run by the government, such as the China National Tourism Administration CNTA and the regulations created by it, such as the tourism law. One research partner commented:

*“I can definitely say that the Chinese government now has a relatively strong role on the market. Stronger and more influential than on other markets. You know the Chinese government has its own organization CNTA, and CNTA has a lot of influence on the market. They give the licenses to the tour operators, the ones that design the tourism laws and they are the one that decide which country has become an official travel destination. I think that the influence of the government is stronger than any other, especially in Western countries”. (SG4, D01)*

In relation to the tourism law, the majority of the interviews with the German experts were conducted just before its official start. As a consequence, some experts were aware of the articles included in it, but not certain on how the implementation will be. Some comments were linked to the law, namely regarding its impact in the creation of choreographies and the assurance of quality on a tourism stage, as well as the government’s tourist civilization campaign (more in the upcoming sections).

Only one expert commented on the anti-corruption campaigns conducted by the Chinese government and their impact on the tourists’ shopping behaviour and the German retail sector. He explained:



*"We notice that because Germany is more a destination for business and trade fairs. The Chinese government has noticed that the number of Chinese travelling to Europe is growing, but now they are shopping less than before. This can be explained by the fact that by now in China many corruption scandals have been shown. The customers are scared of buying more. In this case, we can notice an influence of the government on the shopping habits" (SG5, E05).*

From the Chinese point of view, the ADS and other measures implemented by their government have been created to promote tourism amongst their citizens and to allow tourism to orderly growth.

*"I think ADS is the first step, after ADS is whether the destinations have enough flights, travel agencies interested in the business, shopping tours, something that for the government is also a concern, they want to progress carefully, trying to avoid mistakes" (SCH8, H10).*

Furthermore, one Chinese government representative commented that compared to other countries, the Chinese government looks forward to easing tourism not stopping it.

*"Although the economy is not in a very good situation, the European crisis, etc. (...) the attitude of the Chinese government ... is not to constrain Chinese travel abroad. For example, the UK charges the outbound tax and the EU has the carbon tax in the flights. In another way that is to say that the EU are trying to stop their citizens from going abroad and on the opposite hand, the Chinese government did not do any of this". (SCH2, B01)*

Restrictions, according to another expert, should possibly be set by the destination's representations in China than by the Chinese authorities. As he suggested:

*"Groups need to go back to the embassy to show their boarding cards, the destinations have more controls than the Chinese government to the people". (SCH1, A24)*

So far, this section has concentrated on policy on a macro level. The following one concentrates on one campaign started by the government to control and improve the behaviour of Chinese outbound performing abroad.

#### *Tourism civilization campaigns*

As discussed by the experts in Chapter 5, the performers need to learn how to behave according to the cultural rules of the places they visit. The experts have recognized that this learning process has been started by the performers themselves, but also has been pushed by the government. Notably, after the recurring number of shameful episodes highlighted by the press worldwide, the Chinese government has included articles in the tourism law on how to behave abroad and also started the so-call "tourism civilization campaigns". The following paragraphs draw on some of the comments of the experts in relation to the law and campaigns, as well as my own research on the topic.

A few experts, mentioned that the scandals heard about Chinese tourists, were the detonator for stronger regulations. One of comments being about the Chinese teenager vandalizing an ancient sculpture in an Egyptian temple in May 2013 (More on Wong, 2013). Before this act, the government had already approved the tourism law, which include travel industry regulations and some clauses on general tourism behaviour. For instance, Article 13 of Chapter II: Tourists, draws on how a person should conduct during touristic activities:

*"Tourists shall observe public order and respect social morality in tourism activities, respect local customs, cultural traditions and religious beliefs, care for tourism resources, protect the ecological environment and abide by the norms of civilized tourist behaviours" (CNTA, 2013c).*

After the Egypt episode, the Chinese government responded to the comments worldwide with the publication of the 文明旅游出行指, "Civilized Tourism Travel Guide", a guideline on tourism behaviour

both domestic and abroad. This guideline, contrary to the tourism law passages, provides concrete rules, which promote action with both narratives and illustrations (See Figure 7.2). Here is a brief description of the sections covered: (1) Civilized tourism in 10 phrases, applies for domestic tourism activities; (2) Chinese outbound tourist's general behaviour rules, which, amongst others, include: care for the environment, do not shout, queue orderly, no gambling, do not offend, follow the local customs; (3) Specific travel tips abroad, such as: use civilized language and phrases. For example, "thank you", "excuse me", follow rules, do not spit, do not smoke in forbidden places, etcetera; (4) Detailed travel tips according to the point of the journey, for instance, before boarding the plane, during the flight, communication with tourism personnel, amongst others; (5) Customs and taboos in worldwide travel regions, where the tourist learns what the people in Europe, Middle East, Africa, Southeast Asia, America and Oceania see as appropriate and inappropriate behaviour; (6) Explanation of universal signs on streets, in museums, restaurants, etc.; and (7) Contact information of quality supervision agents inside China and Chinese embassies worldwide.



Figure 7.2. Civilized Tourism Travel Guide Photo Examples (Source: (CNTA, 2013a)

Within the Europe specific rules, the campaign includes one regulation for the performers during their stays in Germany: "In Germany, to snap the fingers is used to call a dog. Do not call anyone by snapping your fingers" (CNTA, 2013a, p. 38).

To reinforce the application of the campaign, at the end of 2013, the CNTA's Central Civilization Office, in cooperation with Xin Hua launched the website "Chinese Citizens Civilization"<sup>16</sup>. The website provides an online version of the campaign's handbook described above, interviews, press articles, links, as well as interactive platforms for the discussion of uncivilized behaviour and the display of best practice examples. At the official launch of the website, CNTA's representatives (CNTA, 2013b) highlighted that outbound tourism shapes an image of Chinese citizens abroad and directly reflects the quality of the country's civilization, which is the country's soft power. Thereafter, it is necessary to improve the quality of civic culture, eminently after the frequently exposed uncivilized behaviour overseas by Chinese tourists. The authorities expressed that it is not a hard task, as long as people stick to traditional Chinese ceremonies and also understand and respect the world differences on race and cultural customs. At the end, the authorities called their citizens to:

*"Keep in mind that you represent 'China's image', to make the foreigners show their 'thumbs up' for Chinese tourists, our visitors should enjoy travel, but also respect and show a good international image" (ibid. translation from Chinese by the author).*

From initial agreements such as the ADS to soft power campaigns, as well as behaviour-enhancing rules, the Chinese government continues to influence the stages and performances of its citizens. Turning now to a more practical side, the following section will discuss the production side of German tourism stages.

<sup>16</sup> Host on <http://www.xinhuanet.com/travel/wmcjy/index.htm>

## 7.2. Choreographs, Scripts and Commodification of Stages

*“Tourism brings together building materials and architectural places, company expansions, transport networks, images and brands, temporary and permanent workers, and multiple other elements in complex entanglements which contribute to the ongoing production of place.” Edensor (2009, p.307-308).*

The production, regulation and staging of tourism spaces, and the key players involved in these will be presented in this section. First, I will look at the creation process of choreographies for Chinese outbound performers, presenting the current repertoire and also highlighting the predominant participation of Chinese migrant workers in the creation and commodification of them. Second, I move on to present the scripts associated with German stages. Namely, those discourses and narratives accompanying the choreographies created for future performances.

### Choreographing stage

The following paragraphs present the combination of spatial movement and patterns connected for future performers. Within this section, the experts shed light on the current choreographies offer to Chinese mass groups and discuss the sourcers in charge of collecting raw materials for their creation.

#### *Mainstream choreographies*

These choreographies are designed in a way that the performer can move around as many tourism stages as possible. For Europe, which is usually presented as one tourism stage due to its size and similar offer, the typical choreography offer to future performers is:

*“Our popular itineraries are based on coach tours, for example they depart Beijing to Paris. Normally it would be a 49-seat-coach, so we have 40 - 45 people in a group. They take a bus and travel around European destinations. Usually there is one coach for the 10 days, and typically there are 10 days, 9 nights”. (SCH5, E05)*

Packaging of stages is not dictated by the wish of performers to learn from or understand a specific destination. Instead packaging relies on satisfying the need of tourists to see and shop, while taking part in cheap tours. To assure low prices and still have profits, the choreographers create networks between similar countries, as one Chinese tour operator commented:

*“Italy, France and Switzerland are the most popular itinerary in Beijing, mainly because the business model amongst these three countries. There are a lot of sightseeing points, there is shopping in the cities... in Switzerland, they can buy watches, and in Paris the luxury brand LV. The travel agency can make money from these shops and are more willing to organize this kind of tours, to make money” (SCH5, E01).*

This explains why many of the group tours, which include Germany, only visit the southern German tourism stages. As the GNTB representative in Beijing commented:

*“The tours are mainly concentrated in South Germany because that should be easy to combine with other countries as Italy, Switzerland, Austria and France. The flight connections for these groups are mainly in Munich and Frankfurt” (SCH7, G17).*

A common view was that the sourcers put together choreographies that highlight the stereotypes of Germany. One academic expressed the following about the construction of tourism routes:

*“What is highlighted is very much the stereotypical stuff, which is pretty much what German tourism board market in their materials. If you look it is Neuschwanstein, going to the Kölner Dom, all that very typical stuff and shopping, consumption, which is much encouraged, buy all these brands (SG9, I07).*

One more expert added:

*“I think it has to do with the tourism highlights. UNESCO places, history, Munich, which is known for the Oktoberfest, outlet shopping at Metzinger, Stuttgart, Frankfurt Airport” (SG6, F21).*

Shopping might be included in many choreographies to compensate the low prices of the packages. For those tours, the tourists only pay for the back bone of the trip and it should be complemented by profits from commissions on shopping. This has led tour guides to force the tourists to shop at least a minimum amount in order to obtain some gains. According to the Chinese experts, shopping is included in organized European tour groups, but it is not as extreme as the packages offered for Hong Kong and neighbouring Asian countries. Furthermore, shopping is something the tourists agree to by buying cheap tours, yet they cannot be pushed to shop.

Shopping should not just be considered as an imposition of the industry, but also as a requirement of many tourists. Markedly for the first-timers, savings are made in other parts of the travel in order to acquire something from Europe. One research partner expressed:

*“Anyway, they have to shop. Europe is a destination for shopping. They spend a lot on shopping for watches, but they don't spend money for the food or for the hotels. That is quite difficult to change, maybe a generation later. But still the mass product, groups, they usually have to shop” (SCH7, G19).*

Accordingly, the packaging of Europe and Germany includes city sections and spaces where shopping is the central or only performance available. According to the tour operators, the typical German choreographies will include, amongst others, a stop at the outlet centre in Metzinger. Also mentioned was Frankfurt, which besides hosting one of the main airports used by Chinese to reach Europe, offers a wide selection of shopping opportunities. As one expert indicated:

*“The stay in Frankfurt is highly limited. The main reason to be in Frankfurt is the airport. If it were not here, they would not come. This is just due to logistical reasons. Once they are in Frankfurt, what can be done is shopping. There are a few shops, boutiques. Especially for watches, there are some companies already working with Chinese groups, and which also offer commissions to the tour guides. Additionally, the tourists can go around downtown a bit and that is pretty much it. And yes, the Chinese restaurant offer is big around here” (SG3, C05).*

Additionally, these mainstream choreographies tend to direct the performers to hotels which are not located in the tourism space itself, but near it. Once again, as partly in the case of shopping, spaces are made available in order to comply with the wish of keeping low prices and maximizing profit. This model was noted by the German industry as a complication when dealing with Chinese tour operators. As one tour operator expressed:

*“This is a problem with the Chinese market. They want to book a hotel room including breakfast for 35 - 39 Euros for a 4-star hotel and the average rate for our hotels is above 90 Euros. Many of the tour operators wish to come with their groups to our cities, but it is not possible. (...) For example, they take the trip to Würzburg to see the scenery of the town, the Residence palace, the fortress. But the overnight stay will be around Rothenburg which is less expensive than Würzburg” (SG2, B02 & B27).*

Indispensable to conducting the choreographies is the director him or herself: the tour guide and leader<sup>17</sup>. As for their selection, the following statement from a tour operator summarizes what is also mentioned by other research partners:

*“We have a few groups that have a tour leader travelling from China to Europe, it depends on the agency, and sometimes we do it. Due the costs, we find a local guide. Also, in cities like Paris, a French, Chinese tour guides need to have licensed guides. This person can act as a tour leader or tour guide. If wanted a tour leader from China to Europe, the travel agents will recruit one in China” (SCH, E16).*

The previous excerpt is just one example of the role of Chinese migrants on the performance of the touristic product. The following section discusses in detail their participation in the creation of choreographies for mass organized tourists.

#### *Chinese migrants’ participation on the design of choreographies*

Chinese migrants in Europe continue to be the ones creating the majority of choreographies for group travellers from China. They are especially preferred by first-timers due to their capability to offer home-like staged ensembles. A Chinese tour operator based in Hamburg explained why Chinese providers, mostly members of the Chinese diaspora in Germany, are selected over German ones:

*“It is in my mind that tourists here, the majority are first timers. That is why a German provider finds it difficult to make tourists enjoy. With young Chinese, they would try to eat everything, but for adult travellers after 3 days they would like to try something Chinese, which can be provided by Chinese operators, because we know this feeling. Maybe the new generations will not need us, the diaspora, anymore, because they know how to be outside. But from those that need support, we know what they want, also what level of tradition they search, but also that it has to be easy and quick. That is where the importance of a Chinese diaspora member comes into play, especially when creating a program. It is just about understanding the client, that they are very different. But what they expect or want is not so easy for all to understand” (SG1, A33 & A36).*

From the previous passage, “easy and quick” draws on the working style anticipated by Chinese tourists from the providers, same as it functions in China and by diaspora members in Europe. However, these are qualities that might not always apply with their German counterparts. As a government representative based in China highlighted:

*“Even if you have Chinese speaking staff, there are such restrictive working conditions in Germany. People in Germany do not work overtime, here you get extra paid and you will do it but they won't. It is a lot of commitment to adapt to the Chinese way of working. On the other side, there is such a low price and they also have the so-called ‘Haus Moral’, this is also a problem. Yes, that is why many Chinese are the ones handle the business. Because it should be flexible” (SCH7, G44).*

Two research partners used TUI China, one of the first foreign companies with license to handle outbound tourism, as an example for the need of adaptation and flexibility from Western companies in order to cater to Chinese tourists:

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<sup>17</sup> Both terms tour leader and guide were used interchangeably during the interviews. However, there are differences in the definition of each. Whereas a tour leader is responsible for the logistic aspects during the trips and provides general information of a country, but not of the specific sites, a guide is responsible not only for directing the tourists around monuments, sites and museums but also for giving them a cultural interpretation (Yu & Weiler, 2006, p. 183). Under these definitions, it can be said that Chinese guides or leaders perform responsibilities from both categories.

*“Frankly, I think TUI still has a long way to go. Firstly, this brand is new for Chinese, but big in Europe. Nobody knows what kind of company TUI is. Branding is their first step. Secondly, travel agencies are part of a people intensive, labour intensive industry and they lack of qualified people, who know their way around” (SCH7, G33).*

*“For example, in TUI China their clients are not really those that TUI Europe will like to have. (...) TUI doesn’t know the market, and the clients do not feel satisfied with what TUI offers them in China. They would prefer to travel with those that can offer better service, and most of the times are Chinese. It is very typical. There are many things that come together, the quality, the understanding, the emotions, and on many levels it is not so easy to work with Chinese”. (SG1, A37)*

From the German industry’s perspective, the respondents mentioned that the mass market represents low margins against a high level of commitment, namely time investment, and high level of bargaining power. One interviewee mentioned an example of negotiation for hotel prices:

*“The hotels do not accept a price for overnight, breakfast or a double room under 35 euros. They ask for 80, 100 Euros and these hotels have an occupancy rate of 90% around the year. For them the Chinese market is not important and the Chinese tour operators have no chance to get in. The Chinese diaspora tries to work with GNTB but the problem is the price. It depends on the price for the hotels”. (SG6, F30)*

This leads many German tour operators to aim for the high-end group or individual segment and leave the low-end mass organized market to Chinese operators. Nevertheless, businesses operated by Chinese migrants should not be directly related to mass-low quality choreographies. Several companies are actively separating themselves from this business model, as expressed by one Chinese tour operator:

*“But we are not doing ‘low budget’, this can be more for neighbouring countries, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and Thailand. There the operators are more in search of kickbacks from shopping and commissions. But this road is becoming narrower, especially because the people are getting tired of these forms and that is why tourism is even more criticised. Nowadays, domestic tourism is highly criticised and in foreign destinations also similar things are happening, especially because the tourists stay in really bad hotels. But this is how the mass business works, there is no worry about what the tourist experiences, they just want to know how they can keep the prices low and gather more people” (SG1, A14).*

This section has described the key aspects included in the choreographies created for Chinese. A combination of countries, coach transportation, low-price, visiting of highlights on a fast track and consumerism, all under the security and predictability offered by Chinese diaspora, are the essentials of many choreographies.

Scripting: words for performances

*“A theatrical performance or a staged confidence game requires a thorough scripting of the spoken content of the routine” (Goffman, 1959: 73 -74).*

Both industry workers performing the tourism product and performers themselves make use of the scripts available for their performances in selected destinations. These words to the performance are created by German tourism authorities and Chinese industry collaborators, to be discussed in this section of the thesis.

*Discourses and narratives offered by Germany*

This part of the interview required respondents to give information on the responsible of scripting the performances for Chinese organized mass tourists. The majority commented on the work carried out by the German National Tourism Board (GNTB) in this respect. One retailer mentioned:

*“Germany itself has the GNTB. There is an office in Beijing doing MKT for tourism overall but also for routes, like the Romantic Road, which includes the castles and other interesting cities around Germany”. (SG5, E13)*

The previous quote also shows some of the intertwined discourses used by the GNTB to script performances on given stages. According to the GNTB representative in Beijing, the stages promoted to Chinese tourist are those part of Germany’s Magic Cities association. The joint marketing activities of the 11 magic cities (Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, see them in Figure 7.3), under one association, publicise Germany’s top urban destinations worldwide. The GNTB collaborates closely with the association and uses it as the major brand for Germany’s promotion. The general discourse of the association is to emphasize Germany’s rich history and vibrant modernity.



Figure 7.3. Germany’s Magic Cities promotion in China (Source: Magic Cities Brochure in Chinese)

According to this, the scripts invite Chinese to perform both Germany’s history (fairy tales word, art, architecture, famous people, music, traditional food) and modernity (auto industry, speed trains, modern architecture, innovation, trendy lifestyle, environmental friendliness). This is summarized in the first paragraph of the Magic Cities’ Chinese website<sup>18</sup>:

*“When high culture and hedonism collide, when remarkable architectural and artistic charm of the green surroundings paired, when past and present shine. The perfect combination of modern and traditional”. (Translation from Chinese by the author).*

For the dissemination of the narratives of German stages, the GNTB works closely with authorized travel agencies based on first and second-tier Chinese cities, as well as airlines. The GNTB representative talked about the strategy to attract more group performers onto German stages:

*“For the mass product, the most efficient way for us to promote Germany is a compromise between airlines and travel agencies. Because airlines, they have the resources for the flight seats, they give prices to the travel agencies. We provide very detailed information to the travel agencies, because they do not have time to learn about a destination. We make trainings and every year we attend travel fairs and also we have a big road show to Beijing,*

<sup>18</sup> Host on <http://www.germany.travel/cn/ms/magic-cities/magic-cities.html>

*Shanghai, Shenzhen, Guangzhou and Hong Kong. But we are also very active in the secondary cities, Chongqing, Chengdu, Xiamen, Tsingtao, Jiangxi, and Hangzhou. (...) Still Beijing and Shanghai are the most important cities. But we keep an eye on secondary cities, as they are more active than before” (SCH7, G26).*

As far as internet and social media is concerned, some of the German sourcers mentioned that the narratives and choreographies created for the Chinese market are available in Chinese on their websites. And a few mentioned that they have started social media campaigns in the microblogging platform: Sina Weibo.

*Discourses and narratives offered by Chinese*

Scripts available from Chinese travel agencies and online forums are largely based on the GNTB narratives of the stage. During the interview with QYER, the websites’ CEO spoke about the eTravel guides they have created for their readers which, amongst others, include the following German tourism stages: Berlin, Cologne, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Munich and Bavaria Region (See Figure 7.4).



Figure 7.4. QYER eGuides (Adapted from: www.qyer.com)

As can be seen from the previous two figures, the stage discourses are supported by typical photographs, which reinforce the past-present binary part of Germany’s promotional message.

Some respondents expressed that, in their opinion, there is still much to be undertaken with regard to communication of the narratives to the industry and to the tourists. They mentioned that the Chinese industry’s knowledge of Germany is poor and this leads to communicating different or incorrect information to the tourists. One expert added that, what some agents and tour guides, mainly Chinese migrants, communicate is partially based in German stage information but it is also culturally shaped according to Chinese preferences. One interviewee gave an example:

*“Chinese guides tell really different stories than the German ones, because the Chinese are interested in different aspects. For example, they would ask history questions or in Frankfurt they would like to know who built a particular building. They might want to know this because in China, a building or a hotel has the name of the person who built it” (SG6, F32).*

German sourcers understand the cultural adaptation of the discourses, however bet on unified basic information of the stages. From the brochures received in the field research in Beijing, the narratives created for Chinese tourists from the GNTB in 2012 were simply direct translations to Chinese of the information offered to other international tourists. For Germany, being a country known in China for many other aspects other than tourism, apparently, conveying a tourism and leisure message, even when not culturally adapted, will help to create awareness amongst future performances. It will also promote quality performances, as the GNTB representative mentioned during our interview. Information, quality assurance and adaptation to changes in demand are some of the imperatives for a prosperous development of the market in the future, as will be shown in the following section.



### 7.3. Towards Attractive German Touristic Stages for Chinese

Having discussed how mainstream choreographies and their scripts are created, the next section first addresses the needs of the stages in terms of scripts and settings, followed by examples of new choreographies prepared in order to follow through the demands of the performers, which, amongst others, no longer look for hectic mainstream, but for personalised group offers. Finally, a discussion about future application of rules for the creation of stages and choreographies, part of the Tourism Law, and the general opinion of the market's future perspective are presented.

Quality assurance on the stages

In terms of quality, the themes of training, infrastructure and industry synergies were recurring topics throughout the analysis.

*Let the key players know about the stages and communicate them to possible performers*

Quality performances are possible when accurate information about the stages is communicated. The experts indicated three kinds of trainings which allow this to happen: online trainings for the travel trade in China, trainings to tour guides and leaders conducted in Germany and trainings to German retailers.

Online training programmes for China's travel trade tour

During the interview, the GNTB representative was certainly positive towards starting an online training programme for the Chinese tourism trade. The training gives general information to travel agents and operators about Germany's Magic Cities and aims to deliver the necessary skills to effectively commercialize Germany to Chinese customers. The online training takes 3-4 months to complete and was first started in July 2012. The representative mentioned the following about their first training group:

*"In our online training program in China, from July to November, we have already attracted 100 people from the trade to do our training, mostly travel agencies, and they get a certification as a travel expert. They could get the title of Magic City Travel Expert to Germany. It is a very efficient way to train many travel experts in a large country like China, we could not always do the training face to face" (SCH7, G27).*

She further explained that the programmed is similar to the Aussie Specialist Program created by Tourism Australia<sup>19</sup>. Additionally, she mentioned that with the start of this education programme, Germany became the seventh country, after UK, Scandinavia, Ireland, Island, Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland, to offer a certification of this kind to the Chinese trade. The difference between Germany with the other European countries, was that the programme does not include the whole country as a destination but concentrates only on the 11 Germany's Magic Cities.

Trainings to tour guides and leaders in Germany

This theme came up in the discussion about quality, however, the respondents could not give concrete examples on best practices or actions taken in this direction. One German tourism representative pointed out:

*"For many travel agencies it is easy to get a bus, a hotel but not a good tour leader. Training for a qualified leader can last for 2-3 years, it is not so easy. Many tour leaders come from Taiwan, Hong Kong or Singapore and they have had experience for 10 - 20 years, but this is just a small amount of them" (SCH7, G39).*

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<sup>19</sup> More information available: <http://www.aussiespecialist.com/>

One expert mentioned the training for tour guides offered by CAISSA, a travel agency based in Hamburg. The outlet village representative mentioned:

*“With CAISSA we participate in the training for tour guides offered by them once every two months. In this training, my people learn how to explain to the tour guides that there are no commissions involved” (SG3, C17).*

As one strategy towards the Chinese tourists, the outlet centre tries to have one on-site Chinese interpreter. The guide assists the tourists with tax free shopping information, gives advice on products and explains the sections of the village. Additionally, the guide seeks for future cooperation with tour guides. And, as stated in the previous quote, one of the guides’ other responsibilities is to let the operators know that the outlet does not work under a commission-based scheme. Creating relations instead of paying commissions is how the outlet works with operators, as well as to place publicity on the operators’ catalogues:

*“As a tour operator, when you make your program to Europe and include a stop in our shopping village, we would pay for one page in your catalogue. That is how it works, no other commission” (SG3, C16).*

Trainings for retailers in Germany

Some industry representatives, working in the tax free shopping businesses, pointed out that they regularly organize training for their retailers’ networks. In the case of the Wertheim Village, part of the Chic Outlet Shopping collection of outlet centres, they inform their workers of the specific shopping behaviour of Chinese tourists in order to avoid negative sentiments or misunderstandings. As explained by the village’s tourism director:

*“For example in our sector, when receiving Chinese tourists, they get the goods, if possible open them, touch them, and if they do not like it, they would just throw it away onto the floor, this is normal for them. This behaviour has been difficult to assimilate, it is perceived as not having manners, but this is the way they shop. Other retailers still do not understand that this is normal for them. And it continues to be seen as negative” (SG3, C13)*

In Germany’s main cities, Global Blue, a company specialized in tax-free shopping, offers the Global Blue Academy for the frontline sales staff. The expert mentioned that the training covers general cultural understanding of what the company calls the global shoppers, which include, amongst others, the following nationalities: Chinese, Russian and Arabian. They also offer practical information on product explanation and the Tax Free shopping process. The interviewee also mentioned that they provide similar training to Chinese tour operators in Germany.

*“We inform tour operators on how to shop tax free, we use them as a multiplier. So, we show them how tax free shopping works and they can tell their tourists about it” (SG5, E19).*

Other issues related to training in China or Germany were not particularly prominent in the interview data.

*Infrastructure*

Also in relation to future performances, some respondents expressed the belief that infrastructure adaptation remains necessary on German stages in order to guarantee quality. From the discussion, it can be seen that the participants concentrate on the hotels’ lack of Chinese food, Chinese information, Chinese speaking staff and even bell boys. One expert partially summarized the general opinion:

*“The tourists ask for a bell boy in the hotel that is not really common in Europe. But in China even the 4 star hotels have this. (...) They ask for support, very often do not speak English. (...) Also, the food is a big issue. It should not be always, but at least partly, Chinese. This is a big problem especially for breakfast, we stay in very good hotels but the breakfast is of course a mix of European and American breakfast, not that suitable for Chinese customers. In 5 star hotels is usually ok because they have hot food, but we have to contact each hotel and mention that there will be a group of Chinese for breakfast and they might have either noodles or soup, rice, porridge, etc.” (SCH3, C8&10).*

One expert talked about the location of interesting places for Chinese, which are not usually concentrated in one space. In his opinion, this represents a disadvantage for Germany in comparison with its competitors:

*“They have the wish to see a lot, to shop, to consume in a short time. And, for example, in Hamburg, there is almost everything that the Chinese need, but everything is separate. For example, in Paris, it is possible to get everything one needs in one place, but here you have to walk from here to there. That is why the tour guides prefer to take them to Paris or other places (SG1, A32).*

Besides pointing out the needs on German stages, some experts gave a few best practice examples. For Frankfurt am Main an expert highlighted the following adaptation measures:

*“In Frankfurt Airport there is a so-called “Shopping Assistant”, which takes care of the groups of Chinese spenders. Also, the hotels have adjusted to Asian and Chinese guests and, for example, provide a kettle in their hotel rooms. Furthermore, a Chinese investor is building a Chinese style hotel next to the racetrack. The Chinese hotel is going to be opened by 2014. This development represents a gain for the city of Frankfurt am Main” (SG8, H11-15).*

A few experts expressed that, for them, German stages are not at all adapted for Chinese. One interviewee could praise Germany’s positive steps in the visa process, but nothing other than that. One more expert mentioned the following:

*“In my own opinion, more or less, nothing at all. (...) But in general Germans do not have a unified concept for the Chinese market, because on one side it is out of their scope to enter such a difficult market. That is why they decide to go where they can understand the language, the mentality” (SG6, F26).*

#### *Synergies*

Interestingly, cooperation amongst sourcers based in Germany was recalled by the respondents as limited. Some German sourcers expressed that their form of cooperation is direct with GNTB, which would help them work their “*guangxi*” or relations back in China. Or as for this operator, working together with GNTB, meant to receive facts and figures about the market:

*“If we need some figures from the market, we can get them from the ministry or the GNTB. Mainly with regard to expenditure figures or shopping activities, mostly from Russia and China. This is why Global Blue works so closely together with the GNTB so they can put together their reports”. (SG2, B11)*

During an interview with a Hong Kong based expert, he recommended the alliance of German sourcers under a scheme similar to the one created by the Hong Kong Tourism Board HKTB<sup>20</sup>. He explained:

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<sup>20</sup> More on <http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/plan-your-trip/qts-scheme/index.jsp>

*“We in HK have a very good quality QTS Quality Tourism Scheme. The major target group are the Chinese tourists. It is a scheme managed by the tourism board and at the moment there are restaurants and retail shops, these 2 types can apply for this certification, they have different conditions and they send inspectors to make sure they fulfil all that criteria. And we have to promote it on Mainland China, so when they come here tourists recognize that”. (SCH8, H13).*

From this section, it can be noticed that the German tourism industry representatives emphasise providing detailed information to be used during the pre-performance phase by tourism workers. After this, some examples of infrastructure adaptation were briefly mentioned. Interestingly, for some experts Germany’s stages are not at all customized for the Chinese performers. Lastly, synergies amongst sourcers and directors were hardly mentioned. In the following section, experts draw on the changes of the performers’ demands and give some examples on how to cater to them.

Reactions to changes in Chinese mass tourists’ demands

When asked about the changes they perceived in the group’s demand and the adaptation of the industry to satisfy them, the following five broad themes emerged from the analysis:

1) Smaller groups. The majority of participants indicated that the number of group members has been being reducing lately. As one co-researcher indicated:

*“Now you can tell that those groups, which previously had at least 40 members, today are around 20. I would say that the trend is about half of that before. It can also be seen that families travel alone. An example would be a couple with one son, and that is a mini-group. That has been recognized in the last 3-4 years” (SG3, C23).*

2) Away from the poor quality image. For some experts, groups are no longer associated with cheap, kickback offers and poor organization. Group performances cover a wide range of levels, from low to high-end. As this operator described:

*“Most of our groups stay at 5 star hotels. Basically one of the best available in each city, we have sightseeing, and very good cars for the transfers. For example, we have a journalist from one of the shopping - design tours, he accompanies the clients for shopping. All as part of a group tour” (SCH3, C04).*

3) From many countries to a few, or sometimes even one. Choreographies that at the beginning were performed in a 10 days covering 8 European countries, are now turning into a 3-4 countries in the same amount of time. Furthermore, destinations such as Switzerland are confident that soon they might offer a mono-destination tour for Chinese. Switzerland’s Tourism Board representative in Beijing explained:

*“If taking about the quantity, Switzerland as part of Schengen is one of the 3 most important destinations in Europe on the Chinese itinerary. Especially in 2nd and 3rd tier cities, they will visit Switzerland for a day anyway so we do not do much. We are currently working on extended tours, deep tours, we start working with tour operators to make Switzerland their main destination” (SCH4, D02).*

4) Individual demands lead to customized products. The experts suggested that tourists’ preferences are changing from fast-pace sightseeing to thematic leisure experiences. One interviewee commented:

*“For example, sightseeing in the past was mainstream and now the demands of the tourists are getting more varied, more and more Chinese groups are going to Japan for spa holidays,*

to Switzerland to ski and to Italy to experience opera. It is not just sightseeing but leisure activities". (SCH2, B07)

Common interests make people join specific groups. One tour operator talked about his customized offer for auto fans: The Shanghai-Hamburg New Silk Road Rally.

*"One of our first products for the Chinese inbound market is a self-driving tour from Shanghai to Hamburg. This is our Rally; we have organized it for the past 8-9 years for German customers going to China. And now come Chinese in the other direction. It is the opportunity to drive many German cars. (...) This year (2013), we have started with Chinese drivers. So 56 days, almost 2 months, across all the countries. They are all happy about the experience. We normally organized only one trip, but this year we did 3. Each of the trips has about 20 people. This year we also drove from Beijing-Berlin. This product has been accepted very well and with it we can promote the Hamburg-Shanghai city partnership, also the Chongqing-Dusseldorf, Guangzhou (Canton)-Frankfurt and Beijing-Berlin partnerships. All on a same route to Germany" (SG1, A03-05).*

5) Create awareness of other German stages. Away from the typical choreographies around Germany, where cities such as Munich, Frankfurt and Cologne are a must, experts are introducing off the beaten trail stages. One example is the work of the Historic Highlights of Germany (HHOG). The co-marketing association, working together with GNTB, represents 13 cities known for their historical significance (See Figure 7.5). HHOG started to work with the Chinese market back in 1994 due to the increased number of visitors to Trier, one city of the association. Throughout the years they have been working on their concept towards Chinese tourists, until now they have arduously promoted their cities in China and have created synergies and itineraries for Chinese. The HHOG representative explained about their groups:



*"For travellers coming from China, the groups start in big cities where our partners are, like Frankfurt or Berlin. After that, they visit one or more of our destinations. An example, of an insider group is the city of Münster. The city is now popular for Chinese travellers. I did not know why at the beginning but our partners told me that Münster has a high density of jewellers in town. There are 4-5 families and they have produce the finest jewellery and watches for centuries. Now they also have high quality brands. That is why, some of our providers and tour operators make a stop over there" (SG2, B01-04).*

Figure 7.5. HHOG brochure in Chinese language (Printed material received from the HHOG research partner during interview).

6) Learning as the main objective of travel. Thematic learning was mentioned as another offer for Chinese performers. Group holidays revolving around one specific learning goal. A tour operator based in Hamburg offers music tours. He explained:

*"Also in Hamburg we had Chinese students visiting a music school. Here they can play some classical music but also Chinese and European instruments, play in orchestras, visit concerts and musicals, everything available on the German music scene. (...) We organized the first group in August (2013), we had 80 students. We expect 150 for 2014, coming from different provinces, the ages are from 9 to 20 years old" (SG1, A07 & 08).*

Similar to other areas there is resistance of change by some key players. However, the market itself pressures them to adapt to a market that is no longer traditional. As one expert summarized:

*“If you are a provider and you know your business, of course it is easier to keep your current products working than to change them. Some of them just keep doing what they have always done, but most of them know that they have to provide new products and that the attitude of the consumers is changing” (SG4, D40).*

He continued:

*“After that you see how new players come onto the scene, online tour operators, travel agents, hotel booking systems, airlines. People that are already catering for a market that is not traditional”. (SG4, D40)*

What is particularly interesting in the context of this review of trends, is the correlation to what the performers mentioned as critiques during the aftermath (final part of Chapter 6). Apparently, most changes in choreographies are responding to the evolution of demands of the performers. And, as will be shown in the next section, it is possible that the industry continue in this direction since there is a positive outlook of the market.

Future perspectives on the market

The final section of the interviews required respondents to give information on the future panorama of the performances of Chinese tourists in Germany, as well as that from other key players. A common view amongst them was that the experts did not know what to anticipate from the implementation of the Tourism Law in terms of choreographies' construction and protection of tourist's rights. Furthermore, a variety of perspectives were expressed, the majority of them being positive.

*Uncertainty due the Tourism Law*

At the time of the interviews with German experts, some speculated about the impact of the Tourism Law on the itineraries' creation. One of the Law's purposes is to tackle the excess shopping. But if shopping is presently one of the key parts of the itineraries' construction, the question that arose was: to what extent will it be reduced in the trips? One participant said on this respect:

*“Shopping is meant to continue in part of the groups, but I don't know for certain. With the new law, it will not be allowed to do any advertising on shopping worldwide. You are no more allowed to have in the schedule one hour or something for shopping. So the tour guides are no longer allowed to bring people to shopping malls. The only exception is, that if the shopping mall is a historical place, like Gallery Lafayette in France, they can advertise it”. (SG6, F39)*

Other experts did not express any concern, principally because their business is not based on commissions. Even so, the majority of respondents were eager to see how the law is implemented. As one individual stated:

*“The law is one thing. The actual implementation is something different. They have changed quite a lot of rules. (...) There are many aspects of it and we are all curious to know what these regulations mean and how they would be implemented” (SG4, D02).*

*Positive expectations*

The majority of experts interviewed in China expressed the belief that the market will develop all kinds of segments. Groups will continue to play an important part on the market. Furthermore, they strongly believe in the evolution of first-timers' group performances to self-organized independent ones. As exemplified in Figure 7.6, the experts discussed several reasons for this evolution. Out of all, they highlighted more individual visa schemes implemented as the most influential one.

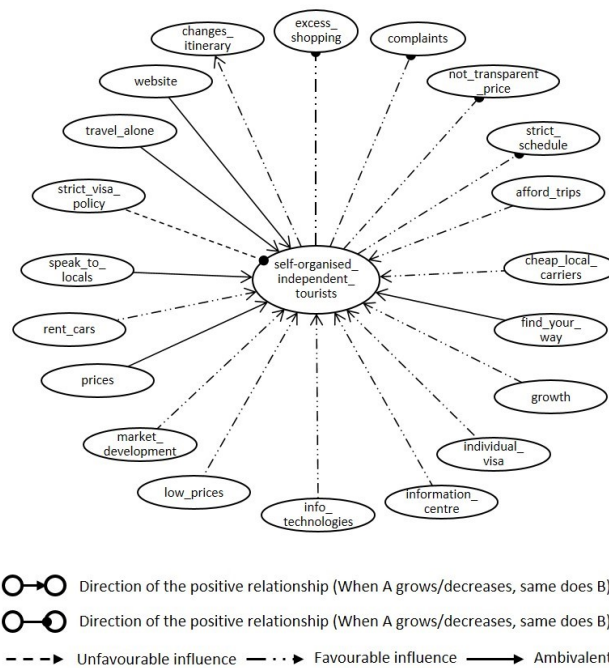


Figure 7.6. Causal influences on “self-org\_independent\_tourists” assumed by Chinese experts supported by at least 1 text units.

From the German experts’ perspective, the majority indicated that the market still has a lot of potential and that it will continue to grow. One interviewee commented:

*“If nothing unexpected happens, this market will continue to grow. No doubt, simply because of the economic development. They have more money than they can freely spend. They have more freedom and time, also the image of travelling is improving, becoming attractive and more people find value in traveling”. (SG4, D44)*

Group performances will continue to play an important role in the years to come. But, as the Chinese experts commented, individual performances will increasingly develop. One participant stated:

*“It is a very big market so you will have all kinds of trips at the same time. (...) You will always have the cheap travel market in a group and you will have more specialized team trips, you have business travels, individual travellers, couples, you will have families travelling, but you will see many different segments in the market. There will always be segments for organizing all-inclusive trips and more and more trips with individualized features, there will be completely individual group trips and trips with just a handful of people, 2-3 people” (SG4, D45).*

Beyond sightseeing offers, the experts alluded to the notion of individualized offers that promote the performer’s learning and understanding of the countries’ culture. They will become more present on the market because performers:

*“They have started to realize that travel is not a waste of money but it gives you experience and gives you new ideas”. (SG4, D45)*

In relation to Germany as a stage for Chinese tourists, the experts were confident in the positive development of Germany as a travel destination for Chinese. For this, three reasons were mentioned: (1) the political and economic relations are good between the countries; (2) Germany is one destination that is a must see in Europe; and (3) the tourism authorities are getting more involved in the market. The GNTB representative mentioned that, in the future, she would seek to expand the

training programmes and not only cover Germany's Magic Cities but all of Germany. Also, she expressed that with more direct flights, the construction of different routes will be possible. She said:

*"Germany is the only country in Europe that has more than 5 cities with direct flights to China. Only Italy, Milan and Rome, have a direct flight to China. This should be totally different for the construction of the itineraries. Now the market is different, there are people that want to pay a little more and see something different than just the south of Germany. (...) Hainan airlines, have a direct flight from Beijing to Berlin since 2008 and they also have another 2 destinations, like Brussels and Zurich, so in Beijing the groups can go from Berlin to Brussels or Zurich and get back to China. We now have some groups to the north of Germany" (SCH7, G22).*

The experts found the creation of new routes, away from the typical highlights, as one of the challenges of Germany. For this expert, promotional efforts are needed:

*"And that makes it difficult for the promotion of Germany, because there are just a few places that the Chinese find interesting. In Germany, the Chinese have an average stay of 1.3 days, so they will see only highlights like Munich, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Metzingen, Trier, and Cologne. But other places like Dresden, Leipzig, and Erfurt are not really visited because they are not known so well in China. This can be changed with intensive promotion, and through word of mouth promotion, but up to now this has not been the case" (SG6, F17).*

Furthermore, the experts mentioned that future promotional activities need to address the following questions: how can Germany move away from a business to leisure stage? And, how can the country attract more than just first-time visitors? One expert summarized:

*"The point is, of course, that Germany is getting, like France, the highest amount of first time visitors. Because the first time coming to Europe certainly you go to Germany and France, even if only because your plane lands there. Both countries have the problem of attracting second time visitors. But if they can choose, I think they would not go back to Germany. It is cold, nothing to see, and it is not exotic, so you go to Norway, Iceland, Spain and Portugal. The image is pretty much a business one" (SG7, G28).*

In relation to future involvement of sourcers (government and tourism industry representatives) and performance directors (tour operators, agents, guides), the majority of both Chinese and German experts mentioned that even when the market is not easy, no one can afford to turn their back to it. So, whatever decision is taken by tourism stakeholders, whether to focus on mass or individual segments, create mainstream or specialized offers, the respondents expect a year-on-year increase in the number of industry participants. As one expert summarized:

*"On the one side, everyone is saying that it is just about price dumping, we don't earn, but nobody dares not to be part of the business. Everybody feels that the doors might be closing for the market and you have to jump in now. (...) Some kind of see it as being forced to be in the Chinese market, which is growing but you are not really happy of what you get out of it" (SCH4, D37).*

Issues related to the future of the audience reaction (locals) were not particularly prominent in the interview data. The only comments in this respect were explained in Chapter 6, where experts simply mentioned that both locals and Chinese performers are going to get used to each other.

Interestingly, there was a significant positive evaluation both by Chinese and German experts towards the overall future situation of Chinese outbound performers on German stages. Figure 7.7 shows the results of the coding of evaluations conducted in GABEK. As described in the previous



chapters, the present situation is far from being perfect. However, the general perception of the future performances was accounted as predominantly positive.

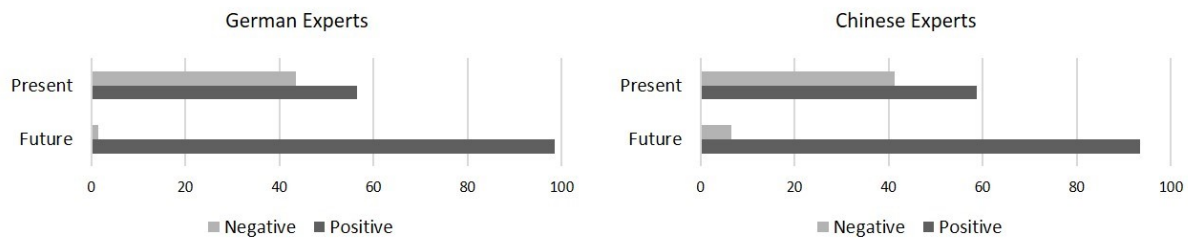


Figure 7.7. Evaluation of the situation-as-is and as-it-should.

Note: Not all parts of the interview requested evaluation from the experts. Chinese experts evaluated, out of 972 key words in their GABEK project, 216 for the present situation and 61 for the future situation. German experts evaluated, out of 1458 key words total, 241 for the present situation and 66 for the future situation.

#### 7.4. Conclusion

This analysis has shown that visa is a key component in the performer's role selection and the choreographies created for Chinese inbound tourists to Europe and Germany. Having complicated visa procedures, forces especially first-timers to choose the role of "organized mass tourists" and let the travel agent complete the visa application for them (this was also briefly discussed in Chapter 5). Furthermore, since the application process varies between Schengen countries, the visa also influences the way the choreographies are created for Chinese performers. Personal preferences to visit a destination are usually traded off for easier visa processes. Therefore, many of the tourists visiting Germany or other countries inside Schengen go there out of necessity rather than predilection. What is also particularly interesting from the analysis is that even when a fear for illegal immigration is latent and prevents further facilitation on a visa procedure, the experts remain positive of the future developments in the visa granting process.

On the other side, agreements such as the ADS continue to be part of the Chinese government's strategy to control outbound tourists. However, the agreement's application gradually loses its influence due to other visa schemes granted by destinations worldwide and also other policies emphasized by the Chinese government, for instance, the use of tourism as a soft power tool. In connection to the latter, and also due to scandals of bad behaviour of Chinese tourists worldwide, education of China's citizens has started on the home front in order to avoid losing face abroad. With this, unlike other destinations, Chinese are obliged by law to prepare their role as tourism performers and learn the rules and conventions of their part in advance.

In relation to the main choreographies, it was argued that they promote hectic and superficial consumption of stage, reflecting the still offer-driven nature of the mass market. The majority of these mainstream choreographies are shaped by the (re)making and interpretation of home (Leung, 2009, p. 647) of Chinese migrant workers. As for the scripts accompanying the choreography, they communicate the binary "historical – modern" Germany. To let people know about the scripts, German tourism authorities bet on provide trainings to Chinese tourism industry members, who will subsequently create awareness around future performers.

The analysis also showed that sourcers and directors are gradually adapting to the new demands of Chinese tourists. The experts observed that: 1) groups have been smaller than in previous years, 2)

mass business is no longer a synonym for low quality and 3) there is an increasing demand for individualized and educational offers. Due to this evolution of the market, the majority of the research partners were optimistic with regard to the future outlook of the market. In the long term scenario, GPTs continue to be important, above all for first-timers and best agers. But, also, there will be more self-organized individual travellers wondering around German touristic stages. Furthermore, the experts mentioned their uncertainty towards the future implementation of the Tourism Law by Chinese authorities and the strategy of Germany to attract second-time visitors.

Summing up, this chapter has discussed the preparation of stage and its characteristics, and now the next chapter of this thesis will consider the consumption and co-creation of stage by Chinese performers.

## Chapter 8. Enactments on German Touristic Stages

“It is through our bodies-in-motion that we perform, and ‘make sense’ -physically, semiotically and poetically- of spaces and places in tourism” (Larsen, 2004, p. 17).

Under the performance turn of tourism studies, performing tourism is a corporeal, multi-sensual practice. The body is not regarded as a static entity, which only strolls by in reverie aiming to superficially consume the given space. Instead, the body actively consumes and creates tourism space and place simultaneously (Rakić & Chambers, 2012).

However, our senses are not just randomly grasping the world, instead they respond to previously learned stimuli. As claimed by Edensor (2009): “We perceive according to cultural values which prescribe what is sensually desirable and acceptable and we are trained to sense the world according to these values” (p.308). Therefore, knowledge in performance, influenced by the embodiment approach, is not only concern about the study of the body as such, but about “...culture and experience insofar as these can be understood from the standpoint of bodily being-in-the-world” (Csordas, 1999, p. 143).

Since stages invite to perform ritualized and playful enactments, this chapter describes and discusses the enactments, interaction, consumption and creation of tourism stages by Chinese outbound mass tourists. To do this, the chapter starts by introducing the characteristics of the Chinese touristic body. After, it goes on to provide an explanation of the tourists’ spatial movements from an outsider perspective. Lastly, movement is explained in detail by drawing on the insider information gathered during the ethnographies.

### 8.1. Tourism Bodies on Stage

This section starts by contextualizing the touristic body performing on German stages. Insights from the “gendered, aged, sexed and racialised bodies” (Larsen, 2004, p. 17) consuming German touristic stages in past years and from my research study are provided. The second part moves on to describe the main motives for the consumption of space and the average time that Chinese use for their performances in Germany.

#### Tourism bodies on stage

Collected from different sources, as well as from this study, Table 8.1 compares the socio-demographic details of Chinese tourists worldwide, to Europe and Germany. It can be perceived the predominance of young adults and middle aged males and females, only the European sample registered a significant number of female tourists. The tourists have a rather high level of education with at least a bachelor degree. Company employees (divided by sector of specialization as in row 1) represent the majority of the occupations. Also significant are students and education-related workers (teachers, professors). In relation to their individual monthly income, the amounts are concentrated in the middle and higher levels. For this study, the majority concentrated on the lower end of the income scale. This correlates to the price sensitivity mentioned in the previous chapters. The information presented can only serve as an indication due to the differences of the samples of each of the studies shown on the table.

Table 8.1. *Socio-demographics of Chinese Tourists' Worldwide, Europe and Germany, 2011-2012.*

Area/ country	Gender	Age	Educational level	Occupation	Individual monthly income
<b>World 2011 (1)</b>	47% female 53% male	0.24% 0-15 23.10% 15-24 44.03% 25-34 21.00% 35-44 9.57% 45-59 2.06% 60+	39.66% Bachelor 29.81% College diploma 21.8% High school, technical, vocational school 6.63% Master or more	9.37% Education 9.37% Student 7.90% Manufacturing Ind. 7.74% Finance 6.87% IT, Computer Service, Software Ind. 6.63% Wholesale, retail 5.08% Community services, other services industry	<b>RMB per month</b> 13.78% 1,001- 3,000 27.31% 3,001- 5,000 26.44% 5,001- 8,000 12.07% 8,001- 10,000 11.51% 10,001- 20,000
<b>Europe 2010 (2)</b>	69% female 31% male	26% 20-29 29% 30-39 16% 40-44 19% 45+	66% Bachelor 24% Master 3% Doctorate 3% Secondary level 4% Primary level	1% Self-employed 45% Managers 33% Non-management 16% Professional – technicians 5,5% others.	No data
<b>Germany 2012 (3)</b>	More male as female	All group levels, up to 55 years. The majority is concentrated between 25 – 44 years old. Average age 39 years	High educational level	NA	High income level
<b>Germany 2011 (4)</b>	43% female 57% male	20% 18-25 19.2% 26-30 24% 31-35 31.2% 36-45 5.6% 46	60% University undergraduates; 34% University postgraduates or higher	50% Firm employee 14% Civil service 13% Student 5% Self-employed 18% Other	<b>RMB per month</b> 23,8% <2,000 9% 2,001-4,000 18,9% 4,001- 6,000 48,3% >6,001
<b>Germany 2012 (5)</b>	53% female 47% male	7% 0-20 35% 21-30 31% 31-40 20% 41-50 7% 60+	NA	24% Architect firm 18% Student 11% Firm Employee 13% Teacher, Prof. 7% Travel Firm 7% Retired	<b>RMB per month</b> 27% 4,500 or less 20% 4,500-8,000 18% 8,000-16,000 9% 200,000- 300,000 7% 300,000 or more

Adapted from: (1) CTA, 2012 (2) ETC, 2011 (3) GNTB, 2012 (4) Yang et al. (2011) and (5) This research project sample.

#### Changing motives for visit and time spent on German stages

As can be seen in Table 8.2, main purpose for Chinese to visit Europe is to incur on leisure trips. As for Germany, it recorded more business trips in 2011, whereas holiday makers again increase in 2012. This might be related to the vigorous regulations imposed on long haul trips of public officers (Hilton & SOAS, 2011, p. 14) and also to the efforts of changing the narratives of German stages from business to leisure, as highlighted by the GNTB representative during our interview. The majority of performers researched during the ethnography periods were in Germany for leisure and VFR performances.

Table 8.2. Purpose of Travel and Average Stay of Chinese Tourists in Europe and Germany, 2010-2012

		2010	2011	2012
<b>Europe</b>	<b>Trips (million)</b>	3.8	4.0	5.2
	<b>Purpose</b>	71% Leisure trips	54% Leisure trips	72% Leisure trips
		27% Business trips	42% Business trips	25% Business trips
		2% VFR / others	4% VFR / others	3% VFR /others
	<b>Stay</b>	71% long stays	73% long stays	73% long stays
		29% short stays	27% short stays	27% short stays
		49% trips lasted 4-7 nights	43% trips lasted 4-7 nights	42% trips lasted 4-7 nights
		8.3 nights in average	7.8 nights in average	6.4 nights in average
<b>Germany</b>	<b>Trips ('000)</b>	593	688	818
	<b>Purpose</b>	64% Leisure trips	41% Business trips	52% Leisure trips
		34% Business trips	59% Leisure trips	48% Business trips
		2% VFR / others	0% VFR / others	1% VFR / others
	<b>Stay</b>	77% long stays	73% long stays	76% long stays
		23% short stays	27% short stays	24% short stays
		44% trips lasted 4-7 nights	43% trips lasted 4-7 nights	52% trips lasted
		10.8 nights in average	7.5 nights in average	6.5 nights in average

Note: Long stays = 4+ nights, short stays= 1-3 nights

Adapted from: GNTB, 2010 -2013

The table also demonstrates that the average trip for both Europe and the Germany lasted 4-7 nights. Interestingly, the number of trips to both stages increased in the 3-year period, although the average stay of travellers has been decreasing. This supports the challenge perceived by the German experts, where the average stays decreased due to Germany's struggle to attract second time visitors. For this research, the groups observed had different lengths of stay: 11 nights for the Around Germany Tour, 2 nights of the south Germany tour and 1 night for Berlin-Potsdam.

## 8.2. Stages and Enactments: An Etic Perspective

To begin with, this section presents the stages consumed by tourists, both for Chinese tourists in general and those who are part of my ethnographies. The following section draws on experts' narratives and highlights the main aspects of the tourism embodied practice on German stages.

In the previous chapter, German experts mentioned that current choreographies follow the typical stages promoted to Chinese. As it can be seen in Figure 8.1, seven out of the top eight cities where Chinese spend the night are part of the marketing association Magic Cities of Germany. Füssen is the exception, but its significance can be explained due to its closeness to Castle Neuschwanstein, one of Germany's obligatory attractions for Chinese tourists. After all, choreographing continues to include principally those typical stereotypes promoted by German and Chinese sources.

Routes, based on these common cities, were followed by the groups observed for this research project (See Figure 8.2 below). By the time I began searching for groups to follow, the vast majority of offers to Chinese group travellers included South German tourism stages. This typical south was part of Europe trips, and also sold as a 4-day tour. The one I chose was called "South Germany 4-day

Tour”. The name itself leads to stage confusion by the performers, especially when the tour was a combination of German and Austrian tourism stages. Since Europe is regarded as a big stage connected by common features, it might be assumed for the choreographers that an accurate or non-accurate name will not make any difference for the performers.

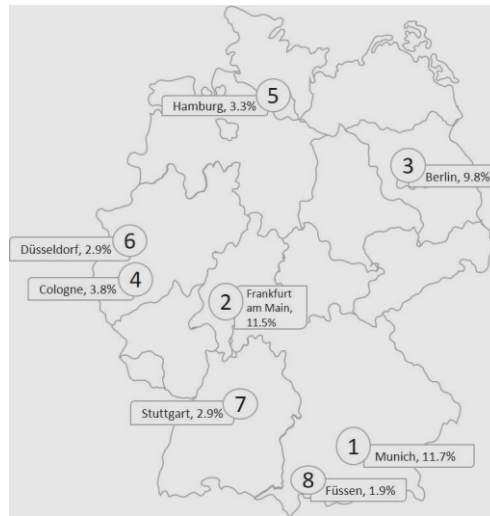


Figure 8.1. Chinese overnight stays, distributed in main cities by % of total, 2012. (Adapted from: GNTB, 2013)

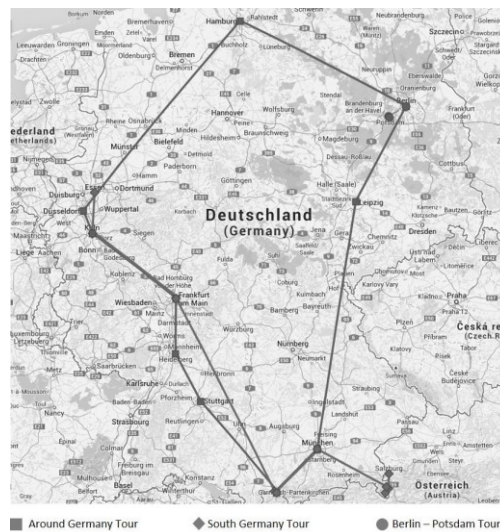


Figure 8.2. Routes of the three groups observed during the field research

The tourism choreographies labelled under “new”, where those including the north Germany stages: Hamburg (usually paired with Lübeck) or Berlin (usually paired with Potsdam or Dresden), and contrary to other mass products, they were conducted by train. The tours could have a 2-4 day duration and could only take place if 6 people signed up. The Berlin tour was offered on a regular basis and was also available for the times I wished. Hamburg was announced repeatedly through the year, but the operators could not guarantee the start. Thus, I chose the tour called “Berlin-Potsdam 2-day Tour”. According to the operator, the group would have around 15 people. By the start of the tour, only 2 group members appeared, consequently our group was of 4 people and two guides, one for each city. It was definitely disappointing to encounter only a few tourists, but on the other hand, I

could profit from the long talks with the guides. The guide explained that even though the tour might be attractive for people interested in history (covered in the Berlin day) and nature-fairy tale (experienced in Potsdam), many might change their mind and follow the southern routes where there is more to see and to shop. He mentioned that the people following this tour had already travelled around South Germany or had more travel experience worldwide. Both guides mentioned that of all the groups received for this tour, the majority were Hong Kong and Taiwanese inhabitants, followed by Mainland Chinese.

Customized tours were offered by some operators to companies, groups of friends, etcetera and this was the third category of group tours I could find during my search. German companies did not even consider allowing me to be part of their groups. However, Chinese mentioned, that if agreed with the group members, they can sell me the tour. One company contacted me for a high-end tour, which I could not afford. In the end, due to connections made through my work, I joined the south part of an Around Germany Tour. The tour's stages were selected by the members back in Shanghai. Interestingly, even when having the freedom to choose, they created a choreography which essentially included Germany's Magic Cities. Unlike the other groups, these performers had no pressure to follow a controlled choreography, they simply had no other information that allowed them to take other cities into consideration.

#### Enactments on stage

When the experts were asked about the enactments Chinese tourists perform on German tourism stages, five broad themes emerged from this (Figure 8.3 provides the general keywords in connection with enactments before the classification). First, shopping. This theme was particularly discussed by Chinese experts in relation to the zero-fee groups travelling to Asian neighbouring countries. For the German experts, it was discussed under the context of "shopping as symbolic value and as an aid for self-definition". Second, eat local specialities. Third, fast pace movement. Rapidly following, as one expert named it: "duck runners". Fourth, see as many tourism highlights as possible. And fifth, take photos. The following excerpts summarized the general opinion:

*"They are always on the rush, they want to experience as much as they can, experience the city, they wish to do shopping and take some pictures" (SG2, B18).*

*"They do sightseeing while sleeping in very cheap hotels and saving for spending on shopping" (SG5, E16).*

*"For Hong Kong is just shopping and see the destinations' key attractions" (SCH8, H22).*

The comments above state that group tourists' performances are concentrated in a handful of enactments. Interestingly, gazing plays a central role in the performance. In terms of other sensual activities, one Chinese expert commented that there is still a long time to go until the market develops into action-nature tourism. Primarily because the industry does not offer these kinds of activities in their packaging and also that the tourists have not yet asked for them. One expert mentioned that the group tourists contradict themselves in regard to what enactments they should or should not perform. One Chinese tour operator stated:

*"I think that the search for authentic places or activities is pretty much there, but it is not shown. The Chinese are different than Europeans. But what do they really look for while travelling, I guess is another research. They would go to a museum, because is where they have to go, but in their hearts, they would like to go shopping, to eat well, to have fun, to become something different from what they experience every day in China" (SG1, A28).*

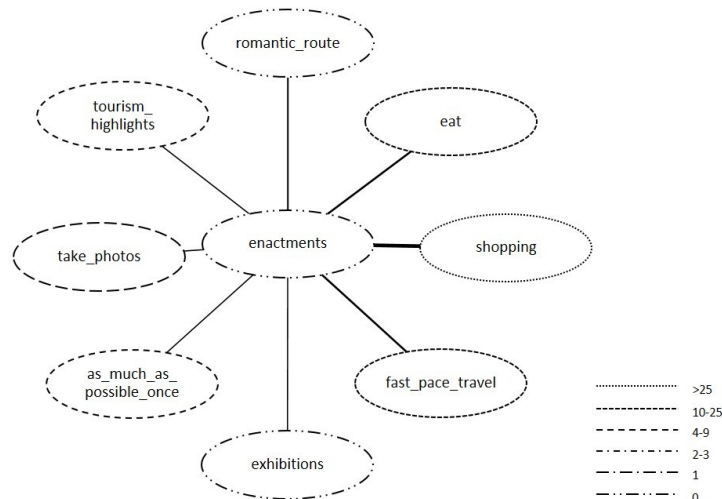


Figure 8.3. Association graph for “enactments” in the context of the German and Chinese experts’ interviews. Only concepts that are related to the key word at least in 2 text units are shown. Lines according to the key word relevancy number, which is the sum of all evaluations and the sum of causal relations for the specific keyword in the respective project.

While discussing the evolution from sightseeing mass tourists to activity-authenticity tourist, one expert similarly pointed out this discrepancy on behaviours, which is reflected on the tourists’ selection of enactments:

*“There is a big gap on how the Chinese see themselves and how they are, for example, what they think they should like and what they really like. They know they should like everything that is authentic, but in fact they want to feel Chinese and comfortable as they are used to. So there is a big gap, between the self-image, what they have learned from the media, which is what they should like and what they really like. They behave more Chinese, but if you ask them they will say I want to be close to the local people” (SCH7, G31).*

He further discussed:

*“They want to be like everybody else, but also better than everybody else, at the same time normal but also Chinese. It is totally contradictory” (SCH7, G34).*

This section has illustrated that a high educational level, middle income (although not in the case of my sample) and the search for leisure activities are some of the characteristics of the Chinese touristic bodies on German stages. Moreover, choreographies are, not surprisingly, leading performers to consume known stages, loaded with German stereotypical clichés. Furthermore, in connection to movements, consumerism is primordial on the performances, whereas shopping for self-definition was largely expressed by the research partners. From the sensual orientation, seeing and tasting were primordial enactments on the performance. Other senses have not yet been included in the choreographies created for Chinese, and at the same time, the tourists are not demanding them. Apparently, what to demand or not and to which level it should include aspects of Chineseness, reflects, to a certain extent, the current learning phase of the tourists and also the contradictions within China’s society. This first section raised the following question: is Chinese tourism consumption as limited as portrayed from the outsider perspective? I will seek to answer this in the next section.



### 8.3. Following Embodied Enactments: An Emic Perspective

This section is about bodily enactments and interactions, between bodies and stage, as well as objects that afford characteristic performances. A majority of these enactments are directly influenced by the strict choreographies designed for enclavic spaces and are repetitive by nature. However, there are also improvised or culturally influenced ones. In the first two parts of this section, the three groups' enactments are presented in relation to different tourism stages, from a close up perspective. The enactments are hierarchically listed according to the results of the tour guide's/leader's and performers' interviews (As shown in Figure 8.4), as well as from my own participant observation. Thereafter, the first section describes those enactments presented in almost every performance, followed by seldom enactments. The narratives are reinforced with maps from the stages closely observed. Within these maps, I have also highlighted the start/end point of the tour, the attractions visited and the mode of transportation used. It is important to point out that some enactments did not occur exclusively at the point of the trip presented or on that stage, but were recurrent throughout the trip. Only in a few cases, enactments were confined to a specific stage.

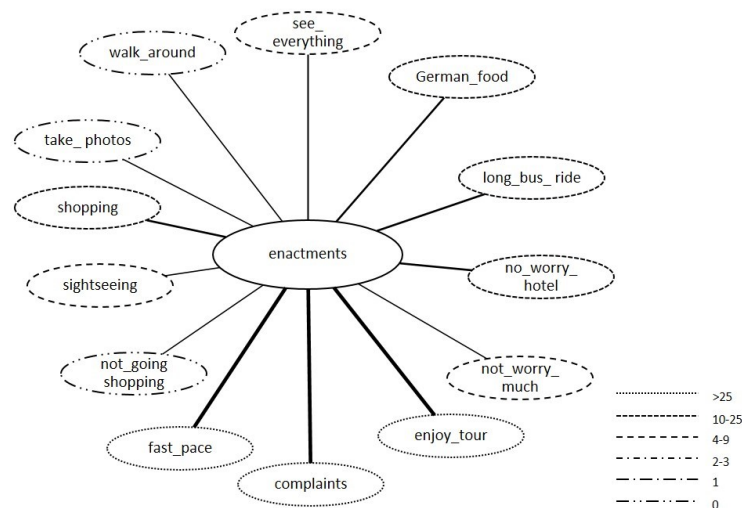


Figure 8.4. Association graph for “enactments” in the context of the tour guides-leaders and performers’ interviews. Only concepts that are related to the key word at least in 2 text units are shown. Lines according to the key word relevancy number, which is the sum of all evaluations and the sum of causal relations for the specific keyword in the respective project.

The final part provides some examples on how tourists, consciously and unconsciously experienced performing on heterogeneous stages. Tourists’ resistant performances or the presence of locals changed the enclavic nature of the stage and allowed the performers to enact on a multi-purposed stage.

Recurrent enactments of a performance

#### *Listen and follow*

The performers swarm moved around the stage under the control of the performance director (tour-leader). Action and inaction were fast and primarily unreflective. It seems that time was not enough for the stage’s properties internalization or to further pursue information when the tour guide was leading the performance teams. The director’s voice served as the main information provider, somehow an enchanting guidance, as if wanting to draw on Germany’s famous fairy tale: The Pied Piper of Hamelin.



pro-human rights demonstration was taking place. Even when addressed through the loud speakers by the protesters, who kept on shouting examples of China's human rights abuses, tourists decided to walk away from trouble.

#### *Gaze at "otherness"*

The guide not only directed performers' movements but also their gazes to those buildings, nature, touristic settings, in general any aspects of "otherness" that they must see. Tourists' gazes reacted in perfect unison according to the guide's commands. However, in several cases, the power of the gaze and contemplation had such a strong impact that the guide's explanation were simply ignored.

Performers' gazes were directed to those "typical-Germany" objects of the gaze expected to be encountered. They were embedded to the scenography, which was carefully designed to spread the particular stage meaning with the support of mainly visual, but also multisensory elements. Mainstream elements of culture were included for the tourists' enjoyment. My following journal entry exemplifies this:

Once we arrived the Festival Hall at the *Hofbräuhaus*, *brewery*, the group members stared at the walls of the immense room. Their new acting space gave them the feeling of being a Bavarian, a local who entered his or her regular tavern and who was ready to enjoy an everyday meal (pork, sausages, chicken) accompanied by a mug of beer. The Hall's architectural details (ceiling, wood finishes), furniture (chairs, tables) and decoration (flags, blue and white tablecloths) remains true to Duke Wilhem V's original construction from 1589, characteristics that were worth seeing in particular for the architect's group. (...) During dinner, the tourists could enjoy the "Bavarian Evening" show. It included dancers, of what I later find out were "*Schuhplattler*", folklore, snapping whips and waitresses who invited customers to jump up on tables and chant the taverns song "*In München steht ein Hofbräuhaus – oans, zwoa, g'suffa!* (In Munich there's a Hofbräuhaus – one, two, and cheers). (Penzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

#### In relation to Berlin:

The artists around the Brandenburg Gate reflected the political situation of occupied Berlin. Reputed officials holding the flags of the Western Allies (United States, United Kingdom and France) and the Soviet Union, as well as a stand, where an officer created the scene of granting permission to enter or leave East Berlin, were two parts of the stage scenography that the tour guide pointed out during his explanation of the Brandenburg Gate. (Penzialek, diary entry, August 09, 2012)

One tour guide, leading a group of Shanghai Chinese professors, not part of one of my groups, but also there at the time of my observation, showed photos of the Brandenburg Gate taken during different epochs to his audience. He invited the tourists to stand at the exact same place where the photos were taken and narrated the Gate's history and development through the years in which it has been a stage for many political happenings. To contrast gazes proved to be highly interesting for group members.

#### *Posing, photographing, mystifying, sharing*

Listening to the guide's narratives and seeing something expected in relation to Germany and regarded as "extraordinary" were the two main reasons that inspired tourists to take photographs. The following excerpt draws on the role of photography. This note was the first I wrote in relation to the enactments of the first group observed and, interestingly, it will turn to a recurring note throughout the field research. This is behaviour that does not only apply for Chinese tourists, but to other international tourists performing on the same stages.

After 4 hours... finally the group arrived! After getting out of the van, the architects quickly walked towards St.-Jakobs-Platz. Their performance has started. They walk around, see something, and shoot their camera. Afterwards, a couple formed a subgroup to briefly discuss the stage features. (...) Cameras are pointing and shooting in all directions of the Synagogue. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)

The simplicity of the enactments performed and the hegemony of the extraordinary was captured on this short dialog:

**Berenice:** What makes it worth taking a picture?

**Chinese lady:** "If I find it different or pretty I take a picture, if not I simply walk away". (B1)

Everyone wanted to capture the gaze in front of them and make it last forever. Thus, photographing was a key enactment of the performances. Different photographic techniques were adopted to satisfy this purpose, from standing to contortionism. It might be that the majority of the photos were open shots, postcard-like where the nature or the object remained in solitude. However, the first solo photographic performance in most cases required a second one, where people appeared in harmony with the photographed subject. In the second performance, a considerable amount of time was invested on posing.

Interestingly, mystifying the gaze was another important enactment of performing photography. Tourists revised the photo immediately after the shot. If the result was unsuccessful, another performance would take place in order to reach the desired gaze. One they could share back home or one that would be "*worth to be a Renren (China's Facebook) profile photo*", as some young Chinese tourists mentioned. Unfortunately, for some young tourists, German stages did not offer free Wi-Fi, which prevented them from instantly sharing their photos. Some of the group members could afford to share them, as was explained in Chapter 5 in connection to the objects to perform.

Not all stages allowed photography, however this usually did not stop the tourists. They always looked for ways to surmount rules. In highly restricted areas, as the Neuschwanstein Castle, tourists needed to conform to the rules or leave the stage. On other stages, as in the case of the Potsdam Castles, tourists had the possibility to purchase permission to take pictures in all the touristic places of Potsdam. The tour guide mentioned that nearly every tour member would pay for this fee. It is likely that tourists saved on other parts of the trip, but not on photo taking.

At the end of their trips, performers were asked to send the photos that could capture the essence of their tour around Germany's stages. The overall response to this was poor, only photos from the South Germany observations came back with photos. Of 52 tourists, only 8 sent information back, and altogether 30 photos were received. From the social media channels, I could add 6 more photographs, different than those sent. In spite of this, I journeyed to perform a semiotic analysis of these photographs. My initial aim was to find out to what extent tourists look forward to reaffirming what they previously knew about Germany, by photographing those typical objects of the gaze promoted by the GNTB brochures (See Figure 8.7) or if they would guide their gaze into something culturally influenced.



Figure 8.7. Magic Cities Germany Brochure in Chinese. (Printed material received from the GNTB representative in Beijing, China)

The majority of the photos tried to capture the nature of German's stages (and some Austrian stages included in the "South Germany" group). Mountains, blue skies, clean and peaceful lakes portrayed on postcard-like photos were mostly sent by the performers. Only a few photos received included the performers themselves on the photo, the majority only focused on the object of the gaze. A few performers pointed out the harmony between people, flora and fauna in Germany. Others talked about the contagiously calm feeling and slow way of life experienced by contemplating these stages.



Figure 8.8. Tourists' photographs under the "nature" category. (Source: Tourists diaries received by email)

Captions to these photos were as follow:

*The Olympic Park is not really a playground for people, but for both animals and people! There is a wide variety of animals, and the people do not have a sense of alienation, but rather people feel truly integrated with the animals. (Tourist LW, diary entry) - (Figure 8.8, photo on the left, Munich)*

*See a blue sky, relax and peaceful feeling. In environmental protection, Germany is doing really good. The guide could have had shared more about this for example. (Tourist LU, diary entry) - (Figure 8.8, photo on the middle, boat on the Königssee)*

*Really quiet if I compare it with my hometown Beijing! This is a city where everyone seems to have a slow pace. Together with its beautiful scenery, it is a nice place to enjoy life. I hope that after my 50s, I can stay here for the remaining years of my life. (Tourist LW, diary entry) - (Figure 8.8, photo on the right, Salzburg)*

A second category consisted of those photos grouped under the "typical Germany-fairy tale" label (See Figure 8.9). Once again, the photos were taken from a distance in order to capture the

magnificence of the building. Castles were the main object of the gaze in this category, followed by other architectural highlights, such as New City Hall at Munich’s Marienplatz and Cologne’s Cathedral. Captions were not as elaborated as the previous ones, instead performers only limited to naming the places. Some also included some facts of them. One Chinese lady wrote about a castle:

*“Neuschwanstein (New Swan Stone Castle), it was built on the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and it is located at the southwest of Bavaria, Germany. I was too close to it, so I could not take the whole view”. (Tourist LY, diary entry) (Figure 8.9, second photo on the right)*



Figure 8.9. Tourists’ photographs under the “typical Germany - fairy tale” category. (Source: Tourists diaries received by email)

A few photos were grouped under the “remember those moments” category (See Figure 8.10). With these photos, performers wanted to capture cheerful moments with their families, friends and other group members, the latter were referred to as new friends on their comments of photos. Companionship, playfulness and family time were the main words describing this set of photos. Beyond the plain object of the gaze, performers related to people and narrated a short history.



Figure 8.10. Tourists’ photographs under the “remember those moments” category. (Source: Tourists diaries received by email)

For the first photo on the left, the tourist expressed in his diary:

*In the town, the children played on the swings and so did we. I recalled how the European people enjoy their life, they visit lakes and enjoy their family time. It is not like us, we have to work on the weekends and children have to go to extra courses. To us life is learning!! (Tourist LW, diary entry)*

The photo on the middle of Figure 8.10, was described by a Chinese woman travelling with her family as the most exciting moment for her son. And the photo on the right was described by the young Chinese tourist as follows:

*“I really enjoy good food, from my tour around south Germany the most impressive meal was Munich’s pork and beer! Ah! This is one of the most precious photos from the entire journey to south Germany. Unfortunately, I am not in it, because I took it. (Tourist LW, diary entry)*

It was possible to add a fourth category, not directly from the tourists but from the participant observation notes. In this one, the performers gazed at Chineseness or Chinese cultural characteristics, which were worth photographing. These photos were not sent by the performers themselves, possibly because they could not describe the essence of their trips to Germany, as it was asked. In order to capture their exact gaze, I took these photos in the same spots as the tourists did.



Figure 8.11. Gazing at Chineseness

Four photographs emerged from the analysis. First, from left to right on Figure 8.11, the BMW Museum's Chinese language phrase: "The BMW World is expecting you for your next driving experience" and the country's flag. Second, a DVD, which recounts the life of King Ludwig II and describes the architecture of his castles, displaying scenes where building characteristics were compared to other castles, palaces and official buildings worldwide. Tourists took photos of the screen when it displayed China's Forbidden City. Third, photos were taken on the section of the Berlin Wall where different walls are shown, amongst them is the Chinese Great Wall. And last, at Sanssouci Palace next to the Chinese House, tourists took photos of the incense burner from the Qing Dynasty. According to the guide, a gift made by Thailand's government to Sanssouci.

#### *Touch the souvenirs*

One more frequent enactment was touching. Tourists, especially middle aged females, would enjoy touching everything, whether allowed or not. During the observation, this enactment was particularly important while shopping for souvenirs. Performers, travelling on a tight budget, will touch and photograph the souvenirs instead of buying them. This performance was recurrent in the three groups observed. The stages visited during the observation did not present many touching opportunities. This absence was highlighted by a tourist in her diary:

*I would recommend that the tour guide should have more experience so Chinese visitors can learn more about German culture and history. Also it should not be a too full itinerary. With this, visitors can have more time to enjoy, think and learn something. Also to feel- touch and have something to remember Germany. The travel agent should understand the perspective, we want to get a bigger picture of the country and benefit in the long term from it. (Tourist LU, diary entry)*

#### *Smell and taste*

Smell and taste "otherness" were enactments vastly connected to trying German delicacies. In this respect, the *Hofbräuhaus* HB (last stop for the South Germany tour, see Figure 8.12) serves as an example. The tourists witnessed how the *Schweinebraten*, roasted pork was cut in thin slices by the restaurant's chef. The performance awoke the tourists' appetite with the aroma. However, they first captured the gaze of the performance on photos and videos, afterwards started to taste the dishes (Explained in detail in Chapter 5). Similar to touching, the choreographies designed did not grant many opportunities to smell or taste anything else besides food.

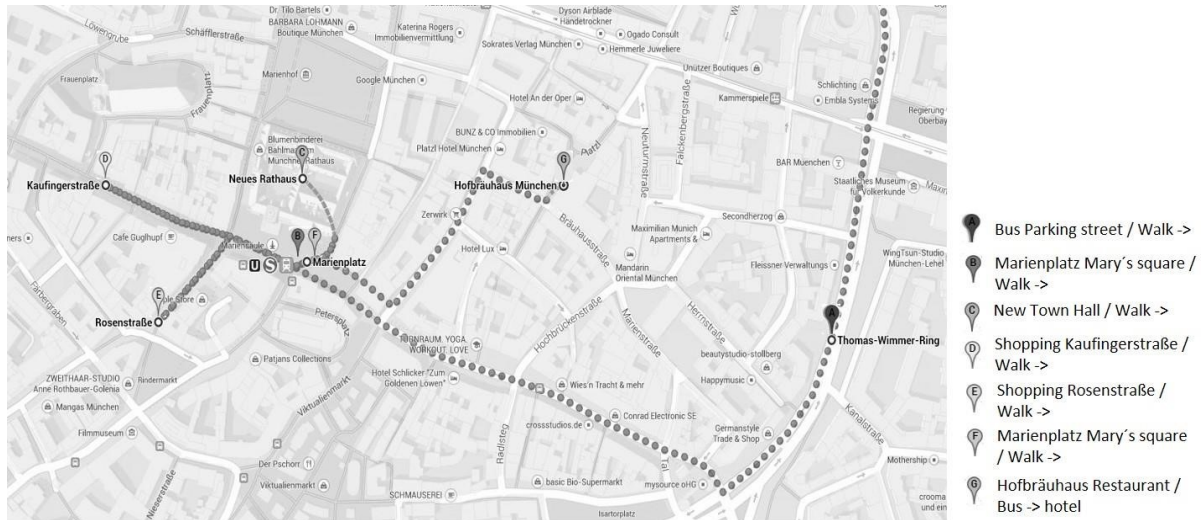


Figure 8.12. Map of the route followed by the “South Germany” group around Munich’s city centre on July 28, 2012

*Playful enactments: solitary and group interaction with the stage*

These kinds of enactments occurred during waiting times (much of what is narrated here took place before entering Neuschwanstein Castle, in a longer than usual photo stop, Point B on Figure 8.13. Tourists were getting ready for an upcoming performance and without direct supervision, could act freely with the stage, either alone or as a group. Individual interactions consisted of stepping out of the group, relaxing and using the free time for long contemplations. The tourists seemed to be lost in reverie, which did not lead to photographs, but to some kind of cogitation. Many accompanied their quiet time with a cigar, a snack or a beverage. Some of these dream-like episodes lead to having a nap on the stage’s bench. Other were suddenly interrupted by friends, family or other group members.

By performing waiting time, group enactments were rather playful and loud. Kids running, climbing around, or playing hide and seek with their parents. Adults started discussions about the stages visited, questioned us about Europe and Germany or talked about regional differences in China, food, dialects differences between Cantonese, Shanghainise and Mandarin, wages, left or right handers amongst the group and migrations from city to city, were some of the topics discussed.

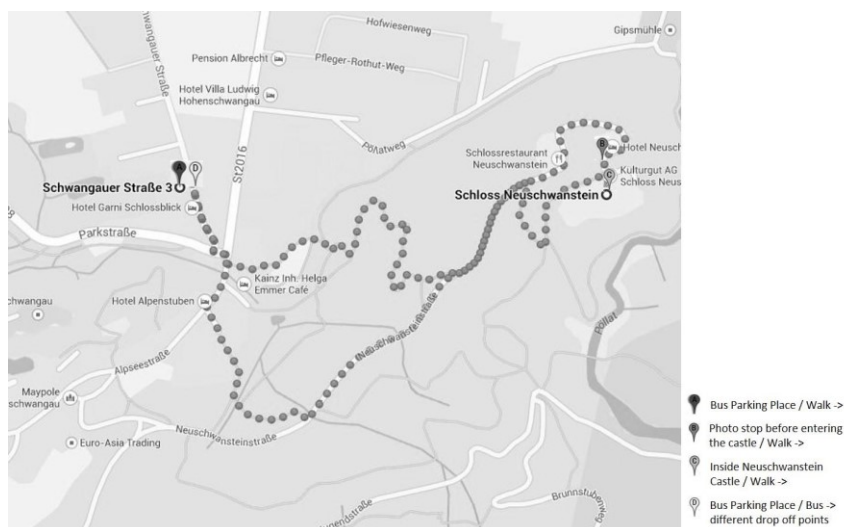


Figure 8.13. Map of the route followed by the “South Germany” group at the Neuschwanstein Castle on July 29, 2012



## Occasional enactments

### *Comply with extreme control*

Controlled movements in choreographies created for Chinese group tourists are not atypical. As explained in the last sections, the main enactments of performers relied on collective-repetitive and controlled movement. However, during the observation, there was one occasion where performers needed to comply with extreme stage management. The guided tour inside Neuschwanstein Castle highly controlled the time tourists could spend on each of the settings visited. Furthermore, movement, and spoken interaction were strictly supervised by the stage directors. Penalties awaited the tourists if they failed to follow the “tourist production line” designed for them. My research diary exemplifies this:

After hearing the instructions for the GPS controlled audio guide, who were “kindly” delivered by a woman in German and followed by a poor English translation, the castle’s door opened to us. Once we were inside the first room of the castle, the audio guide went on and each of us individually heard the introduction for that room in about 3 minutes. After that, we had 2 extra minutes to look around. (...) If we dared prolong our stay, we were invited by the staff to move on to the next room. They would only speak German and made exaggerated hand movements towards the exit. (...) Everything was so rigidly planned, there was no time for discussion or reflexion of what you had seen, just follow the instructions from a device. Furthermore, the stage directors made sure to cut any interaction. As soon as Chinese started talking, an immediate “shhh” came afterwards. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 29, 2012)

### *Shop*

Contrary to the experts’ opinion, shopping was not a frequent enactment by the tourists observed. Budget was controlled and rationalized throughout the whole trip. As a consequence, shopping occurred sporadically and acquired objects were small and not high-priced. Besides budget limitations, a tour guide mentioned that his group tourists in Berlin do not shop much because they do not regard Germany as a destination for shopping. People travelling in big groups will wait to shop in other destinations such as France.

Amongst the group members only a few bought German typical objects. For instance, eating utensils, knives and pots. However, their shopping was not carried out in a regular shopping centre, but in shops offer by Chinese diaspora (See Figure 8.14), which usually offer Tax-Free shopping of all “German” clichés in one store at cheaper prices than other retailers.



Figure 8.14. Tax Free Shopping offer by Chinese shop owners in Berlin.

While walking around the stages, I asked a few German retailers about their Chinese buyers. They commented that the majority of their Chinese customers usually travel independently. Furthermore, the retailers I spoke with, contrary to the Chinese retailers, would try to specialize in region-only souvenirs. One Bavarian retailer explained:

*We are proud of the unique selection and avoid having all those ‘German’ clichés in one store. (...) As for Chinese tourists, (she pointed us the most expensive Cuckoo Clock in the store) that is one of our best sales with Chinese. Our clocks are original and from the Black Forrest, and that is attractive for them. Also our location and product selection make us successful with Chinese”. (Pendzialek, diary entry, July 27, 2012)*

### Use public transportation

As remarked before, trains were the main mode of transportation for the new itineraries to Chinese group tourists. These tours were built around high-speed trains to connect between cities and public subways to move around the urban spaces. Riding these trains signified more than just moving from point A to point B, it was regarded as part of the touristic experience. Ride, mingle with people and observe everydayness were the positive aspects regarded by the tourists. Furthermore, the guides, interviewed in Berlin, mentioned that tourists were satisfied with the subway because it was clean, empty and it ran on time. The only downside of the public transportation performance were the long walks to get to stations. Clearly, it required more physical effort to ride the subway connecting the city’s different stages (See all the stations used in one day in Berlin in Figure 8.15).



**Figure 8.15.** Map indicating the subway stations used by the “Berlin-Potsdam” group in Berlin on August 9, 2012 Note: The map only highlights the stations, not the exact route from one stop to the other.

This was observed by the elderly couple in the Berlin group, they would keep the pace by following the young guide, but asked for a break after the long walking sections of day one. For example, on the first long walking section (showed in Figure 8.16) a break was taken at the Holocaust Memorial. There, the performers just heard the guides’ explanation of the different concrete slabs and decided to rest instead of walking amongst, what the recalled as an optically confusing monument. The man was ashamed of not being able to continue and said timidly: “I feel pleased with his explanation, I can just imagine it”.

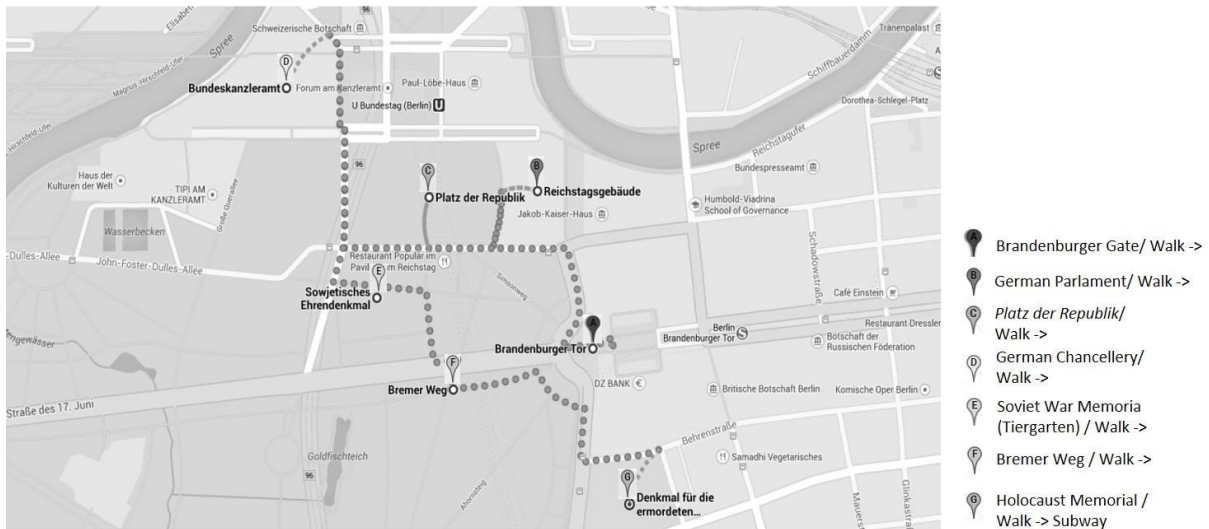


Figure 8.16. Map of the route followed by the “Berlin-Potsdam” group in Berlin on August 9, 2012 (Walking section 1)

*Find traces of other performers*

Spotting and reading messages from previous Chinese tourists, written either officially or unofficially, were also enactments regularly executed by the performers. They took time to search for fellow Chinese tourists’ comments written in guestbook entries at stages such as museums, restaurants and hotels. Graffiti was also constantly spotted by Chinese tourists. A variety of self-expressions were found by tourists, from people’s names, love messages, as well as amusing messages. The following excerpt provides an example observed on the second walking section (See Figure 8.17) of the Berlin tour:

While walking along the East Side Gallery, there was a Chinese graffiti painted on one of the sections of the wall. All the group members of our mini-group laughed about it. (...) Later, the translator explained: “Well, this graffiti means literately helping somebody to make a fake health certificate, also written is the fake contact information of doctor offering help with some sexual diseases. (...) It’s an activity most of Chinese people don’t like, it certainly disturbs the view of the city or so...but sometimes, we the young ones, we make jokes of this messages. (...) Well, somehow, it can be said it’s a really Chinese thing...just an activity... bit of mocking ourselves. A joke like back home, but here...” (Pendzialek, diary entry, August 9, 2012)

*Draw conclusions on the societal position of other Chinese tourists*

Special attention and time was spent on making inferences of the background of other Chinese performers on the same stages. Opinions were made based on personal effects, clothing and objects used to perform, such as electronics. These enactments were regarded as a guessing game, which was constantly repeated throughout the field research. On the way to the German Historical Museum in Berlin (part of walking section 3 presented in Figure 8.18), the tourists and the guide talked about a group of “spoiled, rich girls”, of which according to them, their status was obviously recognizable by their clothes.

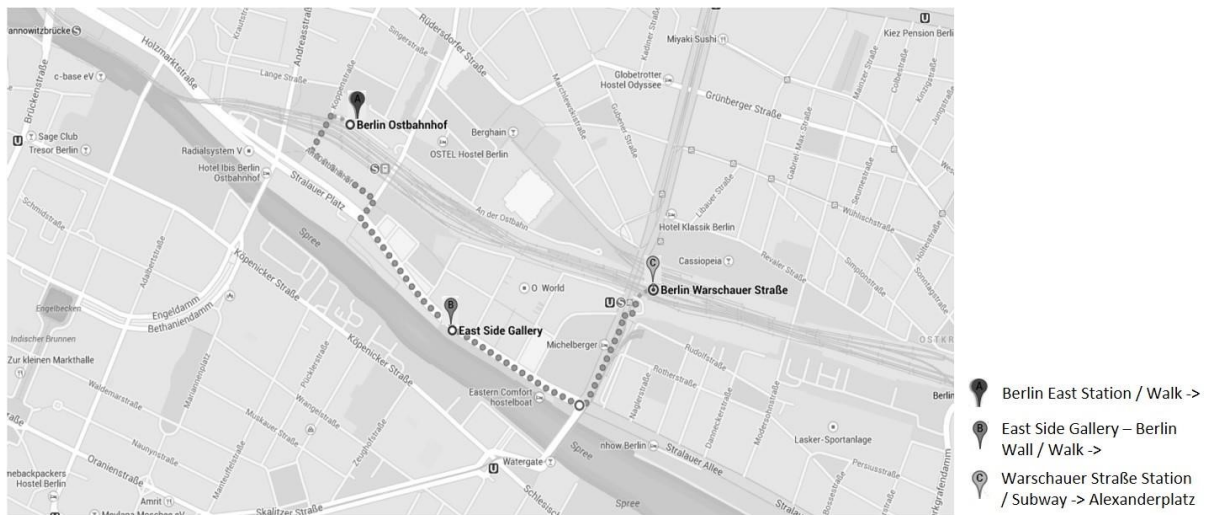


Figure 8.17. Map of the route followed by the “Berlin-Potsdam” group in Berlin on August 9, 2012 (Walking section 2)

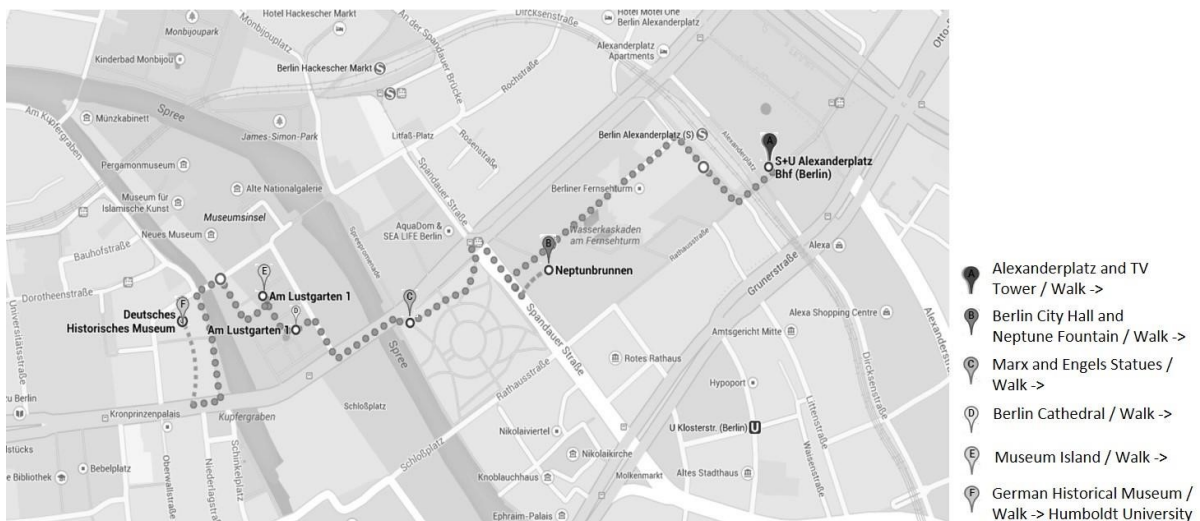


Figure 8.18. Map of the route followed by the “Berlin-Potsdam” group in Berlin on August 9, 2012 (Walking section 3)

Later on the same day, during our break on Gendarmenmarkt (part of walking section 4 shown on Figure 8.19), the group started to make conclusions on a group of Chinese man and woman dressed in formal business code. They, as any other tourist group on the magnificent square that moment, were taking photos of the cathedrals and the concert hall. On this occasion, the performers concluded that the group was a Chinese government delegation. Their main evidence were the suits and shoes worn by the men. These are just two of several examples heard and explained by the interpreter along the observation.

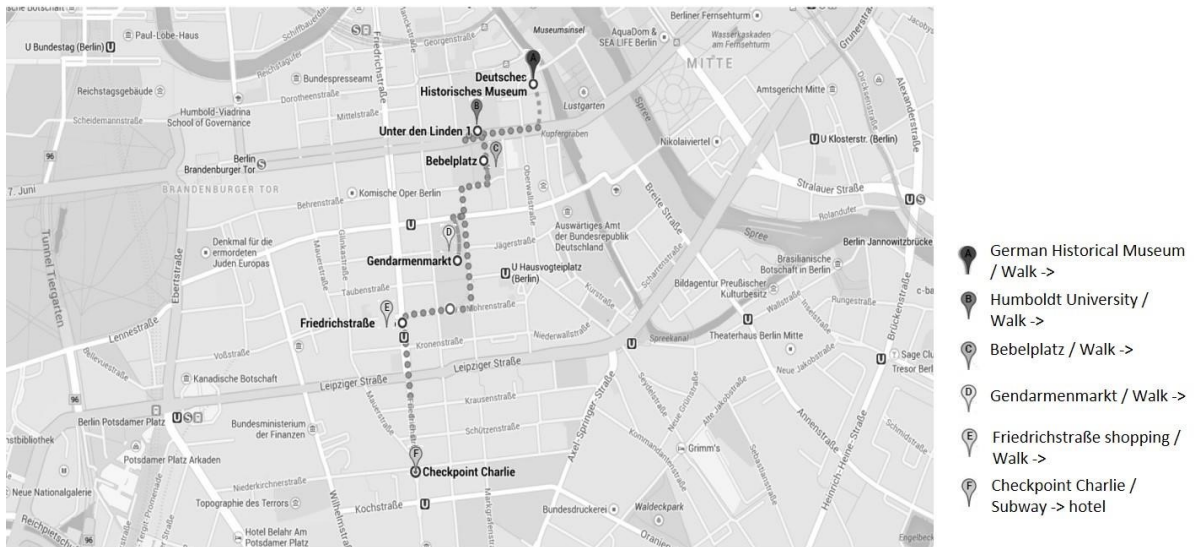


Figure 8.19. Map of the route followed by the “Berlin-Potsdam” group in Berlin on August 9, 2012 (Walking section 4)

*Celebrate and share your culture*

The stages visited offered opportunities to Chinese group tourists to praise and share their culture. Being the only foreigner in the group, and considering that the interaction with locals was hardly existent, the performers felt the need to explain those aspects of Chinese culture encountered along the road to me. Some examples can be recalled during the visit to the Sanssouci Palace in Potsdam (See Figure 8.20). When picking up the audio guides for the Palace, the first Chinese words pronounced by a Westerner to the Chinese were heard by us. The Chinese couple was thrilled to hear “你好, Nihao and 欢迎, Huanying”. Words that immediately after the Chinese man explained to me in English: It is “hello” and “welcome”.

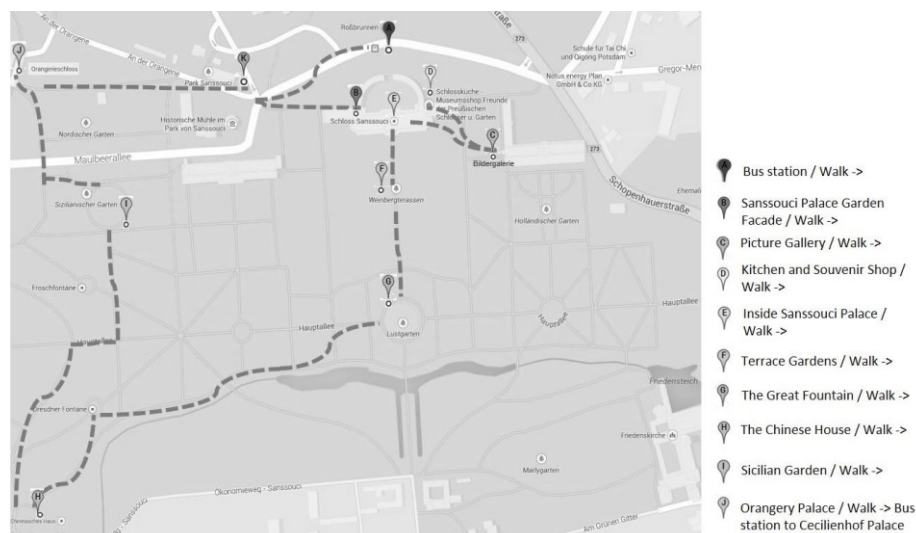


Figure 8.20. Map of the route followed by the “Berlin-Potsdam” group at the Sanssouci Palace and surrounding areas on August 10, 2012

One more opportunity arose when we reached the Palace’s China House. The guide briefly explained that the house was created only from the imaginations of what Europeans thought China should look like, because none of the people involved in the construction had ever visited China or Asia before. The building was an eclectic mixture of Asian characteristics. Thereafter, the couple used the time to explained me that none of those animals on the ceiling (monkeys, macaws) had any meaning in China.

Additionally, in their view a Phoenix or other Chinese zodiac animals should have been placed there instead. They also highlighted that many of the details had, unfortunately, a strong relation with Japan.

A last example draws on the incense burner next to the China House (briefly explained before in connection to the photographs took due to its Chineseness). This time, my learning session revolved around the engravings on the burner, which had a cloud and a peach on it. They briefly mentioned that peaches are a sign of longevity in China. And until now, people are accustomed to giving the fruit or objects with printed or engraved peaches away, as a yearning for a long life.

On the contrary, if tourists felt that their culture was neglected, they looked for ways to reaffirm it. This one example was experienced at the exit of the Neuschwanstein Castle. After finishing the guided tour and heading to the souvenir shop, Chinese tourists stopped to take a similar picture to the one in Figure 8.21. When returning to the bus, I asked a couple of tourists why they found the sign so attractive. They pointed out that they could not find any service adapted to Chinese there, and that they found it interesting that a Chinese wrote exit “出口, Chūkǒu”, as a sign of protest. When asking why they were quite sure that a Chinese tourist had done that, one Chinese woman mentioned that Japanese would never dare to write that. This was someone’s solution to reminding the stage that it was in need of adapting to Chinese tourists.



Figure 8.21. Exit sign modified by tourists in Neuschwanstein Castle.

#### *Gather Information*

Collected information materials were vaguely noticed during the performances. Some young tourists looked for brochures either in English or Chinese. Older members aimed for Chinese versions, which were nearly impossible to find as free publications. The majority of Chinese language information available was for sale in the souvenir shops, therefore not acquired. Moreover, collecting extra information from the guide was also an occasional activity. As mentioned in sections before, not many questions and exchange of information occurred between the performance director and the actors.

Having depicted the enactment part of the choreographies created by Chinese mass organized tourists and conducted on the enclavic stages, I will now move on to explain the few enactments of the performers in a heterogeneous space.

Beyond the environmental tourism bubble

Being part of tightly controlled choreographies, tourists only had a few opportunities to leave the environmental bubble created for them. On a few occasions, tourists could act out of tune and experience the locals' customs. From the following examples, two were explained in the tourists' travel diaries and one came out during the observation.

For this Chinese woman travelling with her family, an especially remarkable time was not during her official "organized mass group tourist" role, but before starting it. While waiting to be picked up by the group bus, she could enjoy being in a multifunctional space, where local people passed by and her family could have a break from their life in China. She commented:

*"My most memorable experience was when my family and I had a picnic near the riverside in Frankfurt. We enjoyed a blue sky, green grass at our feet and the river glittering in the sunlight. We are usually so busy in China, the adults are working and the children busy studying. We do not have time to enjoy leisure". (Tourist LU, diary entry)*

For this young Chinese tourist, having the morning off and enjoying a park in Berchtesgaden with other tour members made him feel like being a European. Additionally, this free time allowed him to intensify the connection with some of the group comrades. He wrote:

*"On the third day, there was a possibility to take a boat trip again. But I did not want to take it. Luckily, the tour guide decided to divide the group in two. A few of us stayed in the town. We spent the morning feeling really good, enjoying European life. Free and relaxed. I met more people of the group. Pan Jia, aunt He Yuanxian and a doctor, from whom I unfortunately cannot find his contact information". (Tourist LW, diary entry)*

One more example gave the opportunity to receive hints of locals, "otherness" inside an enclavic stage. Beyond tourism actors performing the tourism product, one time granted for shopping around Munich's city centre, tourists could experience the rituals and play undertaken by a group of German locals during a Hen Party. As briefly described by my journal entry:

*"It is a place not only reserved for tourists, being a Saturday, Germans were there to celebrate their 'Junggesellenabschied' or Hen Party. The colourful clothes, erotic articles sold, loud and enthusiastic groups, it all presented itself as a true attraction for many tourists. Therefore, it was worth taking some photos". (Penzialek, diary entry, July 28, 2012)*

Chinese tourists observed the scene and conformed to take photos on the back. On the contrary, tourists from other nationalities actively participated in the celebration.

The use of public transportation, explained in the previous section, can also be included as part of this section. Other than that, just these few opportunities were recalled as a way to escape from the tourism bubble.

#### 8.4. Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the nuances and complexities of spatial movement of organized mass Chinese outbound tourists. From a national perspective, tourists consume stages that are currently marketed under the Germany's Magic Cities association. The possibility of self-expression, by creating individualized choreographies was not observed, even when allowed for the group of architects.

Highly influenced by the performance director, controlled movement, gazing and performing photography were the main enactments of these "sightseeing" tourists. Interestingly, most gazes and

photographs tried to capture a *romantic gaze* of otherness. As defined by Urry, in this gaze “solitude, privately and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze are emphasised.” (Urry, 2002, p. 150). Furthermore, the comments on the photographs highlighted that Chinese consumption of space is still highly influenced by the binary “ordinary every day China and extraordinary Germany”. Indeed, many mundane enactments were recalled during the performances. Even so, the consumption of Germany was always regarded as a liminal phase, where extraordinary activities were allowed to occur. Also from the brief semiotic analysis, this research shows that tourists did indeed search to reproduce existing representations of landscape as those consumed before visitation. Surprisingly, and contrary to the semiotic research that only concentrated on the “hermeneutic *visual circle*” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 157), not only those pre-disposed photos were regarded as valuable, but also those filled with personal meaning due to interactions with family, group members and the new friends made along the road. Moreover, there were also hints of Chineseness on the stages that directed the gaze and promoted taking photos of those objects. Also, touching, smelling, talking, and playful improvisation were crucial parts of the performances.

Interestingly, the enactments were mainly conducted inside enclavic spaces, as was defined in Chapter 2. However, the stages visited during the field research do not entirely meet the enclavic space definition, especially due to the nearly non-existent planning and adaptation of German stages to Chinese tourists. (More on the next chapter). Only in a few occasions tourists could consume a heterogeneous space. These were possible thanks to the use of free time before starting the planned choreography, a resistant performance of some group members and one disruption of stage.

Throughout the ethnography, it was observed how tourists do not only consume the stages enacted upon, but also transform and construct them. Just their bodily presence and interaction with other bodies and space, already filled the touristic stage with new meanings. Furthermore, emotional and cognitive features also impregnate the otherwise, under Western eyes, unimportant stages. Both embodied and cognitive practices were highly influenced by Chinese social, cultural and even political characteristics. Examples such as touching and arranging elements for pictures, pointing out the Chineseness of those elements, recalling jokes from home, sharing your culture in connection with stage; were observed in all three groups.

Having presented the main findings on the performances of Chinese tourists, in the upcoming Conclusions Chapter, I will discuss these findings and their implications in tourism studies and the tourism industry, in general.



## Chapter 9. Conclusions

The main aim of this research was to explore and provide further understanding on the tourism performances of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists on German tourism stages. In order to achieve the aim, I situated the discussion of the phenomena in its cultural, social, historical, political, economic and spatial contexts and contributed to the analysis of Chinese tourism from an insider and outsider perspective. For this, I used the performance approach in tourism studies, along with its inherent research methodology (namely, tools that promote the direct contact with the performance key players).

To understand the phenomenon from an insider perspective, the study principally relies on an ethnography strategy (participant observation and interviews). However, it needed to be complemented by other research tools (questionnaires) in order to maximize the results. Even when questionnaires have not always been successful with Chinese samples (Arlt, 2006), my possibility to build trust and rapport before delivering the questionnaires fostered a positive answer rate amongst the groups members. The latter shows how I, following the methodology associated with performance studies, was actively involved in the matter while being a performer myself. I adopted a number of roles, used techniques of impression management and interacted with other teams in order to provide an insider analysis of the actions of the tourist performances. For the outsider's perspective, a number of expert interviews were conducted.

In this final chapter, I look back at what it was to perform tourism research and critically describe the changes experienced after the performances, which affect, amongst others, the tourism studies theory, the industry practitioners and myself. In the first section, I will start by summarizing the empirical findings in relation to those objectives set in the introductory chapter. The second section moves on to present the implications of the research findings to both theory and practice. In the third section, I consider the new interrogations that arose from this research and which represent future research challenges for tourism academics. Lastly, I will share some final thoughts on this academic journey.

### 9.1. Research Findings in Connection to the Research Aim and Objectives

This section will synthesize the empirical findings in connection to the study's three research objectives.

#### **1) To utilise different research theoretical approaches and methodologies to shed light on the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena.**

For the initial objective of this research study, the findings are grouped and presented under two main knowledge contributions:

- a) The general concepts used by Goffman (1959) and Schechner (2002) for the analysis of everyday performances, proved to be more universal than expected and useful for the examination of the Chinese tourism reality.

In connection to Goffman's seminal work, throughout the findings, it can be seen how Chinese tourists modified their behaviour in order to conform to the rules, conventions and laws of the specific situation. To make the others feel comfortable with their performance, mainland Chinese tourists used several techniques of impression management to deliberately "give" an impression,

such as: 1) *Idealization* of behaviour, when accepting the group rules and leaving one's own interests behind; 2) *Maintenance of expressive control*, when following the rules of a stage; and 3) *Mystification* at the time to talk about their travel experience in Germany back home, amongst others. Inevitably, the tourists "give off", by involuntarily expressing themselves towards the audiences. Gestures and mundane enactments, which were target of scrutiny due to the audience's lack of knowledge about them, were some of the findings in connection with the uncontrolled expression.

As regards Schechner's concepts, indeed, Chinese tourists' performances were a result of restored behaviours. These were routine everyday behaviours, similar to those usually present while interacting with their significant others, e.g. family and friends back home. Additionally, tourists made use of those behaviours acquired from sources outside their personal sphere (in the findings of this study the travel agency's information ranked number one for behaviour imitation). Also useful for the analysis was Schechner's recognition of power relations and the uneven relations and confrontations between players during a performance. Furthermore, the research was conducted by following the fluid and open approach of Schechner's performance studies, influenced by post-modern times. However, Chinese outbound tourism should not yet be considered as a fluid, playful or post-modern sample. There is a lot "hidden" (Schechner, 2002) behind the performances of Chinese tourists: hierarchic ideas, differentiation, institutions and distinctions that are associated with the modernity that the country is undertaking, but there is also a lot of dynamism and variety on the ever-changing Chinese reality, which is related to post-modern culture.

b) By utilizing the performance approach in tourism studies it was possible to identify both modern and post-modern characteristics of the Chinese outbound organized mass market.

As explained in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the performance turn in tourism studies states that tourism should not be constructed around Western binary concepts (authentic-inauthentic, everyday-holiday, home-away) that try to explain the tourist's travel experience from a static perspective contrary to the post-modern times. This study is able to demonstrate that in some cases these concepts are blurred within the Chinese outbound tourism reality, whereas, in others continue to be a clear differentiation between them. The latter connects to Western classical tourism theories (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). The binaries are explained as follows.

Everyday-holiday. This study initial idea was that tourism should not be considered as a liminal phase (Turner, 1985) taking place during extraordinary times, but as an activity that is part of our everyday life. However, the findings highlighted that, for many tourists, travelling to Germany represents breaking away from their lives, an escape from their work and hectic agendas back home, where they can enjoy an extraordinary time with their family, friends and new acquaintances. Metaphorically speaking, it can be said that the tourists did work hard during their holidays, but it was in order to gain symbolic capital to bring back home. Only a few young Chinese spoke of work opportunities in Germany, whereas the rest had a sense of disconnection during the holidays. Under other circumstances, the Architects Group, awarded with an incentive tour by their company, obviously presented less differentiation of the binary work and leisure.

Beyond extraordinary time, tourists also differentiated the usual consumption back home with the "otherness" available in Germany. This does not mean that Chinese tourists cannot experience anything extraordinary during their everyday lives. China's main cities are modern (interestingly, so modern, that tourists kept on perceiving Europe as old and traditional) and follow traces of global

societies, therefore, tourism-like activities are increasingly part of the urban society's everyday (Yin, 2005, Wang, 2004, Klingberg & Oakes, 2012). However, even when the doses of "otherness" are increasingly available around the country, either with leisure activities or virtual consumption online, everyone, especially first-timers, looks forward to enjoying their granted and self-affordable mobility by sensually contrasting the typical home with the extraordinary.

Moreover, the findings show that tourism is no longer an exotic activity (as also stated by Klingberg & Oakes, 2012, p. 197) for Chinese tourists travelling inside China and Asian destinations, where easier visa process apply or even visa exceptions are available. However, tourism to Europe and many other destinations cannot be regarded as an un-exotic spontaneous everyday activity, especially due to the time invested in the visa application process. In conclusion, tourism is seen as a natural activity, an activity that the tourist has practiced for several years now, as it was noticed that a vast majority of the performers have travelled to Asian countries before. However, it is an activity that continues to be quite restricted.

Similar to other studies (Uriely, 2005; Edensor, 2006; Larsen, 2008; Fugmann & Aceves, 2013), this study is consistent with the assumption that performances conform to mundane activities. Craving for Chinese food and drinks, staying protected from the sun with an umbrella, fast tempo movement, smoking, enjoying a Chinese style banquet, playing drinking games, relaxing by resting on a bench, were some of the routine ordinary life practices spotted in the performances. Comparable to our daily lives, there was also room for spontaneity during the ethnographies. For instance, the search of a young Chinese for something to eat, where his courage to take risk and spontaneous acting, not only satisfied a physical need but brought him together with the other performance teams.

Home-away. Borrowing from the mobilities approach, the performance turn argues that, due to communication technologies (Urry & Larsen, 2011), the boundaries of the stages to perform have become blurred. In contrast to this, Chinese organized mass tourists continue to differentiate "home" and "other" space due to the lack of technologies at their disposal. As repetitively highlighted in the findings, access to an internet connection was quite limited during the tours, which prevented the tourist from staying in touch back home over the net and also from instantly sharing the outcomes of their performances online. Only a few tourists could de-differentiate the stage's boundaries by using their own mobile phones or paying the hotel internet fees.

It is possible to talk about a blurred "home" and "away" binary, not because of the communication technologies, rather through the (re-)creation of space offered by the Chinese migrant workers. This finding is in agreement with Leung's (2004, 2009) work which showed that migrant entrepreneurs commodify "home" and the "homing desire" for Chinese tourists during their trips around Europe and Germany. As a result, Chinese diaspora members allow the group members to "feel at home in more than one place" (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 29). The following two examples show this during the observations: arranging of food in the same way as in China and the tour guide's communication of the stage information according to what Chinese tourists find amusing.

Beyond the opposition or reaffirmation of binary constructions, the findings indicate the influence of the mobilities approach in performance by presenting how China, not only mobilizes a considerable number of tourists year after year, but also capital, objects to perform (being cameras the main item brought by the tourists to the German stages), and information, as for that shared by the tourists back home or in the virtual landscapes. Nevertheless, this research points out that Chinese outbound

tourists' mobility is not only a result of globalisation and technological developments (Urry & Larsen, 2011), but an activity offered to Chinese citizens by their government.

Moreover, the performance approach highlights the embodiment-multi-sensual bodily doings and sensations that tourists experience during their performances. The findings highlighted the democracy of senses, where all can be included. However, they also showed the significance of the visual in the embodied experiences of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists. Based on different discourses, tourists gazed at the extraordinary "other" during their trips. Firstly, tourists chose to gaze upon those clean, blue sky places, what according to Urry (2002) is called the *environmental gaze*. Being pollution a problem in China's major cities<sup>21</sup>, tourists found a difference in Germany's blue skies. Secondly, tourists searched for those "typical Germany" objects of the gaze, following a "hermeneutic circle" (Urry, 1990), where they sought to recreate those texts and images encountered before their travel. Here, similar to Ong & DuCros (2012) *post-Mao gazes*, the attraction to those German characteristic was based on just a handful of ideas of what Germany has to offer as a tourist destination. Thirdly, the gaze was relational; it had many faces (Larsen, 2004a). Therefore, tourists captured those moments with significant others and newly made friendships and regarded them as extraordinary.

Chineseness played an important role in shaping the gaze of outbound Chinese organized mass tourists. Characteristics of Li's *Chinese gaze* (2005, 2008) were encountered among the tourists' comments, especially in relation to considering the harmonious relation between man and nature. More importantly, this study highlights the influence of Chinese political ideologies, which authorized what I would call a *politicised Chinese gaze*. This gaze was strongly present among the older generation of tourists. This has been seen in the case of the elderly couple showing their respect to Marx and Engels statue in Berlin or the visitation of Chinese official delegates to Trier, birthplace of Karl Marx (Fugmann & Aceves, 2013).

Further, in connection with the performer's senses, the findings are in agreement with the idea of simultaneous consumption and creation of stages by tourists during their embodied performances (as analysed by Haldrup & Larsen, 2010 and Rakic & Chamber, 2011). Chinese outbound tourists did not passively perform on a prefigured stage, but on one that they "figured and refigured" (Crouch et al., 2001, p. 254) by constantly negotiating its meaning while adding their personal social and cultural discourses.

In this section, I explained how some concepts from Tourist-as-Westerner theories can be applied for the Chinese sample. Thus, this study partially reaffirms Alneng's (2002) assumption that "Asymmetry on each other's knowledge, rather than difference, is a keyword here" (Alneng, 2002, pp. 139, my emphasis in italics). Moreover, I also presented some inconsistencies between the main features of the performance turn in tourism studies and the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena. These are particularly valuable because they highlight the overlapping existence of modern and post-modern cultures part of the ever-changing Chinese society.

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<sup>21</sup> Levels of polluted airborne particles have reached levels which have forced cities like Beijing, Shanghai and Harbin to close schools, cancel flights and minimize car use (Kaiman, 2013).

## **2) To explore the performance processes taking place from role selection to performance**

In order to accomplish this objective, the performance sequence of Schechner was used to analyse the different phases that the actors undertook when acting on German stages. The following two knowledge contributions are related to this objective.

- a) While trying to make sense of the tourists' bodily doings, it was recognized that their performances were highly ritualized and controlled, only allowing few possibilities to improvisation.

By conducting a dynamic analysis of the Chinese outbound mass organized tourists, this research supports the findings of Klingberg & Oakes' (2012) study on China's domestic tourism, where not only cultural and social norms influence the performer's tourism consumption, but also industry priorities and government regulations.

As far as cultural and social values are concerned, the findings are consistent with those of other studies (Mok & Defranco, 2000; Li, 2005; Xu et al., 2008; Kwek & Lee, 2010), which suggest the influence of Confucianism on Chinese tourists. Within the group dynamics, tourists tried to comply with the rules associated with their role for the sake of harmony. In this respect, performers, especially young Chinese, were aware of the need to sacrifice personal satisfaction over group preferences. Furthermore, they were tolerant when strong differences amongst the group members arose and tried to avoid open conflict. Also associated with Confucian philosophy, it was observed how the tourist quickly established hierarchies inside the group. They respected the authority of those placed higher in the hierarchy, for example, self-chosen in-group leaders (other tourists, whom, due their age and travel experience, were given the task of representing the group during negotiations), tour guides and tour leaders, as well as the audience (even though the group did not interact much with outsiders, in those few possibilities, they were respectful and introverted). In addition, in order to have harmonious relations and respect for hierarchies, it was observed how tourists in many occasions conform to inequalities (related to Hofstede's (2010) Power Distance PDI dimension), namely, with the arbitrary rules imposed by the tour guide. However, and a finding that is not part of (Kwek & Lee, 2010) analysis, there were a few occasions where the group exercised power over the guide in order to overcome what was regarded as not suitable conditions for the members.

Undoubtedly, collectivism was an evident cultural element observed during performances. It could be seen how "in-group" treatment was granted first to the performer's immediate nucleus, such as their family and friends companions. Subsequently, after a few hours of exchanging information (communication that in Western eyes means to answer quite personal questions) and undertaking tasks that reaffirmed one's position inside the group, the "in-group" sensation went beyond the sub-groups and it was possible to talk about one group with their own identity (similar to Hofstede's (2010) individualism versus collectivism IDV dimension). Inside the group, the members not only received security from the tour guide but also from the other performance teams. Being part of a group was especially important for those travelling alone. For example, young Chinese used the opportunity to build relationships or "guan xi" with other Chinese students currently attending to European universities.

The communication inside the group was also influenced by cultural values. Since tourists did not look for confrontation and complaints, it was noticed how they spoke in vague terms, avoiding direct "yes" or "no". This finding is rather easy to observe in the suggestions for future successful

performances given by the tourists at the end of Chapter 6. What is more, during their recounts of their performances in the cool-down and aftermath phases, Chinese tourists were keen to mystify their narratives by only communicating the positive outcomes of their performances. This impression management technique was adopted to prevent losing face and reaffirm or upgrade the performer's status in the society.

Learning from travel was one motive that Confucius regarded as valid for travel abroad (Xu et al., 2008). The notion of learning from the trip was mentioned by young Chinese tourists, but for the majority, they rather wanted to invest in their social capital, instead of learning from visits. Interestingly, this study's findings show that learning is an active process taking place before travelling, not because Confucius promoted it as a way of personal cultivation, but as part of the government's tourism strategy (more later in this section).

With regard to traces of Taoism as considered by (Xu et al., 2008) and (Fu et al., 2012, p. 327), this was only found in the consumption of the Chinese gaze, as explained earlier in this chapter. As well as in the construction of choreographies around German stages. For example, the mixture of city and nature from "Berlin-Potsdam Tour". Contrary to expectations, taboos, superstitions or fate, outcomes as highlighted by (Mok & Defranco, 2000) were not observable within the findings.

China's current changes in society were also detected in the findings. The study shows how ancient cultural values were manipulated, namely during the Cultural Revolution, in order to comply with political ideologies. As a result, many Chinese citizens are aware of their important ancient culture, however, do not know what specifically it is about. In addition, the findings show the younger generation's affinity to Western practices. Moreover, the uneven economic growth, which has become more evident between society groups back in China, was also reflected during the research. On the one hand, my ethnographies followed middle class Chinese, who saved money for a long time to visit Europe and, thus, were extremely price sensitive. On the other hand, the experts talked about rich and affluent Chinese tourists, whose conspicuous shopping expenses were believed to be covered by corrupted money and whose behaviour had traces of self-importance.

Concerning the tourism industry, this study acknowledges that the business decisions of Chinese diaspora members strongly influence performance. The findings concur with Leung (2004, 2009), which showed that the Chinese package tours business in Germany is quite controlled and shaped by Chinese migrant workers. They are in charge due to their capability to understand the Chinese clients' needs and provide a "home feeling". Moreover, Chinese-run businesses are selected by future performers due to their quick reaction to the clients' petitions and working flexibility. In contrast to Leung's (2004) affirmation that travel agencies are not only service providers but also personal friends, the findings from one of the groups showed that the tour guide did not always care about the group's travel experience or its quality.

The latter can be explained due to the business scheme observed in connection with the GPTs, where the agency placed revenue generation as a priority, instead of the tourist's personal satisfaction. Interestingly, Wong et al (2012) in their study of groups' business model in Macau explained that groups that are not commission-based tend to place a stronger emphasis on the tourists' experiences because the price charged already covers the overall costs. However, the findings of the 3 non-commission based groups observed show that this was not the case. In order to maximize profits, tourists were lead to hotels far from the city centre, meals were not included and non-qualified guides partially told them about German stages (this only being the case in one of the groups

observed, but a general opinion during the interviews). Certainly, democracy discourses were present during the performers enactments (e.g. while reshaping the performance with active negotiation and complaints). However, judging from the “不知道, I don't know attitude” of the directors and choreographers towards complaints, it remains to be seen if the results of these speeches appeared to not be taken into consideration in the development of new choreographies. Similar to Leung's (2004) finding dating back almost 10 years, it is believed that “Price is still the trump card” (p. 160), whereas providing the tourist with a meaningful experience seems to remain excluded. However, this cannot be transferable to every GPT organized by diaspora members. The findings themselves showed the increasing adaptation of the industry by providing different experiences to mass tourists, for example, under the so-called “new tours” offered mostly by online travel agencies.

With regard to governmental controls, the findings of this study start by presenting the contradictions inside the Schengen area. On the one hand, European countries wish to receive Chinese tourists, mainly to inject capital and help them out of their current economic recession (Meikle, 2012 presents an example of the UK). But, on the other hand, there is still strong control of these reverse flows of tourism (Li et al., 2011, p. 640). Similar to (Alneng, 2002) statements, the findings found that there are “asymmetric power relations and xenophobic visa restrictions” (p.135-136) that prevent the facilitation of travel to Europe by Chinese. Moreover, it can be seen that the Schengen countries, instead of presenting a unified regulation front, compete against each other to attract more Chinese at their destinations. Meanwhile, Switzerland and Germany were considered as “playing by the Schengen rules”, yet other countries like Italy and Spain, were known for their visa “shop and pay” scheme. These findings reflect that even when sharing a space in a borderless mega-region<sup>22</sup>, there is a growing gap between countries ideologies (e.g. the European Parliament vote results from 2014) and the application of supposedly general European regulations.

Thereafter, visa plays an important part in the enactments undertaken by the performers, especially since in many cases it dictates the design of travel routes by the choreographers. It is likely that tourists land in or visit a destination out of necessity, just because it was the country that issued the visa first to the travel agent in China. Before this, the Chinese agents had already angled for visas in different European consulates and had to modify the choreographies again and again in order to comply with the visa application regulations in the country where tourists will spend most of their time. With luck and “guan xi”, they might get the visa from a country they initially searched for, but if not, a new choreography will be presented to their clients. This process might be an insult for the consulates or even illegal, but it is certainly what the current uneven regulations promote. However, from the agent's point of view it is better than not providing the tour at all. As for future tourists, they tend to agree to the last minute changes in order to enjoy travelling. This once again shows how the tourists' personal preferences are placed second and needed to be traded for easier visa process.

As far as Chinese control is concerned, this study corroborates the findings of a great deal of previous work suggesting that tourism is a key political and social tool for the Chinese government (Sofield & Li, 1998, p. 363, Tse, 2009, Zhang, 2011, amongst others). This study shows how tourists are regarded as instruments to: 1) improve the country's economy and civilization; and 2) spread China's soft power worldwide. For the first point, by learning from the outside, tourists bring back ideas and

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<sup>22</sup> A concept that is slowly being deteriorated with the implementation of stricter entry regulations, likewise there has been a recurring debate on the possibility of temporarily re-introducing border controls among the state members to reinforce inhabitants' safety.

adapt them to the Chinese reality. Still, these adaptations should not compromise the essence of Chinese culture (Arlt, 2013, p. 132). Furthermore, tourism, as argued by Nyíri (2009), continues to be a civilizing tool, and also serves to let the other citizens know that they are “living lives full of desires and choices and finding a landscape in which they can fulfil those desires” (Klingberg & Oakes, 2012, p. 211), even when those choices are extremely controlled. As to the second point, Chinese tourists are there to serve as propaganda of China’s prosperous economic and political model. By showing the world what they are capable of doing or spending, they contribute to China’s recognition as a world power in global circles.

In order to help their country go beyond its “Third World” position (Shi, 2003), future Chinese tourists need to act out exemplary and politically congruent performances worldwide. To achieve this, the government has implemented civilization campaigns for the performer’s preparation of their role as a tourist and as “folk ambassador”. The findings show how tourists on several occasions stand ideologically for their country (e.g. avoiding manifestations against China or reassuring China’s position in the world). However, within the participant observation, the impacts of the civilization campaigns were not apparent. Only two tourists mentioned that they have had a look at a booklet with government regulations. This may be explained due to the relatively weak conducting of the campaigns in the years before, which started back in 2006 (Tse, 2008), but were probably not forcefully pursued due to other governmental tourism priorities (one of them for example was to control Chinese tourists mobilities by negotiating ADS status worldwide or hold back the status to countries that were not politically aligned with China, such as USA and Canada). However, allowing “ugly tourists” to continue performing without knowing the destination’s rules and conventions, which admittedly makes China lose face (e.g. the Egypt graffiti scandal in 2013), is something the government cannot afford if it wants to succeed in their current geopolitical goals.

As one might expect, all these controls leave little room for Chinese outbound mass organized tourists to enact playful and spontaneous performances. The findings showed how tourists manoeuvred to sometimes act out of tune, this being in agreement with Edensor, 2001; Doorne & Ateljjevic, 2005; Urry & Larsen, 2011. However, performances are far from “an ironic postmodern distancing of the self from ‘reality’ by acting out of fantasy” (Nyíri, 2009, p. 167). But being under control does not mean that tourists are simply puppets fooled by the situations. The findings showed that there is more about organized mass group tourists than stereotypical discourses, as it will be shown in the coming paragraphs.

- b) The study presents insights that allow to corroborate the future presence of organized mass tourists in the Chinese outbound market, as well as to de-inferiorise and de-homogenise the segment.

This study’s findings demonstrate that group package tours continue to be one of the main modes of outbound travel (similar to Lin, Wang, & Chen, 2008, Wang et al., 2010, p. 154). In contrast to Xie & Li (2009) earlier assumptions, no evidence of replacement of sightseeing travel by in-depth tours was detected. Rather, the findings showed that instead of replacement, the market hosts in parallel a multi-constellation of offers both for individual and group tourists, where groups will continue to play an important role in the Chinese outbound market, especially amongst the first-timers. Furthermore, the findings show that people were willing to take part in another GPT, not only those inexperienced travellers will repeat their role as “organized mass tourist”, but also the young and experienced Chinese travellers interviewed.



Cohen's concept of "organized mass tourists" (1972) served as a start for this research, however, it does not entirely cover the characteristics associated with Chinese tourists. As far as Cohen's seminal work in tourists' typologies is concerned, this study indeed found that Chinese group tourists in general "differ considerably from one another in their motivations, travelling styles, and activities, among other things" (Cohen, 1984, p. 378). In addition, as for the specific application of the concept of "organized mass tourists", Chinese were certainly searching for both novelty and familiarity throughout the trip. However, novelty for Chinese mass tourists does not necessarily mean encountering the 'authentic other'. There are other motives for Chinese to participate in organized mass tourism (i.e. recognition in a hierarchical society). Furthermore, it can be seen that Chinese themselves have developed their own travel styles and, therefore, their typologies, which are absent in one dominant type during one single trip (here I could not provide an overlapping example, since it was not the aim of this research to involve in an inflexible categorization of the Chinese tourists' experience). Moreover, the findings show that not everyone enjoys the comfort of the "environmental bubble". As it was explained earlier, tourists put up with many inconveniences and controls while being in this bubble.

The awareness of potential inconveniences that travel might bring, which is created by knowing in advance about the visa applications problems, as well as the possible low quality of the tour due to its cheap price, links Chinese tourists with Maxine Feifer's (1985) concept of "post-tourists". The concept is originally associated with those tourists that did not regard the inauthenticity of the tourism settings as a problem or deceit, instead took a light attitude and decided to play along with what was offered. Similarly, Chinese tourists were aware of what it means to be a group tourist within a low-cost tour. By way of illustration, the tour guide's affirmation: "They know that, the quality they get is what they pay". Owing to this, it is not possible to regard Chinese as merely puppets that do not know what they are agreeing to.

But, why do they play along? Why go on with this self-accepted curse? This study shows that some young Chinese cleverly join a group to fill the gaps of their self-organized individual travels around Europe, others because they found difficult to coordinate with their friends back home and some others with the intention of meeting other students along the road. However, on the whole, tourists are looking forward to the changes celebrated after their performances as mass organized tourists. One of them is the upward mobility in China's society. As mentioned before, travel symbolises prestige and status, therefore, performers are regarded differently amongst their peers back home after performing outbound tourism. Another change is the transformation from novice to aficionado. Tourists gradually gather confidence to move on to the next destination, either as part of a group, with a couple of friends or alone by visiting new found friends from previous trips.

Another important finding, and contrary to previous statements ((i.e. Xie & Li, 2009), was that Chinese organized mass tourists are not that different from independent travellers. This affirmation was possible due to a comparison of my research findings with that of Xiang (2013). Her findings on the characteristics of independent Chinese outbound travellers are a result of the analysis of more than 500 online travelogues of Chinese independent travellers dated from 1999 to 2009, as well as questionnaires to travellers and in-depth interviews. In the study, she argues that independent travellers, similar to group tourists, seek for security during their trip. Certainly, security for individual travellers is not found inside a group led by a tour guide, it comes from intensively "doing homework" about the destination before travel. This is in order to "enhance perceived control over strangeness" (Xiang, 2013, p. 140). According to Xiang, the extensive preparation diminishes the spontaneity

associated with independent tourism and blurs the distinction between individual and group organized tourists. Moreover, individual travellers follow similar routes as those from group tourists and, if possible, would like to indiscriminately tick one sightseeing destination after the other off (Xiang, 2013, p. 146, Arlt, 2013, p. 132). Interestingly, Xiang suggests that individual Chinese tourists are not following the beaten track by exploring beyond the tourist bubble, rather they are “within a bigger bubble” (p. 140). Additionally, she mentions that independent travellers assigned more of their travel budget to transportation and accommodation and less for shopping. This low budget allocation in shopping separates them from the “shopaholic” (p. 147) group tourists. With regard to this perception of the conspicuous shopper, contrary to the original expectations, this study did not find shopping as the number one activity of group organized mass tourists. This can be explained because of the tourists’ price sensitivity and also their motto of seeing more and spending less, which happens to be the same motive of Xiang’s frugal independent tourists. Also, with respect to consumption, several group members, as individual travellers, sought to distinguish themselves from the Chinese perception as shopaholics. It is certain that independent travellers have a greater sense of freedom than group travellers. However, their self-control and uncertainty avoidance brings them closer to the group tourist rather than to the backpacker or “free walkers” they intend to be. In light of this, these findings suggest that inferiority discourses and the dichotomy mass-individual should be less emphasised. Additionally, beyond engaging in a discussion between segments, more should be done to comprehend the Chinese market niches and create choices for each of them.

Further on niches, it was interesting to note the heterogeneity inside a one thought of as homogeneous mass of people and touristic offers. From the beginning of the research, it seemed quite ambitious to try to regard a piece of China’s inhabitants under a uniform mass. Especially when Chinese people themselves are daily negotiating the meaning of being Chinese inside a hybrid society, where traces of communism, capitalism and nationalism under Chinese characteristics cohabit in the everyday settings. It is indeed easier to talk about the Chinese tourists as masses while observing them from afar, but in reality this study agrees with the statement that “there are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses” (Jarvis, 2009, p. 63). This is supported, amongst others, by the heterogeneity in tourists’ wants, needs, motivations, and socio-demographic aspects inside the groups. In general, a reflection of China’s heterogeneous society, culture and consumption patterns.

Additionally, the findings show the gradual appearance of personalised offers that target a more demanding and heterogeneous mass market. On the one side, it is almost certain that there will be itineraries that would allow tourists to “contemplate the flowers from a galloping horse” (Yang, 2014, p. 31 Chinese proverb translation from German by the author) by offering fast-pace tours around Europe and Germany that may put quality and the tourism experience in second place. But, on the other side, it is equally likely that tourism offers increasingly develop to satisfy the Chinese tourism niche’s demands. As shown in the findings, the market is currently evolving. Changes include the presence of smaller groups, packaging of fewer countries, and thematic leisure instead of sightseeing, amongst others. Thereafter, the study probes that previous generalizations of cheap and low quality ((Xie & Li, 2009), (Aramberri & Liang, 2012); (Arlt, 2013, p. 132) are no longer the rule for group tourism.

### **3) To describe the stages where the performances are performed.**

Similar to the previous two objectives, two knowledge contributions can be related to this objective:

- a) In general, the German tourism industry is actively working on changing the discourse associated with the country's stages. Beyond that, there still is limited involvement and influence of the German industry on organized mass tourism

The findings of this study corroborate the ideas from previous studies and reports (Arlt, 2006; Lott, 2007), which suggest that Germany's image as a touristic destination is rather vague for Chinese organized mass tourists. This was different among young Chinese tourists, who, thanks to "doing *their* homework" (Xiang, 2013), could direct their gaze to those objects encountered, principally online or in their classrooms, before the visit. Moreover, a considerable number of tourists did not clearly distinguish Germany from other European countries. They simply referred to Europe as one big tourism stage (similar to Leung 2009).

In order to change the current discourses known about Germany in China (namely those associated with business relations), the findings present some of the strategies undertaken by the German National Tourism Board (GNTB). One of them is conducting online training programs for the Chinese tourism trade. Admittedly, the GNTB certainly concentrates on the pre-performance phase of the tourist, by creating awareness and aiming to share unified information about the country with travel agents and operators in China. However, it somehow neglects what is happening on the stages.

According to the findings, much of the negative experiences of Chinese tourists are related to the poor quality of the mass outbound tours offered. In this respect, the Chinese diaspora members in Germany have started initiatives, such as CAISSA's training for Chinese tour guides or China Tours quality offers for outbound groups. However, this is certainly an area where German authorities and German tourism stakeholders seem to be less involved. In relation to the travel agents and operators, this study shows how there is a clear differentiation between who controls the mass market (principally, Chinese diaspora) and who seeks to attract the self-organised and high end market segments (namely, German operators and renown Chinese diaspora members). According to the research, German operators selected to quest these market segments to avoid the low margins, to bargain and the intense time investment that means to work with Chinese mass tourists and operators. Also interesting was to observe how German operators and retailers are eager that Chinese learn to behave as Western tourists, rather than change their products and services to cater to them. Overall, it is an open market where private stakeholders can choose where to participate. However, there should be more participation of the public German authorities in regulating and setting quality standards to improve the Chinese mass tourist experiences.

- b) The lack of adaptation and clear concept of Germany towards the Chinese outbound market demands rethinking the application of the concept of enclavic stage.

Edensor's (1998) concept of enclavic touristic space partially applies to German stages. The concept supposes that spaces are carefully planned to protect tourists from disruptive smells, sights and sounds. In the case of Germany, the stages are far from those "environmental bubbles" created in non-Western destinations to protect Europeans from the country's reality. For example, those public spaces visited during the Munich and Berlin trips, even when presenting a high density of tourists, served as multi-purpose spaces, where local and tourists simultaneously performed. Thus, Chinese tourists could experience the space without being sheltered from the everydayness of the stage. As an example, if Berlin's Brandenburg Gate was to be an enclavic stage, Chinese would not have experienced the demonstrations about civil rights violations in China, which clearly disturbed some of the group members. It can be said that the "bubble" was mostly created by the performers and

directors themselves rather than being dictated by the space design. Within the similarities of enclavic space, as described by Edensor, German stages maximized the consumption of Chinese tourists (either by visiting German retailer shops and Chinese diaspora tax-free shops inside the urban area or stopping in outlet villages nearby), eased their transit and allow a limited number of performances, where visual enactments played an important part. Moreover, enclavic stages tend to have strong surveillance. This characteristic was greatly present inside closed spaces, such museums and castles. Interestingly, the supervision inside these attractions was not carried out through the “soft control” that Edensor mentioned. Instead, tourists were subject to firm disciplinary instructions (as described by Chan (2009) in the case of neighbour Asian countries).

Contrary to the expectations, this study’s findings show that German stages indeed shared characteristics of Edensor’s (2000) heterogeneous space. The previous paragraph already highlighted two components of this type of space: mixed purposed and mutual co-existence. For Chinese group members, this co-habitation with the locals’ everyday experiences, even for short periods of time, allowed them to compare German stages with those back home. This comparison was previously associated with Chinese individual travellers by Chan (2009), however, Germany’s semi-heterogeneous spaces let group tourists to contrast and subsequently “cast a critical gaze upon their own lifestyle in China” (p.72). From the locals’ perspective, Chinese tourists continue to be a novelty in their spaces. But, as it was highlighted by the research partners, it is just a matter of getting used to seeing them around, as was the case with other tourism groups in the past.

Additionally, heterogeneous spaces are characterized by the contingent and unplanned development of tourism. This was exactly the impression gathered with regard to German stage adaptations and concepts towards Chinese outbound tourism. The findings showed three different stages of adaptation. First, active adaptation to Chinese tourists, like those from the Frankfurt Tourism Board and by retailers that are gradually preparing for their new clients (e.g. cultural and tax-free shopping training offers to retailers). Second, cases where adaptation was superficially done. This was demonstrated in the case of the one-to-one translation of the GNTB promotional brochure from English to Chinese. And third, those with no adaptation whatsoever. For example, Neuschwanstein Castle’s lack of Chinese language signage, even when Chinese tourists are one of the main visitors<sup>23</sup>. This lack of commitment can possibly be explained by Germany’s lower level of dependence on tourism as one of the country’s main sources of income and employment generation.

Having discussed the findings in connection with the initial objectives of this study, I would like to advise on the cautious interpretation of them. As proper in a phenomenology paradigm, this research did not seek for universal truths, but to provide understanding of the subjective multiple realities of the Chinese outbound tourism phenomenon in Germany. Moreover, with the study’s small sample size, especially when considering China’s population of more than 1.3 billion, these findings cannot be regarded as representative or generalizable. Neither can be extrapolated to all Chinese travelling in groups inside Europe or Germany. Moreover, it is equally important to bear in mind the possible bias in the research partners’ responses, as well as the influence of my own values and ethics on the report, analysis and presentation of findings.

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<sup>23</sup> 13.5% of total tourists who visited the castle in 2013 were Chinese speakers, followed by 8.3% Russian speaking tourists GIC, 2014.

## 9.2. Implications on Theory and Practice

As was illustrated in the previous section, the findings from this study made several knowledge contributions to the current literature. First, it provides additional evidence with respect to the application of Western paradigms and theories to the analysis of Chinese outbound tourism. The study shows that the adoption of a phenomenology paradigm and inductive reasoning was effective in conducting research about Chinese tourism. Moreover, by creating a dynamic conceptual framework, based on terms associated with a performance dramaturgical approach and the performance turn in tourism studies, this study advances in the application of Western theories on emergent tourists' samples. With the critical transplantation of performance to the Chinese tourism analysis, this study has reported on the overlapping of both modern and post-modern characteristics of China. Furthermore, the findings not only add to a growing body of literature on tourism performance, but also advance and legitimize some of the ideas of mobilities and embodiment approaches in tourism studies.

Second, the study was able to fill existing knowledge gaps on Chinese mass organized tourists. Regarding this, the empirical findings provide a new understanding of the heterogeneous nature of the mass market. What is more, the study has also gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of China's current society changes due to their reflection on the group tourists' behaviours. From this, the study assists our understanding of the role of internal (the actor's own cultural background) and external (industry and government) controls and the sporadic opportunities for improvisation during the touristic performance of Chinese tourists. Third, the empirical findings provide insider evidence with respect to Germany's emergence and current status as a stage for Chinese performers. The study adds to the literature on Chinese tourists in Germany, but this time from a holistic approach rather than just a management one.

Equally important, the findings of this study have a number of implications for future practice. Firstly, the potential usefulness of the findings in order to plan a long-term holistic strategy for Chinese outbound tourism. For this, governmental and industry stakeholders can make use of the knowledge generated and, most importantly, they can develop targeted interventions aimed at those challenges that Germany's tourism industry still has ahead of it (e.g. change of touristic discourse from business to tourism, promotion beyond stereotypical stages, attraction of others than just first-timers). Secondly, taken together, these findings suggest the need to move towards a heterogeneous market of niches instead of continuing to manage uniform masses.

A first start in this direction should be to concentrate, for example, on those two niches that would most certainly continue to be an important part of outbound group travel: elderly Chinese and VFR travel induced by young Chinese based in Europe. For the first niche, it was clear during the ethnography throughout Berlin that routes are rather physically demanding for best agers. Thereafter, changes need to be made in order to tailor suitable tours for senior Chinese tourists. As for the second niche, namely young Chinese students temporarily living in Germany, their increasing potential should not be neglected. Especially when taking into consideration that the number of foreign students to Germany has been rapidly growing, from around 110,000 in 2000 to 300,000 in 2013; and more important is that from the 2013 figure, the majority of students came from China, followed by Russia, Austria and Bulgaria (Die Zeit, 2014, author translation from German language). Moreover, as was shown throughout the thesis, China has a collective and family oriented society, therefore, social networks need to be preserved. Simple virtual communication (phone calls, chats,

emails, Skype calls) might not be sufficient to preserve relationships, thus, the necessity to periodically visit friends and family away from home.

Due to the above mentioned theoretical and practical implications, this study might be beneficial to: (1) international and European tourism organizations and policy makers (i.e. the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and the European Travel Association, both organisations that regularly report on Chinese outbound tourism); (2) Chinese and German policy makers, amongst others the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) and the German National Tourism Board (GNTB), respectively; (3) tourism industry representatives and stage management; (4) private organisations interested in China's tourism market (e.g. luxury retailers); (5) academics and students, with or without tourism affiliation and (6) general Sino-German enthusiasts.

### 9.3. Areas of Future Research

While at the end of the methodology chapter I extensively pointed out some of the limitations during the conduction of research, in this section I seek to present recommendations for further research work.

Firstly, I noticed during the continuous collection of relevant material for the thesis that Goffman's concepts and conclusions have received attention among Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) researchers and technology writers because they have been helpful for the analysis of the presentation of the self in virtual environments. For example, Vasalou et al (2008) used Goffman's framework to research the self-presentation strategies employed by social media users when creating an avatar. (Vasalou, Joinson, Bänziger, Goldie, & Pitt, 2008). The study showed how users implement impression management techniques to emphasize or conceal values of themselves. Oram (2009), writer of the technology insights website O'Reilly Radar, analysed what identity online means by using Goffman frameworks (Oram, 2009). He highlights how people tend to stylise their front online when posting on social media walls like Facebook or on microblogs. He also draws on how Goffman speaks about the possibility of relaxing a role after several personal contacts and once that trust has been built. However, Oram points out how, on the internet, we cannot relax the role. This is mainly because there our front is presented worldwide and for some people it is encountered for the first time. This brings people to a dilemma of showing the true self or keeping a stylized front that follows universal behaviour instead. Therefore, China being an increasingly internet-based society, it would be worthwhile to conduct virtual ethnography in order to create knowledge on the roles and performances of Chinese travel novices or aficionados on virtual stages.

Secondly, future studies on specific parts of the performance sequence would be quite interesting, for example, in the afterlife of the performance. With this, it would be worthwhile to monitor the long-term effects of the performances on Chinese tourists themselves or even to examine more closely the links between previous tourism experience and social upward mobility.

Thirdly, it would be recommended to design a future research study of the Chinese outbound tourism phenomena, while considering both the GABEK Method and WinRelan 32 Software already from the starting phase of the project. I became aware of both tools when most of the research was already designed for specific objectives and methods. However, after the GABEK and WinRelan 32 training with Prof. Zelger, creator of the method, I found interesting the possibility of using the software to create theory.

#### 9.4. Concluding Remarks: My Aftermath

*"There would be change every year and a great change every three years"*

Chinese proverb

This dissertation represents my personal aftermath as a research performer. In it, I hope that I have managed to cover the dynamics of the ever changing Chinese outbound tourism phenomena by presenting a wide range of voices involved in the topic and trying to communicate the uniqueness of Chinese outbound tourism. By creating new knowledge, this research study provides significant lessons to tourism studies and also to general China and Germany enthusiasts. For example, this project argues that the examination of tourism practices and behaviours of Chinese outbound organized mass tourists under the performance metaphor can provide further understanding on the previously neglected tourism consumption of "non-Western" tourists. It also further concurs with the recent de-differentiation of concepts in tourism studies (e.g. by acknowledging that everyday conventions and habits inform touristic performances of Chinese tourists in Germany), but also highlights that, in some cases, there is still a very clear difference between concepts due to China's overlapping modern and post-modern characteristics. Moreover, the study contributes to increasing knowledge on the organized mass tourists segment, by de-inferiorising and de-homogenizing it. With regard to German stages, the study highlights the opportunities and challenges Germany's tourism industry still has ahead of it.

Additionally, I also hope that this dissertation has managed to reflect my personal growth as a tourism academic. Growth that was sustained, amongst others, by reflecting, reporting, analysing, learning, receiving feedback, being able to criticize my own self, discussing and, above all, building a scientific point of view, which I share with my readers. And, finally, also hope this dissertation serves as a motivator for upcoming research on this exciting multidisciplinary field of research: tourism.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Research Partners Information

#### List of interviews with tourists, tour guides and tour leaders – Field research Germany

LEGEND	OCCUPATION	GENDER	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	TYPE INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
<b>PG1</b>	Tour guide	Male	Shandong/ Berlin	Personal	Aug. 09, 2012
<b>PG2</b>	Tour guide	Female	Shandong/ Berlin	Personal	Aug. 10, 2012
<b>PG3</b>	Tour guide	Male	Shanxi	Personal	Aug. 10, 2012
<b>PG4</b>	Tour leader	Male	Shanghai	Personal	July 27, 2012
<b>PG5</b>	Doctoral student	Male	Beijing	Personal	July 28, 2012
<b>PG6</b>	Bachelor student	Male	Guangzhou	Personal	July 28, 2012
<b>PG7</b>	Administrative employee	Female	Guangzhou	Personal	July 28, 2012
<b>PG8</b>	Bachelor student	Male	Shanghai	Personal	July 29, 2012

#### List of expert interviews – Field research China

LEGEND	FIELD	GENDER	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	TYPE INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
<b>SCH1</b>	Government representative	Male	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 05, 2012
<b>SCH2</b>	Government representative	Female	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 05, 2012
<b>SCH3</b>	Industry representative	Male	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 06, 2012
<b>SCH4</b>	Government representative	Male	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 06, 2012
<b>SCH5</b>	Industry representative	Male	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 06, 2012
<b>SCH6</b>	Industry representative	Male	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 07, 2012
<b>SCH7</b>	Government representative	Female	Beijing	Personal	Sept. 10, 2012
<b>SCH8</b>	Academic	Male	Hong Kong	Personal	Sept. 17, 2012

#### List of expert interviews – Field research Germany

LEGEND	FIELD	GENDER	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	TYPE INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
<b>SG1</b>	Industry representative	Male	Hamburg	Personal	Sept. 11, 2013
<b>SG2</b>	Industry representative	Male	Bad Nauheim	Personal	Sept. 19, 2013
<b>SG3</b>	Industry representative	Male	Wertheim	Personal	Sept. 19, 2013
<b>SG4</b>	Government representative	Male	Flörsheim am Main	Telephone	Sept. 20, 2013
<b>SG5</b>	Industry representative	Male	Dusseldorf	Telephone	Sept. 20, 2013
<b>SG6</b>	Government representative	Male	Shanghai	Skype	Sept. 24, 2013
<b>SG7</b>	Academic	Male	Heide	Personal	Sept. 26, 2013
<b>SG8</b>	Government representative	Female	Frankfurt	Written	Oct. 17, 2013
<b>SG9</b>	Academic	Female	Cologne	Phone	Dec. 03, 2013

**Socio-demographic information from tourists (37 completed questionnaires plus 8 interview partners)**

<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>GENDER</b>	Female	24	53.3%
	Male	21	46.7%
<b>AGE</b>	20 or below	3	6.7%
	21 - 30	16	35.6%
	31 - 40	14	31.1%
	41 - 50	9	20.0%
	60 or above	3	6.7%
<b>OCCUPATION</b>	Architect	11	24.4%
	Student	8	17.8%
	Employee	5	11.1%
	Teacher	4	8.9%
	Tour guide	3	6.7%
	Retired	3	6.7%
	Professor	2	4.4%
	Doctoral student	2	4.4%
	Tour leader	1	2.2%
	Government employee	1	2.2%
	Entrepreneur	1	2.2%
	Travel agent	1	2.2%
	Freelance	1	2.2%
	NA	2	4.4%
<b>PLACE OF RESIDENCE</b>	Shanghai	20	44.4%
	Guangdong, Guangzhou	5	11.1%
	Beijing	4	8.9%
	Shandong, Qingdao	4	8.9%
	Tianjin	3	6.7%
	Shandong	2	4.4%
	Cologne	2	4.4%
	Shanxi	1	2.2%
	Guangxi	1	2.2%
	Hubei, Wuhan	1	2.2%
	Sydney	1	2.2%
Yunnan, Kunming	1	2.2%	
<b>YEARLY INCOME</b>	RMB 300,000 or more	3	6.7%
	RMB 200,000 - 300,000	4	8.9%
	RMB 100,000 - 200,000	8	17.8%
	RMB 55,000 - 100,000	9	20.0%
	RMB 55,000 or less	12	26.7%
	NA	9	20.0%

<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TRAVEL COMPANION</b>	Colleagues	14	31.1%
	Family	13	28.9%
	Travel alone	6	13.3%
	Couple	3	6.7%
	Friends	3	6.7%
	NA	6	13.3%
<b>VISA ORGANIZATION</b>	Visa self-organized	25	55.6%
	Visa organized by a travel agency	11	24.4%
	Visa organized by other option	4	8.9%
	NA	5	11.1%
<b>TRAVEL EXPERIENCE (1)</b>	Inside Asia	33	73.3%
	Europe	27	60.0%
	Germany	23	51.1%
	Others	12	26.7%
<b>PLACES VISITED BEFORE IN GERMANY (2)</b>	Munich	5	21.7%
	Berlin	5	21.7%
	Cologne	5	21.7%
	Others	6	26.1%
	Hamburg	2	8.7%
<b>PREVIOUS TRAVEL ORGANIZATION</b>	By myself	11	24.4%
	By a travel agency (mass product)	9	20.0%
	By a travel agency (customized product)	5	11.1%
	NA	20	44.4%
<b>GROUP MEMBERS</b>	Group "South Germany"	27	60.0%
	Group "Around Germany"	12	26.7%
	Group "Berlin-Potsdam"	6	13.3%

(1) Before their current trip, more than one option possible to select. (2) Before their current trip, more than one option possible to select, percentage calculated in relation to the number of people who visited Germany before.

## Appendix 2. Example of Experts' Interviews Questions

“Performing tourism: Chinese outbound organized mass tourists on their travels through German tourism stages”

Experts Interviews in China - Germany

### INITIAL QUESTION

1. How would you summarize the development of Chinese outbound tourism (COT) from 2009 to now?

### PART 1. COT FRAMEWORK

#### Politics

2. What do you think is the role of the government in the Chinese outbound tourism? How has this role changed through the years?
3. What is to come for the ADS system?
4. Does the creation of tours to Chinese tourists have any direct influence of the government? Is this the case for Germany?

#### Society

5. Do you see a contradiction on “Tradition vs. Globalization” in the society?
6. How is the role of traditional society values in the Chinese outbound tourism? How are the society developments linked to the growing of the outbound tourism?
7. How do Chinese tourists gather up skills to become tourists? Who are their role models?

### PART 2. SEGMENTATION

#### Consumption culture

8. Do Chinese customers operate on the notion of individuality in products and services?
9. How would you describe the diversification of the Chinese customer demands within the last 5 years?

#### GPTs

10. Why do Chinese tourists choose group package tours (GPTs)? What are their motivations?
11. Which are the ethnographic details of the Chinese tourist on GPTs?
12. What criteria do they use when selecting a destination?
13. How the changes in new structures (for example relaxation in visa procedures, increase on niche products) within the Chinese travel market affect the GPT segment?

### PART 3. TOURISTS AT THE DESTINATION

14. Is authenticity important for the Chinese GPT tourists?
15. What are the perceptions of Chinese GPT with regards to “staged” tourism places?

#### Germany specific

#### Stages

16. What do Chinese tourists associate with Germany's tourism stages?
17. How Germany prepare itself for the Chinese tourists? Regarding stage infrastructure, itineraries, product adaptation, etc. Maybe give examples from cities like Munich, Berlin, Hamburg, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, Köln, etc.
18. What role Chinese diaspora members play in the construction of tourist facilities for Chinese outbound tourists in Germany?

#### Performances

19. How would you describe the particular "tourism performance" of Chinese tourists in Europe and in Germany? What is allowed to happen in those "staged/constructed" tourism spaces? Are the activities only privileging the eye or do they include multi-sensual activities? What about the objects Chinese tourists use to perform?
20. Would you consider that there is room for spontaneity in the Chinese touristic performances?

#### Relationships between key players

21. How would you explain the relation of the tourists with the stage-management (tour guides, tour operators, service providers at the destination, etc.)?
22. And the relation between the tourists and the audience (German locals, other tourists)?

#### PART 4. PERSPECTIVES

23. In your opinion, what are the future trends on COT and the GPTs segment?



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September, 2013

# Tourismus-Performance: Chinesische Massentouristen auf ihren Reisen über deutsche Tourismus-Bühnen

## Experteninterviews in China - Germany

### Anfängliche Frage

1. Wie würden Sie die Entwicklung des chinesischen Outbound-Tourismus (COT) von 2009 bis heute zusammenfassen?

### PART 1. COT Allgemein

#### Politik

2. Welche Rolle spielt die chinesische Regierung im COT? Und wie hat sich diese Rolle durch die Jahre verändert?
3. Was könnte mit dem Approved Destination Status (ADS) System passiert?
4. Sind die Tours für chinesische Touristen, irgendwie bei der Regierung reguliert oder beeinflusst? Ist das der Fall in Deutschland?

#### Gesellschaft

5. Kann man einen Widerspruch zwischen Tradition und Globalisierung in der chinesischen Gesellschaft merken?
6. Welche Rolle spielen die traditionellen gesellschaftlichen Werte im COT? Wie kann man die Gesellschaftsentwicklungen mit dem chinesischen Tourismus verbinden?
7. Wie lernen die chinesischen Touristen um Touristen zu werden?

### PART 2. Segmentierung

#### Konsum Kultur

8. Operieren die chinesischen Kunden mit dem Begriff der Individualität bei Produkte und Leistungen?
9. Wie würden Sie die Diversifizierung der Nachfrage der chinesischen Kunden innerhalb der letzten 5 Jahre beschreiben?

#### Group Package Tours (GPTs)

10. Warum reisen die chinesischen Touristen in Pauschalgruppen? Was sind ihre Motivationen?
11. Welche sind die ethnographischen Charakteristika des chinesischen Touristen im Pauschalgruppen?
12. Welche Kriterien nutzen sie, wenn sie eine Destination wählen?
13. In welche Art und Weise wirken sich die neuen Strukturen in chinesischen Reisemarkt auf das GPT Segment aus?

### PART 3. TOURISTS AT THE DESTINATION

14. Ist Echtheit etwas besonders für Pauschaltouristen?
15. Welche Wahrnehmungen haben die Touristen von „staged / constructed“ touristischen Orten?

#### Deutschland spezifisch

#### Bühnen

16. Was bringen die chinesischen Touristen mit Deutschland touristische Bühnen in Verbindung?
17. Wie bereitet sich Deutschland auf die chinesischen Touristen vor? In Bezug auf Bühneninfrastruktur, Reiseroute, Produkteanpassung, usw. Geben Sie bitte Beispiele für Städte wie München, Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Köln usw.
18. Welche Rolle spielt die chinesische Diaspora-Teilnehmer in der Entwicklung von Deutschland touristische Bühnen?

#### Performances

19. Wie würden Sie die Tourismus-Performance der chinesischen Touristen in Europa und Deutschland beschreiben? Welche Handlungen sind auf den „staged“ Bühnen erlaubt? Sind die Aktivitäten nur visuell oder sind sie multi-sensuell? Und welche Objekte benutzen die Touristen in ihrem Auftritt?
20. Würden Sie es für möglich halten, dass es Spontanität in den chinesischen Tourismus-Performances gibt?

#### Beziehungen zwischen Stakeholdern

21. Wie würden Sie die Beziehung zwischen Touristen und “Stage-Management” (Reiseleitern, Reiseveranstaltern, Dienstleistern etc.) erklären?
22. Und wie ist die Beziehung zwischen Touristen und den Zuschauern?

#### PART 4. Perspektive

23. Nach Ihrer Meinung, welche sind die zukünftigen Trends im COT und, im Besonderen, im Pauschalgruppen (GPTs) Segment?

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Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (KU - Dep. of  
Tourism Geography)  
September, 2013





## 问卷调查

### 第一部分：个人信息

1. 性别：

男

女

2. 年龄：

20 岁以下

21-30

31-40

40-50

60 岁以上

3. 职业

\_\_\_\_\_

4. 国内居住地（城市）

\_\_\_\_\_

5. 您的年收入情况：

人民币三十万以上

人民币二十至三十万

人民币十至二十万

人民币五万五千至十万元

少于五万五千人民币

6. 此次随行人员

\_\_\_\_\_

7. 您此次申请签证的方式为

自行申请个人去签证，（如果选此选项，您申请的是那个国家的签证）

旅行社申请，如果选此选项，您申请签证的国家为

其他

## 旅行经验

8. 您已经积累了多少次的旅行经验

亚洲国家/地区境内 \_\_\_\_\_次

欧洲境内 \_\_\_\_\_次

德国境内 \_\_\_\_\_次

其他 \_\_\_\_\_次

9. 如果您曾经来过德国，您曾经去过一下那些城市

慕尼黑

柏林

汉堡

罗滕堡

特里尔

科隆

其他

10. 您是怎样安排您上次的欧洲之行的？

自由行

旅行团旅行（旅行团行程）

旅行团旅行（自选行程）

## 旅行目的

11. 您为什么会选择此次团队旅行呢？

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12. 您相对喜欢旅行团旅行还是自由行？

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## 第二部分：此次行程的行前准备

13. 您是怎样选择这个旅行社的？

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14. 来德国之前，您以何种方式搜索行程信息？

### 旅行社信息

手册

朋友建议

网络链接

其他

### 家人和朋友

( 请详细例举 )

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### 政府相关部门信息

关于各地行为习惯的小册子

政府部门网络公布各类信息

其他

### 个人搜索

( 请详细例举 )

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### 其他

( 请详细例举 )

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15. 在您来到德国之前，对此行有什么期待？

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### 第三部分：关于此次行程

16. 您拿到行程之后，您是否曾期待能有与关中国文化的一些活动经历？

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17. 德国有什么能特别吸引您的地方么？为什么？

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18. 在此次行程中，对您而言，有什么可以更改或者跳过的景点/活动？

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19. 参团旅行有什么让您觉得舒适/不舒适的地方？您可以提供一些关于以前参团旅行的经历。

舒适

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不舒适

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## 第四部分：此次行程之后

这部分研究的目的是进一步了解您的旅行，当您回国之后，希望您提供：

-照片：

在德国境内所拍的照片

...三张巴伐利亚重要景点照片

...三张德国重要景点照片

-**行程日记**，任何你喜欢的风格，请涵盖以下问题内容（可超过一句话）：（可选）

关于您的旅行经验

在德国旅行过程中的最难忘的经历

在德国旅行中最差的行程经验

从旅游经营者（旅行社）的服务，您的一般印象是什么？

您的有什么更多的建议？

您将来的旅行计划

您是否想变化一下旅行方式？您是想计划团队旅游还是自由行？

交流经验/分享照片

您是以何中方式与家人/朋友/同事等等沟通旅行经验？您也可以提供网站信息等。

请将您的照片/旅行日记发至邮箱 [berenice.aceves@gmail.com](mailto:berenice.aceves@gmail.com)

**谢谢!!**

## Section 1. About yourself

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### Demographics

**1. What is your gender?**

- Male  Female

**2. How old are you?**

- 20 or below  21 – 30  31 – 40  
 41 – 50  60 or above

**3. What is your occupation?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**4. In which city in China do you live?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**5. What is your approximate household annual income range?**

- RMB 300,000-or more  
 RMB 200,000-300,000  
 RMB 100,000-200,000  
 RMB 55,000-100,000  
 <RMB 55,000

**6. Who is travelling with you?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**7. How did you get your visa for this trip?**

- I did the paperwork on my own. If so: From what country's consulate?  
\_\_\_\_\_

- Through a travel agency If so: From what country's consulate? \_\_\_\_\_

- Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Travel experience

**8. How many times have you travelled?**

Inside Asia \_\_\_\_\_ times

Europe \_\_\_\_\_ times

Germany \_\_\_\_\_ times

Others \_\_\_\_\_

**9. If you have travelled to Germany, which destinations have you visited up to now?**

- Munich  Berlin  Hamburg

- Rothenburg  Trier  Köln  
 Others \_\_\_\_\_

**10. How did you organize your last trip to Europe?**

- totally by myself  
 totally by tour agencies (package tour)  
 totally by tour agencies (customized tour)

## **Motivations**

**11. What was your main motivation for choosing a group package tour?**

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**12. This time, why did you prefer a group package tour to individual travel?**

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## Section 2. About your planning and preparation before this trip

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13. Why did you choose this specific tour operator?

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14. Before coming to Germany, what kind of information you receive/search from ... that helped you shape your expectations towards the trip?

**the tour operator:**  
(please select from the following)

- Brochures
- Personal advice
- Website links
- Others

**the governmental:**  
(please select from the following)

- Booklet with behaviour regulations
- Government websites information
- Others

**friends and family**  
(please specify)

**your own research**  
(please specify)

**others**  
(please specify)

15. What were you expecting to see before arriving to Germany?

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## Section 3. During your trip

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### Talking about your activities

16. When reading the itinerary, how can you connect one activity (or activities) to aspects from the Chinese culture?

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17. What are you mostly attracted to in the variety of activities presented during your trip to Germany? Why?

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18. Was there anything during the course of the tour that you could have been modified or parts which could have been skipped?

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19. What makes you comfortable when travelling with your group? What makes you uncomfortable when travelling with your group? You can give examples from this group or other groups you have participated in before.

Comfortable:

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Uncomfortable:

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## Section 4. After your trip

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This section of the research aims to further learn about your trip, once you are back to your everyday life. You are asked to provide:

### - Photos

From the images that you made while in Germany,  
... which 3 photos can capture Bavaria's essence?  
... which 3 photos can capture Germany's essence?

Give some comments on why you selected these photos.

- **Travel diary**, written in any style you prefer, answering the following questions (can be more than one sentence for each): (This is optional)

#### Talking about your experiences

What were the best experiences while travelling in Germany?

What were the worst experiences while travelling in Germany?

What was the general impression of the services you received from the tour operator? What would you further recommend them?

#### Talking about your future plans

How about a shift on travel style? Would you prefer to travel by tour group or individual travel on your next trip?

#### Communicating experiences / sharing images

How have you communicated your journey experiences with other possible tourists (friends, family, colleagues, etc)? You can mention links to websites, when applicable.

Please send your photos / travel diary to [berenice.aceves@gmail.com](mailto:berenice.aceves@gmail.com)

**Thanks a lot!**