Opening China to the Tourist Gaze: Representations of Chinese People and Languages in Newspaper Travel Writing since the 1980s

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This thesis is presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

April, 2013

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Abstract

Since its opening up in the 1980s, China has become a major international tourist destination. This study examines the ways in which China has been represented as an international tourist destination since the 1980s both in tourism discourses emanating from the West, represented by travelogues from the *New York Times* (the *NYT*), and from within China, represented by travelogues from *China Daily* (*CD*).

Building on Said's critique of Orientalism and applying the analytical toolkit of critical multimodal discourse analysis, the study reveals that Chinese people under the tourist gaze are represented in only a small number of ways: first and foremost, Chinese people are represented as destination scenery, appearing as symbols of timelessness, human circumstances, and objects in both newspapers. Meanwhile, there are different sub-themes in the two newspapers that fit together in framing Chinese people as scenery. In the *NYT*, ordinary people are portrayed as the 'exotic' touristified Other, faceless masses, and differentiated communities. In *CD*, they are depicted as cultural performers, community representatives, and displayers of ethnic costumes. Second, if presented as engaging in interactions with tourists, Chinese people are shown to be endowed with the subservient character of helpers, being cast in the roles of informants, guides, hosts, and servers. Third, in the *NYT* only, they are sometimes reversely represented as 'foreigners' in their own country who are portrayed as overtly reacting to American visitors. Another way to construct China as simple, exotic, and inferior is through the representation of its linguistic landscape, which is characterized as homogeneous, incomprehensible, lacking English, and lacking correct English.

Overall, the study demonstrates that contemporary travel writing in English, irrespective of whether it emanates from the USA or from China, contributes to the continuation of Orientalist discourses that represent Chinese people and China's linguistic landscape as signifiers of the Other to be consumed by Western tourists.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled "Opening China to the Tourist Gaze: Representations of Chinese People and Languages in Newspaper Travel Writing since the 1980s" has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis did not require ethics approval.

Xiaoxiao Chen (41502841)

April, 2013

Acknowledgements

It has taken the work, care, and support of many to help me complete this PhD thesis. I wish to express my most sincere appreciation to them here.

First and foremost, my profoundest gratitude goes to my principal supervisor Professor Ingrid Piller, for her constant guidance, resourceful mentoring, and unswerving support (scholarly and otherwise) throughout the course of this study. She gave me freedom to explore my ideas and at the same time immediate guidance whenever my steps faltered. Her warmth and her acute and profound intellect always made me leave our meetings revitalized and renewed in my excitement about my project. Seemingly effortlessly and with grace, she taught me to trust my talent while also challenging me and pointing me to new possibilities as she genuinely and enthusiastically engaged with each section of my thesis. Her marvelously insightful and detailed comments had not only helped me get clarity in the thinking and writing process, but had also driven me to become a far better researcher and writer than I was over two years ago. Her kindness, patience, thoughtfulness, and tremendous support helped me overcome many difficult situations and complete this project ahead of schedule. I owe my academic growth to Ingrid. And I remain deeply inspired by her example as a scholar and a supervisor.

My heartfelt thanks are due to my adjunct supervisor Dr Kimie Takahashi for her invaluable guidance on how to live a healthy life while doing a PhD and her feedback on my work at an early stage. By sharing with me her experience of doing a PhD, Kimie had greatly encouraged me to be confident and strong when I felt really low. Special thanks go to Dr Stephen Moore and Dr John Knox who were generous enough to give me the initial supervision before I officially started. Beyond Macquarie, I wish to extend my particular gratitude to Professor James Hamilton at Duke University, for his generosity, enthusiasm, and constant encouragement over these years; to Professor Robert Entman at the George Washington University, for his scholarly stimulation; to Professor Kefei Wang and Professor Kerong Xu from Beijing Foreign Studies University, for encouraging me to accept the challenges of this PhD study. I feel grateful to Professor Deborah Cameron at University of Oxford, who had kindly recommended Ingrid when I wrote to her for her advice on doing a PhD related to critical discourse analysis. Without her, I wouldn't have had the chance to be a supervisee of Ingrid. Of course, I am truly thankful to my examiners for agreeing to read and comment on my thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research problem

Over the past few decades, tourism has gained increased significance and is now considered the largest and the fastest growing industry in the world (Cornelissen, 2005; Fürsich, 2002; Hudson, 2003; McDowell, 1998, May 6). Most research on tourism primarily sees it as an economic activity but ignores its social and cultural role in contemporary society (Fürsich, 2002). Actually, tourism is also a global cultural industry, and further a key site for intercultural communication and for the everyday enactments of globalization (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010). It is precisely in this domain of social life that people who are culturally different interact and negotiate their relationships with each other; they negotiate their own identities against the backdrop of stereotypes, opinions, and norms about themselves, about others and about how to interact. Hence tourism, like all spheres of social life, is underpinned by an axis of power around which revolve the variables of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and age. Tourism discourses are accordingly sites of power struggle where dominant ideologies structure the ways in which tourists see the world and its inhabitants (cf. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Analyzing tourism discourses is then central to any consideration of global power structures and to a fuller understanding of representation as either empowerment or marginalization of social groups.

Clearly, journalistic travel writing is an ideal site to examine the power dimensions of representation. Along with the growth of tourism, travel journalism has increasingly become a major source of understanding foreign places, peoples and cultures (Fürsich & Kavoori, 2001). Indeed, with the waning interest in 'hard' international news and the growing interest in travel writing, perceptions of the Other become increasingly dependent on travel accounts produced by tourism media (Fürsich & Kavoori, 2001; Santos, 2004). Similarly, Fürsich (2002) also notes the increase in the authority and educational power of non-fiction entertainment, such as travel writing, for learning about others. Due to its representational role, travel writing can be approached as a reflection of dominant ideological assumptions that "provide us a means of 'making sense' of social relations and our place in them" (S. Hall, 1981, p. 32).

One perspective on exposing the ideological complexes of tourism discourses is through examining representations of intercultural communication, which is understood in this study as experiences and/or interactions with natives, as well as explanations resulting from observing natives (cf. Santos, 2006). How travel writers choose to represent such experiences and/or interactions situates their writings within a broader ideological framework

of them and their readers, including the power relations within and between the communities of the observer/represemter and the observed/represented (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003).

With this in mind, the current study analyzes journalistic travel writing in terms of the relevant textual and pictorial features contributing to representations of intercultural communication and indicating the ideological framings that determine the choices made in representing. Specifically, it focuses on the touristic representations of Chinese people in observation and in interaction, and their communicative practices. As little has been done in comparing external and internal representations of one destination (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005), this study will attend to this gap by critically examining the Western and Chinese representations of China. Thus, the research problem this study will address is how the essential factors of intercultural communication in China's tourism, i.e. Chinese people and their communicative practices, are represented in Western- and Chinese-produced journalistic travel writing. This study is aimed to explore how such representations are shaped by the ideological forces of tourism discourses and global power structures.

I have chosen China for a number of reasons. To begin with, while the Third World is increasingly a focal point of the strongest tourism growth rate (Fürsich & Kavoori, 2001) and of developing and marketing new and exotic tourist destinations (Echtner, 2002), China in particular is emerging as one of the top tourist destinations of the world (see section 1.2). Moreover, China is a country which was never a full colony of the West but has fallen prey to Western colonial discourses about the East. Looking at the tourism discourses of China, then, is revealing since it shows more clearly how widespread the Western discourses of the East have been and that their production was not necessarily linked to the material conditions of colonialism (cf. Pennycook, 1998/2002). Finally, understanding China and representations of China has been of special importance to me as a Chinese native who has lived and studied in the USA and Australia. This study, therefore, represents an exploratory inquiry of an overseas Chinese centered upon external and internal touristic constructions of China, and I have approached such constructions as both an outsider and an insider.

In the following sections, I will first look at how China has "come out of nowhere" to emerge as one of the leading tourist destinations in the world since 1978. Then I will investigate how China has been represented in the Western travel literature and how China is represented by the Chinese government on the global stage. After this, I will present an overview of the thesis.

1.2   Tourism development in China since 1978

The year of 1978 saw China open its door to the outside world, hence starting a new epoch in China's tourism development. Since then, the tourism industry in China has grown dramatically, which has shifted from a diplomatic activity serving political goals to an economic activity and then to a sector playing multiple roles in China's socioeconomic arenas (S. Huang, 2010; G. Zhang, 2003). In this section, I will first provide an overview of China's emergence as a leading destination and source market, and then consider China's international tourism development which is underpinned by China's drive for modernization in four historical periods, namely 1978-1985, 1986-1991, 1992-2000, and 2001 until the present. Particular emphasis will be placed on government policies and practices, for government policy has been the key driver that has elevated China to be one of the paramount tourism powerhouses in the world (China National Tourism Administration, 2005).

The past three decades have witnessed China's increasing opening up and its rise as a leading tourist destination in the world. By the end of 1978, only 107 cities or regions were open to foreign visitors, with the major attractions being model factories, schools, neighborhoods, and communes (G. Zhang, 2003). By the mid-1980s, tourist attractions such as these were on the wane, yet the travel itineraries were still limited (G. Zhang, 2003). The situation changed significantly in the 1990s when almost all cities in China were opened to foreign visitors and no additional permission was required for travel within most of the country (G. Zhang, 2003). Accordingly, China's position on the world destination list has been climbing since the beginning of the 1990s, and has become one of the top ten ever since 1994 (G. Zhang, Pine, & H. Q. Zhang, 2000). In 2010, China had overtaken Spain and ranked third after France and the United States in terms of tourist arrivals (55.7 million) and ranked fourth in terms of receipts from tourism (USD 45.8 billion) (World Tourism Organization, 2011). In 2011, China continued to rank third in arrivals (57.6 million), a 3.4% increase over 2010, and fourth in receipts (USD 48.5 billion), a 5.9 increase from 2010 (World Tourism Organization, 2012). The world tourism Organization predicts that by 2020 China will move ahead of France and the United States and become the most popular tourist destination in the world with 137.1 million international arrivals, representing 8.6% of global market share and an annual growth rate over 1995–2020 of 8.0% (World Tourism Organization, 1997). China's fast growth as a major tourist destination is closely linked to the government's changing policies and practices in four distinct periods since 1978.

From 1978 to 1985, the nature of China's tourism was politics plus economics (G. Zhang, 2003). During the first four years from 1978 to 1982, the government mainly focused on educational and political visits to China (Lim & Pan, 2005). While tourism was considered

a part of foreign affairs and an economic activity, tourism policies and practices still prioritized politics over economic gains in the early years of this period (G. Zhang, 2003). In 1982, however, the government recognized tourism as an economic activity (Lim & Pan, 2005) with the main function of earning the country's badly needed foreign exchange (G. Zhang, et al., 2000). Tourism thus began to be regarded as a means to reap a "double harvest" in both the political and economic spheres (Han, 1994). Specifically, China's development of tourism in this period, termed a "Chinese-style" path (D. Gao & G. Zhang, 1983), was intended to reflect the superiority of socialism, emphasize the traditional hospitality of Chinese people, and highlight tourism resources such as natural scenery, cultural heritage, and ethnic diversity (D. Gao & G. Zhang, 1983; Uysal, Wei, & Reid, 1986). Thus, tourism in this period served as a "showpiece" of China's socio-political culture and historical traditions, aiming to extend and expand China's relations with other countries and contribute to the four modernizations (agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology) (D. Gao & G. Zhang, 1983). While the goal to earn more foreign exchange was achieved with a three-fold increase from USD 262.9 million in 1978 to USD 1.25 billion by 1985 (H. Q. Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999), the government also learnt from its experiences in dealing with some problems that had presented themselves.

Firstly, a lack of infrastructure and facilities, poor service quality, ineffective administration and management triggered the government to separate the enterprise/operational tourism activities of the government from its administrative functions. In order to solve the problems, the government drew in foreign investment to speed up funding the development of the industry, introduced tourism pricing and enterprise reforms, and established tourism education as well as training programs (H. Q. Zhang et al., 1999).

The end of 1985 saw the Chinese government incorporating tourism into the 7th Five-Year National Plan as a key component of economic and social development. Tourism was proclaimed to be a comprehensive economic activity with the direct purpose of accumulating foreign exchange for China's modernization (Han, 1994; G. Zhang, 2003). The development of tourism has since enjoyed priority in the national industrial policy, which placed its economic impact foremost (G. Zhang, 2003). The period from 1986 to 1991 thus explicitly emphasized the economic contribution of tourism. As stated in the "National Tourism Plan 1986-2000," which was laid down by the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), the goal of the first phase, 1986-1991, was to improve service quality and infrastructure development so as to have five million foreign visitors in 1991 who might spend up to USD three billion in China (Han, 1994). The first period (1986-1991), however, didn't see China's tourism achieve the objectives set in the national plan due to the Tian'anmen Square incident

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in 1989. Moreover, poor service quality still persisted in hotels even though it improved principally in foreign invested and managed hotels (H. Q. Zhang et al., 1999). Generally, tourism by 1991 had developed into a significant industry and had been clearly recognized as a significant economic activity in China.

The year of 1992 witnessed the beginnings of another phase of tourism development (1992-2000) as a result of the 14th Communist Party Congress in October 1992, which marked the establishment of "market economy under socialism" (P. Liu, 1993). As an important economic activity, tourism was closely linked to the general market-oriented policy. Tourism policies and practices were mainly geared toward achieving the goal for this period set in the "National Tourism Plan 1986-2000": China was to become an advanced tourist country which would receive 10-12 million foreign visitors and gain US$ 8-10 billion in tourism receipts by 2000 (Han, 1994). In this period, the areas of foreign investment were further expanded: foreign aviation investors were allowed to operate any aviation business jointly with China except for those related to aviation control (H. Q. Zhang et al., 1999). Resort construction which combined sightseeing and holiday making started with 12 state-level resorts in 1992. Furthermore, tourism pricing, which had previously been set by the government, was decentralized to individual tourism corporations (D. Hu, 1994, September 25-October 9). Meanwhile, tourism promotion was intensified, with CNTA, for the first time, formulating a series of promotional strategies consisting of "Theme Years," "Major Markets," and "Niche Markets" for different themes and markets. Primarily due to these tourism policies and practices, tourism in this period fully recovered from the drastic drop in visitor arrivals in 1989, and then experienced a rapid development with the share of tourism receipts in total foreign exchange earnings increasing from 4% in 1991 to 5.9% in 1995 (H. Q. Zhang, et al., 1999). The goal set in the National Tourism Plan to gain USD 8-10 billion in revenue by 2000 was attained (H. Q. Zhang et al., 1999).

2001 saw the initiation of a new era that has led China to become a top tourist destination in the world. As indicated in the Statement on Accelerating the Tourism Industry Development released during the State Council executive meeting in November 2009, tourism would be emphasized as a strategic pillar industry in the national economy and listed at the top of the agenda for national economic and social development (World Tourism Organization, 2009, December 18). Accordingly, the government called for improved service and management in the tourism sector, which would consume fewer resources and generate more job opportunities. Besides, more efforts would be made to improve tourism infrastructure and enhance tourism training. Further, the government would lower the market threshold to encourage social capital and enterprises of various forms of ownership to invest

in tourism on a fair basis. While demanding more efforts to protect ecosystems, indigenous environments, and historical and cultural heritage, the government also called for collaborative development between the tourism sector and related industries, including culture, sports, agriculture, industry, forestry, environmental protection, and the meteorological sector. Thus, this policy statement clearly demonstrates the Chinese government's consideration of tourism as a system that has the capacity to contribute to a wide range of sectors ("China plans to make tourism a pillar industry, " 2009, November 26). Indeed, since China's accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) membership in 2001, tourism in China has been viewed to play multiple roles to serve both socio-cultural and economic ends in the country's government agendas (S. Huang, 2010).

In this section, we have seen a general picture of China's growth as a leading tourist destination and the Chinese government's policies and practices in four historical periods. It is clear that China's tourism development is closely tied to its socio-cultural and political environment and that there is a trend emerging at the turn of the century that views tourism in China as serving powerful functions in a diverse range of social, cultural, political, economic, and environmental domains (S. Huang, 2010). This general picture of tourism development in China constitutes part of the background for my study, which is also situated in the context of how China is viewed by 'outsiders' and 'insiders.'

1.3   Seeing China

1.3.1   Introduction

In this section I will provide an overview of the representation of China from the perspectives of 'outsiders' and 'insiders.' For the purposes of this study, I consider publications originating outside the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the representations of 'outsiders' and publications originating inside the PRC as the representations of 'insiders.' As regards the representations of 'outsiders' my focus is on 'Western,' i.e. European and North-American accounts.

I will first present a review of Western travel accounts of China, its people and culture in different historical periods, which serves as the historical context of the current investigation. Next I will look at how contemporary China is represented by Chinese actors. I will particularly focus on the concept and use of 'cultural power,' which informs the socio-cultural background of China's self-representation. The two representations are dialectically related and contemporary 'insiders' constructions in particular must be considered as part of China's response to 'outsiders' representations.

1.3.2 'Outsiders' constructing China

Western accounts of China date back to ancient times, and travel writings have played a central role in shaping Western perceptions of China (cf. X. Wang, 2003). The following text is intended to sketch out how Western images of China in travel writings have evolved over time, with emphasis on identifying major themes and tracing historical continuity in these narratives. I will look at how China is generally represented as a land for admiration by continental European travelers from the 13th century to the early 18th century, how the Western image of China shifted to a predominantly negative view from the late 18th century to the 19th century, and how this image persisted through the 20th century.

1.3.2.1 Western travel writing about China from the 13th century to the early 18th century

Western travelers went to and wrote about China as early as the 13th century, when the Mongol dominance in China and central Asia, combined with the European zeal for trade and the religious impetus of the crusades, made possible initial contacts between China and the West (Spence, 1998). The travel accounts about China in this period are a mixture of fact and fiction, which served to establish China as a mythical place in the European mind. The most famous and one of the earliest extensive records of Western travel to China is Marco Polo's text about Kublai Khan's empire of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). During his 17 years in China (1275-1292), Marco Polo traveled throughout the Khan's vast territory, for both commercial and religious missions ("Marco Polo," 2012). Generally, Marco Polo applauds almost every aspect of China, economic, social and political, revealing a sense of awestruck admiration at the enchanting wonders of Chinese civilization. In particular, he marvels at China's prosperous economy, advanced cities, the intelligence and wealth of the Chinese, the splendor and luxury of Kublai Khan's summer palace, and many novelties he encountered in the middle kingdom (Smith, 2007). Additionally, Chinese women are endowed with the characteristics of "chastity" and "decorum" in Polo's account (Spence, 1998, p. 16). Despite his overall tone of admiration for Chinese civilization, Polo observes that China is weak in the ways of war (Spence, 1998).

The initial contacts recorded in the 13th century came to a halt when Europe experienced the Black Death epidemics in the 1340s, the Mongol Empire collapsed in 1368, and Ottoman Muslim power was consolidated over much of West Asia (Spence, 1998). It was in the 16th century, i.e. the Age of Discovery, that European commercial and Christian interest in China began to resurface. The travelers in this period introduce some new elements into the Western view of China while maintaining Marco Polo's admiration of Chinese civilization to

some extent. First, some aspects of Chinese society are considered as exotic: Galeote Pereira, a Portuguese solider and trader, reports on the meticulous practice of night-soil collection, the use of chopsticks, cormorant fishing, the extraordinary density of the population, and the curious crowds that are viewed as menacing; the Dominican friar, Gaspar da Cruz fills in three additional significant areas, namely foot-binding, the Chinese language, and drinking tea. Further, both writers are aware of dark sides to China. For instance, the terrifying descriptions of the techniques of judicial torture given by Pereira became a fundamental source for later Western portrayals of the Chinese capacity for cruelty (Spence, 1998). This is echoed by da Cruz, who vividly describes Chinese beatings of prisoners with bamboo poles (Spence, 1998). Pereira adds another element by claiming that the greatest fault he finds in Chinese men is the practice of sodomy, though he doesn't provide any evidence (Spence, 1998). Apart from the exotic and the harsh aspects of China, some other areas of Chinese life also received their commentary, which is comparatively more favorable: Pereira extols Chinese justice despite the severity of its punishment after comparing it to its European counterparts, introducing a comparative approach to Chinese culture that was to become a central part of Western thought; da Cruz, after taking some efforts to understand the nature of Chinese characters, points out that the Chinese language is not "outlandish" after all (Spence, 1998).

Marco Polo's admiration of China is most clearly reflected in Jesuit Matteo Ricci's manuscripts about China in the 16th century. As the most notable traveler of China after Marco Polo, and, as someone who spent almost 28 years in the country, Ricci generally depicts China in a strongly favorable light, praising China as a vast, unified, and well-ordered country held together by Confucianism. Specifically, Confucius is considered as "the equal of the pagan philosophers and superior to most of them" (Ricci & Trigault, 1953, p. 30), the daily administration of the country is in the hands of officials selected by a complex hierarchical examination based on merit, and China's moral and social life is regulated by complex laws of ritual and deportment inducing social harmony (Spence, 1998). While Ricci makes few criticisms of the Chinese, he does suggest that Chinese science, once a strong part of Chinese culture, had somewhat fallen behind that of the West due to its failure to develop its full potential (Spence, 1998). Moreover, Chinese men are found by Ricci to be too much drawn to homosexual practices (Spence, 1998).

In the late 17th century, there emerged a new source of information on China, the accounts of the official embassies that were allowed to visit Beijing by the Qing government. These accounts moved away from a Catholic standpoint and into a fresh domain of realist reportage. A forerunner of this is Father Francisco Pimentel, a Portuguese Jesuit attached to

the retinue of the Portuguese embassy of 1670. In his opening remarks, Pimentel mostly follows Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci in praising China for its territories, cities, commerce and revenues, and the imperial palace (Wills, 1984). But Pimentel adds some new themes to the Western view of China which are mostly negative: certain Chinese dishes are bizarre, as seen in his detailed description of a sheep's head served at an official banquet, a practice which is further interpreted by him as one of the "intolerable basenesses" of the country (Wills, 1984, p. 209); Beijing is unclean and expensive, as seen in his depiction of dust, bad water, innumerable bugs, flies, mosquitoes, and the high cost of living (Wills, 1984). This negative shift, however, needs to be understood against the background that the Portuguese embassy that Pimental attended was unsuccessful in gaining the trade protections, lowered tariffs, or rights of residence in Peking they had been seeking (Spence, 1998).

After Pimentel, John Bell's (1965) writings of China in the 18th century marked a decisive shift from a Catholic viewpoint to a probing, humanistic and somewhat skeptical view. As a young Scottish doctor in the Izmailov embassy of Russia based in Peking, Bell contributes to the widening of Western knowledge about China by adding more themes beyond the established ones. For instance, he writes about Chinese clowning and the amazing dexterity of Chinese acrobats and jugglers. He is also intrigued by the details of Chinese people's daily lives and the small ingenuities by which people ply their trades and solve their problems. He praises Chinese women for their beauty and clean, modest clothing, but characterizes Chinese men as idle and effeminate. Finally, it is worth noting that he was the first to write about Chinese people who are interested in representing Westerners so that the watchers start to become the watched. Compared with Pimentel, Bell has much less complaint about Peking, which is understandable considering the fact that the Russian embassy had much better luck than the Portuguese embassy in gaining what they wanted (Spence, 1998).

Generally, the early European's admiration for Chinese civilization since Marco Polo lasted until the early 18th century. However, it is notable that negative comments motivated by political and economic self-interest began to emerge from the 16th century; gradually these would develop into more sweeping generalizations about China in the time to come.

1.3.2.2 Western travel writing about China from the late 18th century to the 19th century

It was from the late 18th century that China started to lose its charm in the Western mind, which is typically illustrated by the account of Commodore George Anson as well as the latter part of Lord George Macartney's journal.

In sharp contrast to Bell's writings about China early in the 18th century, Commodore George Anson's account of his voyage around the mid-18th century introduces very negative views of China and its people. Importantly, the context of Anson's visit was diametrically different from Bell's. At that time, the British Empire had expanded to the territories of the Spanish and Dutch empires. Anson and his ships stopped by Canton in 1743 on their way returning to England from a mission to capture Spain's Pacific treasures. Anson insisted that he pay no dues and be furnished with all necessary supplies, which was objected to by the Chinese officials. Anson then forced his way upriver regardless, guided by a Chinese pilot whom he threatened to kill unless the latter obeyed him. Unsurprisingly, the Chinese authorities didn't help Anson and stalled at his every request (Spence, 1998). It was from this impasse that Anson (1748/1974) listed his strongly unfavorable images of China: he describes Chinese people as dishonest and lacking basic creative skills in industry; he considers Chinese characters to be the fruit of obstinacy and absurdity, and ridicules the Chinese language as a giant form of confidence game that can bewilder the Chinese themselves as much as those they want to deceive. To him, China and the Chinese are inferior to the West in all aspects and he therefore concludes that the country would be doomed if attacked militarily by any potent state or even a petty invader (Spence, 1998). Anson's view of the Chinese language was later circulated widely in Europe along with the publication of Anson's account and influenced important thinkers such as Montesquieu and Herder (Spence, 1998).

After being exposed to both positive and negative views of China from Bell and Anson, Lord George Macartney, who traveled to China on behalf of the East India Company and King George III in 1793, was favorably disposed to China at first, as seen in his impressively positive depiction of the 83-year-old emperor Qianlong of the Qing dynasty, who strikes him as "a very fine old gentleman, still healthy and vigorous" with a "dignified, but affable, and condescending" manner (Macartney, 1962, p. 123), as well as in his descriptions of Chinese sailors as strong, intelligent and ingenious in contrivance and resource, and Chinese women as healthy and energetic (Macartney, 1962). By the end of his visit, however, Macartney started to develop feelings close to "raw dislike" of China (Spence, 1998, p. 59). Echoing Anson's dismissive tone in his comment on China's military defenses, Macartney (1962) compares China to "an old crazy first rate man-of-war," which has long overwhelmed her neighbors "by her bulk and appearance," but is doomed under incapable leaders to be "dashed to pieces on the shore" (pp. 212-213). It is clear that this negative view must be seen as a military assessment in the context of British colonial expansion, which had turned toward Asia and Africa since the late 18th century. China had thus become an object of British national policy since then (Harlow, 1952).

Indeed, by the end of the 18th century, Western admiration for Chinese civilization had started to fade, and in its place emerged a much less flattering image of China, which was increasingly reinforced in the 19th century, a period of Western domination and of increasing Chinese humiliation (Gregory, 2003). During the 19th century, the West forced from China all and more of the concessions that Macartney had sought, and obliged them to accept, after several wars, unequal treaties which imposed conditions upon China that greatly extended contact between the two cultures (Gregory, 2003). Western traders, diplomats, and missionaries all gained far wider and more regular access to China, hence forcing upon it a radical reassessment of it traditional values, institutions, and assumptions about its place in the world order (Gregory, 2003). From being generally admired as a stable and well-ordered society that provided in many ways a model for Europe, China came to be seen by most Western observers as "an empire in decay, as a stagnant and backward society having nothing of value to offer a dynamic and progressive West beyond some trade and perhaps some souls to be saved" (Gregory, 2003, p. 116). More specifically, Chinese characteristics in the 19th century are essentialized as dirty, cruel, treacherous, and deprived (Clifford, 2001b, pp. 46-50).

Dirt is used by travel writers to signify the poverty and backwardness of China and to authenticate their experiences of the country, as seen in Eliza Scidmore's (1900) labeling Peking (Beijing) as a "city of dreadful dirt," and Isabella Bird's (1899) complaint about the filthy inns and the filth of a prison in Guangzhou. Cruelty becomes another widely-reported characteristic of the Chinese, as seen in Eliza Jane Gillett Bridgman's (1853) writing about the infanticide of unwanted female children or Bird's (1899) depiction of the horrifying sight of hanging criminals from cages.

Another persistent complaint of this period is the supposed disregard for the truth, which is said to be common to all Orientals (Clifford, 2001b). For instance, Bird (1899) claims that when traveling in China a problem even far greater than uncertain transport or filthy inns is to obtain accurate information from Chinese. It should be noted that she herself sees no reason for telling the truth to her interlocutors, either, and that their supposed deviancy becomes the excuse for hers. Other frequently condemned aspects of China include the following: Sara Conger (1909) notes a widespread disregard for those in misery; foot-binding is another practice that attract regular condemnation as irrational cruelty and a block on the road to progress (Clifford, 2001b). An example of the latter can be found in Archibald Little's (1888/2010) linking of the practice to Chinese dirtiness by noting that foot-binding cripples women and incapacitates them from the active exertion required for house-keeping.

Apart from these major themes of characterizing China as backward and inferior, Chinese are also presented as responding to the presence of foreigners by some women writers. For example, Bridgman (1853) notices a dark current of hatred and hostility to foreign influence flowing in China. The Scottish traveler Jane Edkins (1863) similarly expresses her concern over Chinese crowds, which she characterizes as intrusive and potentially troublesome. Indeed, she is the first to describe the Chinese people as aliens in their own land and a disturbance in the "the flowery land" (p. 60) as which she sees China without its human inhabitants.

In sum, Western travel accounts of China from the late 18th century to the 19th century shifted to be predominantly negative. This negative trend was to continue in the 20th century.

1.3.2.3 Western travel writing about China in the 1st half of the 20th century

The 20th century sees the emergence of more complicated Western representations of China, due to those eventful years in Chinese history and the shifts in the relationship between the West and China. The first half of the century was punctuated by some important events in China: the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, the reign of Chiang Kai-shek, the War of Resistance against Japan's Invasion during WWII, the civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and the final victory of the CCP in 1949. During these years, the relationship between China and the West varied significantly. Sometimes it was marked by co-operation and mutual support, as in the opium trade agreement early in the century and in resistance against Japan during World War II, but at other times hostility and mistrust on both sides predominated (Gregory, 2003). It is also important to note that, over the course of the 20th century, the West came to mean predominantly the USA (Gregory, 2003), and American travelers became the primary China image presenters.

After WWI, China began to appear in a relatively more positive light, even a place from which the West might have something to learn. In a world of homogenizing modernity, China's traditions, which were dismissed as obstacles to progress earlier, began to seem worth preserving (Clifford, 2001b). Correspondingly, there was a transient positive re-orientation in Western travelers' representation of China. For example, the British anti-war and anti-colonialism activist Bertrand Russell (1922) observed after his travels in China in the early twenties: "The Chinese are gentle, urbane, seeking only justice and freedom" (p. 167), and "[t]hey have a civilization superior to ours in all aspects that makes for human happiness" (p. 65). This favorable view of China is also reflected in the American Graham Peck's (1940) account of China in the mid-1930s, in which he praises Chinese people for accepting the

environment as it is without turning it into the air-conditioned, sterilized, and soundproofed mechanical modernized environment of the West.

However, the old essentializing and unflattering stereotypes of the 19th century still predominate in Western travel writing of the time (Clifford, 2001a). For instance, American left-wing journalists, Edgar Snow (1938) and Agnes Smedley (1943), draw on negative images in their descriptions of China. Snow (1938) turns to "filth" as a signifier for degeneration and lack of civilization, while Smedley (1943) evokes images of darkness, barbarity, cruelty, and obscurantism. Graham Peck's (1950) portrayal in *Two Kinds of Time*, too, features images of corruption, superstition, cruelty, and stupid conservatism (Clifford, 2001a).

Once China became communist, the old stereotypes of colonial and Orientalist discourse seemed to fit no more. Indeed, Edgar Snow was the first to praise Red China as "un-Chinese" (Clifford, 2001b, p. 142) and it is to representations of communist China that I will now turn.

1.3.2.4 Western travel writing about China after 1949

With the foundation of the PRC in 1949, China entered yet another era when travel to China was mostly a diplomatic activity (G. Zhang, 2003). Travel accounts by individual visitors mostly only began to reappear after 1978 (Cogan, 2001). It is noted that the dichotomy between unfavorable or negative accounts and sympathetic, positive, or even idealized ones continues.

Indeed, many of the travel accounts of China continue to peddle a predominantly negative image of China mostly formed since the end of the 18th century. Certain aspects of Chinese life are constant targets of complaining. First, China's huge crowds of people is an unpopular sight, a theme inherited from Pereira's writing in the 16th century (see section 1.3.2.1), as now seen in Paul Theroux's (1989) avoiding the crowded tourist sites, Bill Holm's (1990) description of frenzy crowds, Hill Gates' (1999) concern over China's overpopulation, and Mark Salzman's (1990) comment on the unbearably crowded trains. Second, Chinese people are often criticized for spitting and smoking, a theme that is rooted in Pimentel's doubt about the civility of the Chinese (Wills, 1984): Theroux (1989) finds spitting and throat-cleaning are the two personal habits of Chinese that infuriate him most; Colin Thubron (1988) is upset about the trains and buses because they are filled with cigarette smoke and the floor is covered with spit; Salzman (1990) is shocked at the sight of a Chinese colleague spitting during his welcome ceremony. Third, and relevantly, China is constantly described as dirty

and filthy, as it has been since the 19th century: Thubron (1988), Theroux (1989), and Salzman (1990) complain about the filthy trains while Peter Hessler (2001) claims to have learnt to put up with the noise, dirt and pollution after his initial complaining. Fourth, the Chinese bureaucracy is also high on the list of negatives, which is reminiscent of European hostility toward China's traditional forms of ritualized subservience since the 17th century (Spence 1998). Thubron (1988) rebukes the members of the bureaucracy as merely modern-day mandarins who are vain and stubborn and routinely ignore the common people, a point supported by Salzman's (1990) description of his encounters with some local officials in Changsha and his run-in with a girl in a coffee shop in Hangzhou. Fifth, Chinese people are described as too curious about foreigners, again a theme touched upon by Pereia in the 16th century and Bell in the 18th century (see section 1.3.2.1). This can be seen in Thubron's (1988) depiction of some people staring at him with "a dull, hopeless disconnection" (p. 115), and similarly in Theroux's (1989) portrayal of the Chinese showing persistent but innocent curiosity about everything he does. Finally, Chinese food is often negatively described, echoing Pimental's comment in the 17th century (see section 1.3.2.1). Examples include Thubron's (1988) citation of the names of Chinese dishes that sound disgusting and Theroux's (1989) comments on the food made from wild animals.

Chinese violence and cruelty, too, has continued as a frequent topic of Western travel writing since the 16th century (see section 1.3.2.1). Thubron (1988), for instance, dwells on Chinese violence and cruelty as apparent in the Cultural Revolution, wife-beating, and Canton food markets selling dogs, cats, or monkeys. Theroux's (1989), too, is highly critical of Chinese treatment of animals, such as keeping birds in small cages.

Chinese cities constitute another aspect of China that is rarely presented in a favorable light. For example, Thurbon (1988) describes Chongqing as nothing but ugliness and pollution and Theroux (1989) expresses his strong dislike of Chinese cities in general, as does Terzani (1985). Additional foci of Western criticism include the service industry (Thubron, 1988; Theroux, 1989), school conformity (Thubron, 1988), plagiarism in education (Hessler, 2001), and Chinese xenophobia (Holm, 1990) (for similar comments in the 19th century, see section 1.3.2.2).

On the other hand, a few travel writers in the same period express their appreciation of China, its people and culture, reflecting a continuity of Marco Polo's admiration. Concerning the people in general, the distinguished American playwright Arthur Miller (Morath & Miller, 1981) applauds the sense of beauty embodied in the people that exists in the young as well as the old and extends to arts and crafts and even food. While there is much about Chinese

culture that Bill Holm (1990) finds charming, he particularly sees a people with a shortage of material goods but an abundance of inner tranquility and tradition. In his eyes, the Chinese are a very civilized people, as seen in people's love of calligraphy and poetry, their concern for human relations, their sense of history, and the grandeur of their hospitality. Moreover, Chinese women are praised for their hard work, intelligence, competence, and fortitude by Hill Gates (1999), a woman anthropologist. Finally, the Chinese younger generation has received some positive comments, e.g. Spender and Hockney (1993) are favorably impressed by Chinese children's "perfect manners, gaiety, charm, color, and happiness" (p. 103); likewise, Gates (1999) praises the civility and discipline of Chinese children; Holm (1990) is particularly touched by his Chinese students' thirst and desire for knowledge and their dedication to learning to communicate in English, in sharp contrast to his American students who have the best of everything but have no interest in the non-materialistic side of life.

While it is impossible to exhaustively cover all the negative and positive representations of China since 1978, it can be safely summed up that unfavorable representations of China predominate and that contemporary travel writing of China continues to follow a limited number of stereotypical tropes.

1.3.2.5 Summary

In this section, I have reviewed how China has been represented by Western travelers since the 13th century. There are a number of continuities over different historical periods, such as a predominantly negative view of select aspects of China ever since the 16th century overshadowing but also co-existing with an admiration of Chinese civilization. Essentially, there is an emphasis on the Otherness of China in relation to the West. While Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci admired China as a model for the Europe, their followers have kept reminding their compatriots that Chinese culture and people are peculiar. This peculiarity is sometimes constructed in a relatively favorable light to evoke a sense of exoticity. More often than not, however, this peculiarity is framed in terms of the backwardness, the dark side, the incomprehensible or intolerable part of Chinese culture and Chinese life style, which is set in stark contrast to the Western modern ways of organizing society and domestic life. Thus, the predominantly negative image of China created since the end of the 18th century has remained largely unchanged.

1.3.3 'Insiders' constructing China

As discussed in section 1.3.2, ever since the late 18th century, the Western image of China has changed from a generally positive to a predominantly negative view, especially

after China's traumatic defeat in the two Opium Wars. It is in this period that China came to be seen as "a country from which the West had nothing to learn, a country stuck far back on the inevitable upward march of progress, a country that could only start to move upwards on that long march if it adopted modern Western practices" (Pennycook, 2002, p. 168). Correspondingly, the Chinese government and the general public had exerted strenuous efforts to revitalize and modernize the country since the mid-19th century (P. Chen, 2004), in order to improve its national image. China's modernization drive has gained greater momentum since the opening up of 1978. China's development model, as revealed by studies such as Barabantseva (2012) and Y. Yan (2007), is primarily based on the paradigm of Western modernization while asserting the uniqueness of its culture and identity. It is from this development approach that China has set out to build a brand new international image of the country.

In this subsection, I will turn to look at how China is represented by what could be termed 'insiders,' namely the Chinese government, to project a desirable international image on the global stage. Hence the following discussion is intended to delineate the historical and social context of China's self-representation. However, it is not intended to address exhaustively all important issues regarding China's image building efforts. Instead, I will focus on socio-cultural representations of China as they emerged in China's application of 'cultural power.' The reason for the focus on 'cultural power' is due to the fact that culture is a major determinant in China's tourism development (F. M. S. Li, 2008). 'Cultural power' is a key element of China's soft power, i.e. its attempt to shape how it is viewed internationally.

The concept of soft power was proposed by Joseph Nye (1990), who differentiates two types of state power: soft power as the ability to get others to want what you want through attraction and persuasion; hard power as the ability to get one's way through coercion and inducement (pp. 31-32). Soft power has become increasingly important with the advent of the information revolution and globalization of the economy (Cho & Jeong, 2008). The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: culture, political values, and foreign policies (Nye, 2002, p. 12). Among them, culture plays a pivotal role in the exercise of soft power. As the former Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew (1996, as cited in Gill & Huang, 2006) put it, "soft power is achieved only when other nations admire and want to emulate aspects of that nation's civilization" (p. 17). Being the world's oldest continuous civilization, China boasts some unique advantages in expanding its cultural power. The 1978 reform and opening-up has created incentives for Chinese leaders to increase the nation's cultural influence, leading to growing international interest in Chinese culture. In the following, I will discuss the most noticeable aspects of China's deployment of its cultural

power in boosting its international image, namely traditional culture, education, media, sports, and technology (cf. Barr, 2012; N. Chen, in press; Ding & Saunders, 2006; Hunter, 2009).

1.3.3.1 Traditional Chinese culture

In order to enhance the understanding of Chinese culture, the Chinese government has been very active in promoting China's civilization and legacies overseas. Chinese leaders believe that by making China's traditional value systems known to the world, China can hope to dissolve the conception of its development as a 'threat' to other countries (" 'China Threat' Fear Countered," May 29, 2006). Among the many attributes of Chinese culture, Confucianism is a core factor that presents Chinese values in a different way from the West. The founding of the Confucius Institutes (CIs) stands out as the clearest physical representation of China's will to promote its culture to the world. Patterned after Germany's Goethe Institute or France's Alliance Française, the China National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (NOTCFL or *Hanban*) under the Education Ministry established the first Confucius Institute (CI) in Seoul, South Korea in March 2004, with a mission to promote the Chinese language and culture in host countries. By 2010, 322 Confucius Institutes and 369 Confucius Classrooms had been established in 96 countries and regions (L. Li et al., 2010). In 2006, *Hanban* mapped out an even more ambitious plan of establishing 1,000 Confucius Institutes by 2020 ("Confucius Institute, " 2006, October 2). The 2007 CI Conference report emphasizes its "Efforts to Build the Confucius Institute Brand," a brand that will bring China greater popularity, reputation, more social influence and generate more support from local communities (J. Chen, 2008, as cited in Barr, 2012, p. 89). CIs can thus be seen as a type of impression management, an effort to enhance China's international image (Barr, 2012). This actually fits well with China's notion of peaceful development, as witnessed from the official CI logo, which features a white dove with its wings spread to embrace the globe, which extends a stylized arm to embrace the dove. CI's choice of imagery is intended to express China's desire to develop peacefully and to persuade the world to welcome China's growing presence and influence in it (Barr, 2012). Therefore, the booming CIs reflect a materialization of the Confucian revival, which is a key motivating factor for China's realization of modernity (Hui & Karl, 1998). Confucianism, which was regarded as a barrier to modernization in the early period of the PRC, is now employed by the Chinese government as a symbol of the new China: harmonious, orderly, educated, respectful, and unified (Barr, 2012).

Accompanying the promotion of China's language and culture through the CIs in the world, China has been attracting increasing numbers of international students. Since 1978, the

enrollment of foreign students in Chinese universities has seen a steady growth. By February 2011, there were 292,611 foreign students from 194 countries and regions studying in 660 universities, institutes and other academic organizations of China according to the news from China's Ministry of Education (X. Ma, 2012, March 1). Among them, 25,687 students won scholarships from the Chinese government, up 15 percent compared to that of 2010; the number of self-funded students was 266,924, up 10 percent compared to that of 2010 (X. Ma, 2012, March 1). In 2011, the ministry set out its plan to use cooperative educational programs to draw 500,000 foreign students to China by 2020 (G. Wang, 2011, March 4). While a major influx of international students in China is driven by the country's booming economy, this dramatic growth in foreign enrollments also mirrors China's role as 'the cultural magnet of Asia' (Gill & Huang, 2006). According to the Ministry of Education, more than three quarters of foreign students went to China to study academic disciplines of general cultural concern like Chinese language, arts, history, philosophy, and traditional Chinese medicine (Gill & Huang, 2006; Y. Huang & Ding, 2006).

1.3.3.2 Contemporary Chinese culture

While China's traditional culture holds compelling interest for international students, the vitality of China's contemporary culture is drawing fans from around the world as well. China's modern arts, movies, popular music, and dance form part of the popular cultural scenes in many countries. In particular, some Chinese (including Taiwanese) movies such as *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Hsiu, Kong & Lee, 2000), *Hero* (Yimou Zhang, 2002), *Kung Fu Hustle* (S. Chow, Chui & Lau, 2004), and *House of Flying Daggers* (Kong & Yomou Zhang, 2004) did extremely well at the international box office. The former three are respectively ranked the first, the third, and the tenth highest-grossing foreign language movies in U.S. history (Box Office Mojo). Besides, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* was the first non-English language movie to gross more than $100 million in the history of American box office (Ding & Saunders, 2006). Interestingly, all these movies feature some elements of traditional Chinese culture, such as martial arts and Chinese music, as well as some modern elements of fantasy, adventure, romance, comedy, etc. This mixing and blending of different elements in movies exemplifies China's attempt to enhance the global appeal of its local cultural products.

In addition, China produced its "national publicity film" in 2010/2011, serving as a more conspicuous example of China's enhancing its image abroad through media. The film features a 15-minute feature of "Perspectives" (Shen & Gao, 2011), and two versions of "People" (Shen & Gao, 2011) (60-second and 30-second). The 60-second version of People,

featuring Chinese celebrities from sports, science, business and entertainment, began screenings in New York City's Times Square on January 17, 2011 (W. Chen, 2011, January 19), and it ran 300 times a day across six giant screens in Times Square in New York (Barr, 2012). The longest one, "Perspectives" (Shen & Gao, 2011) features the changes and challenges of China since the country's opening up in late 1970s. It highlights how China preserves its own special character while embracing the world. It explicitly combines China's domestic inclusion of ethnic minorities with its international cosmopolitanism, emphasizing its flexibility and unity. Briefly it represents China from multifaceted angles and in terms of a mix of different cultures that are now co-existent in China: Han traditional and contemporary cultures, ethnic minority cultures, and Western cultures (Shen & Gao, 2011).

In other areas of popular culture, such as sports, China has been actively expanding its cultural influence, specifically by utilizing its human capital and hosting the 2008 Olympic Games. For example, Yao Ming, the Chinese basketball star who plays with the Houston Rockets of the National Basketball Association (NBA), is hailed for projecting a wholesome image of today's China and boosting China's soft power (Xiang Zhang, 2011, July 21). After he became the top overall pick in the 2002 draft, Yao had played for eight seasons in the NBA. He averaged 19 points and 9.2 rebounds and has been named in the NBA All-star team eight times. Yao made the cover story of the Asian Edition of Time Magazine twice, and was selected by the magazine as one of its "100 most influential people in the world today" twice (Xiang Zhang, 2011, July 21). In addition, Yao's humor, modesty, perseverance, and sense of responsibility represent the traits Beijing wishes to be seen as synonymous with those of a new China. Thus Yao is particularly commended by Jin Shan, an expert on sports studies with Beijing Academy of Social Sciences, as "a cultural ambassador of China" and "a window to display China to the outside world" (Xiang Zhang, 2011, July 21). The basketball legend of Yao Ming, however, is only part of China's projection of national ambition through sports, a yearning that is particularly powerful in Beijing's hosting the 2008 Olympic Games. Since China's debut in the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, the Chinese government had started its efforts to use the Olympic Games to display its cultural power. The 2008 Summer Olympics was assuredly a pivotal event in promoting the image of the new China to the world because it was China's first opportunity to play host to the world's premiere sporting event. China strived hard to deliver on its promise of staging the Olympic Games successfully and in accordance with its key concepts of People's Olympics, High-tech Olympics, and Green Olympics (Manzenreiter, 2010), which were believed to be targeted at the three most commonly held views of China: a general lack of human rights, low-quality manufacturing of Chinese products, and a poor record of environmental awareness (Berkowitz, Gjermano,

Gomez, & Schafer, 2007). It is widely believed that the Chinese government used the Beijing Olympics as a showcase of its national achievements (Berkowitz et al., 2007), and a tremendous opportunity to "promote the China Brand" (Yiwei Wang, 2008, p. 264), and "to educate the world about modern China" (Cull, 2008, p. 135).

A relatively more complete discussion of China's self-representation needs to include an overview of China's soft power derived from research and technological innovations (cf. Ding & Saunders, 2006, p. 17). The Chinese government has been promoting science and technology (S&T) research since the foundation of the PRC in 1949. The State council of the PRC in 1995 issued "Decision on Accelerating S&T Development" which sets S&T as the chief productive force that affects economic development, social progress, national strength, and people's living standards (US Embassy Beijing, 1996). China has since increased its expenditure on research and development (R&D): from 2000 to 2008 China's gross R&D spending rose by an average of 22.8% annually which increased the share of R&D in GDP from 0.9% to 1.54%, and China is targeting at a 2.5% share by 2020 (UNESCO, 2010). Specifically, China sees scientific research and technology as core to achieving economic and political goals as well as national prestige (Kang & Segal, March 2006). Thus the 2010 Shanghai Expo provided China an opportunity to present to the world "a leading model of future global development with a particular emphasis on technology and innovation" (Barr, 2012, p. 85). In essence, this mega-event represents another attempt by China to promote its national image on the global stage. The Expo organizers sought a balance between combating negative stereotypes of China while reinforcing positive ones to cater to the taste of foreign visitors (Barr, 2012). The positive was highlighted by the very structure of the China Pavilion, "the Crown of the East," which is painted in China red and has a distinctive roof made of traditional *dougong* or interlocking wooden brackets dating back over 2,000 years (Expo 2010 Shanghai China, 2010). On the other hand, negative stereotypes of China, in this case that of a world polluter, were counteracted by the content of the China Pavilion that stresses China's commitment to sustainable development and an environment-friendly and resource-saving "Green Expo" (Expo 2010 Shanghai China, 2010).

In addition to the expanding reach of Chinese culture through traditional values, media, sports, and technology, China's growth in cultural power is also mirrored in the country's booming tourism industry (see section 1.2). In a sense, it is China's commitment to international cultural interactions and exchanges in these aspects that have brought about the dramatic increase of foreign tourists to China (Y. Huang & Ding, 2006). Hence, the above discussion serves as the socio-cultural background for me to look at how China represents itself in tourism discourses.

1.3.4 Summary

The above two sections are intended to provide respectively a historical background of Western representation and a socio-cultural context of China's self-representation for my investigation of how China is represented in tourism discourses. Western travelers' views of China have developed from Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci's admiration of Chinese civilization to an increasingly negative perception of China from the end of the 18th century until the first half the 20th century, and then to a more complicated picture of Western travel accounts of contemporary China which still feature many of the age-old negative images. This historical evolvement in the Western perception of China has had repercussions on the ways in which contemporary China represents itself on the global stage. In other words, China's self-representation can actually be considered the country's response to Western representations of China, as discussed in section 1.3.3. Thus, by promoting traditional Chinese culture, China intends to assert the uniqueness of its culture and identity, and by presenting its contemporary culture China demonstrates its increasing integration into the global community.

1.4 Overview of the thesis

In the previous sections, I have raised my research problem and laid out the socio-historical and cultural background for this study. The research problem this thesis wishes to address is how Chinese people and their communicative practices are represented in journalistic travel writing produced by both Chinese and Western sources. With this in mind, I have then reviewed how China has grown into a leading tourist destination in the world since 1978, how China has been represented by Western travelers, and how China is represented by its government on the global stage.

Chapter Two serves three purposes. First, it delineates critical multimodal discourse analysis (CMDA) as the overarching theoretical framework for my study, particularly focusing on the implementation of CMDA in examining the verbal and pictorial representations of Chinese people and their communicative practices. Second, it presents Said's (1978/2003) critique of Orientalism as a specific perspective from which I view and understand the touristic representations of China in online newspaper travel writing, and discusses how Said's critique of Orientalism has been applied to analyzing travel writing, laying specific emphasis on Mary Louise Pratt's (2008) conceptualization of the contact zone and transculturation and David Spurr's (1993) taxonomy of the rhetorical tropes utilized in colonial discourses. Third, it provides an overview of relevant studies that undergird my research. These include previous critical studies on tourism representations of the Other in

media discourses, critical research concerning tourism representations of people native to destinations, and former studies that concern the uses and representations of languages in touristic communication practices.

In Chapter Three, I describe my methods of data collection and the corpus design, as well as the methods of data analysis. My corpus consists of three sub-corpora: the contemporary sub-corpra of travel articles and pictures from the *New York Times* (*NYT*) (2000-2010) and *China Daily* (*CD*) (2006-2010), as well as the diachronic sub-corpus of the *NYT* (1981-1999). I close that chapter by addressing the issue of ensuring the quality of research results and the limitations of this study.

Chapters Four focuses on how Chinese people are predominantly represented as destination scenery for the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002). I begin with three themes common to both newspapers: Chinese people are depicted as symbols of timelessness, as circumstances of destinations, and as objects. Then I analyze the seemingly disparate themes in the two newspapers that fit together in constructing Chinese natives as tourist attractions. Specifically, I discuss how they are transformed from ordinary people into the 'exotic' Other, how they are aggregated into faceless masses, and how certain communities are differentiated from the majority in the *NYT*. Meanwhile, I examine how they are framed as performers of cultural heritage, community representatives and displayers of ethnic costumes in *CD*.

Chapter Five continues exploring the touristic representations of Chinese people by investigating how they are presented in interactions with tourists. I start with an examination of how Chinese people are cast in the subsidiary role of helpers in both newspapers, and then I consider how Chinese people are framed as 'foreigners' who react curiously and overenthusiastically to the presence of American visitors in the *NYT* (1981-2010). The analysis of this chapter demonstrates the asymmetrical relations of power between tourists and natives, with the latter hardly being represented as equals of travel writers.

In yet another findings chapter, Chapter Seven, I look at how Chinese people's communicative practices and China's broader linguistic landscape are represented as indexes of specific groups of people and China as a specific travel destination. I specifically focus on how the ideologization of Chinese languages and English are achieved through the three semantic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure. I first examine how Chinese languages are represented to index China as a homogeneous and exotic Other, then I analyze how the uses of English in China are represented as the inferior Other. In the following discussion, I reflect on the power relations between English and Chinese languages thus

constructed, showing that English is esteemed as a lingua franca, whereas Chinese languages in general are considered to be of lower standing.

In the concluding chapter, I discuss my main findings in relation to the research questions, emphasize my findings about constructions of Chinese identity, and then highlight what gaps my study has filled before suggesting several promising avenues for future investigations. These include examining other sources or types of data, integrating corpus linguistics into CDA, conducting ethnographic research on tourism representations, adding more perspectives to comparative studies, and introducing other inquires about the product of tourism construction.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical lens through which I view and understand the tourism representations of China in newspaper travelogues, as well as an overview of relevant literatures that undergird my research. To begin with, I will discuss critical multimodal discourse analysis (CMDA) as the primary overall theoretical and methodological framework for my analysis of newspaper travelogues. Following this, I will explore Said's (2003) critique of Orientalism as an essential perspective to view tourism representation of China as the Other. Then, I will discuss previous critical research on tourism representations in media discourses.

2.2 CMDA

This section is devoted to an explication of CMDA as the overarching framework for my study. First, I will justify my choice of CMDA as the overall framework. Next, an overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA), the theoretical grounding of CMDA, will be presented, with its definition, general principles, and relevant key concepts being delineated. After this, I will discuss the implementation of CMDA in examining the verbal and pictorial touristic representations of Chinese people and China's linguistic landscape in the current study.

2.2.1 Rationale for employing CMDA

CMDA is a relatively new extension of CDA, which, in turn, has been called "one of the most influential and visible branches of discourse analysis" (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 447). Given that CDA originated in the field of linguistics (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000), many of its most prominent scholars, including Fairclough (1992), van Dijk (2001a), and Wodak (2001b; Wodak & Meyer, 2009), contend that CDA requires the examination of linguistic manifestations. However, after Kress (1993) and van Leeuwen (1993) extended the CDA notion of text to include non-linguistic semiotic elements, CDA researchers began to use CDA methods to examine a much wider range of semiotic components, linguistic and non-linguistic, in what has since come to be known as CMDA. Researchers have employed CMDA to examine a variety of semiotic resources used by social actors to construct and contest social meanings, such as imageries in news media (Yrjola, 2011); images and TV soaps (Wodak, 2011); drawings, maps, pictures, and toys (van Leeuwen, 2008); music

(Thompson, 2002); photographs and other graphic elements (Iedema, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006); political cartoons (Curticapean, 2011); texts and images in printed media and television (Lassen, Strunck, & Vestergaard, 2006). By linking the key principles of CDA with social semiotic theory, CMDA allows for a better understanding of how verbal and other forms of semiotic signs are utilized to construct, legitimate, and challenge social power.

As a CDA approach, CMDA shares the general purpose of CDA, i.e. to examine power relationships through the systematic investigation of semiotic data, be they written, spoken or visual (Wodak, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CMDA specifically is a CDA in which "[t]he analysis and interpretation of language use is contextualized in conjunction with other semiotic resources which are simultaneously used for the construction of meaning" (O'Halloran, 2004). Compared with traditional CDA which concerns primarily language use (Fairclough, 1992), CMDA takes into account both linguistic choices and the functions of other semiotic means, together with the meaning arising from the integrated use of various semiotic resources.

I consider CMDA the most appropriate framework for my study due to the nature of multimodality in newspaper travel writing. The term "multimodality" was first noted by sociolinguists to refer to the use of multiple linguistic and semiotic resources to invoke meanings in human social interaction (O'Halloran, 2004). According to early conversation analysts studying face-to-face communication, multimodality implies that verbal and non-verbal behaviors are equally important in contributing to "an overall social ecology of mutual influence among interactional participants" (Erickson, 2004, p. 198). In communication situations with no direct human face-to-face interaction, however, multimodality can be interpreted as a combination of textual and other semiotic modes that are organized to represent and communicate. Those modes may include verbal texts, visual images, sound, and structural configurations of these elements (Jewitt, 2004). As a type of contemporary travel writing, newspaper travelogues are inherently multimodal, primarily consisting of two modes, verbal texts and their accompanying pictures. In order to unpack how the linguistic and visual elements work, individually and collectively, to construct China as a tourist destination, I deem CMDA as the best methodological approach because it allows for a comprehensive exploration of the multiplicity of verbal texts and pictorial elements that are superimposed upon or embedded within one another in newspaper travel writing. Indeed, the key to making sense of the discursive constructions of these travelogues is trying not to narrowly focus on a single representational mode but to emphasize the interdependent nature of the two modes in orchestrating a coherent meaning.

2.2.2 Overview of CDA and relevant key themes

Given the theoretical grounding of CMDA in CDA, it is necessary to delineate relevant key themes in CDA. This section is not intended to be an exhaustive review of CDA but an overview of the model of CDA employed in this study, which is influenced primarily by the dialectical-relational approach of Fairclough (2003, 2009) and the discourse-historical approach of Wodak (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2001a). Additionally, my understanding of relevant key concepts in CDA also draws on insights from the works of van Dijk (2001b, 2009) and Blommaert (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

According to Fairclough (1995b), CDA is the study of:

> often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 132)

Here, Fairclough highlights the role of discourse as dialectically related to society and culture. Furthermore, CDA sees discourse itself as a form of social practice. Summarizing the defining characteristics of CDA, Wodak and Meyer (2009) observe that CDA is fundamentally interested in analyzing "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (p. 10). CDA thus provides me with a means to critically investigate how ideologies and power are meant to manipulate discursive constructions of touristic experiences in China.

One of the key principles of CDA is that it is concerned with social problems making it interdisciplinary and eclectic. For example, many CDA studies focus on dominance relations exerted by elite groups and institutions and enacted, legitimated, or reproduced in text and talk (van Dijk, 1993, p. 252). Wodak (1996, pp. 17-20) summarizes the main tenets of CDA as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture, which are also shaped by discourse.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.

- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action.

In sum, CDA's concern with demystifying ideological relations of power and inequality and its socially engaged position make it ideally suited for my research concerns: I am attempting to explore the discursive construction of China as a tourism destination in English-medium newspapers through a systematic examination of semiotic data in their socio-historical context.

CDA with its aim to "investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimated, and so on" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10) is ideally suited to an exploration of tourism discourse as the latter is a reflection of asymmetrical power relations between the representer and the represented (see section 1.1).

In the following, I will identify three key themes that require further discussion as they are relevant to my study: the relationships between discourse, text, and context; the implication of critique; and ideology and power in discourse.

2.2.2.1 Discourse, text, and context

In van Dijk's view, discourse is "a multidimensional social phenomenon" (van Dijk, 2009, p. 67). Van Leeuwen (2009) also relates discourse to society and context when he defines discourse as "*socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality* which can be drawn upon when that aspect of reality has to be represented" or "*context-specific frameworks for making sense of things*" (emphasis in original) (p. 144). Similarly, Fairclough (2009, pp. 162-163) points to the dialectical relations between discourse and society when he extends the manifestation of discourse from primarily linguistic elements to other semiotic modes. Following this, "discourse" in my study specifically constitutes socially constructive and socially conditioned knowledge of China, in particular Chinese society and people, its linguistic landscape, as well as the social identities of and relationships between travel writers and Chinese locals.

This leads to the conceptualization of text as the semiotic dimension of social events (Fairclough, 2009, p. 164). In accordance with the multimodality of semiosis in discourse, texts are understood in "an inclusive sense, not only written texts but also conversations and interviews, as well as the 'multi-modal' texts (mixing language and visual images) of television and the internet" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 165). Hence, in my study, newspaper travelogues belong to "multi-modal" texts which consist of verbal narratives and pictures. Since texts are "parts of discourses" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 89), CDA involves

examining intertextuality, namely how texts are linked to other texts both in the past and in the present. Such links are established through different means, one of which is "transfer of main arguments from one text to the next" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 90). The process of "transferring given elements to new contexts" is termed recontextualization (Blommaert, 2005; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 90). An element can be taken out of a specific context, i.e. become decontextualized, and then inserted into a new context, hence recontextualized and acruquiring a new meaning (Blommaert, 2005; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Context in this sense matches the local level of context explicated by van Dijk (1999, 2001a): the immediate situational context. Additionally, there is the global level of context which concerns the social, political, cultural and historical structures in which discourse takes place (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 108). Wodak's (2001a) view of context in her discourse-historical approach fits with van Dijk's (2001b) global level and it lays particular emphasis on "the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded" (p. 65). This approach will be adopted in my analysis of the historical dataset of the *NYT* travelogues (1981-2010), where the sociohistorical background is integrated into the textual analysis, hence a diachronic dimension added.

In sum, discourse engages dialectically with both text and context. In my study, tourism discourses about China are realized through the specific sets of meanings expressed through particular semiotic modes (verbal and pictorial) which represent China as a tourist destination. The multimodal travel texts hence become parts of discourses on the touristic imaging of China. Meanwhile, all tourism discourses are historical and can thus be only understood with reference to their contexts (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 15). CDA in particular recognizes the importance of studying text in the local (situational) context as well as in the global (socio-historical) context. That is where "the critical impetus" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6) of CDA lies, which is to be explained below.

2.2.2.2 Critique in CDA

As mentioned above, by being critical, CDA does not limit itself to analyzing the immediate formal properties of texts but rather it situates texts in their wider social, cultural and historical context. Fairclough (2005, p. 80) claims that this is realized through interdiscursive analysis (i.e. of how different genres, discourses, and styles are articulated together), which allows one "to incorporate elements of 'context' into the analysis of texts, to show the relationship between concrete occasional events and more durable social practices, to show innovation and change in texts."

As we distinguish between local and global contexts, we should also distinguish between local and global structures within discourse (cf. van Dijk, 2001b, p. 108), because the critical impetus of CDA also lies in the dialectical relationships between local and global levels of discourse, as Fairclough (1995a) explains:

> [t]he critical approach has its theoretical underpinnings in views of the relationship between 'micro' events… and 'macro' structures which see the latter as both conditions for and the products of the former and which therefore reject rigid barriers between the study of the 'micro'… and the study of the 'macro'. (p. 28)

Hence, taking a "critical" stance is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things in CDA (Fairclough, 1995a). Critique, as a shared perspective of all branches of CDA, implies the application of interdisciplinary work in order to comprehend "how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7). Further, being critical expresses an intention to make the researcher's position, research interests, and values explicit and their criteria as transparent as possible (van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 293).

Thus, the sense of critique in my study entails analyzing tourism representations which are situated in the wider social, cultural and historical context, and examining the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of these representations, and how they are constituted by existing social practices and are constitutive of new social practices. My critical stance also concerns building my theoretical and methodological framework on the variants of CDA that are interdisciplinary in essence while remaining self-reflective of my research process, so that hidden assumptions and implied power relations in tourism discourses that have become naturalized will be disclosed.

Therefore, to quote Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 8), my critique is aimed to reveal "structures of power and unmasking ideologies," the other two core concepts to be clarified below.

2.2.2.3 Power and ideology

My conceptualization of ideology, too, mainly draws on the works of van Dijk (1993), Wodak and Meyer (2009), Fairclough (2003), and Blommaert (2005). Van Dijk (1993) considers ideologies as "the fundamental social cognitions that reflect the basic aims, interests and values of groups" or metaphorically as "the fundamental cognitive 'programmes' or 'operating systems' that organize and monitor the more specific social attitudes of groups and

their members" (p. 258). This socio-cognitive approach to ideologies is shared by Wodak and Meyer (2009), who point to the interest of CDA as "the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs, which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphor and analogy" (p. 8). Ideologies are thus the taken-for-granted assumptions in everyday life that contribute to the maintenance of power structures (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002), and this view is also echoed by Fairclough (2003), who conceives of ideologies as constructions of social practices from certain perspectives:

> …representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. The "critical" view of ideology, seeing it as a modality of power, contrasts with various — "descriptive" views of ideology as positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, etc. of social groups without reference to relations of power and domination between such groups. (p. 9)

In other words, ideologies guide our lives without our awareness. Therefore, since ideologies help maintain power structures, we unwittingly submit to ideologies and even go so far as to consider them our own thinking. Social institutions produce ideologically charged discourses that become common sense to social groups, which in turn, limits social members' ability to transform or even question social relationships. Thus, when most social members "think alike about certain matters, or even forget that there are alternatives to the status quo, we arrive at the Gramscian concept of hegemony" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). As an extension of Gramsci's broader notion of hegemony, Fairclough brings together discourse and hegemony, hence the term "discursive hegemony" (cf. Flowerdew, 2012, p. 8), which is defined as "the dominance and naturalization of particular representations" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218), and which is of central importance to understanding tourism representations of China and the Orientalist ideologies they are based on.

2.2.2.4 Summary

In this section, I have provided an exposition of the model of CDA which serves as the foundation of CMDA in this study, by delineating my understanding of CDA as an approach, its aims and principles, and relevant key themes, namely the connections between discourse, text and context, the critical impetus of CDA, and issues of ideology and power. With the methodological framework being laid out, the following addresses the implementation of CMDA, as a specific form of CDA, in this study.

2.2.3 Implementation of CMDA

As mentioned above, CDA is characterized by its theoretical and methodological flexibility. Although CDA has been referred to as both a theory and a method (Fairclough, 2001), its use as a research methodology has been complicated by the vast array of "theoretical positions" (Meyer, 2001, p. 20) that have been taken by researchers who have used a wide range of analytical methods under the CDA appellation. As a result, researchers who adopt CDA approaches to the study of social phenomena may apply vastly different criteria when making methodological decisions, particularly with regard to the size and scope of their studies (Wodak, 2001b) and the selection of texts and specific procedures to be used in data analysis (Meyer, 2001). Indeed, as Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 5) stress, "CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory" and "[n]either is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA."

This section is devoted to a delineation of how different methods in CMDA are applied to my analysis of touristic representations of Chinese people and language practices: the socio-semiotic application of CDA to analyzing tourism representations of people (see section 2.4.2 for further details), socio-semantic applications of CMDA to the analysis of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2003, 2008), the socio-semiotic application of CDA to the analysis of multimodal discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, 2006), and the integration of language ideology (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine & Gal, 2000) into the analysis of the ideological aspects of linguistic differentiation.

2.2.3.1 Application of CMDA to tourism representations of people

In analyzing touristic representations of Chinese people, I draw on the socio-semiotic application of CMDA to the analysis of tourism representations of native people (see section 2.4.2 for a detailed discussion on this) and the socio-semantic inventory of representing social actors (van Leeuwen, 2003, 2008). My focus in this subsection is on the socio-semantic inventory of representing social actors.

In his works on the representation of social actors in racial discourse, van Leeuwen (2003, 2008) provides a sociological and critical perspective toward socio-semantic categories of representation. The socio-semantic inventory he proposes will provide the framework for my examination of the ways in which Chinese people are represented in travel writing. Specifically, I have adapted the "social actor network" (van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 66; 2008, p. 52) for my analysis (see Figure 2.1).

Exclusion → Suppression / Backgrounding

Activation / Passivation

Personalization → Functionalization / Identification → Classification / Relational identification / Physical identification / Nomination

Inclusion

Impersonalization → Abstraction / Objectification → Spatialization / Instrumentalization / Somatization

Generalization — Assimilation

Specification — Individualization

Figure 2.1: Network of representations of Chinese social actors, adapted from van Leeuwen (2003, p. 66; 2008, p. 52). Square brackets represent either-or choices; curly brackets stand for simultaneous choices.

Social actors are defined as "*participants* of social practice" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23; emphasis in the original). In my study, relevant social actors are the participants in the social practice of tourism, namely tourists and people native to destinations. According to van Leeuwen (2003, 2008), social actors can be either excluded or included in representations for the interests and purposes of authors in relation to their targeted readers. Some social actors are excluded by being suppressed (i.e. no reference is made of them) or backgrounded (i.e. they are de-emphasized). Other social actors are included in a wide variety of ways, as explained by van Leeuwen's (2003, 2008) social actor network (see Figure 2.1). In general, when social actors are included in the representation, they can be activated or passivated, and, simultaneously, they can be personalized or impersonalized, and generalized or specified. Social actors are endowed with active or passive roles when they are represented as the active and dynamic forces of an activity (activated) or as the recipients of the activity (passivated).

From another perspective, social actors can be represented as human beings (i.e. personalization) or by means of abstract nouns or concrete nouns indicating non-human

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features (i.e. impersonalization). Personalization of social actors can be realized by categorizing them in terms of their activities ("functionalization"), or in terms of who they are ("identification"), or by referring to them as individuals ("nomination"). Nomination can be formal (surname only), semi-formal (surname and given name) or informal (given name only). It is noted that identification can be realized either through "classification" in terms of age, gender, class, ethnicity, religion, and so on, or through "relational identification" which represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relation to each other, or through "physical identification" which represents social actors in terms of selected physical characteristics. Impersonalization of social actors can be realized by means of a quality assigned to them (abstraction) or by metonymic reference (objectification). The latter category is prominent in my corpus, thus calling for clarification of its further categorization into spatialization, instrumentalization, and somatization, the three sub-categories relevant to my datasets. Spatialization is a form of objectification in which social actors are represented in terms of the place with which they are closely associated in a given context. Reference to a place, for instance, can be made to refer to its people. Instrumentalization is a form of objectification in which social actors are represented by means of reference to the instrument with which they carry out an activity they are engaged in. Finally, somatization is a type of objectification in which social actors are represented by referring to a part of their body.

From yet another perspective, social actors can be represented as generic groups or as specific and identifiable individuals. One way of generalizing social actors is realized by assimilating individuals into groups ("assimilation"), in contrast to the specification of social actors that can be realized by referring to individuals ("individualization"). These different perspectives of viewing representation of social actors are employed in my analysis of labels of reference to Chinese people presented in the verbal elements of travel articles. This perspective, together with the socio-semiotic approach presented in section 2.4.2, constitutes only part of my analysis because Chinese people are also presented in travel pictures. Therefore, my analytical approach needs to be complemented with the visual analysis framework proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), which is to be discussed in the next subsection.

2.2.3.2 Socio-semiotic model of visual communication

Similar to the approach of van Leeuwen (2003, 2008), Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) *visual grammar* "starts from a social base" (p. 20) and shows how visual elements are combined into meaningful wholes. The three metafunctions posited in Halliday's social semiotic theory are adopted to account for the patterns of representation (the ideational

metafunction), the patterns of interaction (the interpersonal metafunction), and the meaning of composition in visual communication (the textual metafunction) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This subsection explicates how the socio-semiotic model of visual communication established by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) will be utilized in my study.
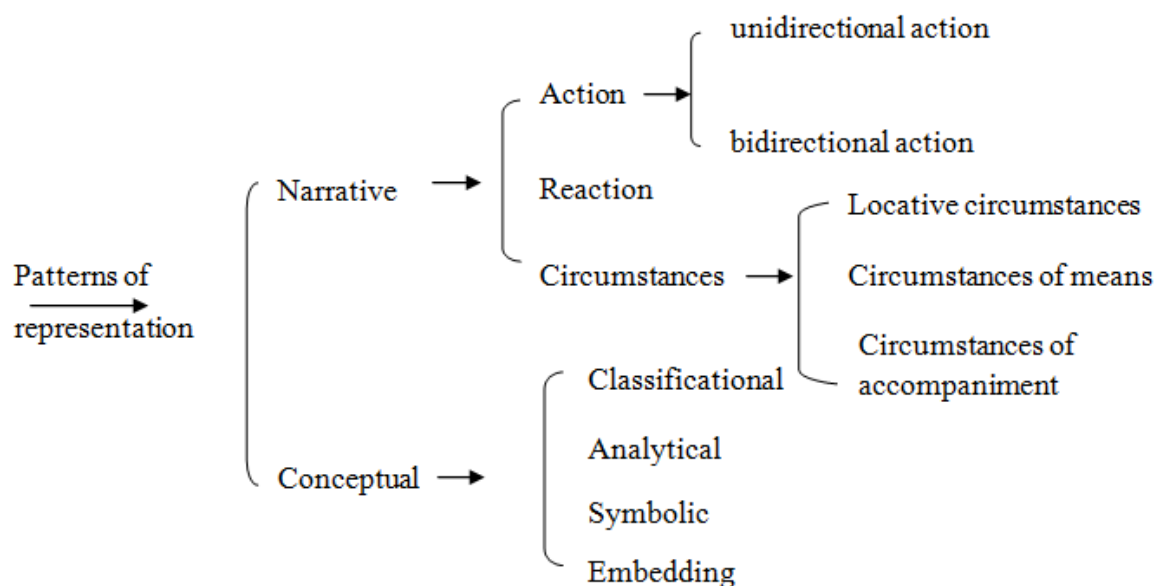
Figure 2.2: Patterns of representation in pictures of Chinese social actors, adapted from Kress & van Leeuwen (2006).

First, two patterns of representation are dealt with: narrative and conceptual, as shown in Figure 2.2. The former concerns presenting "unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements," while the latter represents participants in terms of class, structure, or meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79). Among the six narrative structures in visual communication, three of them are applicable to travel pictures in my dataset, namely action, reaction and circumstances. Processes of action can be found in pictures depicting participants, namely the people, places and things represented in images, as being involved in processes of "vectors" (parallel to action verbs in language), "tensions" or "dynamic forces" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 49). Action processes can be transactional and non-transactional. The former can be realized through unidirectional action, with one participant ("Actor") aiming at the other participant ("Goal"), or through bidirectional action (two participants aiming at each other). The latter involves only one participant, which is usually an actor without any goal to aim at. Processes of reaction occur when the vector is formed by the direction of the look of one or more human participants. The participant who does the looking is termed as reacter, and the participant or a whole visual proposition at whom or which the reacter is looking forms the phenomenon. Processes of circumstances take place in pictures in which secondary participants are related to the principal participants not by means of vectors but in other ways. These secondary participants

are termed "Circumstances" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72), which could be left out without changing the main proposition formed by the narrative pattern. A loss of information would occur as a result of the deletion though. There are generally three types of circumstances: first, locative circumstances relate other participants to a specific participant called "setting"; second, the tools used in action processes are very often represented as circumstances of means; third, human or animal participants which are presented as being with each other are interpreted as circumstances of accompaniment. These concepts will have slightly different meanings in my study. For example, the human circumstances in narrative pictures are sometimes necessary for the presentation of an activity or a scene. In this case, the deletion of humans would certainly change the main propositions of the pictures. It is also worthwhile to note that processes of circumstances also apply to travel pictures which are not narrative in my datasets. Those pictures usually feature landscapes or nature to which human figures are presented to add life and authenticity. Further, the term of circumstances in my study refers to both textual and pictorial representations of Chinese social actors as secondary participants.

On the other hand, there are four major processes of conceptual representations, namely "classificational processes," "analytical processes," "symbolic processes," and "embedding." Classificational pictures feature participants related to each other in terms of a taxonomy, a relation of Subordinates and Superordinate. Analytic pictures involve a "Carrier (the whole)" and "Possessive Attributes (the parts)" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 87), thus relating participants in terms of a part-whole structure. One type of symbolic processes can occur in photos in which the meaning or identity of one participant (the carrier) is symbolized by the other participant ("Symbolic Attribute") (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 105). It is noted that human participants in symbolic attributive processes usually pose for viewers, instead of being shown as engaged in some action. The other type of symbolic processes, termed as symbolic suggestive processes, feature only one participant (the carrier) whose meaning or identity derive from the qualities of the carrier themselves, compared with the meaning or identity in symbolic attributive processes which is represented as conferred to the carrier.

Finally, some pictures can feature various elements constituting a complex of processes mentioned above: some minor or secondary processes are seen as subordinated to the major processes. The subordination of these structures are determined by "the relative size and conspicuousness of the elements" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 107) in pictures.

Second, it is necessary to explore patterns of interaction in visual communication and the visual features that realize these interactions. I will draw on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) model to study the patterns of interaction between represented participants (people, places and things depicted in images) and interactive participants (producers and viewers of images). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) note that the systems of "contact," "social distance," and "attitude" interact to create complex and subtle relations between represented and interactive participants, as shown in Figure 2.3. The system of "contact," which involves the choice between 'offer' and 'demand,' means either providing information for the viewer or establishing a direct relationship with the viewers. An image of 'demand' is characterized by the gaze of the represented participant that demands "some kind of imaginary relation" with the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 118), whereas an image of 'offer' features no such gaze and the represented participants are "offered" as "items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119).

The system of "social distance," which involves the selection of a certain "size of frame" or the choice between close-up, medium shot and long shot, suggests different relations between represented images and viewers, either intimate (close-up) or social (medium shot) or impersonal (long shot). The system of "attitude," which concerns the selection of an angle, a "point of view," indicates the possibility of expressing subjective attitudes that are often socially determined toward represented images in tourism articles. There are two perspectives in images: the horizontal angle concerns involvement and the vertical angle concerns power. The two kinds of horizontal angle, the frontal angle and the oblique angle, reveal involvement and detachment respectively between the viewer and the represented images. Among the three kinds of vertical angle, high angle means viewer power, eye level indicates equality, and low angle implies represented participants power.

The realization of these patterns of interaction depends on the models of reality (modality). The truth value and credibility of images is evaluated in terms of eight modality markers: color saturation (scale ranging from full saturation to black and white), color differentiation (scale running from a maximally diversified range of colors to only one color), color modulation (scale ranging from using many different shades of colors to plain color), contextualization (background), representation (degrees of abstraction), depth, illumination (light and shade), and brightness.
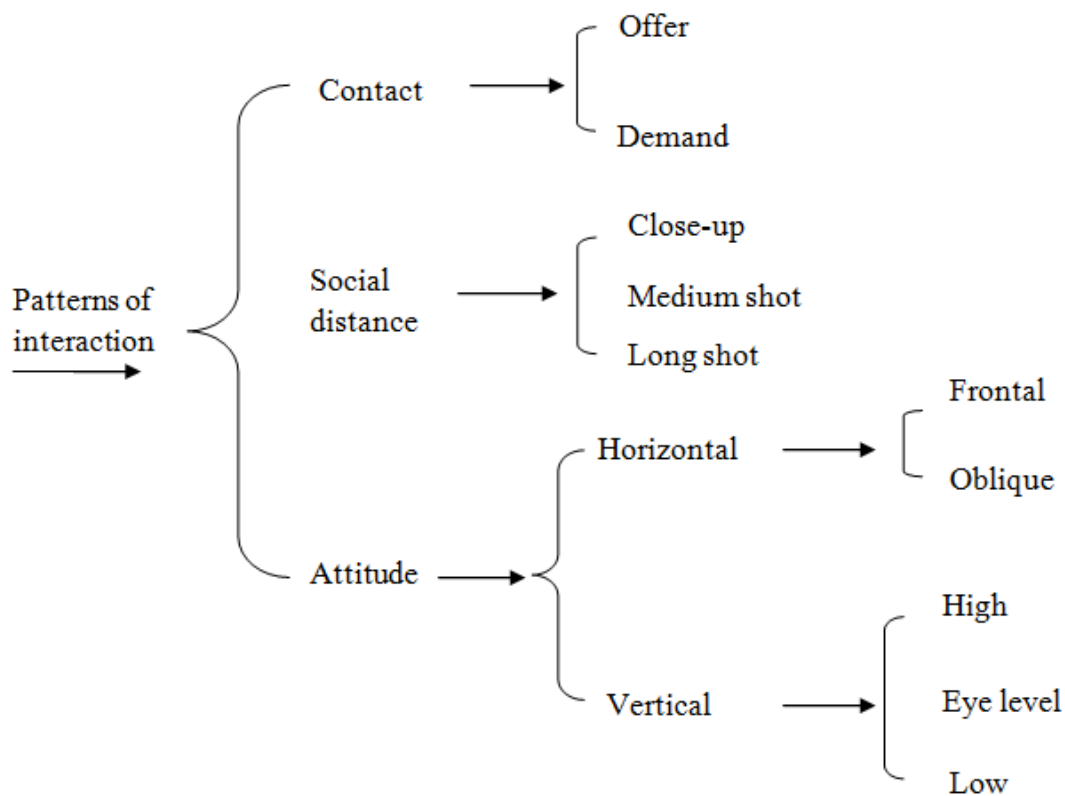
Figure 2.3: Patterns of interaction in pictures of Chinese social actors, adapted from Kress & van Leeuwen (2006).

Third, another relevant aspect of visual communication is the composition of the whole image, i.e. the way the representational and interactive elements are integrated into a meaningful whole. Composition is realized through three interrelated systems: information value, salience, and framing (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The system of "information value" looks at the placement of represented images that is endowed with the specific informational values attached to the various zones of the image: left and right, top and bottom, center and margin. This system implies that in pictures the represented images can be considered as given (left) or new (right), ideal (top) or real (bottom), central or marginal according to their positions in the whole picture. The system of "salience" examines how certain represented images are made to attract more of the viewer's attention than others. Different degrees of salience in pictures imply a hierarchy of importance among the images represented. In the system of "framing," the presence and absence of framing devices disconnects or connects elements of the image, indicating they belong or don't belong to one group.

In sum, the model presented here will allow me to examine tourism pictures in my study from three perspectives, i.e. patterns of representation, patterns of interaction, and composition of the whole image. This will enable me to explore how ideologies about China and its people and languages as well as East-West relationships are encoded in travel pictures.

2.2.3.3 Integration of language ideology into CMDA

In this section, I will explain how the theory of language ideology from linguistic anthropology has been incorporated into my analysis of representations of Chinese people's linguistic practices. While acknowledging that CDA largely fails to attend to work in linguistic anthropology, McKenna (2004, p. 18) argues that significant synergies and insights can be obtained in the former through incorporating the insights from the latter. Hence, my examination of touristic representations of China's linguistic practices aims to contribute to an integration of the concepts of language ideology and the ideologization of languages into CMDA.

Newspaper travelogues reflect the travel writers' imaging of local social groups and assumptions of stereotyped power relations. Hence, the discursive practices evident in meta-linguistic comments about Chinese people's linguistic practices are ideologically charged. They help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between visitors and local residents. Therefore, this study will also ask how such social inequalities are expressed, constituted, and legitimized by the ideologization of linguistic practices in China.

In addressing this question, I draw on the concept of language ideology (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), because the latter shares the concern of CMDA to examine the connections between linguistic phenomena and social factors. As Woollard and Schieffelin (1994) state:

> The topic of language ideology is a much-needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the microculture of communicative action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macrosocial constraints on language behavior… (p. 72)

Language ideology refers to "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35). These conceptual schemes are called ideologies because they are "suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field and are subject to the interests of their bearers' social position" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35). The concept of "ideologization of languages" refers to the fact that ideologies differentiate sociolinguistic complexity by identifying linguistic varieties with specific groups of people and activities and rationalizing the differentiations thus interpreted among them (Gal & Irvine, 1995, p. 972). Thus in my study, through the ideologization of languages, travel writers locate and interpret the sociolinguistic complexity of China, identifying linguistic varieties with typical social groups and activities and accounting for the differentiations among them. Gal and Irvine (Gal & Irvine, 1995;

Irvine & Gal, 2000) have identified three semiotic processes by which this works: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure.

Firstly, iconization refers to the establishment of an inherent connection between linguistic practices or varieties and social groups or activities, in which an indexical signifier-signified relationship is transformed to an iconic one. As Irvine (2001, p. 33) observes:

> Their connection thus appears to be necessary, perhaps even 'natural,' because of the supposedly shared qualities. In this way iconization entails the attribution of cause and necessity to a connection (between linguistic behaviors and social categories – of people or activities) that may be only historical, contingent, or conventional.

Thus, linguistic practices that index social groups and activities seem to be represented as icons of them, with certain linguistic features somehow displaying a social group's natural qualities (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine, 1989).

Secondly, fractal recursivity refers to the transference of a meaningful opposition from one level to another level, e.g., projecting the contrasts between languages or linguistic varieties onto the contrast between social actors or groups. An example of this semiotic process is the extension of the peculiarities of a language or dialect to the geographical and social characteristics of the community.

Erasure, finally, refers to the reduction of linguistic practices rendering some social actors, activities, and relevant sociolinguistic phenomena invisible. The process of erasure can be pervasive in the simplified representation of the sociolinguistic complexity of a society, with most of the minority languages or dialects not even being mentioned and hence being removed from the picture. Through this semiotic process, intra-group heterogeneity in that society is reduced or even erased and social groups are essentialized as homogeneous.

This model sets the stage for my consideration of discursive strategies through which iconization, recursivity, and erasure are accomplished in the touristic construction of Chinese people's linguistic practices. Being integrated into my CMDA of language ideological discourses, this model adds more robustness to connecting micro-level linguistic or textual analysis to macro-level social practices in CMDA.

2.2.4 Summary

The discussion in this section explicates the primary theoretical and methodological framework for this study, CMDA, and its implementation in my analysis. After justifying my choice of CMDA as the general framework, I presented an overview of CDA, the theoretical

grounding of CMDA, and the relevant key themes that illuminate my research problem. I then elaborated how different methods of CMDA are applied to my analysis of the verbal and pictorial touristic representations of Chinese people and language practices, including the socio-semiotic application of CDA to analyzing touristic representations of natives, and the socio-semantic inventory of social actors, the socio-semiotic model of visual communication, and the incorporation of language ideology into CMDA.

2.3   Orientalist representation of the Other

The previous section established CMDA as the primary theoretical and conceptual framework informing my study. Within this overall approach, I take a specific perspective informed by Said's (1978/2003) critique of Orientalism, which I will now delineate. I will first explicate some key ideas of Said's critique of Orientalism that particularly illuminate my understanding of touristic discursive constructions of China. In the next step I will examine how Said's critique of Orientalism has been applied to analyzing travel writing, with special emphasis on the work of Pratt (2008) and Spurr (1993). Finally, I will discuss how criticisms of Orientalism have informed previous studies of tourism representations of Asia and specifically China.

2.3.1   Orientalism: the key ideas

Said's theorization of Orientalism primarily deals with European representations of West Asia in the 18th and 19th century. Even so, the relevance of his ideas to the study of contemporary Western tourism representations of China is indisputable. Indeed, in the introduction to the revised edition of *Orientalism*, Said (2003) points out that America has had its own share of Orientalism as part of its ascent to world power status. In particular, he suggests that Americans' sense of "the Orient" is much more likely to be associated with the Far East including China and Japan (p. 1).

Moreover, Orientalism is also relevant to understanding self-representations of China emanating from Chinese sources because orientalist representations are not simply an autonomous creation of the West, but "the Orient" itself participates in its construction, circulation, and reinforcement (Dirlik, 1996; Said, 2003; Xingcheng Zhang, 2006). Hence it makes good sense for me to apply Said's critique of Orientalism to my investigation of travelogue representations that emanate from America and China. In the following text, I will present some of the central characteristics of Said's concept of Orientalism that has inspired my critique of tourism discourses about China.

By Orientalism, Said (2003) designates several things simultaneously: an academic discipline "by which the Orient was (and is) approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery and practice" (p. 73), a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident (p. 2), and "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Said's study is concerned almost exclusively with the second and the third aspects of Orientalism; likewise, I view Orientalism manifested in my data as ideological suppositions about China that form a complex institutional practice of Othering China and a Western (American) model of dominating and exerting authority over China in the process of 'knowing' it.

These three domains of Orientalism as elucidated by Said indicate how Orientalism is a complex web of representations about the Orient (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2002). Orientalism is thus best viewed in Foucaultian terms as a discourse (Said, 2003, p. 3), a manifestation of 'power-knowledge' relations articulated in the interests of the 'power' of the West. An essential part of Orientalism understandably involves the relationship of power between the Orient and the Occident, which is closely linked with the construction of knowledge about the Orient (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2002, p. 63), as "knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control" (Said, 2003, p. 36). In this sense, Orientalism is one of the mechanisms by which the West maintains its hegemony over the Orient. This is mainly achieved by an insistence on "disregarding, essentializing, denuding the humanity of another culture, people, or geographical region," and further viewing the Orient as something whose existence is "not only displayed but has remained fixed in time and place for the West" (Said, 2003, pp. 108-109). In addition, this Orientalist mode of representations features what is termed as a "discursive consistency," which has not only a history but "material (and institutional) presence to show for itself" (Said, 2003, p. 273). Even if the competition between the Western powers has caused them to turn the Orient "from unchanging 'Oriental' passivity into militant modern life," they have nonetheless imposed upon that change of the Orient "an essentially Western shape" and hence have maintained their domination and authority over the Orient (Said, 2003, p. 240). Therefore, the underlying power relation between the Orientalist, the imperial agents of the West, and the Orient/Oriental is "never once altered" and it is "uniformly favorable to the Orientalist" (Said, 2003, p. 309).

This critique of the relationship of power between the Occident and the Orient facilitates my understanding of the ideological configurations of power embodied in

American tourism representations of China. Specifically, it is illuminating to my viewing the relationship of travel writers and Chinese natives represented in the instances of interaction: the former writes about, whereas the latter is written about. The former has the power to observe, to study, to evaluate, and so forth, while for the latter, passivity is the presumed role (cf. Said, 2003, p. 308).

Furthermore, Orientalism flourishes today by being recycled and reproduced on a multiplicity of scales (Haldrup & Koefoed, 2009; Said, 2003). Said (2003) has sounded the alarm that the influence of Orientalism has spread to the Orient itself (p. 322) and the modern Orient "participates in its own Orientalizing" (p. 325). Following this argument, Arif Dirlik (1996) develops the concept of "self-Orientalism" or "the Orientalism of the Orientals" in his exploration of the problems of historical interpretation of Asia in general, and China in particular. The term of Orientalism, as Dirlik (1996) persuasively argues, should be extended to Asian views of Asia to account for tendencies of self-Orientalization which would become an integral part of the history of Orientalism. Indeed, Orientalist conceptions, which earlier articulated a demarcation of Asia from Euro-America, now appear in the articulation of differences within a global modernity when Asian societies emerge as dynamic participants in a global capitalism (Dirlik, 1996). The Oriental's participation in global capitalism, however, is ironically characterized by self-subalternizing and self-exoticizing gestures (Chu, 2008). The Oriental's Orientalism can thus be seen as self-Orientalism employing the Orientalized image to look back at the Western gaze (R. Chow, 1995; Chu, 2008). From this perspective, self-Orientalization may play a role in the struggle against Western domination. Nevertheless, in the long run it serves to perpetuate and even consolidate existing forms of power by internalizing the historical assumptions of Orientalism (Dirlik, 1996).

Similarly, the concept of Orientalism has also been extended to dealing with "internal Orientalism" at work in many Western societies following immigration flows and non-Western diasporas in these countries (Haldrup & Koefoed, 2009; Macfie, 2002). It is notable that the production of difference through the logic of internal Orientalism is not unique to Western societies (Schein, 1997). While commenting on China's packaging and production of representations of minority ethnicity in the 1980s, Schein (1997) proposes "internal Orientalism" to refer to the fascination of more cosmopolitan Chinese with 'exotic' minority cultures. By the same token as Orientalism, the chain of internal Orientalizing signification that links ethnic to female to rural to backward amounts to a subordinated positioning of ethnic minorities, women, and peasants in Chinese society (Schein, 1997). Following the critiques of these two extensions of Orientalism, I employ "self-Orientalism" to refer to

China's mode of representing itself by actively complying with Western Orientalist desires for the experience of an 'exotic' China, and "internal Orientalism" to refer to a chain of Orientalist strategies internalized by China in its attempt to seek the reinvocation of mythic pasts and create or invent internal Others, such as women, ethnic minorities, rural people, and backward communities in cities in order to cater to the consumer tastes of Western visitors.

Since its inception Said's theorization of Orientalism has given rise to a wealth of studies on how colonial discourse constructs the Other. Orientalist debates have extended to the study of travel writing, which is seen as a form of cultural imperialism producing other countries and cultures for tourist consumption (C. Hall, 1993). In the next subsection, I will therefore present scholarly work on Orientalism in tourism that informs my study.

2.3.2 Critiques of Orientalism in tourism discourses

In this subsection, I will discuss some relevant ideas from two notable studies on Orientalist strategies in travel writing: Pratt's (2008) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* and Spurr's (1993) *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing*.

In her seminal work *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Pratt (2008) illustrates at length how the discourses of European travel writing have been interwoven with the discourses of colonialism since around 1750. Even though Pratt (2008) never cites Said in her work, it is hard to imagine that her analysis of travel writing could have existed without him, as C. Hall (1993) suggests in his review of Pratt's book. One may easily infer links between Pratt and Said, the latter having portrayed British travelers in the Near East as conveying much more information about their own ethnocentrism, prejudices and power relations than about the societies they visited (Guelke & Guelke, 2004). Parallel to Said's critique of Orientalist's objectification of the Orient and the Oriental, Pratt (2008) notes the objectification of local people as part of the landscape and as naturalized within the new scientific discourse of the 19th century. Echoing Said's observation about "discursive consistency" in Orientalist discourses (see section 2.2.1), Pratt (2008) points out that there are many continuities between 19th and 20th century travel writing. In particular, Pratt (2008) points to the continuity in the way travel writers seek out some literal or metaphorical high ground and survey all that is beneath them with disarming authority: "In contemporary travel accounts, the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene gets repeated, only now from the balconies of hotels in big third-world cities" (p. 212).

In addition, Pratt (2008) develops two other concepts useful for my investigation of the interaction between tourists and Chinese natives: contact zone and transculturation. When referring to the complexities of cultural encounters in the spaces of the late 18th and the early 19th century colonization, Pratt (2008) proposes the term "contact zone," to signify the social space where "peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (p. 8). Specifically, Pratt (2008) clarifies the implication of "contact," corresponding to Said's contention about the power relations between the Orientalist and the Orient (see section 2.2.1):

> A "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. (p. 8)

Similarly, I interpret the interactions between tourists and Chinese natives in my study as intercultural encounters in contact zones, which are also characterized by highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.

The other concept in Pratt's work that is relevant to my study is "transculturation," which serves to raise a series of questions: "What do people on the receiving end of empire do with metropolitan modes of representation? How do they appropriate them? How do they talk back? What materials can one study to answer those questions?" (pp. 7-8). These questions provide the impetus for my inquiry into China's self-representation. I am interested in exploring the ways in which travel discourses in Chinese media select from the repertoire of Orientalist discourses and insert themselves into that repertoire. Together with the critiques of self-Orientalism and internal Orientalism (see section 2.3.1), the concept of transculturation frames my investigation of the complexities of how China is represented in Chinese newspaper travelogues.

Developing Said's critique of Orientalism in a similar way as Pratt (2008), Spurr (1993) explores how Euro-American colonialist discourses in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration represent non-Western cultures and peoples. He seeks an extension of the field of inquiry by identifying twelve rhetoric modes in colonial writings about the Other. By delineating each rhetorical strategy with examples from different sources and different historical periods, Spurr (1993) offers compelling evidence of representational continuities over space and time. Spurr's (1993) twelve modes include surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization,

insubstantialization, naturalization, and eroticization. However, I will only discuss six of them, as briefly presented below, because these are the only discursive and rhetorical conventions reflected in my corpus:

1. Surveillance: the writer possesses the privileged vantage point of gazing upon Oriental landscapes, interiors of human habitation, and human bodies. The writer holds the authority to observe in order to provide 'knowledge' about the cultural Other, whereas the observed become powerless entities that are given existence only through the writer's representation.

2. Debasement: the writer describes the indigenous people in ways that affirm their inferiority to the West. Hence this discursive strategy typically centers around a notion of abjection, as manifested in the qualities assigned to the individual native such as dishonesty, suspicion, superstition, and lack of discipline, as well as in the characteristics attributed to societies such as corruption, xenophobia, tribalism, the inability to govern themselves, filth, indolence, and sexual promiscuity.

3. Negation: the writer perceives the Other as "absence, emptiness, nothingness, or death" (p. 92). The strategy of negation fills the page with negative descriptions about space, history, and language of the Other, such as "the vast, empty plains" (p. 93), "a people without history" (p. 98), and barbarians who cannot speak "the language of civilized humanity" (p. 102).

4. Idealization: The discourse of idealization expresses the writer's desire for the virtues of the Other, which, however, are less the qualities of the Other than an embodiment of Western aspiration for these idealized virtues.

5. Naturalization: by this strategy, colonial discourses identify a colonized or primitive people as part of nature, and present this identification as absolutely 'natural,' rather than as a discursive strategy based on interest.

6. Eroticization: the writer represents the colonized world as feminine and assigns to subject places qualities conventionally attributed to the female body. This strategy can refer to "a set of rhetorical instances—metaphors, seductive fantasies, expressions of sexual anxiety—in which the traditions of colonialist and phallocentric discourses conincide" (p. 170).

Generally, these six rhetorical modes tell about Western consciousness more than anything else, and they further allow me to trace discursive consistency, a theme of Orientalist

discourses as also seen in Said's and Pratt's work, that are manifested in representations of China produced in both American and Chinese travel writing in different periods of time.

2.3.3 Critiques of Orientalism in tourism discourses about China and Asia

In this subsection, I will present previous research that has productively extended critiques of Orientalism to representations of East Asia and specifically China in tourism discourses. While there is not much work done in this aspect, relevant research about other Asian countries also offers insights applicable to my study.

As a relatively early attempt to apply critical analysis of Orientalism to travel writing about China, Clifford's (2001a) essay, following the logic of analyses by Said, Pratt, and Spurr, found that critiques of Orientalism also serve to illuminate the implications of travelogues produced by legendary early 20th century Americans who presented themselves as consciously anti-imperial. Specifically, Clifford (2001a) identifies Edgar Snow, Agnes Smedley, and Graham Peck as accomplices of the19th century imperialists whom they despised so much (see also section 1.3.2.3). The travel writing of these self-proclaimed broad-minded American liberals was infused with the familiar Oriental rhetoric. Their portrayals of China switched back and forth between a nostalgic admiration for all the promises of a new China and an unflattering rhetoric about a backward and impoverished China. Mostly, they relied heavily on signifiers of degeneration and the uncivilized such as poverty, squalor, filth, and disorder. The persistence of the seemingly opposing themes of fascination and repulsion in the China travelogues of American writers of the left in the early 20th century leads Clifford (2001a) to argue that the undeniable "Orientalist cast of mind formed part of the intellectual genealogy" (p. 131) of Americans who dealt with China, and "who in their representations of that land and its people might easily fall into ways of speaking that participated in the larger Orientalist binaries: Eastern passivity and Western activism, Eastern illogic and Western rationality, Eastern despotism and Western freedom" (p. 131).

Pennycook (2002), however, tries to avoid this kind of binarism in his analysis of China travel writing produced by Western English teachers. While acknowledging that his discussion of Self and Other might fall exactly into the binary opposition, Pennycook insists on his interest in looking at how cultural representations of 'the Chinese' become essentialized and fixed. Drawing on Said's larger discussion of Orientalism and Bhabha's discussion of the notion of fixity, Pennycook (2002) explores how China is represented in modern discourses of travel writing, as seen in the works of Paul Theroux, Mark Salzman, and Brian Johnston. He finds a series of dominant discourses about China re-circulated

through different texts, and continually constructing China in a dichotomizing and essentializing way to create a stereotyped image that denies any lived experience of Chinese people.

Another two studies further add to this body of research. Kendall's (2004) analysis of how China is represented in Australian travel writing between 1963 and 1972, a period when Australian tourist parties were first permitted to visit China, demonstrates that many travelogues of this period promote themselves as empirical and knowledge-generating accounts. Indeed, Kendall (2004) shows them to be highly derivative narratives that are framed by generic cultural expectations and structured by the unifying principles and ideological stereotypes of Orientalism. In identifying the epistemological limitations of four of these first glimpses of China, which are offered by Myra Roper, Maslyn Williams, Geoffrey Blainey, and John Jackson, Kendall argues that the empirical authority assumed by these travel writers is undermined by their employment of an Orientalist discourse of representation to make their experiences meaningful. Similarly, Yasong Wang, Morais, and Buzinde's (2009) study of American newspaper writing of China (2000-2005) also highlights the colonial ideological underpinnings for the tourism representations. Adopting Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to discourse, their study reveals three major themes of representing China: negated development, romanticized tradition, and vilified ideology. It extends the study of post-colonialism in tourism by showing that conflicting political ideologies may overshadow the travel narratives' tendency to praise destinations, and it reinforces previous claims that tourism reflects the power relations between nations because the representations reported may arguably reflect the contemporary US-China relations.

While the previous four studies critically examine the Orientalist logic in the Western representations of China, G. Yan and Santos' (2009) study draws our attention to the self representations of China by examining a tourism promotional video produced by China National Tourism Administration. Grounding their work in the framework of Orientalism, G. Yan and Santos (2009) employ CDA in their analysis. They propose that the promotional video conforms to the Orientalist discourse as seen in two specific practices: representing China as unchanged, mythical and feminine in order to cater to Western Orientalist fantasies, and creating a modern image of China which relies on stereotypical material symbols endorsed by the West. China is thus represented in a dichotomous fashion, and China's tradition and modernity are positioned as incompatible. Consequently, this logic of positioning China's tradition and modernity matches the framework of self-Orientalism through reinventing, reconstructing, and renegotiating marketable Chinese identities.

A similar line of inquiry into self-representation can be found in Ooi's (2005) examination of Singapore's identity construction in three national museums—the Singapore History Museum, the Singaporean Art Museum, and the Asian Civilizations Museums. While most Said-inspired studies focus on how the Occident has come to dominate the Orient, Ooi's study shows that the Orient can creatively respond to superficial Orientalist views. In this case, the three national museums of Singapore have adopted, appropriated and even created new Orientalist discourses to assert the uniqueness and superiority of Singapore as a tourist destination and as an Asian nation.

Bandyopadhyay and Morais's (2005) work goes beyond the aforementioned studies in that it examines and compares the tourism representations that are produced by Western media with those proposed by the governments of the destinations. Being informed by Said's criticism of Orientalism, Bandyopadhyay and Morais (2005) conduct a content analysis of tourism media representations of India derived from the USA and India. Their findings reveal that these two sources of representations are different in ways that manifest the colonial continuity of international tourism and the Indian government's resistance to colonial fantasies (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005).

Building on these critiques of Orientalist discourses in tourism representations of China and other Asian countries, my examination of newspapers travelogues about China will go a step further by tracking the Orientalist logic in the American representations of China and simultaneously unraveling the complex discursive processes of self-Orientalization and internal Orientalization through which Chinese media mobilize verbal and visual means to construct a touristic image of contemporary China.

2.4 Critical studies of tourism representations in media discourses

The overarching question of my study, as indicated in Chapter One, is how Chinese people and their communicative practices are represented in journalist travel writing produced in China and the West. Thus, my research is also related to and informed by work on tourism images in media discourses. In this section, I will describe and synthesize previous studies on tourism representations of the Other in media discourses that advance critical analyses, which serve as part of the critical pool for my implementation of CMDA in the analysis presented in this thesis. First of all, I will provide an overview of the previous critical research on external and internal representations of the Other in tourism media discourses. Some common themes arising from a variety of studies will be identified. I will then turn to what scholarly work has

been done concerning the tourism representations of people who are native to destinations, their interactions with travel writers or tourists, and their linguistic practices.

2.4.1 Overview of critical studies of tourism representations in media discourses

In general, scholars have well documented the touristic imaging of the Other from critical approaches, especially after the publication of John Urry's seminal work *The Tourist Gaze* in 1990. The central claim of being "critical" has been strengthened by diverse insights into the representations of various countries and regions, mostly Third World destinations. In this subsection, I will highlight the major research findings from which I have drawn inspiration for my analysis. Each study is briefly presented below, being arranged according to the salient points raised across different studies. It should be noted, however, that these salient points or themes are not mutually exclusive in each study, as will be revealed shortly.

Basically, the discrepancy between tourism representations and realities in destinations has been extensively researched. While virtually all studies have hinted at this, there are a few notable articles that explicitly address the issue of building images of destinations to match the desires of major markets. For example, Britton (1979) is among the first authors to argue that Western touristic representations tend to mystify destinations in order to cater to the exotic fantasies of tourists. A primary theme identified by Britton (1979) in his examination of advertisements, travel journalism, and the travel trade press is "the inability of the tourism industry to represent destinations as real places" (p. 318). Through his analysis of travel ads, brochures and articles on Third World countries from the perspective of Orientalism, Silver (1993) argues that travel literature seeks to portray indigenous societies as 'authentic' in order to cater to certain images within Western consciousness about how the Other is imagined to be.

Some later studies further highlight the theme of discrepancy between touristic representations and realities by focusing on selectivity in tourism discourses. For instance, by employing a '4A' approach in her content analysis, Echtner (2002) uncovers the most commonly portrayed "attractions, actors, actions and atmospheres" used in the marketing of Third World destinations from the verbal and visual components of 115 brochures for 12 Third World countries. Echtner (2002)'s study shows that Third World tourism marketing has created three country clusters: "Oriental, frontier and sea-sand." These clusters are associated with certain overarching tourism myths highlighting certain attractions, actors, actions and atmospheres. "Oriental countries," such as Egypt, China, India, Turkey and Thailand, are associated with ancient and exotic man-made attractions and their hosts are largely used as

props to reinforce the feeling of timeless places. By contrast, the imaging of "frontier countries," such as Costa Rica, Ecuador, Namibia, and Kenya, concentrates on the natural scenery, and the hosts are either largely overlooked or presented as attractions. Lastly, "sea-sand countries," such as Jamaica, Fiji and Cuba are marketed as destinations where tourists can enjoy the specific nature (sea and sand) while being entertained and served by the hosts. Overall, by discussing touristic representations as deviating from realities, this critical line of inquiry informs my study by focusing on the fact that international tourism representations cater to tourists' presumed quest for authenticity or exoticity by highlighting certain aspects of destinations and hence essentializing host societies and cultures.

As discussed above, the created tourism images often have little to do with realities of tourist destinations. Such stereotypical tourism representations continue to be rooted in the Western imagination about the Other that is colonialist or Orientalist in essence (see section 2.3). It is notable that there are several articles that have paid particular attention to the continuity and consistency of tourism representations, hence the second theme of the critical questioning about the nature of tourism media discourses. For example, by situating his work in Ali Behad's refiguring of the Saidian paradigm of Orientalism, Cocking's (2009) study of the representations of the Middle East in newspaper and TV travelogues exposes a striking consistency between contemporary travel journalism and 19th century European travel writing about the Middle East. Similarly, Salazar's (2009) analysis of visual cultural representations surrounding the Maasai of East Africa and supplementary ethnographic data reveals that tourism has continued to cast the Maasai in the colonial and stereotyped image as a backward community satisfying the Western desire for exoticism and adventure in the African wilderness. In addition, Palmer's (1994) study of the impact of colonialism on the contemporary touristic image of the Bahamas has found that the tourism industry merely perpetuates the ideology of colonialism by relying on the image of a colonial past, and the persistence of a problematic colonial discourse in tourism discourses is also identified by Tegelberg (2010) in his examination of representations of Cambodia in *Lonely Planet Cambodia*. In sum, research to date has shown that contemporary travelogues are continuations of earlier colonial and Orientalist discourses about the Other.

Work focusing on representational discrepancy and the continuation of past images in tourism image construction bases the analysis of tourism representations on relevant socio-cultural and historical contexts (Cocking, 2009; Palmer, 1994; Salazar, 2009; Silver, 1993; Tegelberg, 2010). Additionally, some scholars have primarily emphasized the social and ideological contexts of tourism representational messages. These constitute the third theme of

critical studies of tourism representations. An early attempt can be found in Albers and James'
(1988) article, which employs content analysis, semiotic analysis, and critical analysis in
studying ethnic image making in travel photographs of postcards. After pointing out the
limitations of the former two methods, Albers and James (1988) further their analysis by
relating photographic communication to broader social and ideological discourses, based on a
contextualizing orientation of critical analysis. In so doing, they uncover three widely used
strategies in representing ethnic imagery in tourism: "homogenization,"
"decontextualization," and "mystification" (Albers & James, 1988, p. 154). These three
strategies are woven into "a common ideological thread" running through the various touristic
productions, which is "dehistoricized" and "easily manipulated" for the benefit of tourism
marketing (Albers & James, 1988, p. 154).

A subsequent article by Mellinger (1994) advances a critical analysis of tourism
representations through examination of picture postcards of African Americans from the
South (1893-1917). Mellinger's (1994) analysis reveals specific strategies of iconographic
representation utilized to inscribe black bodies with Otherness. In conclusion, Mellinger
(1994) contends that a critical analysis of tourism representations must explore how tourism
discourses are linked with technologies of power so as to uncover the ideologies that structure
touristic experiences. Discussions of the ideological dimensions of tourism continue in later
studies. Santos (2004) contributes to a critical inquiry about the social and ideological context
of tourism messages by employing framing analysis to examine travel sections' coverage of
tourism in Portugal (1996-2002) in selected American newspapers. As Santos' (2004)
analysis reveals, opportunities for intercultural communication are rarely explored in the
newspaper travelogues, and as such, the analyzed newspaper representations create an
interesting destination and culture for Americans to visit and hence serve to reconfirm the
values and beliefs of American readers. The representations of identities, destinations, and
interactions are thus embedded within dominant ideological constructs (Santos, 2004). In sum,
these studies establish the significance of sociocultural and historical contexts in framing
tourism representations.

While the above studies explore the ideological dimensions of tourism discourses
produced by external sources, there are some notable studies that focus on the social and
ideological constructs in tourism representations produced by host societies themselves. For
example, Pritchard and Morgan (2001) develop a critical analysis by incorporating content
analysis and interview study in their investigation of Wales' branding strategies in its overseas
and UK markets. Their study reveals that Wales' marketing representations, as those of any

destination, are inextricably intertwined with complex, multidimensional, socio-cultural and historical systems. Some later studies of this category shift their attention to the self-representations of Third World countries or former colonies. For instance, Fürsich and Robins' (2004) investigation of how African government-sponsored websites produce a marketable self image reveals a primary aspect guiding the official packaging of the nation, namely self-exoticization of native people and country. The same representational strategy is found in Nelson's (2005) examination of the promotional materials of Grenada which is aimed to determine the mythology and ideology behind the tourism imaging. Specifically, Nelson (2005) identifies the Othering of three aspects of the destination (people, place and nature) in terms of dualities that will appeal to Western (mostly American and British) tourists. While Nelson's (2005) study points out that Greneda's representations are motivated by economic opportunity, d'Hauteserre's (2011) study suggests that the constructed images of New Caledonia are intended to send a political message: the destination continues to be French territory not shared with Kanak people and the indigenous minorities. D'Hauteserre's (2011) postcolonial discourse analysis of image representations in printed media demonstrates that such representations continue to translate asymmetrical power relations that most French in New Caledonia wish to maintain with the indigenous people.

While the studies reviewed above provide diverse insights into the representation of various countries and regions, all of them have provided sources of inspiration for my investigation of tourism discursive constructions of China in newspaper travelogues. Specifically, my viewing and interpreting of the data has drawn insights from the three primary themes running across various critical studies, namely the discrepancy between representation and realities, the continuity of past images in contemporary tourism discourses, and the linkages of tourism representations with socio-cultural and ideological contexts.

2.4.2 Tourism representations of native people

After reviewing critical studies of tourism representations in general, this subsection will focus on what critical research has been done concerning tourism representations of people native to destinations. I will outline some relevant journal articles and book chapters that serve as the foundation of my analysis of Chinese people represented in my data.

Generally, there is not much work done that specifically focuses on tourism representations of native people in destinations from critical perspectives, although some previous studies have included their insights about representation of local people in their analyses of destinations imaging (Echtner, 2002; Nelson, 2005; G. Yan & Santos, 2009).

Among the few earlier studies that have looked at the represented images of native people, Dann's (1996) work is an impressive attempt to examine two sets of actors on the tourism stage—the "hosts" and the "guests." Utilizing insights from a variety of frameworks to further semiotic ethnography of tourists brochures, Dann (1996) makes quantitative and qualitative analyses of the images employed by the media-makers. His analyses demonstrate that there is lack of interaction (less than 10%) between tourists and local people, and in these interactive cases local people are mostly featured as servers or entertainers, occasionally as part of scenery, cultural markers, middlemen, smilers or as tourists themselves (Dann, 1996). Morgan and Pritchard (1998) further the discussion about tourism image creation of native people by exploring the configuration of power, ethnicity and tourism image in tourism brochures from a sociological perspective. After examining the people images created for Latin America, the Caribbean, the Orient, Eastern Europe, and geographical peripheries of Western Europe, Morgan and Pritchard (1998) find that the central part of the promotional material is to portray indigenous peoples as belonging to primitive, static, somehow timeless and unchanging societies. Further, such societies are somehow taken out of time to exist in a 'reality vacuum' that is far removed from the economic and social relationships and realities of the world (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Tourism representations of these ethnic groups reflect and reinforce the distribution of power in society, hence operating as mechanisms whereby inequalities are articulated and validated (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). In brief, these two studies are enlightening in their engagement with the asymmetrical power relations of tourists and native people in tourism representations.

Following this theme, Jaworski and his associates (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003; Jaworski, Ylänne-McEwen, Thurlow, & Lawson, 2003; Thurlow, Jaworski, & Ylänne-McEwen, 2005) have explored the imaging of native people in tourist-host interactions. Drawing on critically oriented discourse analysis (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979), Galasinski and Jaworski's (2003) study of hosts in newspaper travel reports demonstrates that local people tend to be represented in three principal categories: (a) homogenized ethnic or social group; (b) prototypical representatives of their communities; and (c) 'featureless' helpers to the travel reporters. In a similar vein, theoretically oriented toward CDA's social semiotic application to the analysis of multimodal discourse (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001) and the socio-cognitive work of van Dijk (1991, 1993), Jaworski et al. (2003) give a close discourse analysis of tourist-host interaction in TV holiday programs. Their study reveals only limited contact between tourists and hosts, and that most contact occurs when locals act as helpers/servants, experts, or as part of 'local scenery, roles that may be resisted

by locals at times. Similarly, Thurlow et al. (2005) present their interpretive themes of ethnic representation in host-tourist communication in postcards, and further give an ethnographic analysis of how "represented hosts" and "consumer tourists" understand and view these visual representations. Their interpretive themes fall into five distinct but overlapping categories: (a) people as scenery; (b) people playing host roles of ambassadors and friends to please and serve tourists; (c) people performing ethnicity (engaged in mundane activities) as ethnoscapes; (d) women as objects of the voyeuristic (male) gaze; and (e) tame and safe communities as seen in the predominant images of women and children.

These three studies constitute the foundation for my analysis of the representation of Chinese social actors. Nevertheless, it is of necessity for me to clarify the two notions of "local" and "host" which have been used mostly in an undistinguished manner by Jaworski and his fellow researchers despite their attempt to differentiate them in one of their studies (Thurlow et al., 2005). I need to make a clear-cut distinction between these two terms because "host" in my study is considered as one of the roles played by locals. My interpretation of "local" and "host" is based on their definitions given by Oxford Dictionaries Online. I will use the word "local" to refer to a Chinese person residing in a certain destination and "host" to refer specifically to Chinese people receiving or entertaining travel writers as guests.

2.4.3 Tourism representations of languages in destinations

Following the inquiry about interactions between tourists and native people, there have recently emerged some studies that concern the uses and representations of languages in touristic communication practices. In this subsection, I will review such studies that are particularly illuminating to my analysis of representations of China's linguascape.

For the most part, there appears to be a central theme of the ideologization of language running through these studies: the positioning of English and local languages in tourism discourses, and such positioning of languages as related to the formation of identities and relationships of the relevant speakers and places. Earlier, Jaworski and his associates (Jaworski, Thurlow, Lawson, & Ylänne-McEwen, 2003) examined instances of the use and representation of non-English local languages in British TV holiday programs, following the traditions of critical language awareness studies and folk linguistics, and building on the work of critical linguistics and CDA. They found that the uses of non-English local languages in the data are fairly limited (expert talk, service encounters, phatic communion, naming and translating), and English is generally positioned as a global language whereas local languages are devalued as both backdrop and ludic resource. Specifically, host languages are

appropriated as a primary identity resource for tourists to construct themselves as tourists. Moreover, it is through their playful and transient crossing into local languages that tourists further position themselves as 'cosmopolitan internationals,' not in the sense of embracing local people and culture, but rather with respect to their appealing to the elite global citizenship. The line of questioning about the positioning of English and local languages in tourism discourses is also evident in the work of Piller (2007). Through a multi-site sociolinguistic ethnography of the language choice in Swiss tourism marketing, Piller (2007) identified a linguistic hierarchy in this case, with English being the most salient language, and the national languages of Switzerland further hierarchized according to their economic importance from German via French and Italian to Romansh.

A similar linguistic hierarchy in Swiss tourism contexts is further confirmed by Jaworski and Piller's (2008) co-authored work, which investigates how the communicative practices and the Swiss linguistic situation more broadly are represented as indexes of particular types of people and Switzerland as a particular tourist destination. Building on work in language ideology (see Section 2.2.3.3), Jaworski and Piller (2008) focus on the three semiotic processes of the ideologization of language proposed by Gal and Irvine (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine & Gal, 2000): iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. An exploration of these three semiotic processes of the ideologization of language produced and reproduced in British newspaper travelogues leads Jaworski and Piller (2008) to make three observations: First, Romansh, the smallest national language, seems to receive a great deal of attention in the travelogues that serves to exoticize and romanticize the language itself and the parts of Switzerland it is linked with. The larger national languages of Switzerland (German, French, and Italian) are also exoticized but to a relatively lesser extent and through one linguistic practice only, i.e. the use of local words for local cuisine, landmarks or cultural events. These practices are meant to render Switzerland linguistically special and foreign. Second, it is noteworthy that the various migrant languages of Switzerland are erased from the travelogues. Finally, English is the most frequent language to represent interactions between tourists and local people, serving to create a safe linguascape for English-speaking tourists. A form of linguistic standardization thus emerges concerning what counts as legitimate languages of Swiss tourism: the travelogues include only the official languages of Switzerland; English is naturalized as the language of tourism in Switzerland, and undoubtedly, beyond (Jawoski & Piller, 2008). Tourism discourses are just another domain where the ubiquity of English is realized (Jawoski & Piller, 2008; cf. Piller, 2007). The languages of tourism, local languages or English, have been standardized into "non-languages," which are devoid of any specific content (Jawoski & Piller, 2008; cf. Piller, 2011). To a great extent, Jaworski and Piller's

(2008) work has served as the model for my examination of the represented linguistic practices of Chinese people, in addition to two recent studies by Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) in their book *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility*.

As an attempt to explore the ideologization of language more broadly, Thurlow and Jaworski (2010, pp. 129-162) incorporate a brief version of Jaworski and Piller's (2008) work which is reviewed above and add their analysis of British newspaper travelogues covering fairly random destinations. In conclusion, they also point to the ideological positioning of English as the lingua franca and local languages as ludic identity resources. Travel destinations are thus exoticized through the representation of foreign-sounding linguascapes, and local linguistic differences are blended and homogenized for easy consumption by potential tourists. This ideologization of local languages in travel destinations is discussed in greater detail in another recent study by Thurlow and Jaworski (2010, pp. 191-223), which seeks an understanding of how host-tourist encounters are imagined or prefigured through the representation of local languages in guidebook glossaries. It is argued that the guidebook glossaries "construe an ideology of tourism repeatedly premised on a largely asymmetrical model of communication placing the tourist in charge and the host in a subordinate and servile if sympathetic position of the exoticized 'Other'" (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010, p. 221).

Following this line of inquiry about the ideologization of language, my study will add to the present literature by examining how Chinese people's communicative practices and China's linguistic landscape at large are represented and by considering the diachronic changes in such representations.

2.5   Conclusion and research questions

In this chapter, I have laid the theoretical groundwork on which my analysis will be built. In the first place, I have established CMDA as the primary theoretical and conceptual framework for my study. After explaining my rationale for the use of CMDA, I gave an overview of CDA, the theoretical basis of CMDA, by delineating its definition, general principles, and relevant key concepts. Then I discussed how CMDA will be implemented in my examination of verbal and pictorial representations of Chinese people and their communicative practices. Next, I explored Said's critique of Orientalism as an essential perspective for me to view tourism representation of China as the Other, by explicating some key ideas of Said's theorization of Orientalism, discussing how Said's ideas have been applied to analyzing travel writing, and reviewing how criticisms of Orientalism have informed the previous research of tourism representations of Asia and particularly China. In

the last section of this chapter, I described and synthesized previous critical studies on tourism representations of the Other in media discourses, which constitute part of the critical pool for my implementation of CMDA in this study. I first highlighted some common themes that run across a variety of such studies, and then summarized the scholarly work that has been done concerning tourism representations of native people and their linguistic practices.

Thus, I have identified a significant lacuna in the existing research: no work has been done in comparing the external and internal tourism constructions of China despite the country's fast growth as one of the world's top destinations (see section 1.2). My study aims to attend to this lacuna by investigating touristic representations of China, specifically in terms of Chinese people and language (see section 1.1), by utilizing CMDA as the theoretical framework and applying Said's critique of Orienatlism as an essential perspective to view tourism imageries. Therefore, this thesis seeks to pursue the following research questions:

- How are Chinese people under the tourist gaze represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers?

- How are Chinese people interacting with tourists represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers?

- How is China's linguistic landscape represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers?

- Have these representations changed over time? If so, how?

While addressing these questions, I will trace the similarities and differences in the external and internal touristic representations of Chinese people and China's linguistic landscape. Now that I have established the theoretical and methodological framework for my analysis and have situated my study in relation to critiques on Orientalism in tourism discourses as well as the broad critical studies on representations of the Other in tourism media, I will move on to present my research methods of this study in the next chapter.

Chapter 3:   Methodology

3.1   Introduction

This chapter explicates the methods employed in this study. I will start with a description of the methods of data collection and the corpus design. Next, the methods of data analysis will be presented. I will close this chapter by addressing the issue of ensuring the quality of research results and the limitations of this study.

3.2   Data collection and corpus design

In order to explore my research questions and guided by the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Two, I collected a corpus of English-medium online newspaper travelogues published in the USA and China.

I chose internet data because tourism promotion in this globalizing era is carried out mainly through the internet when most of the traditional media of advertising such as newspapers and magazines have become accessible online and major TV channels and radio stations update their programs on their websites regularly. Potential tourists and tourism researchers can obtain a plentiful supply of resources about tourism destinations from online media. As Baker (2006) reminds us, "many texts which originally began life in written form" can now be found on websites (p. 31).

I chose online newspapers due to the following reasons (cf. Mautner, 2008): First, the very ubiquity of online newspapers, coupled with intensity of usage and public attention, makes it an ideal choice for me to sample tourism representations about China. Second, online newspapers, in particular those of high-circulation, both constitute and reflect the dominant discourse about China as a travel destination. While all discourse is not only socially constituted but also constitutive (Fairclough, 1995b; Philips & Jorgensen, 2002), this dialectic is particularly relevant to the mass media which includes online newspapers. Dissemination to large audiences enhances the constitutive effect of discourse, i.e. its power to shape widely shared constructions of reality. Thus, online newspapers are taken as a key data source for my study. Third, as already clarified in section 1.1, journalistic travel writing in general is an ideal site for examination of the power dimensions of representation, so is the online newspaper travel writing which is the focus of my study. The reason why tourism discourses in English but not in other languages were chosen is because of the position of English as a lingua franca in global communication concerning tourism, specifically in tourism marketing (Piller, 2007).

Moreover, I specified the destination as China because of its fast growth as a leading tourist destination in the world (see also section 1.2), and selected the USA as the Western/external source of representation due to its status as the primary Western representer of China since the early 20th century (see section 1.3.2.3), as well as its status as the sole Western superpower (Nye & Hall, 2003; Tyler, 1992, March 8) and the rampant influence of its culture and ideology in the world.

The two specific online newspapers used as data sources of my study are the *New York Times* (*NYT*) and *China Daily* (*CD*). There are three reasons why I chose the *NYT*. Firstly, it is because of the wide circulation of its data: The website of the *NYT* is the most popular American online newspaper website, receiving more than 30 million unique visitors per month (Adams, 2011, January 24). Secondly, the *NYT* is among the premier American agenda-setting newspapers (Wasburn, 2002). Presumably, its agenda-setting effect spreads to its travel writing about Third World destinations, such as China (cf. Demont-Heinrich, 2007). Thirdly, the availability of historical data from 1981 to 2010 was also a consideration: The website of the *NYT* was the only place where I could access and download travel articles on China dated since 1981 when I collected my data in 2010. As outlined in Chapter One, one of the purposes of this study is to explore the historical representations of China as a tourist destination since 1978, because during the thirty years of China's reform and opening up, we have witnessed the amazing development of the country as a tourist destination. On the other hand, *CD* was selected because it is China's national English-language newspaper which "has effectively entered Western mainstream society and is the newspaper most quoted by the foreign press" ("About Us"). Further, *CD* is recognized as the nation's English-language voice that covers a wide range of topics by Zhao Qizheng, the former Minister of the State Council Information Office (McMillan & Hwant, 2002). Unlike the *NYT*, *CD* does not offer online access as early as the 1980s and 1990s. *CD* provides online access only since 2006 and my corpus covers the period from 2006-2010, which is roughly parallel to the last decade in the *NYT*.

After I had decided on the online versions of the *NYT* and *CD* as my data sources, I started to collect all travel writing from these two websites. At first, I familiarized myself with all types of travel writing on the websites of the *NYT* and *CD*. For the *NYT*, this was a relatively straightforward process as there is a 'travel section' on its website. Searching the 'travel section' only and using the keyword "China" allowed me to obtain all the articles about travel to and in China. *CD*, on the other hand, doesn't provide one single access point to its travel articles in the way the *NYT* does. After experimenting with a wide range of search

techniques and keywords, which resulted in high numbers of false positives, I decided that *CD*'s PDF edition provided a more feasible basis for my data collection. *CD*'s PDF edition is accessible since March 15, 2006 to all registered users. I then manually searched through all the *CD* PDF versions between 2006 and 2010 and collected all the travel articles about China from relevant sections, which were labeled differently over time: for 2006, my data came from articles in the sections "Features," "Weekend," "Holiday," "China Geological environment," "Special Supplement," "Lifestyle," and "Life" in 2006. For 2007 and 2008, I drew on articles from the section entitled "LifeTravel." For 2009, "LifeTravel" continued but travel articles also appeared in the sections entitled "LifeGeographic," "LifeBizTravel" and "SundayStopover." 2010 saw another change in nomenclature and travel articles for that year were collected from the "LifeTravel" section as well as sections entitled "SundayStopover," "MetroTravel," and "SundayTravel." This initial phase of data collection was intended to be as comprehensive as possible.

Then, I moved on to select travel articles for analysis. I used a content criterion to choose all the travel articles that cover at least one destination in China, including mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, but excluded the articles about combined tours including China as well as other countries. Additionally, I used a genre criterion to choose all articles with at least some narrative elements and to exclude articles simply listing tourism-related news or featuring tourism-related events. Finally, I selected all the travelogues that contain textual and/or pictorial representations of Chinese people and their linguistic practices and saved them as proper files. All the *NYT* travel articles that are accessible on a single page were saved as MHTML files, while the articles that couldn't be viewed on a single page were converted into Word documents by copying and pasting so that each article became a single document. Although the converted Word documents of the *NYT* travelogues have different textual and image layout than the original online versions, they keep the features of linguistic texts and images essential for data analysis in this study. All the *CD* texts were downloaded in their original PDF format. It should be noted that all the accompanying pictures (mostly photos) of the texts were saved as well, with the *NYT* pictures being accessible since November 21, 2004 and the *CD* pictures accessible since March 15, 2006. In the *NYT* travelogues dated before Nov 21, 2004, only verbal illustrations of the photos (e.g. photo of the Summer Palace) are accessible at the end of the articles, which were excluded from my study because they are too brief for any meaningful analysis. The illustrations are so simple that they can hardly reveal what participants are depicted in the pictures, not to mention how they are depicted. All the verbal texts were labeled according to the source, date, destination, and title, e.g. *NYT_19810621_Shaanxi_Xi'an_Visiting China's archeological treasure at*

Xi'an. The pictures were similarly labeled and they were further ordered numerically if there was more than one picture in a single travelogue.

Thus, I'd created a corpus which is summarized in the following four tables in terms of data source, data size, and destinations.

Source	Articles	Destinations
NYT	31 texts	10 times • Peking (Beijing)
		Eight times • Shanghai
		Four times • Shaanxi: Xi'an
		One time • Guangdong: Canton/Guangzhou, Zhongshan • Guangxi: Guilin • Hainan: Sanya • Heilongjiang: Harbin • Henan: Shaolin Monastery • Hubei: Wuhan • Hunan: Fenghuang, Shanjiang • Inner Mongolia • Jiangsu: Suzhou • Shandong • Shanxi: Datong • Sichuan: Chengdu, Chongqing, Xichang • Yunnan: Baisha Village, Kunming • Xinjiang: Kashgar, Turpan • Zhejiang: Hangzhou • The Yangtze River • Tibet

Table 1: Overview of the 1980s dataset in the *NYT*

Source	Articles	Destinations
NYT	26 texts	Five times • Beijing
		Four times • Shanghai

		Two times
		- Sichuan: Chengdu - Guangxi: Guilin - Jiangsu: Nanjing - Qinghai - Shandong: Taishan - Shaanxi: Xi'an - The Three Gorges - Tibet
		One time
		- Chongqing - Hebei: Beidaihe - Guangdong: Guangzhou, Shenzhen - Hunan: Shaoshan - Macao - Shanxi: Datong, Pingyao - Shandong: Qufu - Shandong - Sichuan: Dazu - Yunnan: Dali, Jizushan (Chicken Foot Mountain), Lijiang - Xinjiang: Kashgar - Taiwan: Taipei - Tibet: Shigatse - Yunnan: Zhongdian/Shangri-la

Table 2: Overview of the 1990s dataset in the *NYT*

Source	Articles	Destinations
NYT	70 texts; 31 pictures	20 times Beijing
		18 times Shanghai
		Nine times Hong Kong
		Two times - Sichuan: Chengdu - Guangxi: Guilin - Xinjiang: Kashgar - Guangdong: Shenzhen, Guangzhou

		One time
		• Chongqing
		• Fujian: Yongding
		• Gansu: Dunhuang, Labrang Monastery, Xiahe
		• Hainan: Sanya
		• Henan: Kaifeng
		• Hunan: Wulingyuan/Zhangjiajie
		• Jiangxi: Nanchang
		• Macao
		• Shanxi: Datong, Taiyuan
		• Sichuan: Wolong
		• Yunnan: Lijiang, Kunming, Leaping Tiger Gorges, Shangri-la, Wenhai village, Yuhu village, Zhongdian/Shangri-la
		• Xinjiang: The Gobi Desert, Urumqi

Table 3: Overview of the 2000-2010 dataset in the *NYT*

Source	Articles	Destinations
CD	223 texts; 208 pictures	22 times • Beijing
		12 times • Shanghai
		Nine times • Hong Kong
		Seven times • Sichuan: Chengdu
		Six times • Heilongjiang: Harbin • Shaanxi: Xi'an • Yunnan: Lijiang
		Four times • Hainan: Sanya • Hunan: Zhangjiajie
		Three times • Fujian: Xiamen • Guangxi: Guilin, Yangshuo • Guizhou: Zunyi • Jiangsu: Yangzhou • Liaoning: Shenyang • Xinjiang: Kanas Nature reserve • Yunnan: Kunming

		Two times • Gansu: Dunhuang Grottos • Hainan: Yalong Bay • Hunan: Fenghuang • Inner Mongolia: Xanadu • Jiangsu: Jiangyin, Huai'an, Najing, Suzhou • Jiangxi: Sangqing Mountain • Liaoning: Dandong • Qinghai-Tibet Highway • Shandong: Jinan, Taishan Mountain • Sichuan: Erping village, Jiuzhaogou • Taiwan: Taipei • Tibet: Lhasa • Xinjiang: Kashgar • Yunnan: Xishuangbanna • Zhejiang: Hangzhou
		One time • Anhui: Hefei, Huangshan Mountain • Chongqing: Wuxi county • Fujian: Chongwu Beach, Pingnan county, Wuyi Mountain, Yongchun county, Yongding county • Gansu: Lanzhou, Shandan • Guangdong: Chaozhou, Fengkai, Guangzhou, Nankunshan Nature Reserve, Shaoguan, Shenzhen • Guangxi: Jiuzhou, Kaiping, Leye county, Longji Rice Terraces, Longsheng county, Yintan (Silver Beach) • Guizhou: Basha, Congjiang County, Guiyang, Longli, Qingyan village, Ping village, Qinle village, Xijiang, Zhaoxing town • Hainan: Dadonghai, Datian Eld's Deer Nature reserve • Jiangsu: Jintian, Nantong, Taicang, Xuyi county, Xuzhou, Yancheng • Hebei: Golden Beach Nature Reserve, Shanhaiguan, Yanbian Great Wall, Zhangjiakou • Heilongjiang: Jiamusi • Henan: Songshan Mountain, Xunxian county • Hubei: Changyang Tujia Autonomous County, Enshi, Gucheng, Huangguang, Shennongjia, Suizhou, Wudang Mountain • Hunan: Leiyang, Huaihua, Tongdao Dong Autonomous County, Yanling • Inner Mongolia: Taipusi Banner • Jiangxi: Longnan • Liaoning: Dalian, Dawanjia Island, Fushun, Panjin

		- Ningxia: Yinchuan - Shaanxi: Foping National Nature Reserve, Huashan Mountain, Laoxiangcheng Village, Qinling Mountain, Yan'an - Shandong: Chengshantou, Dongying, Liny, Qingdao, Yantai, Zhoucun village - Shanxi: Ningwuguan, Pingyao, - Sichuan: Anning, Baisha village, Beichuan Qiang Autonomous County, Dazu county, Dujiangyan, Emei Mountain, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Guanghan, Hailuogou, Diaoyucheng, Huidong county, Labahe Nature Reserve, Leshan, Luodai, Lushan county, Micang Mountain, Mounta Balang, Mount Wawu, Shifang, Yibin - Taiwan: Alishan, Kenting, Nantou, Taipei, Yushan, - The Yangtze River/Three Gorges Dam - Tianjin - Tibet: Damxung County, Nanggarze, Nedong County, Qiongse Monastery, Yarlung - Xinjiang: Altay mountain, Turpan, Xinyuan County - Yunnan: Dali, Dounan, Pu'er, Shangri-la, Tengchong, - Zhejiang: Hangzhou Bay Wetlands, Mount South Yandang, Ningbo, Simingshan, Xitang

Table 4: Overview of the *CD* dataset (2006-2010)

In total, my corpus consists of 127 travel articles and 31 pictures from the *NYT*, and 223 travel articles and 208 pictures from *CD*. The 2000-2010 sub-corpora from both newspapers, consisting of 70 articles and 31 pictures from the *NYT* and 221 articles and 208 pictures from *CD*, are set apart as the major dataset for my analysis, while the 1981-1999 sub-corpus of the *NYT* serve as the data for the diachronic analysis that is intended to trace the continuities or trends of representations. Concerning the authors, their names and online profiles suggest that all *NYT* travel writers were Westerners during the 1980s and the 1990s. This changed somewhat in the last decade when seven out of 50 writers were Chinese Americans. In *CD*, 29 out of 132 writers are Westerners, as evidenced by their names. The nationalities of these authors, however, cannot be identified, as their profiles are not available online. A fuller description of the *CD* corpus would be more desirable, but what I present is, to the best of my knowledge, all the information about CD that is publicly available.

As for destinations, Beijing and Shanghai are the two places that have been most frequently represented in all the datasets of the *NYT* and *CD*, while Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong are the three places that are most frequently represented in the 2000-2010 sub-

corpora. Moreover, compared with the *NYT*, *CD* features a much greater diversity in presenting destinations. In sum, the corpus was designed in accordance with this study's focus and aims, and is representative in terms of the data source (the USA and China) and data subject (travel in China).

3.3   Procedures of data analysis

After I completed the process of data collection and finalized my corpus, I proceeded to analyze the data using the CMDA framework outlined earlier to understand how Chinese people and their linguistic practices are constructed in tourism discourse. Since image construction primarily depends on the themes that emerge through the frequent use of semiotic representations, this study of the imagining of Chinese people and their linguistic practices inevitably involves the identification of relevant themes. Themes, according to G. W. Ryan and Bernard (2003), are "abstract (and often fuzzy) constructs that link not only expressions found in texts but also expressions found in images, sounds, and objects" (p. 87). In this study, themes are derived from the verbal texts and pictorial representations. In this section, I will clarify in detail how I identified themes from my data and analyzed them.

In general, the implementation of CMDA in this study follows the steps in qualitative research of texts and other modes of expressions suggested by G. W. Ryan and Bernard (2003, p. 85): (a) discovering themes and subthemes, (b) winnowing themes to a manageable few (i.e., deciding which themes are important in my project), and (c) linking the identified themes into the theoretical model which is based on Orientalism, self-Orientalism, and internal Orientalism in my study.

To start with, I undertook a close reading of each of the travel articles. Initially, I highlighted passages devoted to descriptions or observations of Chinese people, their interactions with tourists, and communicative practices. Simultaneously, I took note of my preliminary reading of the possible themes embedded in the verbal and pictorial representations. The main objective of conducting this preliminary close reading of the travelogues was to synthesize the content of the travelogues that was related to my study. Then, in the second and third rounds of close reading, I started to create archives for the three aspects of representing China, namely Chinese people under the tourist gaze, Chinese people in interactions, and language practices, by coding the relevant passages and pictures. Analysis of coded data chunks revealed themes and sub-themes in representations of these aspects.

In the next stage, I created separate source files according to the themes identified. This step also involved identifying which themes were important in the two data sub-sets

(*NYT* and *CD*) according to their frequency of occurrence. Discussion of the findings includes all themes, irrespective of frequency of occurrence, but focuses on the major themes. To supplement the list of themes identified by that stage, I also searched for 'missing data,' for it has long been recognized that "much can be learned from qualitative data by what is not mentioned" (G. W. Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 92). Indeed, as Bogdan and Taylor (1975) suggest, researchers should remain "alert to topics that your subjects either intentionally or unintentionally avoid" (p. 82). Therefore, I carefully scrutinized themes that were discovered in this manner to ensure that I hadn't found only what I looked for (cf. G. W. Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 92), and I always noted themes that were absent from my corpus. This means taking a grounded-theory approach and analysing the texts and pictures repeatedly for recurring themes. In this way, salient themes emerged clearly. Within these themes absences were identified by recourse to the literature (e.g., within the representation of Chinese languages, the absence of variation was identified on the basis of sociolinguistic literature that shows the salience of variation in Chinese as it is actually used).

My analysis of themes recognized the two dialectical levels of CMDA: a micro-level multimodal textual analysis and a macro-level socio-historical analysis, by moving back and forth, in recursive cycles, from the micro-level analysis of multimodal texts to the macro-level analysis of discursive and social practice, embedding them in each other and thus acknowledging the fundamental dialectic between multimodal semiosis and the social-historical context (cf. Flowerdew, 2012; Mautner, 2008). These two levels of analysis were carried out by employing the multiple analytical models outlined in section 2.2.3. While conducting the analysis, I kept in mind the multi-theoretical and multi-methodical nature of CDA. I recognize that CDA is rooted in "the concepts of rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics" (Wodak, 2004, p. 197), and hence my analysis is in general informed by various linguistic, discursive, pragmatic and social theories. For the micro-level textual analysis, I will focus on the lingusitic features of the representations, such as lexical choices, rhetorical strategies, syntactic structures, modality, and tense. For the macro-level analysis, I mainly discuss the ideological, cultural, and social implications of the representations on the basis of the wider socio-historical background.

3.4   Limitations

The key quality assurance measure of qualitative research is credibility (Beck, 1993; Cutcliffe, McKenna, & Cutclife, 1999). As Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggest, qualitative researchers strive to ensure the credibility of their results by working to ensure that "findings are trustworthy and believable in that they reflect participants', researchers', and readers'

experiences with a phenomenon but at the same time [acknowledge that] the explanation is only one of many possible 'plausible' interpretations from data" (p. 302). Therefore, this study does not claim to be representative of all travel writing's representations of Chinese people and their communicative and linguistic practices. What I offer is a snapshot of just one type of travel writing, i.e. online newspaper travelogues, although I hope that my reflections on the discourses of representations of the data analyzed in this study and their social potential will be applicable to the interpretation of other such travel texts (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, pp. 132-133). The best I can do is to strive to ensure that my analysis is as "intellectually challenging and rigorous and critical" (Silverman, 1993, p. 144) as possible.

To achieve this, I have taken Wodak's (2001a, p. 65) advice: "[o]ne methodological way for critical discourse analysts to minimize the risk of being biased is to follow the principle of triangulation." Specifically, my triangulatory approach follows the proposal of triangulation that occurs on and between four contextual levels (Meyer, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2001a): the immediate contexts of specific texts; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships that occur in different texts, genres, and discourses; the situational social contexts in which discourses occur; and the broader socio-historical contexts within which individual discourses are embedded. In addition, my CMDA approach provides for another form of triangulation, as it allows me to analyze not only verbal texts, but also pictures (primarily photographs). Since multimodality "provides the means to describe a practice or representation in all its semiotic complexity and richness" (Iedema, 2003, p. 39), it seems clear that CMDA is always carried out on the basis of multiple sources of data or information, even in a single travel article. Further, as delineated in section 2.2.3, another form of triangulation in my study resides in multi-methodical designs for different semiosis (verbal and pictorial) and different types of data (data on Chinese people and linguistic practices), and integration of different approaches to the same subject (see sections 2.2.3.1, 2.4.2, and 2.2.3.3) on the basis of socio-historical background information.

Nevertheless, as a critical discourse analyst, while recognizing the value of triangulation as a means of ensuring quality results, I was aware that "strict 'objectivity' cannot be achieved by means of discourse analysis, for each 'technology' of research must itself be examined as potentially embedding the beliefs and ideologies of the analysts and therefore prejudicing the analysis toward the analysts' preconceptions" (Meyer, 2001, p. 30). Despite this self-reflexive acknowledgement of the role of the researcher in CDA, it is still important to consider the question of quality in analysis and to incorporate triangulation strategies to minimize threats to credibility.

I believe that the methodological framework and specific methods for data collection and analysis that I used have placed me in the best position possible to answer my research questions that were put forward at the end of Chapter Two. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that limitations remain in my study. The key limitation is related to my data sources: I only chose travelogues from the *NYT* and *CD*, but not from other newspapers or magazines that also constitute journalist travel writing. While this study is not intended to be representative of all travel writing, it would be beneficial to examine more sources of journalistic travel writing in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of touristic representations of Chinese people and their communicative practices. The other limitation lies in my focus on representations of people and languages only. A comprehensive analysis would also need to include representations of places, spaces and histories. However, as indicated in section 1.1, this study focuses on representations of intercultural communication and I thus chose to focus on the three key aspects involving intercultural communication in my data: Chinese people under the tourist gaze, Chinese people interacting with tourists, and their communicative practices.

3.5   Summary

In this chapter, I have described my methods of data collection and corpus design. I have then explained how I identified the themes from my data and analyzed them. Finally, I discussed what I did to enhance the credibility of my research while acknowledging the limitations in the present study. In the following chapters, I will present the results of my analysis and discuss in detail how Chinese people under the tourist gaze and in interactions and their linguistic practices are represented in tourism discourses of the *NYT* and *CD*. I will first turn to examine the touristic representations of Chinese people under the tourist gaze in the next chapter.

Chapter 4:   Chinese People as Destination Scenery

4.1   Introduction

This chapter is devoted to answering my first research question, how are Chinese people under the tourist gaze represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers? Additionally, it will deal with the fourth research question by presenting the diachronic continuities in such representations in the *NYT*, where the representation of Chinese people under the tourist gaze has remained constant over time. I will begin with three themes that are common to both the *NYT* and *CD*: Chinese people are represented as symbols of timelessness, as circumstances of destinations, and as objects. Then I will compare the disparate constructions of Chinese natives as tourist attractions in the two newspapers. The analysis will show that Chinese natives, though portrayed in a variety of images, are constructed as "a major part of the tourism 'product'" (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 228), as tourist attractions to be consumed for their particular features.

4.2   Chinese people as symbols of timelessness

In my data, Chinese people are predominantly represented as inhabitants of places which are enshrouded in the atmosphere of mysticism and strangeness of old times. Being presented as part of the scenery of unchanged places, Chinese social actors, characterized by their enduring simplicity, are entrenched in a time of an unspecified past. The myth of the timeless is expressed in two subthemes in the two newspapers: firstly, Chinese people are very often portrayed as living their life undisturbed and uncorrupted by the influence of modernity; secondly, Chinese people are represented as adhering to traditions despite the encroachment of modernity.

4.2.1   Chinese people undisturbed by modernity

In both newspapers, Chinese people are shown living a traditional life undisturbed and uncorrupted by the country's modernization drive, usually in the contexts of old neighborhoods and remote areas that are constructed as secluded from the outside world. They are often presented as engaging in mundane activities that suggest a traditional way of life. In the *NYT*, the travel writers tend to search for such traces of old times in cities (Fishbane, 2010, April 4; French, 2007, June 10; Gross, 2010, December 24; Koh, 2008, April 27; Rocha, 2007, September 23; Y. Ryan, 2010, September 29; A. Yang, 2007, July 8), although occasionally they would also turn to rural or remote areas for the traces of the past

(A. Chen, 2008, August 10; French, 2007, Febuary 11). By contrast, *CD* writers are more likely to seek the everlasting charm of the past in remote areas (Ji, 2006, May 23; O'Brien, 2007, June 14; X. Qi, 2010, August 26; B. Yang, 2007, August 16), in particular areas mostly inhabited by ethnic minorities (O'Brien, 2007, June 14; X. Qi, 2010, August 26; B. Yang, 2007, August 16).

Indeed, old communities in cities are predominantly represented in the *NYT* as enjoying the beauty of a simple life that remains unaffected by the country's modernization drive. This simplicity is realized in depictions of people's engagement in everyday activities that are indicative of a traditional lifestyle. For instance, in Kunming, the old feeling of the city comes back when the author watches people idling away their time in Cuihu Park (Rocha, 2007, September 23); in Kaifeng, Henan, the descendants of Chinese Jews on Muslin street are still maintaining their ancestral religious rituals (Fishbane, 2010, April 4), and even in cosmopolitan Hong Kong, the travel writer can find "the old Hong Kong, with Grandpa and Grandma, and people hanging clothes outside" (A. Yang, 2007, July 8).

A typical example is a travelogue titled "An outsider's camera provides a ticket into a secret world" (French, 2007, June 10), in which the author explicitly constructs timeless neighborhoods in Shanghai, such as Shanxi Road and Fangbang Road, where mostly migrant workers and old people dwell. As revealed by the title, the author is seen busying himself taking photos of the local inhabitants. Thus gazing remains the only mode of interaction between the travel writer and local residents (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003). This kind of touristic experience is reminiscent of Silver's contention that touristic representations often convey the idea that "natives exist primarily for the consumption of Western tourists" (Silver, 1993, p. 305); hence the locals can be photographed without permission, just like the landscape or buildings. In this travelogue, the author invokes both groups and individuals of the local communities, who are utilized to represent the "very special beauty" of the city, the out-of-this-world timelessness of Shanghai. Thus, they are often depicted as going about their daily lives undisturbed. Let us first consider the opening scene from this travelogue:

> 4.1 There was the scene around a blackened wok in which thick sections of river fish had been freshly deposited in dancing, golden oil, drawing a hungry and animated crowd that was more interested in focusing on matters at hand than in locking in on the foreigner with the big, old-fashioned camera who was busily taking their pictures. (French, 2007, June 10)

This example presents the local communities being engaged in a mundane activity: some inhabitants of Shanxi Road being drawn by street food sold from a portable stall. This kind of scene, which used to be commonplace in China, is becoming something of a rarity in

big cities like Shanghai, as a consequence of urban redevelopment. Though the above scene may sound dull to Chinese natives, it strikes the writer as newsworthy enough to be reported to his potential readers, as further witnessed in his visits of Fangbang Road, another "very special, if neglected place" and one of the "unspoiled outposts of the past" (French, 2007, June 10):

> 4.2 This street, Fangbang Road, in all of its slightly shabby glory, became one of the centers of my photographic world over the next two years, drawing me back again and again, as surely as I was pulled along that late afternoon that fall day by the swift current of foot traffic of people returning home in time for an early dinner. Busier by a good measure than Shanxi Road, with small shops open to the street on the ground floor of just about every building — a fish monger chopping up his catch here, a poultry dealer depluming chickens for a customer by dunking them in scalding water there, the incessant beckoning cry of the fresh fruit and vegetables ladies — it took me a while to catch the rhythm of this place. (French, 2007, June 10)

In this extract, the travel writer is seen intruding into another back region of the inhabitants' world, where his visual contemplation is complemented by the acoustic landscape. The latter often sounds exotic and incomprehensible as the surrounding foreign environment (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 136). This extract juxtaposes the unspecified "shabby glory" of Fangbang Road with such sound characterization as "chopping," "dunking," and "cry," all suggesting a touch of the timeless strangeness.

If the above two scenes are intended to arouse a feeling of nostalgia or to evoke the past, so is the accompanying picture of this travelogue:

Figure 4.1: A street vendor on Shanxi Road last March (French, 2007, June 10).

What is noticeable is the absence of color (black and white) in this picture, the lowest color saturation and hence the lowest modality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 159; see also section 2.2.3.2). Identifying himself as "outsider," the writer-cum-photographer uses the absence of color to frame a world where he doesn't belong. The primary participant of this picture is "a street vendor" as told from the caption and the salience of his image in the

picture. Undoubtedly, this image involves two narrative structures: the first consists of the street vendor's puffing on a cigarette while perching his arms on the cart seat and one handlebar, hence a process of action; the second consists of the vector formed by the participant's look, hence a process of reaction. Although the street vendor is captured at the frontal angle and he is seen looking directly at the viewer, he is not presented as inviting the latter to interactively engage with him, because his upward looking eyes indicates the photographer's use of a high angle which entails that the photographer or the viewer has power over the photographed subject. This image, therefore, offers the participant merely as an object for contemplation, which evokes the writer's nostalgia for the old Shanghai and is thus frozen by a camera click. Indeed, this timeless world, though considered dripping with charm by the writer, remains the Other world that can only be scrutinized from a distance.

This timeless imaging of old neighborhoods in Shanghai is no different from the construction of small alleys in Beijing in the 1980s *NYT* travelogues, in which the local residents are similarly presented in images of being engaged in their daily routines (Bernstein, 1983, February 6; Schell, 1987, October 14). For example, old women "with tiny, bound feet that hint of decades past push their grandchildren in rickety strollers past immense iron-hinged doors"; a girl "poured water out onto the street and turned back into the darkness of the entryway"; a young man "sat on a stool outside his home and played the erhu, a two-string instrument with the twangy, atonal quality typical of traditional Chinese music" (Bernstein, 1983, February 6). In another travelogue about Beijing of the 1980s, we see that "[o]ld women with bound feet and toothless octogenarian men sit silently with their canes, outside cracked, faded red doorways"(Schell, 1987, October 14).

While the above depictions focus on old communities living an undisturbed life in big cities like Shanghai and Beijing, this timeless imaging of Chinese people also extends to those in remote contexts, particularly in *CD*. Consider the following two excerpts first:

4.3   About 30 minutes' drive from Ziyang, the village of Xiaoqi sits along a stream and is made up of two parts: Upper Xiaoqi and Lower Xiaoqi. Walking from Lower Xiaoqi to Upper Xiaoqi along the river, visitors pass old houses, memorial halls, arched bridges, pavilions, paddy fields and dense woods.

On a sunny day one can see farmers bustling about in the fields while elderly locals and children sit chatting near narrow stone footpaths. Women clean vegetables and clothes in the clear river while ducks and geese swim in the stream—far away from the hustle and bustle of the city. (Ji, 2006, May 23)

4.4   As the first rays of sunlight reach the maze of old houses in Kashgar, Northwest China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, the city gradually wakes up as the chanting of the *Quran* is heard from the mosque. Small alleys

begin to pulse with merriment – vendors shouting, housewives chatting and children laughing. Local Muslim Uyghurs who have lived in the city for generations start a new day as usual. (B. Yang, 2007, August 16)

Extract 4.3 presents the village of Xiaoqi in Wuyuan, a county in Jiangxi. The travel journalist invokes four groups of local residents, but they remain anonymous and undifferentiated. Moreover, they form part of a long list of the indigenous elements making up the scenery of the visitors' stroll, in the same way as both the ancient architecture ("old houses," "memorial halls," "arched bridges," "pavilions") and nature ("paddy fields," "dense woods"). Moreover, these local people are placed in settings either associated with the past ("narrow stone footpaths") or with nature ("fields," "river," "stream," "ducks," "geese"), hence being set apart from the modern world characterized by "the hustle and bustle of the city." In a similar vein as in the examples 4.1 and 4.2, the Chinese locals here are also portrayed as being engaged in day-to-day activities, which constitutes a visual setting ("bustling," "clean vegetables and clothes in the clear river") and an acoustic landscape ("sit chatting near narrow stone footpaths"), both suggesting a lifestyle unaffected by time. While extract 4.3 brings out an image of the countryside bridging the past with natural charm, as also indicated in the travelogue's title, extract 4.4 presents a timeless picture of Kashgar in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, a county-level city located in the western extremity of China. The travel writer introduces three groups of social actors: vendors, housewives, and children, and they remain unknown and indistinguishable as the people in extract 4.3. Further, these social actors are depicted in the image of being engaged in humdrum activities as the locals in example 4.3. What is distinguishable is that these banal activities ("shouting," "chatting," "laughing") constitute a typical acoustic landscape, which form the "merriment" of the alleys. Hence, in both examples, the social actors are relegated to the local scenery untouched by time, beyond the realm of this contemporary world.

As seen in example 4.4, the local communities in Kashgar seem to be a favorite subject for representations of the timeless myth in *CD*. Moreover, Kashgar tends to be dichotomized into old and new, with the old part being depicted as enshrouded in an unspecified past, despite its geographical proximity with the new part. Witness the following example:

4.5   The city of Kashgar is sliced in two by Renmin Lu, the main road that runs from east to west. To the south lie the wide roads and gray buildings of modern development under the raised arm of one of the largest statues of Mao Zedong in the country. Behind his back, a jumble of narrow stone streets forms the old town.

The lanes leading off from the main square and the Id Kah Mosque remain in an antiquated bubble.

Renovations on mud, dung and straw walls are carried out on wooden scaffolding and the local blacksmith pounds iron, dressed in a flat cap and suit jacket. The bakeries conduct the bulk of their business late at night to provide nang bread, the staple Uygur breakfast.

A single light bulb reveals a wooden frame, its peeling blue paint blackened by smoke. The picture is of a squatting teenager, sweat trickling from under a white prayer cap, removing flat bread after flat bread from the earthen oven with long metal tongs. (O'Brien, 2007, June 14)

In this extract, the neighborhood of the Id Kah Mosque is depicted as "an antiquated bubble," where people go about their business in a "relic" place (Echtner & Prasad, 2003, p. 669). Kashgar is ostensibly treated as an object by being "sliced" into two parts, rather than a city inhabited by living people. Being set in sharp contrast with the new part, the old town is portrayed as insulated from any influence of modern development. The author presents two individual characters (a blacksmith and a bakery boy) and a group of people engaged in the business of bakery, but all of them remain anonymous and indistinguishable. Again, they are depicted in the image of carrying out humdrum tasks that suggest their traditional lifestyle. It is notable that the bakery boy, in particular, is objectified by being placed in a "picture" savored and consumed by the travel writer.

The entrenchment of local people in a place of antiquity seems to be confirmed by the represented subjects themselves, such as a group of Tibetan villagers in Yarlung Suoka of Tibet:

4.6   Under the early afternoon sun, the village, boasting about 20 households, seems totally deserted, barring the occasional dog barking or a rooster crowing. But as I turn a corner, I see a group of villagers in a big courtyard, leaning against a short wall, sitting in the shadows of two roadside trees and sipping their afternoon tea.

"This is my home," says 39-year-old Geduo, although I see no door anywhere — only walls.

They are all descendants of the first villagers.

"We rarely see any visitors here," 55-year-old Dawa Ciren says. "They always go to the palace."

He says they have been living here for as long as he — and his father and grandfather, for that matter — can remember.

"A hundred generations?" he mutters to himself. "I don't know."

Except for the tractor in Geduo's courtyard and a few other harvesting machines, the village looks like something out of antiquity.

But the lack of modernity hardly seems to bother its residents, not even 24-year-old Yangjin, the youngest of the group, who has returned home after completing high school.

Asked why she had not pursued further studies and gone to, say, Tibet University in Lhasa, she says: "It's not that I don't want to — it's just that I love my farm life more."

Geduo interjects and points to his courtyard and the fields across the road. "This is our university," he exclaims, eliciting a chorus of hearty laughter from the others.

It is barely 3 in the afternoon, but Geduo and his companions are already preparing to return to their "campus".

For their daily lives, especially farm work, they still depend largely on the rising and setting of the sun — the watch being a superfluous accessory. (X. Qi, 2010, August 26)

What is distinguishable about this passage is that the social actors here are represented in terms of their names together with ages, hence in their unique identity. This way of representation adds authenticity to the author's quotations of these villagers, who are presented to inform the author of their life or their love of such a life. They are hardly presented as the equals of the author, however, for there is little indication of conspicuously reciprocal interactions represented (see Chapter Five for more discussion on interactions). Curiously, despite the different ages and genders of the three Tibetan villagers, they are assimilated into a group that lives a life untouched by time, and are represented as content and happy with the lack of modernity in their village. While it is virtually impossible to tell what other topics are covered in the author-villagers interaction, it is fairly safe to say that the author has selected one aspect of that interaction to include in his representation so as to match the image of timelessness that is ascribed to the village, i.e. "something out of antiquity," for the representation of any reality necessarily involves such selections (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 133; Hodge & Kress, 1993, p. 5).

The foregoing discussion centers on the textual representations of Chinese locals as inhabitants of timeless remote destinations, a theme which is also perpetuated by pictorial representations, as seen in the following *CD* picture:

Figure 4.2: Two local women grind corn for the next day's meal at Erping (Song, 2006, April 22a).

This picture presents two Yi ethnic women at Erping village in Sichuan carrying out their daily chore of grinding corn, hence an image involving a narrative process in terms of its representational pattern. There is no conspicuous interaction between the two Yi women, i.e. the participants in this picture, and the viewer, although one woman seems to look toward the viewer. This image, therefore, offers the participants for contemplation instead of inviting the viewer to engage with the participants. Besides, the use of a long shot and an oblique angle respectively indicates impersonal social distance and detachment between the viewer and the represented participants. Further, this is considered as an image of low modality from two aspects: as in Figure 1, this picture features absence of color, i.e. black and white, hence presenting a world that the photographer doesn't belong to; the participants and the background or setting are badly out of focus, as if being shrouded in mist. Thus, this picture constructs an image of the Yi people dwelling in a village of unworldly timelessness.

4.2.2 Chinese people adhering to traditions

While Chinese people are represented as living a traditional life in secluded old neighborhoods or remote areas as discussed in the previous subsection, they can also be depicted as actively maintaining their customs or traditions despite the encroachment of modernity on their life. Thus we can see Chinese people portrayed as sticking to traditions or resisting urbanization even when their life is inevitably affected by modernization.

For example, the locals in Kashgar, can be explicitly depicted as "sticking to their traditional lifestyle" despite the rapid modernization of the city (B. Yang, 2007, August 16), as seen in the following passage:

> 4.7   Like many other cities in the country, Kashgar has witnessed rapid development over the past decade, as a large section of the city has been torn down and replaced by high-rise residential blocks and wide roads. But time seems to stand still in Shule with the old houses intact and the locals sticking to their traditional lifestyle. Some of the houses were built by three generations: The father built the first floor, the son expanded it to a two-story house and then the grandson built another floor in the house.
>
> Every house has a story and the owner is willing to share it with visitors. The residents have lived in the town for generations and few of them like to move into new apartment buildings.
> Many of them still make a living with pottery and other handicrafts, a tradition they have carried on for many generations. Music and dance remain important in their lives and Uygurs seem to always have a song in their hearts and on their lips. (B. Yang, 2007, August 16)

In this passage, although the author acknowledges the fast development experienced by Kashgar in recent years, he is much keener to present the timeless side of Kashgar, which

is represented by Shule county. The mystique of timelessness is created through the portrayals of the old houses that remain intact and the Shule residents who adhere to traditions. Three individual characters are invoked in the depiction of building the old houses, but they remain unidentified as in extracts 4.4 and 4.5. Furthermore, without any hint of interaction between the locals and the travel journalist, the locals seem to be imagined to stick to their traditional customs, which are essentialized in the forms of old dwellings, handicraft, music, and dance.

Similarly, in the picture below, Naxi people in Lijiang are depicted holding on to their traditions:

Figure 4.3: Local Naxi people hold on to their traditions in Lijiang, a city which has witnessed booming tourism in recent decades (J. Liu, 2009, October 15).

While the previous pictures present a timeless image through the portrayal of the locals engaging in everyday activities, Figure 4.3 develops the theme of timelessness through the depiction of an immobile local. In terms of the representational pattern, Figure 4.3 concerns an analytical structure, in which the old Naxi woman who appears most salient is the carrier, her black head scarf, ear rings, and Naxi ethnic attire are the possessive attributes making up the whole image of the old woman. The other two elderly Naxi women who show only part of their body constitute circumstances of accompaniment to the primary participant. This image can also be interpreted as involving a reaction process, a product of "representational manipulation" though: the photo may have been cropped back to a close-up of the non-transactional reactor, namely the old Naxi woman who looks at something the viewer cannot see (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 68). Considering its interactional pattern, the old Naxi woman faces the viewer, but her gaze does not meet that of the viewer: she is gazing out on the open vista, wearing an expression that is indecipherable. Thus, despite being captured in a close-up at a frontal angle, the Naxi woman is cast in an image of 'offer' that presents her as a disengaged participant for tourist observation. As a whole, this picture offers a symbolic suggestive image, in which the carrier is not represented as an individualized Naxi woman, but as a typified member of her community—"local Naxi

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people" as indicated in the caption. Thus, the old Naxi woman who is dressed in traditional ethnic attire is presented to symbolize Naxi people's clinging to traditions despite the booming tourism in Lijiang. However, we already know that the traditions themselves have largely been rendered into a product for tourist consumption (X. Chen, 2010, July 31).

Actually, not only people in remote areas like Kashgar and Lijiang are presented as actively keeping their traditions alive, but people in metropolises like Shanghai may also be depicted adhering to their traditional lifestyle, as witnessed in a picture from a *NYT* travelogue titled "A stretch of old Shanghai" (Y. Ryan, 2010, September 29):

Figure 4.4: A couple dressed in the style of Shanghai in the 1920s and '30s on Duolun Lu, a street that reflects some of that era (Y. Ryan, 2010, September 29).

This picture concerns a narrative structure as in the previous images: another everyday activity of the locals, i.e. a couple is seen walking together. Apparently, the central point of this image, as expressed in the caption, lies in the dressing style of the couple, which is characteristic of old Shanghai. Being captured from an oblique angle, the couple becomes detached from the viewer, hence "not part of our world" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 138). Further, the use of a long shot suggests the remote social distance between the viewer and the participants, who are thus considered as the Other, the 'strangers.' Since there is no trace of contact between the participants and the viewer, this picture is a typical image of 'offer' that presents the locals not only as representatives of Shanghai people who still cherish traditions but also as icons of the timeless Duolun Lu constructed in the text.

At other times, Chinese locals may be portrayed as resisting urbanization of their neighborhoods or changes to their old way of life, especially in the *NYT*. Consider the following two passages:

4.8   There was the grizzled man in the wool cap and greatcoat, perfectly still, with one foot perched on his bicycle cart stacked high with mushrooms. He had parked his cart smack dab in the middle of the street, as if he were holding the line against the encroachments of a new and unwelcome kind of lifestyle: one

built around honking automobiles and fluorescent-lit supermarkets. (French, 2007, June 10)

4.9　　To walk these streets is to get a skewed impression of Chinese demographics. Old people are everywhere, and they form an undeniable part of the character of these places, with etched faces that speak of all the unspeakable travails of China's modern history. With the areas I have focused on — all fast coming under the assault of bulldozers — the gazes of the elderly often seem to convey their deep sense of uncertainty, anxiety even, as the tightly knit neighborhoods where they have spent their lives are plowed under and they are moved to unfamiliar settings on the outskirts of town for the difficult climb of making a new life.

These looks, seen over and over, inevitably raise the question of how Shanghai's people feel about the extraordinary urban redevelopment process that is under way. For the most part, they have never been asked, certainly not by the government, which executes its grand designs by fiat.

The answer, in fact, is not a simple one. Shanghai's fast-disappearing old quarters drip with charm, but they are also full of problems, from cramped living spaces that have been subdivided over the years to inadequate heating and plumbing.

Many who can afford to move into the high-rises sprouting up everywhere are happy to do so. Others wear looks of mourning.

Over and over again, I have been asked by the people of these neighborhoods what is my purpose in taking pictures of these lives? Am I trying to show a bad side of China? To make fun of poor people?

I have no trouble answering, and my reply is effective more often than not because it is sincere. "I take pictures in your neighborhood because there is something very beautiful about the lifestyle you have," I say. "Things may not be perfect, but there is a very special kind of community you have, and soon places like this will all be gone." (French, 2007, June 10)

In example 4.8, the man's banal act of parking his cart right in the middle of the street is imagined to demonstrate his hostility against the encroaching new lifestyle. The man himself is depicted as standing "perfectly still," fixed exactly there and at that time. Even though the man is assumed to share the author's dislike or disapproval of modernity in the old neighborhoods of Shanghai, he is nonetheless viewed as an Other, a living image of the timeless that provokes the author's wallow in nostalgia. This tourist imagination is echoed in example 4.9, in which the ubiquity of old people is framed as a salient feature of the ethnoscape of the timeless Shanghai, although the author acknowledges this impression as biased. Being deprived of any individuality, these old people are lumped together as an undifferentiated group. The writer's reading of the old people's looks in their eyes sounds more like his own assumption that is not substantiated by any evidence, for there is little hint

of interaction with and hence quotation from these old people about the issue of urban redevelopment. Thus the author's claim about the government's ignorance of the locals' feelings sounds weak as well, for there is no indication that this claim is based on any local source. In fact, this claim fits in with the Western stereotyped views of China such as the passive Oriental people, the despotic leader, and the uncaring Communist government (Pennycook, 2002, p. 172). As Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) point out, discussions or representations of the Other are usually carried out without the Other's involvement or participation. This is typically achieved by the author's judgmental statements without recourse to any local source of information in this example. Near the end of extract 4.9 (and also the text), there seems to be a trace of interaction between the author and the Chinese locals, which, nevertheless, features no conspicuous involvement from the writer, because his answer seems to be directed at his targeted readers rather than to the locals. Therefore, the old people in this passage are portrayed more like an object through which the writer voices his disapproval of urban redevelopment in Shanghai.

In the above discussions, I have looked at the content of representations of Chinese people as unaffected by modernity or adhering to traditions. It is worth noting that formal features of these representations reinforce the unworldly timelessness and homogeneity of the local communities, as explicated next.

4.2.3   Timelessness as a formal element

In this subsection, I will focus on the major formal strategies employed in representations of this category, such as reference labels, identification markers, rhetorical devices, and grammatical positioning of social actors in sentences.

First of all, representations of Chinese people frequently make use of fairly generic labels of reference in both newspapers, such as classification, functionalization, relational identification, assimilation, and so on. Thus, instead of being represented in their unique identity, Chinese people are mostly generalized and objectified.

1. Classification: Chinese people discussed in this section are usually represented in generic classification terms that suggest age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. They can be classified either in terms of age like "elderly locals" and "children" in example 4.3, "children" in example 4.4, "teenager" in example 4.5, "old people" and "the elderly" in example 4.9, or in terms of gender such as "women" in example 4.3 and "local women" in the caption of Figure 4.2, or by ethnicity, e.g. "local Naxi people" in the caption of Figure 4.3 and "Uyghurs" in example 4.7, or by ethnicity and religion, e.g. "local Muslim Uyghurs" in

example 4.4, or by places they dwell in such as "villagers" in example 4.6 and "locals" in example 4.7.

2. Functionalization: Chinese people are sometimes represented in terms of something they do, i.e. an occupation or role. We see "street vendor" in the caption of Figure 4.1, "fish monger," "poultry dealer," "fruit and vegetables ladies" in example 4.2, "farmer" in example 4.3, "vendor" and "housewives" in example 4.4, "blacksmith" in example 4.5, and "residents" in example 4.7.

3. Assimilation: Chinese people can be aggregated into groups, being treated as statistics. They may appear as a "crowd" in example 4.1, or they are undifferentiated groups represented through the determiner with no exception ("every") and the indefinite quantifier ("many") in example 4.7.

4. Other means of representation: except for the above reference labels, Chinese people can be represented in other ways. For example, spatialization (a form of objectification, see section 2.2.3.1) can be utilized in referring to locals, e.g. "the city" in example 4.4 metonymically stands for its inhabitants, and the "bakeries" in example 4.5 refers to the people who work there. In other cases, they can be represented in terms of physical identification such as "(old people) with etched faces" in example 4.9, or in terms of relational identification and clothing such as "[a] couple dressed in the style of Shanghai in the 1920s and '30s" in the caption of Figure 4.4, or in terms of both physical identification and clothing such as "grizzled man in the wool cap and greatcoat" in example 4.8. Occasionally, they can be identified in terms of their personal relation to each other, e.g. "the father," "the son," "the grandson" in example 4.7.

While Chinese people are predominantly deprived of individuality when they serve as part of destination scenery, they may be identified by nomination if they serve other roles simultaneously. In the *NYT*, an old resident of *Yaodong* (earth den), a traditional dwelling in Western China, is nominated by his full name to add authenticity to the writer's visit (A. Chen, 2008, August 10). Moreover, this character also functions as an informant and a host, two roles of helpers which will be discussed in Chapter Five. In *CD*, some local Tibetan villagers are identified by their names (plus ages) (see example 4.6). This, however, doesn't contribute to the individualization of these people who are actually assimilated into one group living an undisturbed traditional life. Moreover, these people also serve as informants as the old man living in *Yaodong* (A. Chen, 2008, August 10) in the *NYT*. The identification of informants by nomination can thus give authenticity support to the quotations.

In addition, there are a few other formal elements contributing to the thematization of timelessness. Firstly, the universal present tense brings out a timeless image even more outright, so that the locals are constructed to be ahistorically or atemporally living Others (cf. Cohen, 1993, p. 37), especially in *CD* travelogues, as seen in examples, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7. Although the present tense is not commonplace in the *NYT* representations, a notable shift from the past tense into the present tense occurs in the travelogue "An outsider's camera provides a ticket into a secret world" (French, 2007, June 10), as seen in extract 4.9. It seems no coincidence that this shift occurs when the writer presents old people dwelling in the old neighborhoods of Shanghai, who are unavoidably associated with the myth of the past. These old people are thus constructed as indelible, distinguishing mark of old Shanghai. Secondly, when Chinese people are depicted as timeless, they may also be backgrounded, very often serving as post-modifications in sentences. Thus, we can see expressions like "drawing a hungry and animated crowd" in example 4.1, "with small shops open to the street...a fish monger chopping up his catch here, a poultry dealer depluming chickens for a customer by dunking them in scalding water there, the incessant beckoning cry of the fresh fruit and vegetables ladies" in example 4.2, and "the gazes of the elderly" in extract 4.9, and the sentence "Small alleys begin to pulse with merriment – vendors shouting, housewives chatting and children laughing" in extract 4.4. Thirdly, the use of some metaphors reinforces the construction of the timeless image, e.g. the use of metaphor in "the maze of old houses" in example 4.4 and the metaphorical reference of the old Kashgar as "an antiquated bubble" in example 4.5 add a mystical flavor to the timeless imagery. Lastly, women are likely to be linked more closely with nature, as seen in the sentence "Women clean vegetables and clothes in the clear river while ducks and geese swim in the stream—far away from the hustle and bustle of the city" in example 4.3.

4.2.4 Summary

To sum up, Chinese people discussed in this section are presented in a mystified image of the timeless Other, which is encompassed in the constructions of them either as undisturbed by the advancement of modernity or as actively maintaining a traditional lifestyle. These social actors are represented as inhabitants of old neighborhoods in cities or of remote areas, i.e., destinations where urbanization and modernity is diminished and the charm of old times remains unchanged. Formal features such as generic reference labels, present tense, and metaphors contribute to building the mystique of timelessness and homogeneity. The representations discussed above are hardly unexpected from the perspective of Orientalism (see section 2.3). Indeed, by hinging on the "embellished essences and aesthetic stereotypes of

Orientalism" (Echtner & Prasad, 2003, p. 671), the myth of timelessness systematically portrays the people and the destinations as fixed in a time that appeals to the classical Oriental quest for an unchanged China (see section 1.3.2).

4.3   Chinese people as circumstances of destinations

When Chinese people are presented to index the myth of the timeless of certain destinations as discussed in section 4.2, to some extent they serve as 'props' reinforcing the atmosphere of timelessness (cf. Echtner, 2002), hence constituting part of the background of touristic experiences. On some other occasions, they are pushed further into the background in textual and pictorial representations. Chinese people presented in this sense are therefore circumstantialized and deemed as the insignificant Other, either providing life and authenticity support to the tourist sights, or functioning as circumstances of means that are utilized to express tourism activities or to carry out an activity or to form a scene.

The term "circumstances" in my study is employed to refer to secondary participants represented in both texts and pictures (see section 2.2.3.2). Textually, these backgrounded social actors are presented to bring life and authenticity to landscapes or townscapes. They tend to be circumstantialized grammatically in sentences, i.e. appearing in prepositional phrases. Hence, it is worth noting that formal strategies, especially the grammatical positions of social actors, play a key role in textually circumstantializing the social actors. Pictorially, they are featureless Chinese people who are captured in long shot in narrative and conceptual structures. The pictorial representations usually feature human figures that are presented to bring life and authenticity to the sights, or to convey tourist activities, or to form part of an activity or an event which is the object of the tourist gaze. Hence the human participants are considered secondary to landscapes, serving as the "canvas" or "local color" (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998) or "destination décor" (Dann, 1996). On some other occasions, they are close to the "tools used in action processes," and are thus viewed as circumstances of means (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72).

4.3.1   Chinese people as destination decorations

It is notable that very rarely have the travelogues in the two newspapers portrayed totally empty sights. Although open landscapes and seascapes can be tempting (see Simon, 2008, September 25; Tsui, 2009, March 15), now and then it may be necessary to add a hint of local color by introducing locals in passing. The locals presented this way, as mentioned above, serve as decorations giving life and authenticity to destinations.

Let us consider an excerpt from the *CD* travelogue titled "Step back in time" (Chongde Xu & Shi, 2008, March 13), which centers on the granite-stepped paths built 100 years ago in Qingdao, Shandong province. The local residents are for the most part invisible, except in the following passage:

> 4.10   These paths, of which there are more than 100, feature heavily in the locals' daily lives.
> Old people bask in the sunlight on the steps, chatting all day long, while children use them as a playground, climbing around and playing football.

In this extract, some groups of the locals are introduced to bring out the importance of the stone paths in the city of Qingdao, while no individuals are presented. It should be noted that only "old people" and "children" are included while other locals such as adult men and women are rendered invisible, hence being suppressed. In a sense, "old people" and "children" are selected to stand for the local ethnoscape, which is thus simplified, and to signify the timelessness ascribed to the stone paths in the text.

On the other hand, the generalized labels of reference reinforce the genericization and essentialization of the local residents in Qingdao, namely the terms of classification, either by region ("the locals"), or by age ("old people," "children"). Moreover, the employment of the universal present tense conveys the myth of the timeless (see section 4.2).

Compared with the old and infantile ethnoscape presented textually, the accompanying photos of this travelogue provide a more diversified picture of the local human landscape. Nevertheless, the represented social actors are also portrayed as secondary participants to the stone paths, hence serving as the circumstances of the townscape:

Figure 4.5: Walking up and down the granite-stepped paths is part of daily life for people living in Qingdao (Chongde Xu & Shi, 2008, March 13).

Figure 4.6: It's physically demanding for a groom to carry his bride down the stone steps to the wedding car (Chongde Xu & Shi, 2008, March 13).

Figure 4.7: A man walks along the winding path with his bird cages (Chongde Xu & Shi, 2008, March 13).

Figure 4.8: Young people show off their riding skills on the old paths (Chongde Xu & Shi, 2008, March 13).

In terms of patterns of representation, all the above four photos are narrative, each involving an activity or an event that is part of the humdrum of the local people's daily life. Regarding patterns of interaction, all of the photos are of 'offer' that entails no contact between the participants and the viewer. Besides, the choice of a long shot in all the photos suggests the impersonal distance between the photographed human subjects and the viewer. Hence the application of a low angle to these photos does not convey power over the viewer but a necessary means to bring the stone steps into focus. Finally, considering the composition of the images, the human participants and the stone steps are represented as belonging together due to the absence of framing devices disconnecting them in these pictures. It should be noted that in Figure 4.5, the meeting edge of the two stone walls is the framing device which seems to separate the girls from the old man who are walking on two diverging paths, but the convergence of the two paths at one end and the meeting of the smiling eyes of the girl in front and those of the old man may indicate that the local residents, whether they are old or young, are not different from each other in their close connection with the stone paths. Echoing the message of the text, the captions of these four pictures center on the stone paths as well and represent a generic image of local people, by drawing on the generic labels of reference to the locals, e.g. the most generic label "people" used in the caption of Figure 4.5 seems to imply that the girls and the old man are presented there as if by accident and that anybody living in Qingdao could be chosen to appear in the photo; the social actors shown in the other three photos are also genericized in the captions due to the use of the indefinite

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article plus singular noun ("a groom" in Figure 4.6 and "a man" in Figure 4.7) and plural noun without article ("young people" in Figure 4.8). Therefore, rather than being depicted as individualized characters, the human participants in these four photos are presented merely to provide life and movement to the stone paths, serving as decorations to the townscape.

Sometimes, the social actors are further backgrounded by being positioned as objects of verbs or verbal phrases or as post-modifications in sentences, unlike the social actors presented in example 4.10 and in the captions of the above photos who are positioned as the subjects of sentences. In this case, formal features of representations play a central role in circumstantializing the social actors. Witness the following excerpts:

4.11   The hike itself was therapeutic as we left the noisy crowds of families, couples and young people at the waterfront. We walked by barefooted men fishing on the edge of boulders, as well as bicyclists and pedicabs, even overhearing one driver recounting the bitter squabbling among his in-laws to his passengers.

[…]

Back in our hike, one of our final sights in Tai O was of two men bundled in yellow raincoats in their boats still fishing in the unsteady waters, as the winds got stronger and night edged closer.

[…]

A quick stroll through the bright sherbet-hued residences of the village, where we met an elderly man and his friendly dog and cat lounging side by side on the porch, eventually led us back to the sea. (Dabu, 2006, April 1)

4.12   But since David wasn't around when I checked in, I put my bags away, walked out through the lane — where grandmothers played mah-jongg outside pink stucco homes and cicadas chirred in the trees — and grabbed a quick snack of jian bing… (Gross, 2007, January 21)

4.13   At another market in the Uighur part of town, the mood was more somber but the food just as exciting. I tucked into deliciously gamy roast lamb (60 yuan per kilo) served with naan bread, then watched a weird scene involving a stolen computer, a repentant thief and a drunken cop — which ended with my running for the highway and grabbing the first taxi I saw (base fare: 6 yuan). I needed a drink myself, so I went to Fubar (1 Gongyuan North Road, 86-991-584-4498), a dim, friendly saloon run by Western expatriates, where I met a European businessman working on the Sheraton project…(Gross, 2006, August 2)

In example 4.11, the travel writer collects a range of locals encountered who add to the charm and authenticity of the scenery. They are depicted engaging in some daily routines, and the last one is noticeably presented in the same context as his pets. Similarly, in extract 4.12, the presentation of some local people and insects in the same context, namely "grandmothers"

and "cicadas," adds a complementary hue of local color. In this case, human beings are not distinguished from the insects, for both are portrayed giving out certain sounds through their banal acts of "playing Mahjong" and "chirping" respectively that constitute the local acoustic landscape. Hence, whether they are the human inhabitants in the lane or the cicadas dwelling in the trees, they share the role of animating the landscape. In extract 4.13, the writer entertains himself with a "scene" consisting of "a stolen computer, a repentant thief and a drunken cop." While he finds this scene "weird," he feels friendliness in the saloon run by Westerners. Thus, by presenting one as absurd and the other as congenial, there is a crafted sense of Othering the two Chinese social actors from the 'us' community of Westerners.

This backgrounding of Chinese locals is also witnessed in the *NYT* travelogues of the first two decades. For example, in a 1980s article about Shanghai, the many locals the writer presents are positioned as objects of verbs or as part of post-modifications, as in "I watched a dozen people doing Western-style calisthenics; walked by old women…" and in "I found a spot near a seraphic young man who moved to the music with an absorption…" (Selvin, 1985, November 3). In a 1990s travelogue about Shaoshan, Hunan, the locals are also backgrounded, as seen in "I glimpse some of the most well-behaved teen-agers practicing on accordions…" (Krich, 1991, January 20).

As mentioned above, it is the formal strategies employed that lead to the circumstantialization of social actors in these examples. Above all, the grammatical positions of the social actors confirm their role as circumstances. In example 4.11, the social actors function as the objects of either the verb ("left" and "met"), or the verbal phrase ("walked by"), or the adverbial verb ("overhearing"). In the latter two examples, they are positioned as part of post modifiers, e.g. in extract 4.12, the "grandmothers" are placed in parallel to the "cicadas," both combined to form a post-attributive to the "lane"; in example 4.13, the two social actors, together with the object ("a stolen computer"), constitute the post modifier of the word "scene" and are circumstantialized as a result. Further, labels of genericization are used in reference to the represented social actors, e.g. classification, either by age ("young people"), by gender ("two men"), or by age and gender ("an elderly man," "grandmothers"); relational identification ("families," "couples"); or functionalization ("bicyclists," "driver," "thief," "cop"); aggregation ("crowds"). Some other points of identification bring about not only genericization but also objectification of social actors, such as physical identification ("barefooted men"), identification in terms of clothing ("bundled in yellow raincoats"), and instrumentalization ("pedicabs"), i.e. represented with respect to the tool they carry out the activity. In addition, the use of metaphors tends to objectify the social actors for tourist

observation, e.g. the metaphorical reference of "two men bundled in yellow raincoats in their boats still fishing in the unsteady waters" as one of their "final sights." It is also worth noting that the two social actors in example 4.13 carry unusual modifiers with them ("repentant thief," "drunken cop"), thus creating a dramatic scene being enjoyed by the writer.

On some other occasions, Chinese locals are backgrounded by being rendered almost invisible. Thus, they may be heard but not seen, as illustrated in the following extract:

4.14   Sometimes we peered inside homes with their doors cracked open, the tinkling laughter and clinks of families and friends playing mah-jong or setting the dinner table emanating from within. We even saw the fresh seafood dishes being prepared. I smiled as we spotted a couple stepping into each other's feet as they were learning how to dance. (Dabu, 2006, April 1)

The writer and her friend here derive some kind of voyeuristic pleasure from watching the locals' private life. A local acoustic landscape is depicted: the cracking sounds of the doors, the laughter, the clinking sound of playing mahjong, and the sound of arranging the table. The local people in this case are thus backgrounded or rendered invisible: they are either represented in terms of sounds they make, or they are suppressed, e.g. the people who prepare seafood dishes are totally hidden from sight. The formal elements in the representation, as usual, increases circumstantialization of social actors either by representing them as generic instead of specific, e.g. the labels of relational identification ("families," "friends," "a couple"), or by grammatically positioning them as the object of the verb, e.g. "a couple" is the object of the verb "spotted."

In a similar vein, the pictorial circumstantialization of social actors occurs when the social actors presented in pictures are excluded from captions. Even though the social actors in the foregoing photos (Figures 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8) function as secondary participants, they are more or less shown in the captions. In most cases, such social actors are rendered totally invisible in the captions while appearing featureless in the pictures of landscapes. Consider the following photos:

Figure 4.9: Tianya Haijiao, a beach depicted on the Chinese two-yuan note, is a popular attraction on Hainan Island (Tsui, 2009, March 15).

Figure 4.10: Dajingmen, an ancient pass of the Great Wall, bears witness to the ups and downs of Zhangjiakou (F. Xie, 2007, November 22).

Both pictures are of analytical structure involving a carrier and possessive attributes. In Figure 4.9, the carrier is the beach, Tianya Haijiao, and a number of other participants such as sand, water, rocks, and a coconut tree function as possessive attributes fitting together to make up the larger whole of the beach. In Figure 4.10, the possessive attributes such as the wall and the four Chinese characters engraved on the top represent the parts making up the whole of the Dajingmen Pass of the Great Wall. In both pictures, the human participants, i.e. children, are added to bring the landscape to life. They are portrayed in a long shot at an oblique angle, thus indicating no contact or engagement between them and the viewer. Moreover, they are marginalized by being placed at the bottom right corners of the images.

All in all, as illustrated in the above textual and pictorial representations, the social actors who are represented as secondary participants serve as pieces of destination décor adding life and authenticity to landscapes or townscapes. As noted before, the formal strategies employed in such representations play a major role in circumstantializing social actors. While the use of the reference labels of genericization deprives social actors of any

individuality, the grammatical positions as subordinated elements of sentences push social actors to the background.

4.3.2 Chinese people as circumstances of means

If the social actors discussed so far have been backgrounded by being depicted as human destination décor, a kind of more radical exclusion occurs when the social actors are presented in order to convey tourist activities or to realize an activity which is the tourist attraction proper, or the presentation of an object needs the presence of humans or certain parts of the human body. These social actors are termed as circumstances of means in my study, just like the "tools used in action processes" (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72). Such discursive constructions of social actors occur mostly in pictures.

While Chinese people are presented as providing life and authenticity to landscapes as discussed in the previous sub-section, they can be presented as tourists taking holidays in pictures, especially in *CD*. In this case, Chinese people seem not so much to constitute part of the ambience of the destination, but rather vicariously substitute for the viewer of the image, i.e. the potential tourist (cf. Cohen, 1993), because they are mainly employed to convey the idea of touristic activities. The represented Chinese tourists are thus regarded as secondary participants, and hence circumstantialized as a result. The photos below serve as examples:

Figure 4.11: Children feed the carp in a pond at Yu Yuan in Shanghai (Koh, 2007, May 13).

Figure 4.12: Hikers in Yunnan Province on the path to the Mystic Waterfall (Wong, 2009, April 5).

Figure 4.13: Travellers can spend a relaxing day in Shek O's breathtaking beach in Hong Kong Island, a mere half-hour bus ride away from the Shau Kei Wan subway station (Dabu, 2006, April 1).

Figure 4.14: Taking a stroll on rainy days is a good way to enjoy spring in the city (Chunzi Xu, 2008, March 6).

In terms of representational patterns, these photos involve narrative processes: all the images present Chinese tourists engaged in leisure activities, which are also communicated through the captions. As for patterns of interaction, these images simply offer information about the touristic activities instead of establishing any relationships with the viewer. Further, being captured in a long shot, the human participants are seen at an impersonal social distance from the viewer. In essence, these human participants, i.e. the Chinese tourists, are presented to get across the idea of those touristic activities that are expressed in captions. Thus the Chinese tourists depicted in the environment of the destinations are there to tell the viewer, as it were, "If you were here, you would see that view or enjoy this activity" (cf. Cohen, 1993). Clearly, such pictures are presented not so much to depict images of Chinese tourists to the viewer as to induce the latter to identify with the tourists in the pictures (cf. Cohen, 1993). In this case, the Chinese tourists are very much like "tools used in action processes" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72), and are hence viewed as circumstances of means.

In some other cases, a human presence is needed to realize an activity which is the focus of representation, as illustrated in this photo from *CD*:

Figure 4.15: The traditional loom is still humming in many households in Kashgar. Traditional lifestyle has a strong presence in the old town (B. Yang, 2007, August 16).

This is a narrative picture in which there are no apparent "tensions" or "dynamic forces" (see section 2.2.3.2) indicating processes of action or vectors showing processes of reaction. The human participant, an elderly Uyghur woman, is seen operating a traditional loom with her eyes looking down on her work. Thus it is an image of 'offer' featuring no contact between the participant and the viewer. Besides, the long shot expresses the remote social distance between the two parties and the high angle indicates the viewer's power. Moreover, compared with the loom which is set in the foreground, the woman is pushed into the background. Different degrees of salience attached to the loom and the woman imply that the loom is presented as the primary participant whereas the woman as the secondary participant, specifically circumstance of means that realizes the image of a "humming" loom. This is further demonstrated in the caption in which the social actor is being suppressed verbally as well. It is worthwhile to note that this picture plus caption can be read as an image of a symbolic process: [t]he traditional lifestyle," as the carrier in the process, is symbolized by the "humming" traditional loom, which is the symbolic attribute.

As illustrated in the above example, social actors can be presented as a means to carry out an activity and hence they are being backgrounded as secondary participants in the pictures. Sometimes, there is more radical exclusion of social actors by presenting only parts of their body, which can also be utilized to function in the same way as the social actors discussed above. Consider the following pictures:

Figure 4.16: A mezuza at the doorway of Guo Yan's house in Kaifeng, where traces of a thriving Jewish community remain (Fishbane, 2010, April 4).

Figure 4.17: Ear cleaning is a popular service offered in many teahouses in Chengdu (L. Chen, 2008, January 10).

Figure 4.18: Miao haircuts require a sharp sickle and steady hand (Nilsson, 2010, May 13).

All the three pictures show only parts of the human body, which are employed as circumstances of means in different processes of representation. Figure 4.16 is an image of a symbolic process, in which the mezuzah suggests the Jewish community in Kaifeng. It cannot be interpreted as narrative because the hand is not doing anything with or to the mezuzah case; clearly the hand is touching the mezuzah in order to display the latter to the viewer. Another symbolic process is involved in that the gesture of the hand symbolizes the attempt of the descendants of Chinese Jews to connect with their ancient roots, as expressed in the travelogue (Fishbane, 2010, April 4). Since the owner of the hand is not shown in the picture, this kind of visual representation is functionally equivalent to somatization of social actors, a type of textual objectification in which social actors are represented by referring to a part of their body (see section 2.2.3.1). In a sense, the hand is presented in order to bring out the salience of the mezuzah, as also suggested in the caption. Comparatively, a more dynamic image formed by parts of the human body is presented in Figure 4.17, in which one hand is shown working on the ear of a man (only half of whose face is shown) using an ear pick while the other hand is holding the man's ear, thus constituting an image of a unidirectional transactional action (see section 2.2.3.2). There are two vectors in this picture: the more salient one is formed by the stick of the ear pick being held between the fingers and being inserted into the ear; the other is realized by the hand holding the ear. The parts of the human body in this picture, along with the ear pick, are presented in order to express the idea of ear cleaning. Thus they are utilized as tools in the same way as the ear pick to communicate the message intended in the caption. A similar objectification of social actors can also be observed in Figure 4.18, in which there are even more tensions than in Figure 4.17. Two salient vectors are identified: one emanates from a man's left hand grasping another man's hair; the other departs from the first man's right hand and the curved blade of the sickle. The parts of the human body shown in this picture are presented to visualize the idea expressed in

the caption: a "steady hand," together with a "sharp sickle," is simply a tool used to realize the action of hair cutting.

4.3.3 Summary

In sum, the social actors discussed in this section serve as human circumstances of destinations. They can be introduced to add a touch of local color to destination sceneries, or they can be utilized to communicate ideas of activities. Textually, these social actors, being referred to in the generic reference labels, are very often circumstantialized grammatically, i.e. serving as objects of verbs or verbal phrases or as post-modifiers in sentences. Pictorially, they are always represented as secondary participants supporting the representation of primary participants which are usually tourist attractions or activities.

4.4 Chinese people as objects

While the representations examined in the previous two sections also bear traces of objectifying social actors, the theme of objectification develops most conspicuously in the representations of this category, for social actors presented in this sense, being deprived of human traits, are depicted merely as tourist attractions or objectified tokens. Consider an example from the *NYT* first:

> 4.15   Earlier, Ms. Guo had brought us into a narrow courtyard at 21 Teaching Torah Lane — an alley once central to the city's Jewish community, and still home to her 85-year-old grandmother, Zhao Cui, widow of a descendant of Chinese Jews. Her one-room house has been turned into a sort of dusty display case, with Mrs. Zhao as centerpiece.
>
> "Here are the Kaifeng Jews," Ms. Guo said, a little defiantly. "We are they."
>
> We were surrounded by signs that supported Ms. Guo's statement: A mezuza was attached to the door frame. A copy of the Sh'ma, widely considered the most important of Hebrew prayers, decorated with Chinese lettering, hung on the wall. A menorah sat by a Chinese-style altar displaying a black-and-white portrait of Mr. Zhao.
>
> Indeed, some 50 descendants of Kaifeng's Jews are embracing this legacy and relearning Jewish ways. And a few, like Ms. Guo, are tapping a quirky vein of religious tourism. (Fishbane, 2010, April 4)

The above extract presents a resident in the house of a descendant of Chinese Jews. Even though the old lady is seemingly presented as an individual to some extent, she is not depicted as a living person having any interaction with the writer. The employment of nomination with age ("85-year-old") and relational identification ("grandmother" and "widow of a descendant of Chinese Jews") merely offers authenticity support to the writer's visit.

Further, being metaphorically referred to as "centerpiece," the old lady is objectified outright as a museum exhibit. In a sense, she serves as one of the "signs" supporting Ms Guo's claim about their Jewish roots. Actually, this imaging of the individual character matches the touristification of the Jewish community in the travelogue. As suggested in the title of the text ("China's ancient Jewish enclave"), the Jewish descendants in Kaifeng, Henan province, are depicted as being demarcated from the surrounding communities, and fixed in an unspecified past, hence a different and timeless Other to be toured by outsiders. Meanwhile, it seems that the author is also reporting on the self-objectification of the Kaifeng Jews, who are shown to be very keen on seeking their Jewish identity by displaying the "signs" of legitimacy in the text.

While a real-life individual social actor can be objectified for tourist observation as in the above example, the whole of local communities may be objectified as tourist attractions as well, as seen in the following example:

> 4.16   China's coastline offers a variety of seaside escapes, each of which has its own unique attractions.
> […]
> Chongwu Beach
> This beach in Fujian province's Quanzhou city is known for the lovely local ladies who stroll its shores, known as Hui'an nu.
> Depictions of these beauties gazing out at the sea, awaiting the return of their husbands' fishing vessels, are common subject matters in local stone carvings, the area's signatory handicraft medium.
> These women are well known for their incredible costumes, which feature large hats fashioned from yellow leaves, dappled scarves, tiny blouses that expose their bellies, silver belts and flared black pants.
> In Chongwu village, a small stone Ming dynasty (1368-1644) garrison, houses lining narrow alleyways keep their doors wide open all day long. Women shell oysters in the settlement's courtyards.
> Visitors can reach the place by bus or motorcycle from Quanzhou. (Lin, 2008, August 21)

In this extract, Hui'an nu are explicitly depicted as the "unique attraction" in Quanzhou. Without any real-life groups or individuals being presented, Hui'an nu are portrayed in the image of artistic creations, i.e. stone carvings, hence being objectified for tourist scrutiny. Further, they are represented as being fixed in a banal activity (shelling oysters) in Chongwu Village. Thus, being genericized as static and homogeneous, Hui'an nu in this example are objectified as a beautiful tourism 'product' (cf. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 228), existing timelessly and undisturbed (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003; Lutz & Collins, 1997), and waiting in their village to be consumed by visitors. This extract also draws on some formal elements that not only increase objectification of social actors but also build up the timelessness and homogeneity of the local

communities. Firstly, some points of identification tend to objectify the locals for tourist observation, e.g. Hui'an nu are depicted with reference to their "incredible costumes," which feature "large hats fashioned from yellow leaves, dappled scarves, tiny blouses that expose their bellies, silver belts and flared black pants"; Hui'an nu are also generally referred to as "beauties," a label of physical identification. Secondly, the metaphorical representation of the locals as a "unique attraction" has set the tone of objectifying the local communities for tourist consumption. Thirdly, the generic label of classification presents a generalized image of the locals, e.g. "ladies," "Hui'an nu," and "women." Finally, the dominant generic present tense helps to construct an image of the local Other fixed in a time-warp.

While the above textual illustrations manifest the explicit fixation and objectification of Chinese locals, the accompanying picture of example 4.16 provides visual evidence:

Figure 4.19: Hui'an nu, known for their striking beauty and colorful costume, is an attraction at the Chongwu beaches of Quanzhou, Fujian province (Lin, 2008, August 21).

Regarding the representational pattern, this photo concerns an analytical process: the young woman is the carrier, which is analyzable in terms of her possessive attributes, namely her "beauty" and her "colorful costume." Considering the pattern of interaction, this is an image of 'offer': although this photo features a somewhat interactional gaze of the subject, she doesn't seem to demand that the viewer enter into an imaginary relation with her (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 118), because the young woman is not captured at a frontal angle (with her body tilted toward the viewer), hence "not part of our world," and her gaze doesn't directly address the viewer (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 138). Moreover, by being decontextualized, the young woman is represented in a stable and timeless image (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79).

Overall, the participant clad in "colorful costume," with her belly exposed and wearing a reserved and soft smile on her face, conspicuously evokes notions of the exotic Oriental and perhaps a slight hint of eroticization (see section 2.3.2). Hence the participant, as well as her community of Hui'an nu that are genericized textually, is constructed as object of the "voyeuristic (male) gaze" (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 7). Indeed, in line with the textual touristification of Hui'an nu, the caption of this photo portrays an essentialized image of Hui'an nu in terms of their physical beauty and their costume only, and objectifies them outright in the metaphorical reference of them as "an attraction."

The above textual and pictorial representations about Hui'an nu are reminiscent of Blommaert and Verschueren's (1998) contention that the representation of the Other generally denies or minimizes the flexibility and dynamics of the Other. Hence, the Other is represented as if existing untouched by the contemporary world's spatiality and temporality, being fixed in one place eternally.

Sometimes, local communities, especially ethnic minorities, can be further objectified by being represented as objects for display, as seen in the two *CD* examples below:

4.17   My hosts were Jino, one of China's smallest ethnic groups, with only 20,000 members. You can distinguish them by the white headdresses of the women and the rising sun painted, for protection, on the eaves of their houses. Not far away were the jungle villages of Blang people, famous for their elaborate black headdresses; and Wa, whose women were easy to distinguish by their long hair. "The cultures here are worth every effort to preserve," Mr Rush said. (Lewis, 2010, January 7)

4.18   Yunnan's minorities are a big attraction. Finding an authentic community to visit takes some effort, but a taxi ride to Yunnan Nationalities Museum, outside the city, is worth about two hours. For just 10 yuan ($1.3) you can enjoy several halls of displays showcasing colorful costumes, miniature wooden homes, musical instruments and articles from two dozen minority groups in the province. (Virasami, 2008, January 3)

In example 4.17, there are three ethnic minority groups introduced: Jino, Blang, and Wa, but no real-life ethnic member is presented except the brief mention of the author's "hosts," one of whom has been presented as an anonymous and featureless story-teller in the previous text. It seems that the author takes a "monarch-of-all-I-survey" stance (Pratt, 2008; see section 2.3.2) in his representation, for he sounds as if he knew how to distinguish the three ethnic groups all at once before encountering any members of them. What is striking is that the three ethnic communities are distinguished either by clothing (Jino women's white headdresses, Blang people's black headdresses), by art/architecture (Jino people's eaves painting), or by physical features (Wa women's long hair). Thus, these three ethnic groups are

represented through highly essentialized cultural differences, and rather than being depicted as living human beings, they are turned into the passive and objectified Other to be scrutinized by tourists. In addition, the generic labeling of locals by ethnic classification ("Jino," "Blang," and "Wa") increases the objectification of social actors. Moreover, the representation of locals in terms of "statistics" (van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 49) adds up to the objectification and homogenization of ethnic members, e.g. the Jino hosts, without being differentiated as individuals, are aggregated into the Jino ethnic group, which are treated as statistics ("with only 20,000 members"). Such objectification of local communities is even stronger in extract 4.18, in which Yunnan's ethnic minorities are metaphorically referred to as "a big attraction." Further, a shortcut to savor the ethnoscapes is suggested by the travel writer--visiting the local museums, where the local ethnic customs are essentialized and crystallized as objects for display. Hence, Yunnan's minorities, despite their different ethnicities, are generally represented in terms of museum exhibits such as ethnic clothing, architecture, and musical instruments.

The theme of objectifying Chinese people is also clearly traceable in the diachronic dataset of the *NYT*. For example, in a 1980s travelogue about Fenghuang, Hunan, some Miao children are similarly objectified as picturesque Others as seen in "Some women carry infants on their backs in bamboo chairs, the children garbed in loud colors, on their heads elaborate satin hats festooned with pompons, mirrors, feathers and tassels" (Gargan, 1988, July 10). In a 1990s travelogue about Dazu, Sichuan, the locals are objectified by being presented in terms of the instruments with which they carry out activities, as seen in "a creaking pushcart…swayed by a minibus with an inch to spare, little vans with a red cloth tied to the hood…tooted busily, and red and cream buses lurched on their way" (Terrill, 1990, January 14).

In this subsection, I have examined Chinese locals, mostly ethnic or religious minorities, conspicuously objectified for tourist scrutiny. Being deprived of human characteristics, Chinese social actors in this category are depicted as objects for display or simply museum exhibits. While real-life ethnic members are rarely presented, ethnic communities tend to be cast in a lumped-together, hence homogenized image. Moreover, some formal strategies are employed to reinforce the myth of timelessness by objectifying and homogenizing the Chinese ethnic locals, such as the use of metaphors, the present tense, and generic labels of reference.

4.5   Differential Constructions of Chinese people in the *NYT* and *CD*

As illustrated in the previous three sections, the *NYT* and *CD* share the discursive constructions of Chinese people as inhabitants of timeless places, circumstances of destinations, and objects. Despite these three common discourses, there are some seemingly disparate themes in the two newspapers that fit together in constructing Chinese natives as destination scenery.

4.5.1   Constructions of Chinese people as destination scenery in the *NYT*

In this sub-section, I will consider some themes that are specific to the *NYT*'s touristic representations of Chinese people. Specifically, I will look at how ordinary Chinese people engaging in mundane activities are constructed as the 'exotic' Other, how they can be aggregated into featureless groups, and how certain communities can be differentiated from the majority.

4.5.1.1 The mundane transformed into the 'exotic'

First of all, the *NYT* travelogues are abundant in descriptions about Chinese people being engaged in mundane routines. While these imageries of Chinese locals may be utilized to enhance a timeless aura (see section 4.2) or to serve as destination décor or to communicate activities and events (see section 4.3), they can be presented to particularly evoke an exotic feel. Set up by the travel writer and framed by the camera, Chinese people's ordinary lives can be transformed into exotic entertainment (cf. Feifer, 1985). Thus the represented Chinese people become the exoticized and mystified Other by the curiosity that tourism brings into play (cf. Feifer, 1985).

Let us first consider a scene depicted in a travelogue about an old neighborhood in Shanghai, where the travel writer busies himself photographing the local residents:

> 4.19   There was the pudgy boy taking his time with a mass of cotton candy as he
> clung to a street sign post, circling it now and then like a game park carousel.
> He eyed me more warily, probably never having seen anything like my
> Rolleiflex, with its bulging eye-like twin lenses. But eventually his pink snack
> provided just enough distraction, allowing me to get a shot that even now feels
> like a ticket into a secret world. (French, 2007, June 10)

In this example, the author directs his attention to an individual character, a boy who is entertaining himself by circling a sign post. Even though the boy's ordinary act of circling reminds the writer of a similar image of "game park carousel," his assumedly distrustful stare at the writer makes the latter conclude that that boy is not one of 'us' who are familiar with the Rolleiflex camera. Thus, the boy is conspicuously seen as a 'stranger,' an Other to the

writer and his targeted readers. Further, there is an interesting instance of interaction portrayed: the boy gazes back at the author who reads wariness into this returned gaze (for more discussion on the returned gaze, see section 5.3), compared with the anonymous group in the first scene showing no reaction to the author's photographing (see example 4.1). However, the boy's gaze back is not considered and hence not represented as a sign of resistance to the travel writer's gaze. Indeed, children (as well as women), are stereotypically linked with innocence and tameness in tourism discourse (Thurlow, et al., 2005). The boy, therefore, as a representative of the young and powerless (cf. Thurlow, et al., 2005, p. 8), is by no means counted as a threat to the writer's savoring the "secret" pleasure by photographing.

While the author enjoys the boy's mundane act of circling in the above extract, he relishes a moment of "absolute calm" in the scene quoted below:

4.20   Another day on that same street in that same season I happened upon a family at dinner, their chairs and table in the street. As I crept closer, the boy was being scolded by his mother — ostensibly about not finishing his dinner. I knelt on one knee and quietly took the shot, feeling like a privileged guest at the most intimate of rituals. (French, 2007, June 10)

Compared with the previous excerpt, this one presents a more intimate moment of the locals' daily life. Specifically, the author is seen intruding into the private sphere of the locals' life. It may strike him as exotically interesting that an intimate moment between a mother and a son occurs on the street. Surprisingly, the author's close scrutiny of the mother-son moment doesn't provoke any reaction from either character. While the author meets with a harmless and powerless gaze back from the boy depicted in example 4.19, he sees either a "full-cooperation" stance (cf. Chhabra, 2009, p. 93) or absolute unawareness of the boy and his mother here as in the opening scene (see example 4.1). Moreover, his self-positioning of "privileged guest" reinforces this power asymmetry underpinning the author's gaze: the locals have no capacity to exercise choice or control over the tourist gaze. Rather, they are expected to be consumed by such gazes.

Indeed, the tourist's gaze has been curiously conditioned to regard even the most mundane events as exotic or mystically authentic (Feifer, 1985), as also witnessed in a passage taken from a travelogue about the author's travels to Beijing, Guilin and other places:

4.21   But those tourist spots are hardly the only draw. People-watching in China is spectacular. Whether by walking through the parks and streets, or looking through a surprising peephole opened by the state-run news media, you can see unfamiliar and intriguing scenes everywhere.

Late one afternoon, in Beihai Park, Beijing's Central Park, I watched as several middle-age men, armed with six-foot brushes and buckets of water, practiced calligraphy on the pavement. One offered me his brush, and I discovered just how hard the revered craft truly is, especially on that scale.

At a backstreet market, a young couple sat outside their tiny store, eating lunch and feeding their gurgling baby with sips of what certainly looked like beer from a bottle. At busy intersections, people stopped to linger and pore over newspapers encased in large glass cases.

Morning tai chi exercises, outdoors and in groups, are a ubiquitous sight. So is the way Chinese young and old so easily fold their bodies into a squat as if sitting like that were as comfortable as relaxing in an overstuffed chair. I watched while one man in Guilin carefully placed his newspaper on a park bench, then squatted before it, reading for a good long time in a position that would have crippled most Westerners. (Dobrzynski, 2004, October 17)

Compared with the previous two examples, the author of this extract declares "people-watching in China" to be "spectacular," hence even more notably constructing Chinese people as objects for the tourist's surveillance. The author collects a series of scenes from her gazes in different places: middle-aged men practicing calligraphy with water on the pavement in Beijing, a young couple eating lunch outside and feeding their baby beer at a backstreet market, people reading newspapers encased in glass cases at intersections, morning tai chi, and a Guilin man squatting while reading a newspaper. In all these scenes, the author distances herself from the locals and maintains her position as a keen observer commenting on these "unfamiliar and intriguing scenes." Indeed, while Chinese natives might find nothing unusual in such sights, this author is among many of the *NYT* travel writers who often discover the 'exotic' in the mundane aspects of Chinese locals' lives. Thus the everyday generates its meaning of being unusual or exotic through the context of the touristic experiences of the travel writer. This provides additional proof for Jackiewicz's (2005) observation that people often travel to get a break from the monotony of their own lives, but then sometimes seek out new experiences which are the monotony of someone else's existence.

This transformation of the mundane into the exotic is in fact a primary theme of Western travel writing about China ever since Marco Polo's time (see section 1.3.2). Very often, the exotic is framed in terms of the backwardness or even the dark side of Chinese lifestyle, as compared with the Western modern ways of organizing social and domestic life (see section 1.3.2). Here is an example from a 1980s travelogue about a market day in Shanjiang, a tiny town of Miao ethnicity northwest of Fenghuang in Hunan:

4.22   Here and there, a plump pig grovels in the dirt for grubs and young boys run wildly through the throng yelling in high-pitched voices. On a wooden stool smoothed by use, a man with a brown sheet wrapped around him cringes slightly under the scratch of a razor as a young barber shaves his head. Farther down the road, an intense young man trods purposefully on a pedal-driven drill he maneuvers around inside the mouth of an older peasant.

The patient, stretched back in an old chair, grasps the back of his head with his left hand and, in his right hand, frozen like a claw, a round mirror so he can supervise the renovation of his teeth. As he works, a crowd of children in simple smocks gather in a tightening, curious semicircle wondering at the progress of dentistry. The sidewalk dentist, apparently satisfied with his drilling, stops thumping the pedal and reaches for a silvered pair of pliers that he deftly pokes inside the peasant's gaping mouth. After a second of twisting and wrestling, the pliers emerge bearing a long molar. Oddly, not once does the patient cry out or exhibit the slightest sign of pain or fear. (Gargan, 1988, July 10)

In this example, the author depicts four scenes which constitute the everyday and mundane aspect of the locals' life: a pig groveling for food, boys at play, a barber and a dentist at work. By collecting these elements into his tourist gaze, the author intends to bring out an image of an uncivilized place. The last scene, the sidewalk dentistry, is particularly described in minute detail. By employing a series of verbs such as "trod," "drill," "thump," "twist," and "wrestle," the author creates a barbaric and primitive scene of dentistry, reinforcing the uncivilized yet ordinary aspect of the locals' life. The author also introduces a group of onlookers, children, seemingly to highlight the newsworthiness of this sight. In a sense, the author is no different from those children because of his childlike curiosity and fascination with the dentistry. However, unlike those local children who draw close to the scene, the author distances himself but maintains his position as a keen observer commenting on every detail of the dentistry as well as the young onlookers. As an outsider, the author thus discovers the exotic in the ordinary.

As viewed in the above examples, the travel writer in each case possesses an all-seeing eye that demarcates the "real, authentic locals" from everyone else (Urry, 1992). The 'authentic' in this case lies in the exoticity that is fed into the general fabric of mundane everyday life banalities. Without exception, these travel writers invoke the novelty and uniqueness of places by transforming everyday mundane scenes into something exotic, something worth reporting in detail to their fellow citizens back home. Chinese locals involved in these scenes serve as the "raw material" for the exotic fantasies of Western travelers (cf. T. Oakes, 1998). Moreover, the use of generic reference terms adds extra strength to such constructions by stripping the represented Chinese locals of individuality or specifics, e.g. they are labeled in terms of generic classification ("boy," "man," "woman,"

"baby"), functionalization ("barber," "dentist," "peasant"), relational identification ("mother," "couple"), and age ("middle-aged men"), or they are referred to in the most generic term ("people").

4.5.1.2 Groups of undistinguished Others

While the *NYT* travel writers tend to discover the exotic in what was ordinary or familiar to natives of destinations as discussed in the previous section, they are also likely to treat the Chinese locals encountered as groups without any individualization. This has been touched upon in the previous discussions when labels of aggregation are used in reference to represented social actors (see section 4.2.3). In this subsection I will focus specifically on instances of representation in which Chinese people are aggregated into featureless groups that constitute part of the local scenery to be consumed by tourists.

Very often, words such as "crowd," "group," or other synonymous labels of aggregation are used. For example, in a *NYT* travelogue titled "On a people's train from Urumqi to Beijing," the writer finds Urumqi a "stimulating" city where at night "crowds bustled around the food stalls outside the shopping malls on Youhao Road" (Gross, 2006, August 2). Hong Kong is also the place where travel journalists are often surrounded by "crowds" of people: Altman (2006, March 26) encounters in the suburb of Hong Kong "a crowd of local hikers, all wearing the orange-and-yellow T-shirts of their outdoor club"; Mishra (2008, September 20) feels confounded by the sight of crowds that "flow ceaselessly on the pavements and elevated walkways and mill about in the cathedral-like malls." Indeed, the word "crowd" seems to be a favorite choice in reference to Chinese people. A further illustration is taken from a *NYT* travelogue about Shanghai (Gross, 2007, January 21), in which the author depicts the gay scene in Shanghai as follows:

> 4.23 The crowd was too busy belting out love songs on the karaoke stage. Their performances were so heartfelt, the atmosphere so unpretentious, that it was impossible to snicker. Here were a bunch of heavyset but otherwise conventional-looking guys drinking, singing and enjoying themselves — a heartening sign that Shanghai still holds surprises.

The gay people in the club are referred to as the "crowd," a label denoting featureless or undistinguished groups of people. They are even objectified through the use of "bunch." Even though they are deprived of individuality, these gay people are collectively considered as different from other Chinese and hence surprising to the travel writer.

If the city people in the above example are rendered homogenous, the ethnic minority people who are considered distinct from the Han Chinese can also be lumped together as

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"crowds" or "groups." For instance, while the Uyghurs can be depicted in terms of their "distinctive faces" (see Figure 4.31), they can also be presented as featureless as the people illustrated above, as seen in an example taken from a travelogue about Kashgar in Xinjiang (French, 2007, Febuary 11):

> 4.24 At a small junction in the road, we came across a crowd of men standing engaged in a lively discussion. I wondered if there had been an incident but was told that they were making preparations for a wedding.
>
> Around the corner, next to a bakery where freshly made flatbread lay cooling on an iron grill, a group of women — the female half of the wedding party — stood discussing their own arrangements.

Here the locals are referred to in the label of generic classification by gender ("men" and "women"). The genericization of local Uyghurs is reinforced by the use of the labels of aggregation ("a crowd of" and "a group of"). These undistinguished Uyghurs serve as the agents of a scene of making preparations for a wedding, which is something mundane and ordinary to the locals but strikes the author as exotic and newsworthy (see section 4.5.1.1).

Even when the locals are described in terms of physical features they are also treated as undistinguished groups, as seen in two more examples from the same travelogue (French, 2007, Febuary 11):

> 4.25 By midmorning, dust hangs thick in the air from all of the stamping hoofs, but coping with that is a small price to pay for the heaping doses of color as craggy-faced men come together in clusters and bargain loudly over the beast of their choice.
>
> 4.26 Beggars appear here by the dozens, too, many of them badly deformed. Their troubles are rewarded when the huge crowds of faithful emerge and drop coins and crumpled bills into their cups as alms.

In example 4.25, the locals are objectified by being lumped together "in clusters," even though they are identified by physical features ("craggy-faced"). Further, they are circumstantialized by being placed in the time adverbial. Similarly, in example 4.26, the "beggars" are treated as statistics by being quantified by "dozens" and "many," thus being objectified as a result. In addition, the Muslims at the prayer meeting are assimilated or aggregated into "huge crowds." Therefore, as in the examples, the scene depicted in these two extracts present only undistinguished groups of locals.

Furthermore, the assimilation of local people is also manifest in the accompanying photo of this travelogue:

Figure 4.20: A man watches the Kashgar market crowds from a second-floor teahouse (French, 2007, Febuary 11).

This photo involves a non-transactional narrative process, in which a Uyghur man is seen watching the people in the Kashgar market. It presents an image of 'offer,' for there is no contact indicated between the participants and the viewer. It is notable that the Uyghur man is portrayed almost totally from the back, implying that he is also presented for tourist contemplation while acting as a seer, an observer, as expressed in the caption. Moreover, impersonal distance between the participants and the viewer is determined by the use of a medium shot for the man and a long shot for the "crowds." Besides, both the man and the "crowds" below are portrayed from a high angle, hence the viewer power. In all, this picture presents a "monarch-of-all-I-survey scene" that gets repeated often in contemporary travel writing (Pratt, 2008; see section 2.3.2), in this case, from the second floor of a teahouse in Kashgar: the man, being deprived of any individuality, and the people in the market, being aggregated into featureless "crowds," are reduced to objects for tourist scrutinization, thus being held in subjugation by the viewer.

Such aggregations of Chinese locals are also apparent in the *NYT* travel writing of the first two decades, as seen in Selvin's (1985, November 3) use of such terms as "crowd," "crowds," "rows," and "stream/clumps of people" in her description of Shanghai people. Particularly, the word "crowd" or "crowds" is frequently invoked in references to locals (Gargan, 1988, July 10; Pete Hessler, 1997, May 18; Kristof, 1992, April 26, 1994, May 15). Additionally, the word "mob" is a likely choice in reference to locals (Kristof, 1992, April 26, 1994, May 15).

While Chinese people in general can be assimilated into featureless groups, certain communities can be differentiated from the majority, which will be discussed in the next subsection.

4.5.1.3 Differentiated communities

At times, the *NYT* travel writers treat certain ethnic groups or communities as distinct or separate from the Chinese community at large. However, they mostly distinguish these

ethnic groups or communities from the dominant group or the majority simply by appearance, rather than by language, culture, custom, or religion. Without an in-depth exploration of the place and the people, the travel writers can only develop a superficial understanding of whatever they encounter. Moreover, these people are very often framed as out-groups of the country's modernity.

For example, when Rocha (2007, September 23) writes about his travel to Kunming, he finds the city transformed quickly compared with his impression of the city in 1994. Nevertheless, he soon finds that the city could still bring back some feelings of nostalgia, as he writes:

> 4.27 Yet as I lingered in Kunming recently, I found that despite all the changes, it has remained one of the most laid-back and least money-oriented cities in the country, with a more civilized pace and a more freewheeling, bohemian atmosphere — appropriate, perhaps, to the historic place of exile for people who fell out of favor with Beijing. "Kunming is the un-China," the British expat Lee Perkins told me one evening here over dinner. Perkins, a journalist who lived in Kunming until recently, chose to be based in the city, in part, because of its difference from China's other urban centers. With 26 recognized ethnic minorities, Yunnan is the most diverse province in the country, and its capital of about five million — small by Chinese standards — reflects that, too. "I think," Perkins continued, "that Kunming is for people who don't want too much China with their China."
>
> Late at night, on the sidewalk in front of the Wal-Mart, I walked through an unusual makeshift market: a group of Uighurs in white Muslim caps, their features obscured by the plumes of thickly spiced smoke that rose from braziers stacked with skewers of halal meat. They looked more Turkic than Chinese, reflecting distant ancestry in Central Asia. Nearby, ethnic Yi and Miao women from the countryside, distinguishable in this newly modern city by their weathered faces and traditional dress, squatted by vegetables laid out on cloth. (Rocha, 2007, September 23)

Echoing the beginning of this travelogue, the author presents an image of Kunming as "the un-China" by quoting a British expat rather than being supported by any local sources. This British expat is further quoted claiming that "Kunming is for people who don't want too much China with their China." Following this, some ethnic groups of people are presented: the Uyghur are set in the traditional role of market vendors, in stark contrast with the atmosphere of new modernity in Kunming. They are presented with reference to the label of aggregation ("a group of Uighurs") that is deprived of any individualization. Moreover, they are differentiated from "Chinese" in terms of their physical features. In a similar vein, the Yi and Miao women, introduced in the label of generalized classification, are represented to be "distinguishable" from the modernity of Kunming with regards to their weather-beaten faces and ethnic attire, hence being Othered from the generic "Chinese" community as well. Overall,

these ethnic people are presented to serve as typical illustrations of the label of "the un-China" affixed to Kunming by the British expat, who is quoted to lend strength to the author's own imaging of the city.

Such differentiation of ethnic people can be traced back to the 1980s travel writing in the *NYT*. For example, Terrill (1987, December 20) explicitly constructs the Yi people in Laingshan, Sichuan province as "a fourth world" which is demarcated from the Han Chinese. Further, the differentiation is mostly superficial and generalized, as seen in the sentence "Among Xichang's 140,000 people, most are Chinese. In rural Liangshan, most are the sturdy, round-faced, handsome Yi" (Terrill, 1987, December 20). Thus, the Yi are set apart from the Han in terms of their rurality and physical features.

While the above distinction concerns ethnicity, the travel writer who joins a self-drive tour in Beijing finds another group of people, who, in his narration, are clearly demarcated from the "nouveau riche," who are represented by his travel companions (Conover, 2006, July 2). Being very much impressed by the wealth and prosperity of the "nouveau riche," he sees another picture on the way:

> 4.28   The more instructive comparison, as we stood on this fancy bit of highway surrounded by rice fields and, here and there, people at work in them, was with the rural poor, the peasantry, the hundreds of millions of Chinese who do not yet (and, you imagine, will not in their lifetimes) share this prosperity. Many villages still are not connected to roads at all. When an expressway just south of here was completed last year, I was told sotto voce in Beijing, a series of demonstrations by peasants at a toll plaza delayed its opening. They were angry because the road had taken their land, and this, we are now seeing, is the story all over China: the government itself counted nearly 80,000 mass protests in 2005 alone. The country's economic growth is fantastic, the urban atmosphere heady. . .but then you see through the glass the peasants just in from the countryside, burlap bags at their feet, looking utterly from another planet, representatives of hundreds of millions of others, almost standing still while Zhu and Li zoom on by. (Conover, 2006, July 2)

In this passage, the author is seen watching some Chinese peasants working in the rice fields from a distance, as the self-drive group he joins reconvenes at a toll plaza. These Chinese peasants remind him of "the rural poor, the peasantry, the hundreds of millions of Chinese" who do not share the prosperity of the nouveau riche. Not only the observed peasants but also the peasantry they represent are thus demarcated from the dominant rich. This demarcation is further reinforced by the portrayal of the peasants as "utterly from another planet." In addition, they are seemingly constructed as the opposites of the dominant modernized society, as seen in the author's illustration of peasants demonstrating against the

encroachment of urbanization without revealing the sources of this information. Moreover, they are represented as "standing still," as static, in sharp contrast with the mobility of the nouveau riche represented by "Zhu and Li," the two travel companions of the author, and this static imaging is strengthened by the author's shift to the universal present tense in the last sentence. While these peasants are differentiated from the majority, they are not depicted as individualized characters but aggregated into a homogeneous group, as seen in the generic labels ascribed to them: the most generic term ("people") and the generic label of functionalization ("the peasants"). Besides, they are objectified by being treated as statistics ("hundreds of millions of"). Finally, through the use of the second personal pronoun ("you") instead of the first personal pronoun ("I") as the subject of the last sentence, the author makes himself invisible and his observations sound detached. This strategy thus presents an image of the peasants seemingly through the eyes of the reader.

Similarly, in a 1990s travelogue about Huangshan Mountain, Shandong province, peasants are also differentiated from modern China:

4.29   From the shadows, I watched elderly pilgrims pass in twos and threes, mostly peasants from the stolid look of them, the men dressed in high-buttoned Mao suits and the women in smocks and velveteen tams. A convoy of laborers followed them, with an odd, sidling trot. They were short-legged, sinewy men, and they jogged upward with bales of cabbage and spinach, plastic jugs of oil, cases of Coca-Cola, or sacks of cement slung from the ends of carrying poles; they were a different kind of reminder of Old China, where men's muscles were the cheapest, and sometimes the cruelest, mode of transport. (Bordewich, 1991, January 20)

The writer engages himself surveying two groups of peasants in the above description: old pilgrims and laborers. The first group is labeled "peasants" because of their "stolid look" which is stereotypically associated with "peasants." They are further depicted in terms of their clothing that signifies the by-gone past ("Mao suits," "smocks and velveteen tams"). It is also notable that these peasants are cast as devoted religious believers, which is linked to the Orientalist discourse of Chinese people as superstitious before 1949 (see section 1.3.2.3). The second group is portrayed in terms of their physical features ("short-legged, sinewy") and their style of walking ("with an odd, sidling trot" and "jogged"). They are presented as another signifier of the old times when Chinese men lived by selling their labor cheap. Thus, these two groups of peasants are clearly demarcated from the modernity of the country as well as the world of the writing Self. Such signifiers of the past, however, are what modern tourists seek in order to feed their Orientalist imagination about China.

4.5.1.4 Summary

In general, there are three themes that are specific to the *NYT* representations of Chinese people. A notable feature is that ordinary people carrying out daily routines can be exoticized as the Other feeding the Western fascination and imagination about the Orient, a theme introduced into the Western travel writing about China ever since the 16th century (see section 1.3.2.1). Meanwhile, there are paradoxical images of Chinese people presented in the *NYT*: on the one hand, Chinese people can be aggregated into featureless "crowds" – a clear continuation of the early Western image of Chinese life as crowded (cf. Pennycook, 2002, p. 169; see section 1.3.2). On the other hand, some ethnic groups or certain communities are differentiated or demarcated from the dominant group or the Chinese community in general. These ethnic groups or communities are usually represented as being cut off from the modernity of contemporary China.

4.5.2   Constructions of Chinese people as destination scenery in *CD*

In this subsection, I will turn to the themes that are specific to *CD*'s touristic representations of Chinese people as scenery. The *CD* travelogues feature portrayals of Chinese social actors as performers of cultural heritage, community representatives, and displayers of ethnic costume. The Chinese social actors depicted thus become objectified and stereotyped, turned into tourist attractions to be gazed at and most probably Othered by the travel writers.

4.5.2.1 Performers of cultural heritage

A distinctive feature of the *CD* travelogues is that Chinese people are very often depicted as ethnoscapes entertaining tourists with cultural performances. These people are explicitly cast in the frame of "performance" (Goffman, 1986; cf. Thurlow, et al., 2005): being clad in traditional costume, they are presented to act out ethnicity and hospitality or to promote cultural traditions, mostly being engaged in activities that are typically associated with intangible Chinese cultural heritage, which could refer to "a custom, a living art form (such as dance or music) or quality" that has been passed down for many years in a nation, social group or family (Feighery, 2008, p. 324). While it may be true that "intangible cultural heritage must be performed to be transmitted" (Feighery, 2008, p. 333), the cultural performances constructed in *CD* travelogues are seldom meant to promote cross-cultural awareness in tourists as much as they are presented as a spectacle (cf. Thurlow, et al., 2005). In general, representations of this category rely heavily on touristic imageries of ethnicity and traditional Han culture.

Very often, ethnic social actors are presented as acting out ethnicity and hospitality, as illustrated in the following two excerpts:

4.30 After we crossed a small bridge and drove around a hill, out came a dozen young men galloping on horses. They rode alongside us, sometimes overtaking us and dashing to the other side of the road. After an initial moment of shock — well, I've seen many Western movies — I realized they were just teasing us and providing us with opportunities for photography.
Out whisked my digital camera.
One of the riders who wore sunglasses gave me a broad smile.
They all wore colorful Mongolian clothes, but their suntanned faces instantly told me that there's no way Guo Jing could have looked like any of the many actors who have portrayed him on screen. Only a lad who has been leading a sheltered urban life can have the pale skin that lends him an androgynous look. Out here on the prairie, men exude rugged masculinity, which doesn't really sit well with today's pop culture aesthetics. (R. Zhou, 2008, September 18)

4.31 A man in black points his musket skyward and pulls the trigger. The blast crackles as it echoes throughout the mountains. The smoke ribbons untwisting from the barrel mix with wisps from the rifleman's pipe. Beneath a white head wrap crowned by a coiled bun, his face spreads into a grin. "Welcome!" he says, hoisting the muzzleloader into the air. (Nilsson, 2010, May 13)

In extract 4.30, some young Mongolians demonstrating horse-riding skills are portrayed as performers of their ethnicity. In addition, they are presented as displaying "rugged masculinity," an essentialized characteristic of Mongolian men. The Mongolian horse riders are thus Othered from the modernized community where pop culture aesthetics dominate. Being referred to in the labels of classification ("young men") and functionalization ("riders"), these performers of ethnicity are depicted in terms of physical characteristics ("suntanned faces") and clothing ("wore colorful Mongolian clothes"). Thus, they are not represented as invidualized characters but as objects for photography and hence the tourist gaze. The objectification of social actors acting out ethnicity continues in example 4.31, which presents a Miao man welcoming guests by firing a musket. His clothing, facial expression, and the utterance of "welcome" all contribute to the performance of the Miao welcoming ceremony. Besides, being referred to in the label of highly generalized classification ("[a] man"), this Miao man is represented as a randomly selected member of his community acting out hospitality and friendliness for visitors. Finally, the use of the generic present tense makes the ceremony sound more like a performance rather than a real event. Such textual Othering of performers of ethnicity is also manifest in the photographic representations, as in the following pictures:

Figure 4.21: Women of Lisu minority eagerly comb their hair in a special ceremony while making wishes for the New Year (Song, 2007, Febuary 24).

Figure 4.22: Miao women are known for their weaving skills and often start in their early teens (Nilsson, 2010, May 13).

Figure 4.23: Two musket-toting Miao men welcome visitors with a bang. Marksmanship is deeply rooted in local culture (Nilsson, 2010, May 13).

Figure 4.24: During the Qishi Festival which coincides with the Spring Festival, Naxi minority invite monks to hold sacrificial ceremony for their ancestors at the Dazu Villages, Yanyuan County, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan Province (Song, 2007, Febuary 24).

All of these photos feature unidirectional transactional processes, in which the actors, i.e. the human participants, are seen doing something to the goals, i.e. the targets of the deeds. All the ethnic people are presented as carrying out activities that are associated with their ethnic customs and traditions. Being unnamed and referred to in the generic labels of classification ("[w]omen of Lisu minority," "Miao Women," and "Miao men"), none of the participants are depicted as individual members of their community but as uncharacterized performers of ethnicity. Considering patterns of interaction, all the photos present images of 'offer,' for none of the participants are seen engaging with the viewer due to the use of a long shot in all images and an oblique angle in Figures 4.22, 4.23, and 4.24.

It should be noted that in all the pictures the frame of performance is constructed around both traditional and nontraditional images. It centers on ethnic members performing

traditional rituals, while incorporating nontraditional elements such as the people who are dressed like Han in Figures 4.22 and 4.24, as well as the non-ethnic shoes worn by the participants in Figures 4.21 and 4.23. Thurlow et al. (2005, p. 7) call this process "chronographic ambiguity" in their analysis of Zulu postcards. The filtering of the non-traditional into the photos, as acknowledged by Edwards, may add authenticity to the image (cf. Edwards, 1996, p. 212), by capturing the immediacy of the scene. Indeed, it seems that there is certain blurring between performance and authenticity here, mostly leading to the projection of the past as present (cf. Thurlow, et al., 2005), for 'authenticity,' in the view of Butler (1990), needs to be enacted and performed.

Indeed, the blurring between authenticity and performance seems to be inevitable in tourism discourse, and the maintenance of authenticity may sometimes even depend upon performance, in particular in the globalizing age when tourism encroaches upon remote areas, which are home to ethnic minorities. In a *CD* travelogue about minority cultures in Guangxi (Nilsson, 2009, December 24), a Yao village is presented as follows:

> 4.32   Some of the nearby settlements, such as the 460-year-old Huanglou village, have only recently opened up to the outside. In 2002, the first paved road pierced this insulated Yao minority village and began injecting tourists — and flows of their money. Since then, Huanglou's average annual incomes have soared from about 500 yuan ($73) to a few thousand.
> Most earn money through peddling handicrafts — especially embroideries and silver jewelry — and by staging dance performances and mock wedding ceremonies.
> Demonstrations of marital customs usually involve randomly selected audience participation.
> Grooms who are called to the stage mash rice into dough with wooden implements, gulp down several goblets of local liquor and serenade their "brides" with love ballads.
> All the while, they are getting goosed by half a dozen women, as a robust pinch on the buttocks is supposed to be a display of friendship in Yao culture. And the inhabitants of Huanglou are very, very friendly.
> The show ends with the new husbands giving their brides piggyback rides around the room, then charging full-throttle past two women blocking the exit with linked arms, Red Rover-style.
> Before such tourist performances were part of village life, there was an exodus of youth who left to seek work in cities, jeopardizing the future of local traditions.

This passage explicitly constructs the authenticity of Yao traditions in the frame of performance. It seems that nowadays the locals in Huanglou village can only perform their traditions on the set-up stage, and traditions have become a means of earning money instead of their actual way of life. Without any individualization, the villagers, being referred to in the label of aggregation ("most"), are presented as peddlers and performers, two roles that are

related to the tourist economy, whereas people who play other roles are excluded from the picture (for a similar representation, see example 4.34). In particular, the role of performers becomes the focus of this passage, which is presumably adopted by the female villagers because male visitors are usually invited to play grooms in such performances. Thus we see the villagers dressed up, dancing and acting out their marital customs on the stage, which has become "part of village life." In a sense, these performances are converted into a form of authenticity or constitute a way of displaying authenticity in the Yao village. Therefore, the village simply becomes a theatrical space (cf. Thurlow, et al., 2005), where the villagers are not seen living their own lives but act as performers of their ethnicity to entertain visitors. In this case the ethnic traditions have thereby become a product for tourist consumption (X. Chen, 2010, July 31).

While the previous illustrations center on Chinese people acting out ethnicity, the performance frame also permeates the representations of Chinese people displaying Han cultural heritage, which usually fall back on the unsurprising clichés such as tea (Arpon, 2007, November 15; J. Chen, 2008, March 20; Ye, 2010, June 3; R. Zhou, 2009, June 11), , folk music (Mu, 2007, Septemer 6; Nilsson, 2008, September 11, 2010, August 5; Qiu, 2009, October 22; L. Zhu, 2006, May 13), martial arts (Hooi, 2008, September 11; J. Xu, 2010, June 24), and opera (X. Li, 2010, November 28). This strand of imagery is also manifest in the following passage taken from a *CD* travelogue about a tour to Dajingmen in Zhangjiakou, Hebei province, which is an ancient pass of the Great Wall:

> 4.33   Meanwhile, a group of local elderly women started the *yangge* dance, beside the drab gate, for entertainment.
> They dressed traditionally, in bright pinks and greens, but also wore fashionable items such as sunglasses and high-heeled shoes. Despite the cold, their dance made the nearly 600-year-old pass look lively. (F. Xie, 2007, November 22)

The social actors in this extract are presented as performing *yangge* dance, a form of Chinese folk dance style of the Han ethnic group. Wearing traditional costume, these people are depicted similarly to the minority performers discussed in the previous photos. Meanwhile, the filtering of non-traditional elements such as the "fashionable items" into the scene which features traditional costume and the ancient pass may add 'authenticity' to the description (Edwards, 1996, p. 212), by grasping the immediacy and reality of the sight, as in Figure cr. Such coexistence of past and present, tradition and non-tradition, or old and new, fits well in the frame of performance. In addition, these entertainers are also presented to bring life to the ancient pass, and hence serve as destination décor as well (see section 4.3.1). Moreover, the reference labels attached to these performers renders them into undistinguished groups rather

than individualized characters, as seen in the reference terms of aggregation ("group") and generic classification by region, age and gender ("local elderly women").

It should be noted that such cultural performances are a favorite subject of *CD* photos, as illustrated below:

Figure 4.25: A waiter gives a tea-serving performance at the Taiji Teahouse, on Qinghefang Historical Street, in Hangzhou (Arpon, 2007, November 15).
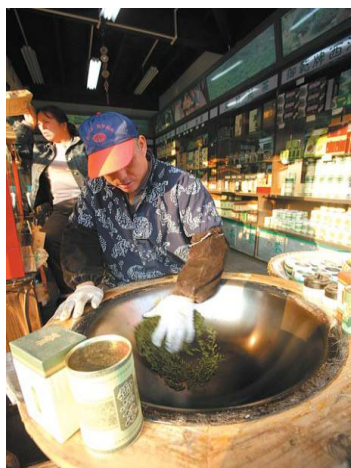
Figure 4.26 : A tea grower gives a tea-curing demonstration at a tea shop on Qinghefang Historical Street (Arpon, 2007, November 15).

Figure 4.27: A kung fu master practicing his moves at the Shanhai Pass of Great Wall (J. Xu, 2010, June 24).

The above three photos are concerned with unidirectional transactional processes, in which the human participants, i.e. the actors, are engaging in some activities that suggest typical forms of Chinese cultural heritage. Featuring no contact between the participants and the viewer, these images are of a passivated 'offer.' Besides, the use of a long shot in all the photos suggests the remote distance between the participants and the viewer. Further, the use of a high angle in Figures 4.25 and 4.26 renders the participants powerless, and the use of a low angle in Figure 4.27 doesn't endow the participant with power either because it is a necessary means to include the pass in the picture. Lastly, being referred to in the labels of generic functionalization ("waiter," "tea grower," "kung fu master") in the captions, the participants are not presented as individualized characters but as means to perform the cultural activities, hence performers for tourist consumption.

The Chinese people discussed in this subsection serve as performers acting out ethnic cultures and traditions. Being clad in traditional costumes, these performers are presented as acting out stereotyped and essentialized cultural patterns and behaviors. Thus the expressions of ethnicity and traditions are transformed into cultural goods, commodities to be consumed by tourists, and Chinese cultural heritage, which is reduced to staged authenticity, is presented as a spectacle to be gazed at instead of an active interaction with the world (cf. Edwards, 1996, p. 204).

4.5.2.2 Community representatives

In the *CD* travelogues, there are some social actors, ethnic minorities in particular, depicted as the selected Others representing their communities, which remain relatively homogeneous and clearly demarcated from the travel journalists or potential tourists. Pictorially, community representatives are similar to performers of cultural heritage in that they are also dressed in colorful ethnic attire. However, they are differentiated from the latter in that they are very often captured as engaging in mundane activities, instead of cultural performances, that indicate their ethnic traditions. At other times they can appear as static but possessing some specific features of their communities as expressed in captions. Thus, community representatives, whether they appear as lone figures or as groups, are always referred to in the labels consisting of plural forms without an article denoting their communities. Textually, community representatives usually appear as individuals or occasionally as groups who are considered as prototypical bearers of the characteristics of their communities. Let us look at the following pictures first:

Figure 4.28: Mosuo people live around beautiful Lugu Lake in a "women's world," the only surviving matriarchal community in China (Choo, 2009, January 1).

Figure 4.29: Women do most of the physical work in Shangri-La (X. Xu, 2007, January 11).

Figure 4.30: Mongolians are famed for their horse-riding skills (R. Zhou, 2008, September 18).

All the above photos are embedding images that involve transactional and analytical processes. First of all, a unidirectional transactional narrative process is presented in each picture, in which the participants are carrying out some activities that are associated with their ethnicities. Secondly, an analytical process is embedded in the narrative process in each picture: each ethnic social actor is the carrier, who can be further analyzed in terms of possessive attributes, i.e. items of ethnic clothing. As for the patterns of interaction, all the three photos are passivated images of 'offer,' where the participants orient away from the viewer (Figure 4.28) or face the viewer while addressing their gazes sideways (Figures 4.29

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and 4.30). These participants, all lone figures in the photos, are depicted as standing for their communities, which are referred to in unspecified labels, i.e. the plural without an article, in the captions. In Figure 4.28, the Mosuo woman is seen engaging in a mundane activity, i.e. sweeping a wooden canoe, which seems to suggest that the Mosuo women are also in charge outside the home. Similarly, in Figure 4.29, the elderly Tibetan woman loaded with firewood, is portrayed to represent her community of women who "do most of the physical work in Shangri-La." Likewise, in Figure 4.30, the old Mongolian man riding a horse is presented as an exponent of Mongolians famous for their horse-riding skills. Being decontextualized or shown in the absence of setting, the old man becomes generic, a typical example of his community (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 161).

In the above photos, ethnic social actors carrying out daily routines are presented as community representatives. Similarly, participants who are depicted as motionless or static can be similarly framed. Consider the photos below:

Figure 4.31: The distinctive faces of Muslim Uygurs can be found on every corner of Kashgar (B. Yang, 2007, August 16).

Figure 4.32: Many travelers find that meeting friendly Tibetan people en route to Nam Co makes the journey more interesting (F. Xie, 2007, August 30).

In terms of the representational patterns, the above two photos involve conceptual processes. Specifically, Figure 4.31 concerns an analytical structure, in which the Uyghur old man is the carrier, who can be analyzed in terms of possessive attributes such as his "distinctive" face and his embroidered hat. Figure 4.32 features a classificational structure in which the four Tibetans presented in the picture play the role of subordinates with respect to the superordinate which is generically labeled as "Tibetans" in the caption. Regarding the patterns of interaction, both photos are characterized by images of participants who look toward the viewer, but they are not images of 'demand' that directly engage with the viewer. In Figure 4.31, the old Uyghur man is captured in a close-up at a slightly higher angle, while the woman behind him serves as the circumstance of accompaniment, secondary participant in

the picture. Since a high angle indicates viewer power, the slightly high angle of Figure 4.31 implies that the Uyghur old man, apparently being looked down on somewhat when the picture was taken, is merely the object for photography to be scrutinized by the viewer. In addition, the look of puzzlement and reservedness on his face may also suggest his powerlessness in front of the camera. Moreover, the body of the old man is angled away from the plane of the viewer, although his gaze is turned toward it. Hence the Uyghur old man is not depicted as part of the world of the viewer, but an objectified Other to be gazed at. The visual objectification of the old man is reinforced by the use of somatisation (see section 2.2.3.1) in the caption that represent Uyghurs by means of reference to their faces, for somatisation is a means of objectifying social actors by referring to a part of their body as metonymic of the people themselves. Thus, not only the old man, but also the Uyghur community he represents, are objectified and Othered by the community of "us," the tourists who the photographer aligns with. Such Othering of ethnic social actors is also manifested in Figure 4.32, in which four Tibetans, probably a father and his three teenage sons, are captured as looking toward the camera. Even though captured from a somewhat frontal angle, these four Tibetans can hardly be perceived as engaging with the viewer due to the use of a medium long shot. Hence no trace of interaction can be observed in this image. Being referred to in the generic term of classification ("friendly Tibetan people") in the caption, these four Tibetans, deprived of any individuality and personal history, are considered as representatives of their community that can make "the journey more interesting."

Occasionally, these community representatives can appear in the texts: without any conspicuous reciprocal interaction depicted, these social actors are usually scrutinized by the travel writer from a safe distance, and are thus constructed as the objects of the tourist gaze. Specifically, these people are perceived as exponents of their communities because of the cultural or ethnic characteristics they bear, including the routine activities they are presented engaging in that entail their customs.

Let us first consider the opening of a travelogue about Lijiang, Yunnan province (Choo, 2009, January 1):

4.34   Soon after setting foot in the ancient town of Lijiang, on a high plateau in mountainous northwest Yunnan province, you will likely come across a large water-wheel and hear ethnic tunes, then catch sight of a group of dancers dancing in the middle of the square.
They are elegant middle-aged women who move with an easy grace in long, gray-blue pleated skirts. These ethnic Naxi women come to town and dance, after finishing morning chores around their homes and farms, to earn a few tourist dollars.

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As you stroll down the cobbled lanes that wind their way alongside brooks fed with fresh spring water from Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, north of Lijiang, an enterprising woman peddles wild strawberries picked that morning.

Down an alleyway en route to the heart of the old town in Sifangjie (Square Street), where visitors to Lijiang gather to feel the pulse of this World Heritage Site, a mapseller calls out in several foreign languages, while her sister hawks sightseeing tours.

If you are a keen shopper you will note the tiny stores lining the narrow streets are run by women shopkeepers and sales assistants, weaving shawls or tidying up native handicraft on the shelves.

When you tire after meandering up and down this hilly town gawking at intricately carved wooden doorways and cornices of two-story Naxi-designed wooden houses, it's time to find a restaurant and eat some fresh food, like the five mushrooms hotpot I tried at a restaurant run by women.

Then, just when you think you will not be surprised any more, you wander into a busy market where only the locals roam and find rows of meat stalls staffed by robust cleaver-wielding Naxi women known as the "lady butchers".

And so it goes, until the light comes on and you realize that almost everything in this old town — rebuilt painstakingly from a devastating earthquake in 1996 — is "manned" by the women folk.

A human landscape of Naxi people is presented by the author in an imagined stroll around the city. It is noteworthy that only Naxi women are presented, and they are depicted as representatives of their community playing restricted traditional roles that are actually related to the tourist economy. Hence there is an interesting contradiction: while these women are entirely "modern" through their participation in the tourist economy, they actually need to be presented as "traditional" in order to be able to modernize economically. In essence, the local Naxi community is homogenized and feminized due to the simplification of the roles played by Naxi women and the absence of Naxi men and other Naxi people that are irrelevant to the tourist economy. Besides, even though these women are depicted as engaging in certain mundane activities of their daily lives, they remain unchanged and appear to be always right there waiting for tourists.

This thematization of homogeneity and timelessness of the Naxi community draws heavily on a number of formal features. To begin with, there are a couple of identification strategies that are utilized to construct a generalized picture of Naxi people. For example, the generic reference labeling is employed by primarily resorting to terms of classification and functionalization which categorize people "in term of identities and functions they share with others" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 52), rather than their unique identities. On the one hand, the female Naxi communities are introduced through generic labels of classification with reference to age and gender ("middle-aged women") and with reference to ethnicity and gender ("Naxi women"). On the other hand, labels of functionalization are used in references to the variety of Naxi women in terms of their activities or occupations ("dancers,"

"peddlers," "map-sellers," "shopkeepers," "sales assistants," "restaurateurs," "butchers"), which are all related to the service industry. In addition, there are some subsidiary identification points that also genericize the relevant social actors. For example, some are physically identified, e.g. the dancers are portrayed as "elegant" and the lady butchers as "robust." Occasionally, they are represented in terms of age and clothing, e.g. "middle-aged" dancers wearing "long, gray-blue pleated skirts." Or they are depicted in terms of their qualities related to their business, e.g. the peddler is considered as "enterprising" and the mapseller's multilingual skills are highlighted. In short, all these generalized and simplified points of identification have deprived these characters of individuality and specifics, for they are represented as fulfilling "only passing, functional roles" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 53) which are entirely defined in relation to tourists.

Secondly, some other formal strategies contribute to the backgrounding of social actors, e.g. the shopkeepers, sales assistants, restaurateurs, and lady butchers are pushed to the background due to being circumstantialized in the "by" structures. Furthermore, the label of "her sister" indicates relational identification, whose role is deemed less important than that of classification and functionalization (van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 86).

Thirdly, due to the use of the generic present tense and the consistency of the imaginary "if" and "when" structures, the represented social actors remain unchanged and appear to be always right there waiting to be scrutinized and consumed by tourists. Thus, an essentialized and static image of the Naxi community is framed, and the represented social actors remain in a timeless bubble as does the Uyghur neighborhood in the old Kashgar depicted in example 4.5.

Lastly, the second-person narrative mode makes the potential reader feel as if he or she is being led by the author through this stroll, seeing only what the author has presented, i.e. the feminized and timeless image of Lijiang.

While the above example involves an imaginary depiction of Naxi community, the following passage seems to present a more realistic image of Chengdu people, who have been described loving mah-jong games at the beginning of the travelogue:

4.35   Given the mass enjoyment of various games, Chengdu has kept the fame as the "City of Leisure" in China for years.

The image is confirmed outside Wuhouci, or the Temple of Marquis Wu, which is a major culture site in Chengdu.

When we stepped inside the temple, an old man staggered across the high threshold with a crutch. While trying to help him, a service worker of the

cultural site asked the old man: "Old uncle, where will you go after leaving so early?"

"Playing mah-jong," the old man answered loudly. (Jia, 2006, March 18)

In this passage, a Chengdu native, referred to in the generic label of classification by age ("an old man"), is presented as an avid lover of mah-jong games. While the use of the past tense may evoke an image of a real encounter, the old man, not nominated or identified, is rendered generic by being fit into the stereotypical image of Chengdu people that is constructed at the opening. Thus the old man is portrayed as a typical example of locals, instead of an individualized character, that is used to confirm the image of Chengdu as a "City of Leisure."

Certainly, representatives of local communities are not necessarily presented as featureless; sometimes local celebrities may be selected. In a *CD* travelogue about the Dong ethnic group in Hunan province, the author elaborates on Dong people's love of music, with an opening like this:

> 4.36 Every Dong person knows the saying, "Rice is for the body; song is for the soul".
> They take great pride in their "grand songs (*dongzu dage*)", or "*galao*" in the local language — the only polyphonic chorus without accompaniment or conductors in China.
> "Singing offers the chance to reveal our innermost feelings," says Yang Huanying, a local *galao* vocalist living in Tongdao Dong autonomous county in southern Hunan province.
> "You can't say you are a Dong person if you can't sing."
> Yang has become a local celebrity. In 2006, she performed grand songs with her family for CCTV's *China Stage* (*Shenzhou Dawutai*). Their pure voices stunned the audience and won them first prize. Domestic tourists got to know about the beautiful folk art and began visiting Dong villages to see live shows. (Qiu, 2009, October 22)

In this excerpt, a Dong vocalist is quoted as talking about the importance of singing for Dong people. Being a local celebrity, the vocalist is nominated by full name, and she is also depicted in terms of her family's winning the first prize at CCTV program "China Stage" in 2006. Compared with the generic image of the old man in the previous extract, the Dong vocalist is represented more like an individual with a personal history. However, the image of this individual thus constructed is built around the essentialized or reduced imagery of Dong people framed in the travelogue: the life of Dong people is all about singing, and nothing more.

In summary, the social actors discussed in this subsection are portrayed as typified members of their communities. Moreover, these people images are predominantly presented to index old and feminized communities: aged participants are featured in Figures 4.29, 4.30 and 4.31, and extract 4.35; women are presented in Figures 4.28 and 4.29, and extracts 4.34 and 4.36. Such representative images are designed to be "safe and unthreatening" to tourists (Thurlow, et al., 2005, p. 8), even though being portrayed as Others.

4.5.2.3 Displayers of ethnic costume

As discussed in the previous two subsections, performers and representatives are usually adorned with colorful ethnic or traditional costume. In the *CD* travelogues, there are some pictures that specifically depict ethnic people as displayers of their traditional costume. These pictures predominantly feature ethnic females, usually young, clad in splendid traditional attire, being captured in a close-up or a medium shot, very often at a frontal angle or a slightly oblique angle. Without being identified in captions which mainly focus on ethnic attire, these women are deprived of individuality and personal history, as if presented merely to display the colorful ethnic costume to the viewer. In a sense, these women are objectified into the Other demonstrating differences in dress, the most plainly visible signs of ethnic identity (Kolas, 2008). Witness the following photos:

Figure 4.33: A young Lisu girl has put on her festive attire (Song, 2007, Febuary 24).

Figure 4.34: Young Miao women clad in ceremonial garb (Nilsson, 2008, September 4).

Figure 4.35: The colorful head scarves worn by Tibetan women are famed throughout the world (X. Xu, 2007, January 11).

Regarding patterns of representation, all the above photos are of conceptual representation involving analytical processes that relate participants in terms of a part-whole structure. Thus, in these three pictures, all the ethic females are the carriers, who can be analyzed in terms of their costume that signify their ethnicity. Specifically, the young Lisu girl in Figure 4.33 is the carrier who is portrayed in terms of her "festive attire," her possessive attributes; the two young Miao women in Figure 4.34 are depicted in terms of their

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"ceremonial garb"; the three Tibetan women are presented as regards "[t]he colorful head scarves." It is also worth noting that these ethnic participants are mostly portrayed as motionless or static, as seen in Figures 4.33 and Figure 4.34. As for the patterns of interaction, all the three photos are images of 'offer,' emphasizing the averted gaze of the human participants (Lisu girl in Figure 4.33, young Miao women in Figure 4.34, and Tibetan women in Figure 4.35), either in a close-up (Figure 4.33) or in a medium shot (Figures 4.34, 4.35), suggesting the distant relationships between the ethnic female subjects and the viewer. Viewed from both perspectives, the above pictures simply present these ethnic females as displayers of ethnic clothing. Further, such depictions are reinforced by the reference labels ascribed to these participants, who are referred to in the generic labels of classification, e.g. "[a] young Lisu girl," "[y]oung Miao women," and "Tibetan women." Without any specific identification in the captions, these participants are not represented as ethnic individuals but as picturesque Others to be consumed by tourists. In addition, the Tibetan women in Figure 4.35 are circumstantialized in the caption by being placed as the object of the preposition "by."

Such objectification of ethnic subjects as displayers of traditional costume is also demonstrated in photos which present the participants as looking toward the viewer. These photos, nevertheless, are distinguished from images of 'demand', in which the subjects are addressing or gazing at the viewer directly and thus a sense of connection is established between the two. The following two photos are telling examples:

Figure 4.36: Two women of Erping Village are dressed in traditional Yi attire, which are unique from other branches of Yi minority in the region (Song, 2006, April 22b).

Figure 4.37: Brightly dressed Muoso women at Lugu Lake (Song, 2007, Febuary 24).

As in the previous three photos, these two images are of analytical structure, in which the ethnic women, as the carrier, are analyzable in terms of their costume. In Figure 4.36, two Yi women are presented as the carrier possessing the attributes such as the traditional Yi attire. Being portrayed in a long shot suggesting remote distance between the participants and the viewer, one woman is looking blankly at the camera, and the other is wearing a hesitant smile. Even though they look toward the viewer, they are captured from a long distance, thus greatly diminishing the impact of the look (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119). In addition, the two participants are seen as posing for the picture because they are captured standing still, a bit shy and awkward-looking. Besides, the absence of color (black and white) indicates the low modality of the image, reminiscent of the bygone past that is far away from the present. Hence the two Yi women in Figure 4.36 are portrayed as the Other, who are not part of the present world of the viewer. Moreover, they are not presented as salient as their traditional attire because it is the latter that is deemed "unique" in the caption while the participants are referred to in the generic label ("[t]wo women"). By the same token, ethnic women in Figure 4.37 are also represented in terms of their traditional attire. The Mosuo women are the carriers, while the pieces of their ethnic clothing function as possessive attributes fitting together to make up their images. No direct interaction is involved in this photo: the woman in front, captured from a slightly oblique angle, hence with detachment (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) as in Figure 4.19, is addressing her look toward the viewer with a cryptic smile; the woman behind, though captured at a more frontal angle, is presented partly, and no direct gaze can be detected. Thus both participants are represented as the Other rather than "part of our world" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). As in Figure 4.36, no individualization of participants is apparent in the caption of Figure 4.37, either, due to the use of the reference term of classification ("Mosuo women"). In both photos, the ethnic female figures, unnamed and clad in their ethnic clothing, are objectified as the picturesque Other, the displayers of their ethnic costume.

Generally, the pictorial representational choices discussed here objectify the participants as displayers dressed in gorgeous ethic attire for tourist contemplation. These participants, primarily ethnic females, predominantly referred to in the labels of generic classification, are portrayed as Others and 'strangers,' not belonging to the world of the travel writers.

4.5.2.4 Summary

As discussed in the previous three sub-sections, the *CD* travelogues feature depictions of Chinese people as cultural performers, community representatives, and displayers of ethnic

costume. In essence, all these representations render Chinese people as the touristified Other to be consumed by tourists. It is also noted that *CD*'s touristic imageries are primarily built on traditions and minority ethnic culture. Moreover, the textual and pictorial representations are almost exclusively constructed around an essentialist conception of Chinese ethnicities and cultural traditions.

4.6   Conclusion

The travelogues analyzed in this study usually represent the local communities as part of the general characterization of destinations visited by travel writers. The local people are thus nothing more than part of the destination scenery. The predominant role played by Chinese people in the travelogues is arguably being tourist attractions. All the textual and visual representations of Chinese natives as destination scenery can be categorized by the roles these people play in tourism imagery. Although the previous studies put the role of locals as scenery or "ethnoscapes" parallel to the roles of community representatives (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, pp. 49-50) and performers of ethnicity (Thurlow, et al., 2005), I have found the boundaries between these roles in my corpus are fairly fuzzy, for example, community representatives usually function as objects of the tourist gaze and performers of ethnicity are always tourist attractions. Hence the theme of locals as scenery or ethnoscapes actually encompasses the latter two roles in my data. In the travel writing of both newspapers, Chinese people of this category appear either to symbolize the everlasting charm of destinations, or to function as human circumstances of landscapes or objectified tokens. Despite the common roles, the two newspapers also feature disparate images in constructing Chinese people as destination scenery. In the *NYT* travelogues, Chinese people can be transformed from ordinary people in mundane everyday banalities to the 'exotic' touristified Other, or they can be lumped into undifferentiated groups, or certain communities may be demarcated from the majority. In the *CD* travelogues, Chinese people very often appear as performers of cultural heritage, or as representatives of their communities, or as displayers of colorful ethnic costumes. Despite the various images Chinese people are cast in, they are primarily devoid of personal histories and individuality, unknown and unnamed, a constitutive part of the local scenery to be enjoyed by tourists. In travel pictures, this is emphasized by the averted gaze of the participants in close-up, medium to long shots at an oblique angle, suggesting detachment of the viewer from the people being photographed.

The textual and pictorial representations of local communities discussed in this chapter are reminiscent of Pennycook's (2002, p. 167) observation that the cultural representations of China and Chinese people have become essentialized and fixed, and certain images of China

are brought into play and are repeatedly articulated through different texts. While Pennycook (2002) points to the western discursive constructions of China in English language textbooks, I have found through my examination that this "cultural fixity" in representing China gets repeated in both the *NYT* and *CD* travel texts. While the *NYT* travelogues exemplify the continuity of Orientalist discourses about China, the *CD* travel texts demonstrate the self-Orientalization in contemporary Chinese society, and the internal Orientalism that is apparent in the fascination of more cosmopolitan Chinese with ancient rural life or 'exotic' ethnic minority cultures. Thus, we see a discursive consistency between the two newspapers in representing Chinese locals as tourist attractions.

Additionally, there is a noticeable continuity of the major themes in constructing Chinese people as destination scenery between the 2000-2010 travel writing and the *NYT* travelogues of the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, we see a couple of colonial rhetorical strategies working here. Surveillance endows the travel writers with the privilege of gazing at or examining Chinese people, who in turn constitute objects of tourist observation. Besides, through the strategy of negation, certain groups of Chinese such as women, old people, children, ethnic minorities and rural people are rendered into destination scenery, being denied individuality, mobility, modernity and change. Paradoxically, the strategy of idealization (see section 2.3.2) is also manifested here: the represented Chinese locals are mostly portrayed as living in an Edenic state of purity and simplicity, very little corrupted by the country's advancing modernity (cf. Spurr, 1993), as especially seen in the examples in section 4.2.1.

Indeed, this imaging of Chinese people is related to the tourist search for authenticity and the sacred (cf. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 243). In our world of modernization, urbanization and fragmentation, a lot of us search for the authentic and the sacred to compensate for our alienated existence (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). This search for authenticity and the sacred, according to Morgan and Pritchard (1998), derives from the binary construction of 19th century anthropology: savage vs. civilized; primitive vs. developed; them vs. us. By the same token, we have seen the same opposition in the depictions of Chinese people as the touristified Other. While the travel writers in the two newspapers have different ways of presenting themselves in opposition to the Other, the power asymmetries between the representer and the represented, between 'them' and 'us,' remain intact in both newspapers.

In the *NYT*, compared with the genericized locals who are fixed in the timeless neighborhoods, the travel journalists stand out as highly individualized characters, leaving

their marks on the text through pointed observations about the unchanged neighborhoods, e.g. "Rather, they lived on in their quiet timeless way, wholly unsuspected from just a block or two away, obscured as it were by flashy new neighborhoods composed of jostling tall structures or roped off by looping expressways (French, 2007, June 10), and his descriptions of witticism, e.g. "idle young men with no role in the new China pass the days playing cards" (Rocha, 2007, September 23). On the other hand, the *CD* travel writers remain mostly invisible and silent in their depictions of Chinese locals as tourist attractions. In fact, this invisibility and silence can contribute to the false impression that the author, a character-narrator, is an objective observer (cf. Riggins, 1997, p. 24). However, any representation necessarily involves the author's decision as to what to include, hence socially constructed (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003; Hodge & Kress, 1993, p. 5).

Clearly, Chinese natives who are presented as the touristified Other are hardly seen in any 'contact' with travel writers, while a rare exception has been discussed in example 4.6. The intercultural encounters in this case are characterized by the travel journalists' surveillance, which endows the latter with "the privilege of inspecting, of examining, of looking at" (Spurr, 1993, p. 13) the Chinese locals who are naturalized as the objects of tourist observation. Hence gazing remains the dominant mode of 'interaction' between tourists and Chinese locals (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003). In some other cases, however, Chinese people can be seen interacting with travel writers, which will be the focus of analysis in the next chapter.

Chapter 5:   Chinese People in Interaction

5.1   Introduction

This chapter sets out to answer the second research question: how are Chinese people interacting with tourists represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers? In addition, it will deal with the fourth research question by tracing the diachronic changes in such representations in the *NYT*. I begin by exploring how Chinese people are portrayed as helpers, specifically informants, guides, hosts, and servers, who facilitate travel writers' completion of journeys. I then examine how Chinese people are framed as 'foreigners in their own country' who react curiously and over-enthusiastically to the presence of American visitors in the *NYT*. I particularly consider the representations of Chinese people engaging in the mutual gaze and more complex reciprocal interaction. This analysis leads me to argue that the constructed interactions between travel writers and Chinese people manifest the relationship of power between tourists and natives, which is mainly asymmetrical and unbalanced, with the local people virtually never represented as equals of travel writers.

5.2   Chinese people as helpers

The concept of "helpers," as understood in this study, is based on the discussion of "helpers" by Galasinski and Jaworski (2003), in which the helpers' function is found purely ancillary to tourists or travel journalists who are "the unilateral beneficiary of the helper's actions" (p. 142). In their study, the helpers are "randomly encountered individuals who seem to play no other role in the stories other than aid the traveler in planning or executing various activities" (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 142). The helpers are needed for "their skills, abilities and the knowledge of the local environment" (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 142). Indeed, in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues, such helpers are often sought out by travel journalists, for their knowledge of destinations or for their skills. These helpers play a variety of roles in assisting travel writers in completing their tours: they can act as information sources, offering information about various aspects of travel writers' tours; they can serve as guides, showing travel journalists around destinations; they can turn into hosts, extending hospitality to travel writers; they can work as servers, providing various kinds of service. In this section, I will explore the representations of these roles of helpers in the 2000-2010 sub-corpora, while identifying the historical evidences of such imageries in the *NYT* because representations of Chinese helpers mostly remain unchanged over time. My analysis will reveal that the Chinese

people discussed in this section, despite the different roles they are represented playing, are endowed with the subservient character of helpers, being Othered from the Self of travel writers.

5.2.1 Chinese people as information sources

Most often, individual Chinese serve as information sources for the travel journalists. They provide information about destinations, local customs, or government policies or other aspects of relevant tours. In the *NYT*, they can be business owners, local residents, and sometimes people in authority (government officials and experts). In *CD*, they are mostly people in authority (government officials, people from academia, and experts), business owners, and local residents. Generally, there are more people in authority, government officials in particular, quoted in *CD* than in the *NYT*. It is notable that when Chinese people are quoted as information sources in both newspapers, they are always nominated if they are people of high status (people in authority) and business owners, but they are not necessarily nominated if they are simply ordinary people (mostly local residents).

In a *NYT* travelogue "Saving the Great Wall from being loved to death" (Yardley, 2006, November 26), the writer quotes an official who is identified by his full name:

> 5.1 Now that people are more affluent, they are not satisfied with just the tourist spots," said Dong Yaohui, head of the Great Wall Society. "They want to go out and camp near the Wild Wall."

Such nomination of people in authority is a theme running through the *NYT* travel writing since the 1980s. For example, in a travelogue about the Yi people in Sichuan, the Vice Mayor of Zhaojue county is referred to by his first name ("An"), whereas all the other Yi people appear either as generalized groups or anonymous individuals (Terrill, 1987, December 20). Similarly, in a travelogue about Dazu, Sichuan, a government tourism official is nominated in full name ("Guo Xinjian"), the only person identified thus in the article (Terrill, 1990, January 14).

Such full-name identification of government officials is very common in the *CD* travelogues. In a *CD* travelogue titled "A treacherous ascent to an isolated community" (Song, 2006, April 22b), the travel journalist has an official as his travel companion, from whom he is informed of the dangerous cliff climb leading to Erping Village in Sichuan province where Yi Ethnic people live:

5.2   Such stories almost scared me right back home, when Amu Peiha, deputy
        secretary of the township's Communist Party Committee, said casually, "I've
        been there nearly 100 times."

        That must have been difficult, I exclaimed. "No. The people there are leading a
        hard life. We must do something for them," he said, offering to accompany me.

The official in the above extract is identified in terms of full-name nomination and
functionalization ("head"). Similar representational choice is used for experts in both
newspapers. In the following *NYT* excerpt, the information source is identified by full name
and is functionalized ("choreographer" and "director"):

5.3   My mother and I had arrived in her birthplace, our ancestral home. And as the
        train rolled past centuries-old Ming dynasty watchtowers, melting forlornly
        into the hills, I recalled the words of Zhang Jigang, the Shanxinese
        choreographer whom I had met in Beijing. "You'll see how important Shanxi
        is to Chinese civilization," Mr. Zhang, a director of the Olympic opening
        ceremony, told me. "In my opinion, you cannot know China without knowing
        Shanxi." (A. Chen, 2008, August 10)

Similarly, the expert informant in the following *CD* extract is represented in full-name
nomination and functionalization ("herbalist"):

5.4   Zhao Chengfu is one such herbalist.
        His superb medical skills have won him great popularity in and beyond the
        village. Many patients from neighbouring areas often came to his clinic asking
        for prescriptions.
        […]
        With 20 years of working experience in the local clinic, Zhao believes that
        herbal baths are natural cures for many common conditions such as colds,
        fevers, skin diseases and insomnia.
        Herbal baths confer particular health benefits on women, Zhao stressed. (Sun
        & Wei, 2006, July 19)

This combined representational choice of nomination and functionalization is always
witnessed in the identification of people from academia as information source in the *CD*
travelogues, as seen in the following excerpt:

5.5   So, nearly two months later on a sunny February morning, I went again — this
        time accompanied by Joseph Ting Sun-pao, a highly-regarded historian and
        former director of the Hong Kong Museum of History. (Zhao, 2008, April 3)

Apart from people in authority, business owners are always nominated when they
serve as informants in both the *NYT* and *CD*. In a *NYT* travelogue "A high-fashion lane in
Shanghai" (A. Yang, 2007, March 4), the author visits Lane 248 on Taikang Road in
Shanghai, which is introduced through a shop owner there as this:

5.6   "This area is quite unique and has more personality and character than many other places in Shanghai," said Yvonne Wang, an owner of Jaooh (Shop 47, Lane 248, Taikang Road, 86-21-6466-5385). "There are lot of new shops, but the character of the buildings has stayed the same."

The shop owner in the above extract is identified in full-name nomination and functionalization ("owner"). The addition of the address and phone number of the shop supports the authenticity of the information source and may act as an advertisement for the shop. Indeed, business owners can be represented to add authenticity to the writers' travel experiences. When a *CD* journalist visits Lhasa in Tibet, he highlights a cafeteria which is said to be popular with tourists. He writes:

5.7   What is unique about this place is the visitors' book, in which any customer can write about his experiences of traveling in Tibet and personal feelings or anecdotes. Even if one does not feel like writing, one is free to browse what others have contributed.

"The notebooks provide an opportunity for travelers from all over the world to share their personal stories, their thought and feelings," said Zelang Wangqing, owner of the cafeteria.

Zelang, 41, a Tibetan born in southern Sichuan Province, started this cafeteria in 1997, when he was roaming around Lhasa and became obsessed with this place and the beautiful story associated with it. (Y. Zhu, 2007, March 29)

The owner of the cafeteria is represented in terms of full-name nomination plus functionalization ("owner"). To support the authenticity of the visited cafeteria, the owner is also depicted in his personal history of starting the business. Being presented as a rich information source, the cafeteria owner turns out to be a great storyteller who relates many moving stories about the cafeteria.

While the informants in the above illustrations are all represented in full-name nomination, hence in terms of their unique identity, the local residents are not always nominated when they act as information sources. Sometimes, they can be identified by name, as seen in a *NYT* travelogue about the author's visit to Tulou, the earthen buildings in Yongding county, Fujian province (Koh, 2008, April 27). Of course, for lack of knowledge about Tulou, the author needs to turn to the local residents, the Hakka people, one of whom is presented as follows:

5.8   SOME locals are realizing the payoff of attracting visitors to Yongding. Li Shuyang, who was 18 when she married a Huang, lives in a concrete building near the Huang tulou cluster. The couple rents rooms to travelers for 30 yuan per person and proudly emphasizes the shower and squat flush toilet.

Ms. Li, now 40, cooked a dinner of wild greens and mushrooms, and ladled a broth whose coconut-cream scent came from a local root. She hated tulou living: "It's not sanitary enough," she said. (Koh, 2008, April 27)

Similar to the representational choice for people in authority and business owners, the Yongding resident in the above passage is nominated in full name, and is also depicted in terms of her personal history. Such identification of ordinary people, however, is not consistent. For instance, in the *CD* travelogue titled "A treacherous ascent to an isolated community" (Song, 2006, April 22b), the writer keeps one of the villagers he encounters as anonymous while identifying another villager by their full name, as seen in the excerpts below:

5.9   An old villager who heard of our destination gave us a knowing warning. "I often climbed up there in my youth," he said. "Now I dare not go there!" He said some of the ladders on the cliff were broken, though the local people still used the ladders.

[…]

Muyou Niha, a villager, explained that most families have lived here for more than 10 generations. Their ancestors first came to evade enemies and found the flatlands a place to call home.

Such representational strategy of informants is evident in pictorial depictions as well, although Chinese social actors portrayed as information sources appear in pictures only occasionally. Consider the following two pictures from *CD*:


Figure 5.1: Sun Zhishun, a villager of Laoxiancheng, shows an old brick in front of the village's south gate (Ma, 2006, May 3).

Figure 5.2: A local woman shares with visitors the story of Hakka earth buildings (R. Wang, 2008, January 10).

In Figure 5.1, the participant is referred to in full-name nomination, whereas in Figure 5.2, the participant who is referred to in the label of generic classification ("local woman") remains anonymous. A non-transactional narrative process is witnessed in each picture: each participant is seen "introducing" the sights to visitors. Both participants are presented in images of 'offer,' for neither is depicted engaging with the viewer. Even though the participant in Figure 5.1 looks toward the camera, he is not addressing his look directly at the viewer. Moreover, both participants are shown impersonally, for they are captured in long (Figure 5.1) and medium (Figure 5.2) shots. Thus, the low angle applied to both pictures does not imply that the represented participants have power over the viewer. In addition, it is notable that the lack of color (black and white) in Figure 5.1, as discussed in section 4.2, reinforces an image of the timeless that is created in the textual depiction of the destination as an unchanged place due to its geographical isolation (L. Ma, 2006, May 3).

In sum, when high-status social actors, such as people in authority, are quoted as information sources, they are always nominated and functionalized in both the *NYT* and *CD*. When business owners function as informants, they are also identified in full-name nomination, partly as a means to support the authenticity of tours and partly to serve as advertisements. By comparison, ordinary people are not all nominated when they serve as information sources. Whether these social actors in the previous discussion are represented in full-name nomination or not, they are not presented as being engaged in reciprocal interaction with the travel journalists. They are quoted, directly or indirectly, to inform the writers of what the latter needs to know. These people are not represented as tourists' equals, but merely as information sources that contribute to the successful completion of tours or journeys.

The subservient character of information sources is also evident in the depictions of Chinese social actors as guides, which will be discussed in the next subsection.

5.2.2   Chinese people as tour guides

As people traveling in foreign lands or unfamiliar places, travel journalists very often have to rely on tour guides to get around. Tour guides are thus indispensible to the successful completion of journeys or quests. Nevertheless, they are not represented as equal to travel writers, but as "helpers" subservient to the needs of the latter.

When tour guides are presented in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues, they are in most cases represented in full-name nomination and functionalization (being referred to in the label of "guide"). For instance, in the *NYT* travelogue "Bridging Generations on China's High Plateau" (A. Chen, 2008, August 10), the writer names the hotel-arranged tour guide, while in

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CD, more travelogues (Goldner, 2007, November 8; Z. Huang, 2008, Febuary 21; Ju & Du, 2008, June 19; R. Wang, 2008, January 10; F. Xie, 2007, August 30; Xin, 2010, February 4; R. Zhou, 2009, September 24) have the tour guides nominated in full name. Occasionally, in both the *NYT* and *CD*, tour guides are partly named, either by the first name (French, 2007, Febuary 11), or by English name (Lewis, 2010, January 7), hence identified through informal nomination (van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 53). These tour guides are primarily given the role of "guide" only in representations, without individuality or personal history involved, even though there are a few instances in the *NYT* and *CD* that tour guides are seen revealing a bit about their own experiences other than being a guide. For example, in the *NYT* travelogue "Saving the Great Wall from being loved to death" (Yardley, 2006, November 26), the guide, a preservationist of the Great Wall, tells the author his personal experience that has made him become a wall enthusiast. In another example, the travel journalist of the travelogue "Haunted heights" (R. Zhou, 2009, September 24) mentions the tour guide's history of having enlisted in the army in his youth. Similarly, Goldner (2007, November 8) opens her travelogue with the tour guide's account of her family's special links with the Great Wall, and Lewis' (2010, January 7) tour guide in Yunnan tells him how he has got his English name "Mr. Rush." Occasionally, however, the tour guides remain anonymous, such as the guide in the Chengdu tour of the author (Kine, 2007, March 4) or the guide in Niumulin, Fujian province who is quoted to comment on the monkeys there and the job of being a tour guide (Wei & Hu, 2010, November 11).

Surprisingly, whether tour guides are represented in terms of full names and personal history or not, the encounters reported in the above-mentioned travelogues are one-sided: there is little hint of reciprocal interaction between the guides and the travel writers. In the *NYT* travelogues, tour guides are mostly mentioned in passing, although they can be nominated by first name (French, 2007, Febuary 11) or by full name (A. Chen, 2008, August 10). This is actually a continuation of a theme manifested in the diachronic dataset of the *NYT*, e.g. in a 1980s travelogue about Guilin, the tour guide is identified by full name ("Chi Wei Hua"), but he is merely depicted talking or explaining to his guests without the latter's involvement at all (Ferretti, 1986, May 18). Likewise, in a 1990s travelogue about Shaoshan, Hunan, even though the guide (who also serves as an interpreter) is named ("Bright Yellow") with age ("25-year old") and described as "charming, sharp-tongued," she is simply presented in one-sided communications (Krich, 1991, January 20). In the *CD* travelogues, most often, tour guides are represented talking only, providing information or clarifying whatever travel journalists need to know during their tours, whereas the latter are not seen having any communication with the former or the latter mostly remain invisible. A typical illustration is

the following excerpt from a *CD* travelogue "Sea of tranquility" (Z. Huang, 2008, Feb 21), in which the author quotes the guide in the narrative of his tour of the Bamboo Sea in Yibin, Sichuan:

5.10   "The Bamboo Sea has become a popular tourist attraction after the Oscar-winning *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* was partly shot here in 2001," says Yang Min, a local guide.
[…]
"Bamboo shoots are so powerful that they can penetrate rocks and topple stones as they grow," Yang says.
"A bamboo shoot can grow as much as half-a-meter in a day in spring under the right conditions."
[…]
Here, tourists can see the Buddha sitting together with two Taoist gods governing wealth and birth. "Locals believe worshippers here are doubly blessed,'' says Yang.

The above passage stands for the typical representations of tour guides in *CD*: the tour guide, who is nominated in full name and referred to in the label of functionalization ("guide"), is quoted as speaking without interacting with the author. Similar representational choice is witnessed in the following passages from the *CD* travelogue "Deep forest" (Lewis, 2010, Jan 7):

5.11   Darkness was falling, we were alone in the forest and the fallen tree that served as a bridge over the swollen river had been swept away. We couldn't go back — we'd already walked 20 km through dense jungle — and going forward appeared to be a dubious proposition.
But Mr Rush, my indomitable guide, didn't give it a second thought.
"Just take off your shoes and jump," he said and dived in. The water foamed around his thighs as he waded ahead. I followed tentatively with shoes held above my head, shivering at the cold water and feeling the mud squelch between my toes. I tried not to think about the leeches and snakes we'd seen earlier.
"This is nothing," Rush said. "One time I came with two Dutch girls. The stream was so high we had to wait for some villagers to come along, and they pulled us all across with ropes."
[…]
Mr Rush really loves the forest. In his previous job as a beekeeper he had traveled with his hives to every province in China, and he had finally settled in Xishuangbanna because it had "the most magic".
Though he said he was given his English name because of his eagerness to learn the language in class, it seemed particularly appropriate as he sped down the narrow, overgrown forest trails, swinging a machete to clear the path.
[…]
Here Mr Rush seemed to walk even faster, it was obvious that he didn't like this monoculture. With the price of rubber rising, in recent years a lot of forest has been cleared for plantations. Fortunately, much of what remains is now protected. "There is something very precious here and it needs to be protected.

But the people also need to make a living. The challenge for China is to develop without destruction," Mr Rush said.

[…]

"The cultures here are worth every effort to preserve," Mr Rush said.

Compared with the previous example, the excerpt above presents a tour guide in relatively more detail. This tour guide, identified by his English name, is portrayed in terms of his character ("indomitable") and his style of walking (as seen in "as he sped down the narrow, overgrown forest trails…"). Moreover, his experience of learning English is also touched upon. Although this tour guide has been endowed with some individuality, he is represented in a mostly one-sided encounter, in a similar vein as the tour guide in the foregoing example. Generally, he is quoted as speaking or explaining to the author without being presented in conspicuously reciprocal interaction with the latter.

Such one-sided encounters are even characteristic of a *CD* travelogue which has the tour guide as the focal point of the narrative. In the *CD* travelogue "Looking at life from a new angle" (Xin, 2010, February 4), the author describes a tour guide in terms of his unique style of guiding tours. Interestingly, it is the guide who is the focus of the narrative rather than the destination, an ordinary village in Taiwan. Very much impressed by the man and his tour, the author concludes that the guide named Ado has endowed the village with "life and wonder." In this case, the guide Ado himself becomes a tourist attraction (see Chapter Four) that has made the author's journey special. Even though Ado is represented as the focus of this travelogue, he is depicted as nothing more than a guide, the only role he is represented to play. Despite the great fun Ado brings to his guided tour, there is no hint of a relationship other than that between tourist and tour guide developed between Ado and his guests. Thus Ado remains as a tour guide in the ordinary village, the Other amusing tourists with his guiding style, while the author and the other tourists are among 'us' who will return home after being entertained by the Other, or 'them.' The dichotomy between 'us' and 'them,' i.e. between tourists and locals is left intact, similar to Galasinski and Jaworski's findings (2003, p. 143). This division is evident in the travelogue's accompanying photo that has the tour guide Ado as the primary participant and tourists as the secondary participants, which is the only one of its kind in the two sources, as seen in Figure 5.3:

Figure 5.3: Tour guide Ado has a unique way of getting visitors to enjoy the sight of Longtien, Taiwan (Xin, 2010, February 4).

Regarding the pattern of representation, this picture is an image of narrative process, for it captures a scene described in the text: Ado is standing in the middle of the road, while tourists are lying on the ground. Ado asks the tourists to lie down under the tunnel formed by green trees in order to tell them that people should learn to look at things from different viewpoints, as expressed in the title. As for the pattern of interaction, it is an image of 'offer,' for it involves no direct engagement between the participants and the viewer. Moreover, the use of a long shot determines the impersonal social distance between the represented image and the viewer. Thus the use of a frontal angle does not indicate involvement between Ado and the viewer. In addition, the employment of a low angle does not indicate power for the represented subjects; rather it is a necessary means to include the tourists lying on the ground in the picture.

All in all, when Chinese social actors are represented as tour guides, they are mostly identified by nomination, hence in terms of their unique identity. Nevertheless, they are represented only in the subservient role of "guides," serving or entertaining tourists, and there never is an extension of the relationship beyond that role. Indeed, tour guides, just like informants (see section 5.2.1), are by no means presented as equal to tourists, because they are represented in the primary role of helpers.

5.2.3 Chinese people as hosts

Another role of helpers is to extend hospitality to travelers by inviting the latter to a meal or to their homes, i.e. acting as hosts. Chinese people cast in the role of hosts tend to represented as non-interactive in both newspapers, and in *CD* they are also frequently rendered invisible or backgrounded.

First of all, in both newspapers, Chinese hosts are rarely depicted interacting with tourists. In some instances, the hosts may be present, but are represented having no conspicuous interaction with the guests. In a *NYT* travelogue "In Chengdu, China, Remaking

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Sichuan Food" (Giridharadas, 2010, November 11), for example, the travel writer is seen dining with some locals in Chengdu, Sichuan province. His host, a Chengdu tycoon, mentioned in passing, is never represented engaging in any direct communication with the writer. Even though the author claims that his relationship with his fellow diners has transcended mere acquaintanceship (due to the effect of alcohol), there is a surprising lack of direct interaction between them depicted. Thus, until the end, the host, together with the other Chinese diners, still belongs to "them," instead of becoming one of "us," the group the author identifies with (see example 6.40 for more discussion on the language use in this instance). In the example below, an excerpt from another *NYT* travelogue "Viewing Two Chinas From a Stop on the Silk Road" (French, 2007, Febuary 11), the host, although being depicted in relatively more detail, is hardly presented in any mutual interaction with the visitors:

> 5.12 I knocked on the door at one and was welcomed by the friendly man with a beard combed to a fine white point. He was both groundskeeper and muezzin, or caller to prayer, and he sat with us for an hour, offering tea and then turning on the naked lanterns in the pillared and hitherto dark main prayer hall. The light revealed beautiful blue ceramic tiles at the altar etched with calligraphic prayers and a proud smile on the face of our host.
>
> China's Uighur minority, which is the largest ethnic group in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, is almost entirely Sunni, and is subjected to very tight controls by a government wary of both terrorism and of longstanding separatist sentiments.
>
> At the end of our visit with him, the muezzin climbed the rough cement staircase to a platform linking his twin minarets, explaining that it was from there that he called the faithful to prayer. What he didn't explain, careful to be discreet, is that the government doesn't allow the use of loudspeakers or megaphones, as is common in many Islamic countries.

The host in this extract, who is not represented as featureless as the Chengdu tycoon in the last example, is identified physically ("with a beard") and in terms of his behavior ("friendly"). Further, he is referred to in the label of functionalization ("groundskeeper and muezzin, or caller to prayer"), hence being represented in terms of his functional role. This episode, however, does not contain any depiction of reciprocal interaction between the host and the visitors, although the former is seen talking (explaining) to the latter in the end. Moreover, the author imagines that the muezzin is being discreet about something not explained and that the absence of loudspeakers is an issue for him, similarly to the elderly Shanghainese being imagined as resisting modernization as discussed in example 4.9. This imagination actually mirrors the Western stereotypical view of the Chinese government's control of religious freedom.

In fact, the lack of host-visitor interactions is also commonplace in the *NYT* travelogues of the first two decades. For instance, in a 1980s travelogue about Lijiang, Yunnan, the writer is not seen interacting with his hosts (a local Naxi doctor and his family) in any sense, while the latter are depicted more as part of the local scenery (Chatwin, 1986, March 16). Similarly, in a 1990s travelogue about Kashgar, Xijiang, the writer portrays his Uyghur host as extremely friendly (see example 5.42 for discussion on the encounter), but surprisingly there is no conspicuously reciprocal interaction depicted (Kristof, 1994, May 15).

This lack of host-visitor interaction is also manifest in the passages below from *CD*:

5.13   The camp was spacious enough for 10 people. At dusk, our host brought us a lamb and some beer. Kazakh people are known for their hospitality. We were invited to join the host and his relatives for supper and we ate like family despite encountering a language barrier. (Q. Qi, 2008, March 6)

5.14   Actually, they were pretty tasty, a good meat substitute when fried in chili oil. Lubricated with home-made *baijiu*, our host opened up. He said that in his younger days he would go hunting for wild pigs in the forest with a home-made gun. He told a story about a villager who, angry with an elephant for eating his rice, shot its calf. The angry elephant, so the story goes, charged the man's house and killed his wife.
Today there are few wild elephants left in the forest, in a nearby forest park.
(Lewis, 2010, January 7)

The host in extract 5.13, except for his ethnicity being implicated in the co-text ("Kazakh"), remains unnamed and featureless. Although he is seen bringing the guests food and drink and inviting them to supper, he is not depicted being engaged in conspicuous interaction with the latter. The curiously one-sided encounter is also characteristic of extract 5.14. Being rendered as anonymous and featureless as the Kazakh host in extract 5.13, the Jino hosts in extract 5.14 is presented telling the visitors stories, while the two parties are not seen swapping stories (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 143).

There are, of course, some instances in which the hosts can be depicted engaging in interactions somewhat reciprocal. In a *NYT* travelogue "Lost in China" (Gross, 2010, December 24), the travel journalist is invited to join the operators of the hostel he stays in for a hot pot. He writes:

5.15   **…**My private room was acceptable, if small; there was a roof deck with a pool table, and an enclosed cafe space. Most important, there was the spunky crew of young Chinese men and women who operated the hostel, showed a genuine interest in its guests and invited me to join them that evening for what I'd been wanting to eat ever since I arrived: hot pot.

At 8 o'clock, eight of us left the hostel, crossed busy Zhongxing Road and found a stairway that ascended a hill. Up we went, going ever deeper into a poorly lighted neighborhood, until eventually we arrived at a small, dark, secluded shack. Two circular tables stood outside, each with a gas heating element at its center. An older man, the proprietor, hurried out with a pot of broth so red it was almost black, and as it began to bubble we dunked with our chopsticks every ingredient imaginable — slices of pork and bundles of enoki mushrooms, lotus root and tofu skin, duck intestines and cow stomach and pig brains — all of them emerging aflame with chili oil.

We drank cheap Shancheng Beer, we joked around, we took turns singing songs. (I proudly busted out the Chinese nursery rhymes that my daughter, Sasha, loves.) …

The hosts in this excerpt, being aggregated into the generic reference term ("crew of Chinese men and women"), are rendered relatively featureless except for the attributive ("spunky") modifying the group. No interaction is indicated in the text until the last scene when the author seems to regard himself as belonging to the same group as his Chinese hosts (as seen in the collective personal pronoun "we"). However, the latter part of the text reveals that the language barrier intervenes yet again (see example 6.41 for details).

By comparison, in *CD* there are more instances of interactions between the travel journalists and their Chinese hosts, probably because the *CD* writers usually speak Chinese. For instance, as a *CD* travel journalist is exploring Shenyu River, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, he comes across some locals:

5.16   There weren't many people and most of them were either elderly or young. A shepherd named Wei Guocai told us most of the 100-odd villagers were surnamed Wei or Zhang. The earliest settlers arrived some 10 generations ago. They cleared away the boulders and ploughed the fields.
"This is a remote place, but our young men are handsome and the girls are charming as the river," Wei said.
A young woman told us there was another village deeper inside the valley.
"The view there is better and has a karst cave," she said.
We didn't have much time to visit her village, so instead we tried to find out how the locals lived.
Before the pipeline was built, villagers climbed the dangerous paths to reach the outside world.
Even today, children have to use the mountain tracks to go to school.
Most of the villages' young people have left to earn more money outside. Wei and his wife stay in the village while their son works parttime elsewhere.
It appeared that the locals have not considered profiting from the awesome scenery. When I suggested that Wei could cash in by providing lodging and food for tourists, he shook his head and said, "I welcome anyone who comes here. But I won't charge them."
As we said good-bye, Wei's wife put a lot of persimmons in my hands and invited us to come back any time. (Song, 2008, January 3)

In the initial encounter with locals, the author presents a shepherd, who is identified by full-name nomination and functionalization, and another local who is referred to in the generic label of classification ("A young woman"). The two locals act as informants, the shepherd and the young woman being quoted to inform the author and his travel companions of the local youth and the landscape separately. At this stage the locals are not yet depicted in conspicuous interaction with the visitors. In the next episode of encounter, the locals, namely the Shepherd Wei and his unnamed wife, are presented as engaging in somewhat reciprocal interaction with the author in their home, for the two parties are seen having conversations and direct communication with each other. Through the depiction of this interaction, Shepherd Wei and his wife are represented as hospitable and naïve country folks who haven't been corrupted by the commercialized outside world. In a sense, they are portrayed as representatives of a hidden utopia, who are expected to provide a welcoming environment for travelers, as will be further illustrated by the passage below from another *CD* travelogue "Peak experience" (Nilsson, 2009, May 21):

5.17 On our first day in town, we met Huang Shuihua, whose family has grown and processed rock tea for five generations. Huang invited us to his home to sample some of their handiwork and chat.
We had arrived during the 20-day May harvest and the fragrance of tealeaves around Huang's home was stiff enough to make us squint.
After showing us the equipment and explaining the processing methods, Huang sat us at an ornately carved wooden tea table with his family. Conversation and teas simmered for hours.
They showed how to properly swill the rock tea. It should first be swished around in the mouth and then noisily slurped with an open maw. Everyone sniggered as I struggled to master the technique, usually gurgling rather than gulping. They applauded when I finally got it right.
I had been worried there might be a surprise bill at the end, followed by a dispute about why we'd never agreed to buy anything. Instead, Huang's family gave us free packets of our favorite tea and drove us back to our hotel.
For the rest of the trip, Huang acted as our driver, guide and friend. Again, I felt a little anxious when he dropped us off at the airport.
He'd earlier said he charged 300 yuan ($43.8) a day as a driver. He hadn't driven us around for more than half an hour a day but he'd helped us find our way around and we seemed to have established a genuine bond.
When I asked what we owed him, he shrugged.
"Whatever," he said.
And he meant it.
It seems Wuyi Mountains' majestic natural landscapes are complemented by an even greater resource — warm and honest local people.
That really made the trip worthwhile.

In this passage, the author presents a Chinese host, identified by full-name nomination as in the previous example, who plays multiple roles of helper, acting as a server (driver), a guide, and almost a friend. Surprisingly, even though the author claims that they seem to strike up a friendship with Huang, he presents only two brief instances of interaction: the first is about how the author learns to swill tea and how Huang's family responds to that; the second is a short conversation about Huang's service charge, in itself of course the best evidence that their relationship is not a "genuine friendship," because the author shows implicit worry about overcharging. In fact, in this encounter the host Huang is seen extending his generous hospitality to the visitors from the beginning to the end, while the visitors remain the beneficiaries all along. Indeed, as Galasinski and Jaworski (2003) show in their study, the representation of hospitable locals can be viewed as "part of their romanticisation as kind, down-to-earth, unspoilt, unafraid (if somewhat suspicious) and naive individuals, and as providing a safe environment for travel" (p. 142).

In addition, it should be noted that hosts are very often not presented or they may sometimes be backgrounded, especially in the *CD* travelogues. For example, in a *CD* travelogue "Hiking solo along an adventure path" (L. Chen, 2006, July 1), the travel journalist comes to a local villager's house for dinner after walking across the dense woods of Foping National Nature Reserve in Shaanxi Province:

> 5.18   I had dinner at a local villager's house together with several rangers working at the station. The meal was simple with only rice and vegetables. The room was basic without a bathroom, but really clean.
> I told them what I saw near the mark of 4 kilometres and they confirmed that it was a giant panda.
> "Yesterday people also saw a giant panda near the site," said a ranger. "It is one of the animal's haunts near Sanguanmiao."
> The confirmation put me in a good mood. I decided to continue my search of the wild giant panda at the station in the next day.

The host in the above extract is strikingly absent from the scene: except for the vague reference term "a local villager" at the beginning, the host is not present at all in the dinner episode. Apparently, it is food and accommodation, rather than "the host," the person who provides them, that the author cares about or that the author thinks travelers would care about. Thus, the brief interaction between the writer and "them" is presented as one between the author and the rangers only, without the participation of the host.

In other examples, hosts of ethnic minorities also tend to be rendered invisible although members of ethnic minorities are usually depicted as objects for the touristic gaze as discussed in Chapter Four. Let us consider a *CD* travelogue about the author's trekking through Shangri-La (X. Xu, 2007, January 11):

5.19   We took two breaks for tea and lunch with two local families. The hall of a local house is very large and sparsely furnished.
A hot stove sits in the room's center. Wealthier families sometimes have paintings and sculptures on their walls.
Lunch is simple but delicious — tomato fried with egg. The quality is partly because the chickens and pigs forage in the fields. In Shanghai and other major cities, they are caged in factories and force-fed grain.
Compared with the people from other scenic spots, the folks here are used to seeing wide-eyed visitors — that is, except for the Tibetan mastiff at the family gate. It barked at us suspiciously.

The Tibetan hosts in this instance are not distinguished from each other but are lumped into "two local families" and "the folks," two generic terms of reference. Except for these generic references in passing, the hosts are entirely absent from the scene. It is notable that the furnishing and the food are considered more worthy of comment than the hosts (as in example 5.18), who are actually put on the same level as animals, because the sentence "the folks…except for the Tibetan mastiff" can only be read as the mastiff being part of the folk. In addition, the absence of the hosts in this case may contribute to the framing of the travel experience as similar to that enjoyed by "solitary tourists" who are not associated with desolation or loneliness but could enjoy the glamour and privacy of being left alone and of territorial ownership/control (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2009).

If the hosts represented in the above two excerpts are excluded by being suppressed, in some other instances they may not be so much excluded as de-emphasized, being pushed to the background (cf. van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 39). Consider the following two passages from *CD* which concern the writers' being received as guests at local's homes:

5.20   A small hamlet of five yurts 15 minutes walk from the visitors' center is a quiet place to stay. The residents are Kirgiz, nomads who settled by this spectacular water source 50 years ago. The night is cold but our new family of seven find enough blankets to cover the whole of Xinjiang — one sixth of China's total land area. Chunks of boiled lamb are followed by yak tea, inadvertent charades and bedtime. Eleven people lie in a yurt. We find it difficult to sleep. The altitude of 3,800 meters is tweaking our body clocks. Instead we lie silent; listening to a xylophone of sighs and murmurs from our hosts. (O'Brien, 2007, June 14)

5.21   The welcome was Tibetan-like as each guest was presented with a *hada*, a silk scarf, and a bowl of liquor. The only difference: In Tibet the *hada* was invariably white, while here the one I received was blue. I wondered if there was any meaning in the color.
Next we were ushered into several huts. Each one can seat a dozen people. You can also lie on your back and sleep inside there.
A friend of mine who had spent a night in a Mongolian hut told me he and his friends formed two straight rows while sleeping. But I suspected that sleeping

centrifugally with your feet towards the center is a better option. If someone stood looking down from above, it would present a flower pattern, with each person simulating a petal.

This was not my first time inside a Mongolian hut, though. I've seen them in Xinjiang and Qinghai. But my very first experience of the hut was in — Get ready to gasp! — Guangdong, of all places. A scenic park in a Guangdong town had set up a couple of Mongolian huts along a lake. There was a big round table in the middle, functioning as a private room of a restaurant. The only thing it didn't have was the portrait of Genghis Khan on the wall.

"This is not the real Khan. He didn't leave any portraits behind. The painter used his grandson as a model," my host now clarified for me. (R. Zhou, 2008, September 18)

The hosts in extract 5.20 are completely invisible at the beginning, except the implication of their ethnicity as Kirgiz. Again, food and accommodation are commented as in examples 5.18 and 5.19, but the providers remain invisible. It is not until the end of this episode that "the hosts" are mentioned. The hosts, however, are objectified because they are represented in terms of "sighs and murmurs," which actually constitute the local acoustic landscape enjoyed by the visitors as if they were music from a xylophone (for more discussion on objectification, see section 4.4). In a similar vein, the hosts in extract 5.21 are not presented at the opening of this episode: in the first sentence ("The welcome was Tibetan-like as each guest was presented with a *hada*, a silk scarf, and a bowl of liquor."), the hosts, who are understood as the agents of the welcome ceremony, are rendered completely invisible, thus being excluded by suppression. Moreover, the writer doesn't seem to be willing to engage the hosts in a conversation even when he wonders about the meaning of the color of the *hada*. In the next scene, the hosts are still absolutely unseen, as expressed in the passive voice in this sentence "Next we were ushered into several huts." It is not until the end of this episode that "my host" comes into the picture, who also serves as an informant clarifying the portrait of Genghis Khan on the wall. Nothing else is known about this person beyond the prescribed role of "my host" in this context. Thus this host is also backgrounded as is the host in extract 5.20. It is worth noting that in both examples hosts' being rendered invisible is also evidence of absence of interaction as discussed in examples 5.12, 5.13, and 5.14. Furthermore, as discussed in example 5.19, such depictions, with hosts being backgrounded, are also similar to the construction of solitary tourists who enjoy exclusivity and being left undisturbed.

Briefly, hosts, who may or may not be identified by nomination, can be depicted having little or somewhat interaction with the travel writers in both newspapers. In *CD*, they are also very often rendered totally invisible or pushed to the background. In any case, hosts are represented as looking after the needs of the travel writers as informants and tour guides.

5.2.4　Chinese people as servers

Compared with the relatively positive representation of Chinese hosts discussed in section 5.2.3, still another group of helpers, Chinese servers, are presented in a less positive light. In opposition to the hosts who may entertain guests without asking for anything in return, the servers can overcharge tourists. For instance, in the *NYT* travelogue "Lost in China" (Gross, 2010, December 24), the author has such an encounter with a taxi driver:

> 5.22　Then, because we had hours to kill, we jumped in a taxi and asked the driver what to see. Shuanggui Hall, he said, the biggest Buddhist temple in Sichuan Province! (Never mind that Chongqing left Sichuan in 1997.) He took off, and right away we were in the countryside, passing wet, green fields crossed by the prim brick arches of an aging aqueduct. The air smelled clear, life felt unhurried. Strange as it seemed, this too was Chongqing: a multiple-personality municipality.
>
> "Do you believe in Buddha?" the driver asked me (through David).
>
> "No," I said, tensing up as he removed his hands from the wheel to mime a Buddhist prayer. "But I believe in luck." Then, as he dropped us off, he overcharged us for the ride.

The server in this case, identified by the functional role he plays ("driver"), is depicted as being involved in two brief instances of interaction with the author and his travel companion: in the first instance, the driver also acts as a guide suggesting to his customers where to visit; the second instance is a short conversation about the author's religious belief. There is a touch of sarcasm in the representation of the driver in the second instance of interaction, in which the driver appears to be a believer of Buddhism, but he disobeys the teaching of Buddha by overcharging his customers.

It seems that this instance of overcharging is not a random case of complaint against Chinese servers, for in a *CD* travelogue "Dude, where is my hotel?" (Whiteley, 2007, May 24), the author lists a similar case, when he relates his cost for traveling in Lijiang, Yunnan province:

> 5.23　A World Heritage listing can do wonders to a local economy, boosting tourism and attracting millions of extra visitors each year. It also means these historical cities can also be a costly experience for an unprepared tourist.
> I traveled during the recent May Day holidays and some of the more experienced locals charged me like a wounded bull. I paid 450 yuan ($59) a night for a basic hotel room, dinner at one average restaurant cost 140 yuan ($18) and a full-day tour of the nearby mountains and rivers cost me more than 1,000 yuan (about $131, 350 yuan car/driver; 400 yuan tour guide, 180 yuan for Yangtze River ride). Even a roadside Naxi soup man charged me 40 yuan

($5) for a bowl of his chunky beef broth. It was delicious, but 40 yuan? The locals were getting change back from 10 yuan.

This passage is an explicit complaint of Chinese servers overcharging customers, implicitly foreign customers like the author himself. The author's metaphorical representation of local servers as "wounded bull" brings out an image of greedy Chinese servers, while this metaphorical construction is substantiated by the numbers in the author's listing of his various costs. To further strengthen his observation, the author presents a Naxi soup vendor who overcharges him, similarly to the depiction of the overcharging taxi driver in the previous *NYT* example.

Thus, Chinese servers are represented as greedy, a theme that is also evident in the *NYT* travelogues of the first two decades, e.g. Kramer (1990, February 18) metaphorically depicts peddlers as "swarms of locusts"; Kristof (1993, October 10) describes some porters who try to win customers as "a frenzied herd"; Kristof (1994, May 15) figuratively represents taxi drivers in Kashgar as "a mob eager to flay the foreigner."

While being overcharged can be an unpleasant experience for tourists, cleanliness and hygiene is another concern for people on travel. In the *CD* travelogue "Wishing well" (F. Xie, 2007, August 30), the travel journalist writes about how a Tibetan girl prepares dumplings in a Tibetan teahouse near Nam Co Lake, Tibet:

5.24   The owners, two young Tibetan girls, went out and brought back more fuel-- dried cow dung.
One girl broke them off, as if nipping off biscuits, then threw the pieces in the stove. After that, she rubbed her hands on the apron for few times and continued making beef-stuffing dumplings next to me, with the price of half yuan for each.
Even though I was famished, I didn't dare try a single dumpling after seeing how they were prepared. I kept drinking sweet tea instead.

Being presented as non-interactive as the Naxi soup vendor in the example above, the servers in this instance, being referred to in the label of generic classification ("Tibetan girls"), are not seen having any contact with the guests either. One of the girls is portrayed in detail adding the dung fuel to the stove and making dumplings without washing her hands. The girl in this case has been reduced to an object for the author's gaze or scrutiny; further, the represented image of the Tibetan girl using the dung fuel and ignoring hygiene when preparing food fits the negative stereotypes of minorities as "backward" (cf. Kolas, 2008, p. 103) and of their lifestyles as "primitive and exotic" (cf. Kolas, 2008, p. 126).

Certainly, if a Chinese local is expected to play the role of a helper, he or she is unavoidably placed in a subservient position in the tourist-server encounter. In a *CD* travelogue "Anyone home?" (Chakrabarti, 2009, February 19), the author narrates his visit to

the house where Wei Zhongxian, China's most infamous eunuch, had lived. The lady manager of the house is seen acting as not only an informant and a guide, but also as a server, as written in this excerpt below:

> 5.25   Egged on by my Chinese friend, the manager helps me put on the emperor's robe and then wears the empress' one herself. Half a dozen shots on my camera capture the moment, the lady visibly blushing in a few of them.

The lady manager in this case acts as a server to satisfy the needs of the author's photography: even though it is embarrassing for the lady to play the empress, she has to yield to the demand or expectation of her guests. In a sense, the lady also serves to entertain her guests in the pictures. Thus the social relations between the author and the manager are not constructed as egalitarian: the servers are always expected to please their customers, even against their will at times.

The subservience of Chinese servers is also exemplified in photographic representations, in which Chinese women act as servers:

Figure 5.4: A waitress serves tea while tea drinkers relaxing in a teahouse of Chengdu (Z. Huang, 2006, May 4).

Figure 5.5: A young woman serves tea in a Wuyuan teahouse (Ji, 2006, May 23).

Regarding patterns of representation, both these pictures concern the narrative process of a waitress serving tea. In terms of patterns of interaction, firstly, both represented participants have their eyes looking down, indicating no contact between them and the viewer, hence images of 'offer'; secondly, both images are cast in a medium long shot, thus implying distant relations between the participants and the viewer. As for composition of the images, both women servers are centered and take up half (Figure 5.5) or more than half (Figure 5.4) of the whole images, hence being rendered a salient object for the tourist gaze as well (see Chapter Four).

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Overall, Chinese servers tend to be represented in a more negative light in the texts than the previous three types of helpers, namely informants, tour guides and hosts. Pictorially, it is always women servers who are presented, who appear as detached but submissive, being presented more as objects for tourist contemplation.

5.2.5 Summary

As discussed in this section, Chinese people are primarily represented as helpers for travel writers in their interactions with the latter, playing the roles of information sources, guides, hosts, and servers, a theme that has remained largely unchanged since the 1980s. Firstly, Chinese people in authority and business owners are always identified through semi-formal nomination (given name and surname) when functioning as informants, whereas ordinary local residents serving the same function are not necessarily nominated. In addition, guides are regularly nominated and functionalized, and occasionally they may constitute part of the local scenery, especially in *CD*. Besides, hosts are rarely depicted interacting with the travel journalists in both newspapers, and they are very often not presented at all or can be backgrounded in *CD*. Lastly, while the previous three categories of helpers are cast in a neutral or relatively positive light, the servers are perceived more negatively. Despite their different roles, all these Chinese people are endowed with the subservient character of helpers, for they are never portrayed as engaging in reciprocal, egalitarian communication with tourists. Similarly, in the *CD* pictures these people are presented in images of 'offer' featuring detachment and social or impersonal relations between the participants and the viewer, and the helpers represented pictorially tend to be old people (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) and women (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). Thus, the difference between 'us,' the travel journalists, and 'them,' the Chinese helpers, is reinforced; the achieved difference can be that of social distance (as seen in all representations) and value judgment (as seen in representations of servers) (cf. Todorov, 1982, p. 185).

5.3   Chinese people as 'foreigners'

In the previous section, I have explored Chinese people engaging in more direct interaction than being gazed upon, i.e. acting as helpers facilitating touristic experiences. In the *NYT*, Chinese natives can engage with travel writers in another way, i.e. by being depicted showing various responses to the touristic gaze of travel writers. In this case, Chinese people are represented gazing back at travel writers, hence directing the "local gaze" (Maoz, 2006) at them, compared with the Chinese locals showing little response to the tourist gaze as discussed in Chapter Four. Thus, the interaction between travel writers and Chinese natives is

characterized by the coexistence of the tourist and local gazes which affect and feed each other, resulting in the "mutual gaze" (Maoz, 2006).

While Chapter Four revolves around the tourist gaze which entails power and authority the travel writers hold and exercise over the local population, this section centers on the interplay of the tourist and local gazes, namely the mutual gaze of American travel writers and Chinese people, as well as its development into reciprocal interaction. Specifically, I will investigate how Chinese people are represented reacting passively to the tourist gaze, how they can be depicted entertaining themselves by gazing at foreigners, how they may appear as more aggressive gazers, how they can become more active interactants, and finally how they are presented as showing excessive friendliness and enthusiasm to the American visitors. The analysis of this section, which is based on the 1981-2010 dataset of the *NYT*, will demonstrate that even though the American travel writers are understood as 'foreigners' in the narrative events, 'foreignness' is invariably attributed to Chinese people depicted in this context (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003).

5.3.1 Chinese people passively reacting to the tourist gaze

First of all, Chinese natives are primarily depicted as passive locals who act according to the tourist gaze of travel writers who are eager to seek entertainment and diversion from the mundane, everyday and familiar. Very often they are portrayed as passive and silent gazers and gazees (for these two concepts, see Urry, 2002) without any change in the thirty years under investigation.

Let us first consider two examples from the 1980s and 1990s respectively:

5.26 There was the look of amazement, utter amazement, on the face of the old fellow near the market in Xian as he stared at me in my Red Flag, a fancy Communist limousine, and we took each other's picture, I with a camera. (Rosenthal, 1981, July 19)

5.27 Standing in the vast crowd, waiting for the human river to resume its motion, I surveyed the people around me: bent old men with white skullcaps and craggy faces, peering suspiciously at my camera; teen-age boys on donkey carts, waving their whips impatiently at the stalled traffic; portly middle-aged women in long skirts, each arm tucked around a protesting chicken, and young women draped entirely in veils and cloth from which muffled shouts emerge when they wish to communicate. (Kristof, 1994, May 15)

Both examples demonstrate the use of photography by travel writers in the interplay between their tourist gaze and the local gaze. Photography in this case seems to be a popular means to exert power and control over the locals being watched (cf. Urry, 2002, p. 127). The

featureless old man in example 5.26 is seen directing his gaze at the author who is apparently impressed and entertained by this local gaze. It is emphasized that even though the old man takes part in the mutual gaze, he appears to be the powerless one using his eyes compared with the author who utilizes a camera because the ownership of a camera entails the possession of power over the object being photographed. Therefore, rather than posing any threat to the travel writer, the local old man is presented as a lower Other, being turned into a touristic sign collected by the author who is depicted as a superior Self riding in a fancy car and wielding a camera. Further, the post-modification of the old man not only denotes him being backgrounded but also adds a touch of alienation, of the old man not being involved himself in the mutual gaze (cf. van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 60). Similarly, the power of photography is also implied in example 5.27, in which the author takes a "monarch-of-all-I-survey" (Pratt, 2008; see section 2.3.2) stance watching the Uyghur people in Kashgar. His selective representation of old men, boys and women brings out an old, infantile and female human landscape, which falls prey to the consumption of the all-seeing eye of the author. While all of the presented social actors are tamed into objects for photography, the old men are not depicted as passive as the boys and the women, by being shown "peering suspiciously" at the author's camera. This reverse gaze of the locals, however, seems to be dismissed by the author, who continues his surveillance of the rest of the local ethnoscape without feeling affected.

Indeed, there is an unchanging imaging of Chinese locals' response to the tourist gaze, as further seen in an example from the last decade:

5.28　　But you need walk only a few minutes down an alley into the hutong -- and then turn a corner and turn a corner and turn a corner -- and you will be lost in old Beijing. A woman washes her hair in a pail. Old men play games outside doors. A street vendor sells five or six pieces of fruit. Only by taking this kind of walk will you see that the new China is still only skin-deep. Once, deeply lost, I walked into a local restaurant -- and every chopstick stopped. Even in Beijing. (Stevens, 2003, November 16)

In this excerpt, the travel writer specifically highlights the unchanged curiosity shown by Chinese people at sight of foreigners. At first, the travel writer projects an image of the timeless onto an unspecified *hutong* and its local inhabitants in Beijing (see section 4.2 for the theme of timelessness). Anonymous people are presented as iconic significations of timelessness because they are all depicted as carrying out some mundane activities that are associated with the traditional lifestyle (see section 4.2.1). None of these people show any sign of gazing back, indicating either their unawareness of the tourist gaze or their adaptation

and full cooperation. In a similar vein as in examples 5.26 and 5.27, an instance of the mutual gaze is presented against the permissive milieu. The agent of the local gaze, i.e. the diners in the restaurant, however, is rendered invisible. Thus, the power of this reverse gaze is minimized. Besides, even though the author is understood as a 'foreigner' in this case, foreignness is actually ascribed to the diners in the restaurant, for the latter are represented as strikingly different (hence 'foreign') from the author (and, by extension, from the target readers) by showing overt curiosity to the author's presence. Furthermore, the author describes this local gaze, together with the timeless *hutong* people-scape, in order to substantiate his conclusive observation about China—"Only by taking this kind of walk will you see that the new China is still only skin-deep." In a sense, the *hutong* residents and the restaurant diners, being fixed in a timeless imaging, are presented as stereotyped and tokenistic representatives of Beijing and China at large.

In some other cases, Chinese locals are represented as being more engaged in the mutual gaze, especially in the 1990s. In this case, the local gaze is initiated by the tourist gaze, specifically the photographic 'gaze' of travel writers. Consider the following two examples:

5.29   Emboldened by this first taste of authenticity, I get Bright Yellow to lead me into a few villages along the route back. First we stumble on the general hilarity engendered by a man chasing a runaway pig as spotted as a bloated Dalmatian. When I pose the group for a Polaroid, the mood gets even more festive. Then the gang realizes that the picture is developing before their eyes -- maybe the only image of themselves they've ever seen -- and begin a riotous grab-all for the result. The oldest grandma, elder among elders, comes away with the prize.

"Bye-bye!" cry all the smarty barefoot children, when they mean hello. "Ni hao!" I answer, really meaning see you later. "Hello! Bye-bye! Ni Hao!" they imitate me imitating them. A game of hide-and-seek, verbal and literal, develops as we're followed through the dirt paths between barns and stables… (Krich, 1991, January 20)

5.30   The best way to make friends in such areas -- in any Chinese village for that matter -- is to take a Polaroid camera. Few peasants own a camera, and if you can take some instant photographs and pass them around, the entire village will cluster around and observe in amazement, and peasants will compete to invite you into their homes. Of course, none of the villagers speak English, but sign language can be quite eloquent when necessary. If a non-Chinese speaker gets somewhere where sign language is insufficient, someone will get the school's English teacher to translate. (Kristof, 1992, June 21)

In these two examples, photography is utilized as bait by travel writers to attract the locals so that they can get a taste of authenticity, novelty and difference from what they have

'at home.' In extract 5.29, except the tourist gaze which is amused by a banal activity of pig chasing, there are two instances of the mutual gaze portrayed: the first one sees the author as the dominator of the interaction, who uses a Polaroid camera to stir up excitement among the local villagers, assumedly old people; the second one sees the locals, children in this case, being more active in their reverse gaze, depicted as mimicking the author imitating them by resorting to language crossing (see section 6.4.2.2 for further discussion on this), i.e. using English and Chinese in the meantime, and playing games. Thus, while the local villagers in the first instance are reduced to a secluded and ignorant Other being surveyed by the author cum photographer, in the second instance they are depicted as an infantile Other entertaining the travel writer, though they are depicted as a bit annoying, as seen in the word "smarty." It is worth noting that it is the travel journalist who holds and exercises power in his interaction with the locals, mainly through photography, and the locals are exoticized by their unfamiliarity with instant photographs.

A similar discursive strategy of Othering Chinese natives is identified in example 5.30, in which Chinese peasants are presented as showing the same intense curiosity at photography, hence a secluded and ignorant Other as the villagers presented in example 5.29. No actual or literal travel experience is depicted, nonetheless, but rather the author is leading his potential readers through an imaginary journey in the second-person narration (see excerpt 4.34 for similar narration). The author makes no attempt to introduce any degrees of certainty into the descriptions, and hence the author's stance toward the object of his exposition, i.e. Chinese peasants in this case, is never put into question. The sentences are devoid of any hesitation or doubt, and even introduction of the travel journalist's perspective (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003). Therefore, the travel journalist seems to describe a world that is fully under his control, and Chinese peasants are depicted as what he knows them to be, but not what they seem to be. Moreover, the second-person description is to render the target reader as the passive recipient of the author's guidance. Thus, the author not only exercises power and control over his represented subject (Chinese peasants) but also his target readers. Finally, the travel writer's description of the local linguascape (see Chapter Six for details) conveys the message that verbal communication is not necessary to interact with Chinese locals, who in this case are deemed more as objects for the tourist gaze than "friends" in any meaningful sense of the word.

5.3.2   Chinese people as active gazers

While Chinese natives covered in the previous subsection are represented as the submissive or passive Other totally consumed by the tourist gaze of travel journalists,

sometimes they can be depicted as taking a more active part in the mutual gaze, especially in the 1990s travel writing. In this case, Chinese people are portrayed as active gazers, who may be involved in verbal communication as well. Let us see the following two examples first:

5.31 IN any case, wherever one goes in China, perhaps the most important thing is to spend time with the people.

[…]

In particular, spend at least a day in the countryside. My most interesting moments in China were spent in the villages, and the fascination was often mutual. On my first trip to China, in 1983, I was waiting for a train at a station in a rural part of Shandong Province, and so I sat down and began reading my guidebook. A few peasants gathered in front of me, watching me for entertainment, as if I were a movie. Then others approached, and soon dozens of them were sitting in a semi-circle around me, pointing and staring.

Soon nearly 100 peasants were sitting on the ground in front of me, the adventurous ones crawling in front of me to look at the cover of the book I was reading, and the episode ended only when the alarmed authorities led me to a small room and barred the audience from following. It was an encounter between two worlds, and I found it just as extraordinary as they did. (Kristof, 1994, December 4)

5.32 After probably three hours, we entered an area of grasslands where yak grazed. Two men sat on the bunk opposite me playing a game akin to checkers, but they had really come to stare at the only Westerner on board. The dining car chef came by to have a phrase-book conversation with me. Everyone smoked. I forbade it in my area, however, by pointing at the appropriate phrase in my book. My companions were mildly surprised, but willing to go along for the pleasure of staring at me. (Swenson, 1997, October 19)

A typical mutual gaze is presented in example 5.31, in which the travel writer and the villagers are both the gazers and the gazees (Urry, 2002). Curiously, this instance of the mutual gaze described by the author in a 1994 travelogue occurred in 1983. The writer's selection of an example of over a decade ago seems to express his perception of Chinese people as the fixed, timeless Other. While both parties of the mutual gaze are seen by the other as "the mad behind bars" (Urry, 1992, p. 177), the writer describes that scene in a condescending tone. The Chinese peasants are represented as 'foreign' to the author by showing undue curiosity at the author and his normal behavior of reading a guidebook. The use of the verb "crawling" makes them sound sub-human or animal-like. Moreover, while the Chinese locals are rendered as a featureless group, the travel journalist self-presents as an acute observer. This differentiation is underscored by the writer's explicit construction of a borderline between himself and the Chinese peasants, who are, in his words, are from another

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world. In a similar vein, the Chinese locals in example 5.32 are rendered as 'foreign' to the travel writer, while they are depicted as directing an active local gaze at the travel journalist. In this example, the travel writer seems to be less entertained by the local gaze than the author of example 5.31, for he seems to be bothered by the Chinese gazers who are represented in the cultural stereotype of smoking in public places. Interestingly, the travel writer self-presents as reacting in a way that is reminiscent of certain locals' strategy of adjusting to the tourist gaze, somewhere between veiled resistance and boundary maintenance (cf. Doğan, 1989) by forbidding smoking in "his" area. Hence, the author presents himself firmly established in his own 'territory,' while the Chinese gazers are deemed as the intruding Others, hence 'foreigners' from the author's standpoint.

At times, Chinese locals can be depicted as being involved in not only the mutual gaze but also verbal communication. Witness the following example:

5.33   THE highlight of my visit was simply a few days roaming the Tibetan villages around Qiapuqia, a town of about 30,000 in Gonghe County south of Qinghai Lake. Most of the townspeople are Han Chinese, but many of the nearby villages are Tibetan and the people are extremely welcoming.

"Uncle, are you a foreigner?" asked an eight-year-old girl who was startled to encounter me on a dirt path near her village. I explained in Chinese that I was a genuine foreigner. Since I was the first one she had ever seen, she led me to her home. Her family was enormously excited at my arrival, and pressed tea and bread on me, but the town was sufficiently remote that all they knew was that I was not Tibetan.

"Are you Han Chinese?" the grandmother asked me, after peering for several minutes at my face, which does not look in the least Chinese. I explained that no, I was an American. She nodded sagely, to show that she had heard of Americans, but I'm not sure she distinguished in her mind between Americans and Martians. (Kristof, 1992, June 21)

In the above extract, the local Tibetans are represented as initiating the mutual gaze: the little girl and her grandmother are both depicted asking the writer about his nationality. This initiative, nevertheless, does not project an image of active interlocutors onto the two Tibetans. On the contrary, both of them are portrayed as the secluded and ignorant Others who know little about the world beyond their village, in particular by quoting the grandmother's question that reflects her bewilderment at distinguishing Americans from Han Chinese after "peering" at the face of the author. This imaging of the Tibetan locals is underscored by the author's sarcastic and scornful imagining of the old woman as not understanding the difference between Americans and Martians. By comparison, the travel writer self-presents as a relatively internationalized American who speaks at least both

English and Chinese. As is also clear from the example, the author uses the term 'foreigner' as the Tibetan girl's reference to him as well as his self-reference. The label of 'foreigner,' however, is not really a Self-attribution, but an Other-attribution. The travel writer constructs his 'foreignness' not from his own standpoint as a traveler abroad but deems it sufficiently interesting to report that Chinese Tibetans find him as such (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 141).

Indeed, Tibetans tend to be presented as the isolated Other by the *NYT* travel writers, in particular in the 1990s. An encounter depicted in a 1999 travelogue also represents Tibetans as having not seen much of the world:

> 5.34   We pulled over. Mr. Wang introduced us as tourists from America. The woman invited us into her one-room home, where we met her husband and son and were served yak-butter tea, the water heated on a stove fuelled by yak dung. We sat cross-legged on blankets laid over the dirt floor. The husband said we were the first foreigners he had ever seen, except once, in town, on television.
>
> "On TV, the Westerners all looked scary," he said, speaking Tibetan. "Big and blond and with blue eyes. You do not look scary at all."
>
> We had a long conversation about yaks, my questions translated into Mandarin by Kyle and then into Tibetan by Mr. Wang. (Finkel, 1999, April 18)

In the above extract, the Tibetan husband is represented as showing a similar curiosity and interest as the grandmother in example 5.33, at the facial or physical features of the travel journalist. Being quoted as seeing the Westerners "once, in town, on television," this Tibetan is being ridiculed as secluded as the old Tibetan woman in example 5.33. By contrast, the travel writer portrays himself as a sophisticated cosmopolitan with a sense of humor, who is not looking scary, feeling comfortable and relaxed on a dirt floor, and engaging in a multilingual conversation. Thus the Tibetan man serves as the foil against whom the author can be seen as such without having to brag about how a wonderful traveler he is.

5.3.3   Chinese people as aggressive gazers

As discussed in the previous sub-sections, the mutual gaze has entertained or amused the authors in one way or another. However, the local gaze can occasionally cause the travel writers discomfort and unease, as mostly seen in the travelogues of the last decade. Thus the Chinese locals are depicted as gazers who are more aggressive than those discussed previously.

In a 2000 travelogue about the travel writer's visit to Nanchang, the capital city of Jiangxi province for adoption of a Chinese baby, there presents an instance of the local gaze that impresses the travel writer as follows:

> 5.35 Here among the masses, individuality merged as each of us anonymously plied our morning routines. But later, as I strolled the streets with my family, a moment's pause made the four of us an instant sideshow that invited participation. Now all eyes were on us. Ignoring the notion of personal space, people unabashedly bore in to touch or exclaim over our children. Of particular interest was our American daughter, with her shiny brown hair and pale skin.
>
> Our Chinese baby drew approving squeals and fruitless efforts at sign-language conversation. The friendly but persistent sidewalk crowds would grow quickly, causing bike jams, pushing, poking and a bit more attention than we wanted. We would move on. (Beamish, 2000, December 24)

The above extract presents a local-guest interaction that is characterized by the Chinese locals' more aggressive gaze at the American family. Besides the visual mode of interaction, this mutual gaze also involves other senses, such as touching from the locals and hearing from the American visitors. In this case, it is the travel writer's children, American daughter and Chinese baby, that have attracted the local gaze. In the meantime, the Chinese locals in turn have become the objects of the tourist gaze, who are described as "unabashedly" touching and exclaiming over the writer's children, ignoring "the notion of personal space." Hence, they are depicted as the curious Others as in the previous examples but more aggressive as this behavior does not cause the travel writer pleasure in this instance but discomfort.

While in the above example the American visitors manage to dismiss the active or even aggressive Chinese local gaze in the end, they may occasionally make an attempt to understand such gazes from the Chinese locals, as seen in a 2008 travelogue "Stopping traffic in the People's Republic" (Toy, 2008, May 4), which depicts how the Chinese American travel writer makes an effort to understand Chinese natives gazing at her mixed-race children:

> 5.36 WERE people gawking at my children? I wasn't sure.
>
> We were visiting the Forbidden City in Beijing, part of a two-week family vacation to China, when a young woman pulled down her antipollution mask and stared, open-mouthed, at my 7-year-old son, Patrick. She didn't seem dangerous, just amazed, so I let the moment pass and we moved along to the next stop on our tour.
>
> But the next day, during a visit to the Great Wall, my maternal defenses kicked in when another woman approached us. Without asking permission, she sidled

up to my 11-year-old son, Aidan, and draped her arm around him. Her husband was about to snap a quick photograph when I shouted furiously at her in halting Mandarin to get away from my son.

By then, it had become clear why my children were attracting so much attention. They look Chinese, but not exactly. They look Western, but not quite. What they really look like is what they are: a blend of me, a Chinese-American, and my husband, a blond 6-footer of English and Irish descent.

Was I reading more into what may have been simple curiosity? The gawkers reminded me of my own painful experiences of being different: grade school classmates who would pull their eyes into squints and launch into a mocking sing-song; a college adviser who suggested I switch my major to biology since Chinese are better suited for the sciences; colleagues who have mistaken me for some other Asian-American woman.

But when one of Aidan's cousins, along on the trip, asked what the photo-seeking woman wanted, my son told him: "I guess she just wanted a picture with a cute little boy." The innocence of his reply made me feel guilty. What if that was all she saw — a cute little boy?

On my first trip to China more than 20 years ago, crowds would gather at the sight of foreigners, especially blond and fair-skinned ones. White people are not quite so exotic these days. My husband hardly merited a second look. But my mixed-race children stopped many Chinese in their tracks.

(To be fair, even in a multicultural center like New York City, where we live, my children still elicit double-takes here and there, and my 14-year-old nephew, who is also mixed race and lives in the city, has been asked the discomforting question, "What are you?")

Cheng Li, a senior fellow on Chinese government and culture at the Brookings Institution, said the Chinese reaction to my children was not that unusual and, from a Chinese perspective, was not considered impolite or offensive. Perhaps that's why, when yet another woman stopped me at the Great Wall and asked, very politely, if she could have her picture taken with Patrick, she seemed both shocked and deflated when I snapped, "No!"

"I can't?" she said, shrinking back and sounding confused.

But Mr. Li said our experience "does kind of reflect some problems that China will have as they deal with cultural diversity, pluralism and tolerance. In China, differences are defined largely by ethnicity, he said. Han Chinese account for 93 percent of the 1.3 billion people; more than 50 other ethnic minority groups — all of which we might lump together as Asian — make up the rest. In terms of race, he said, "China is not like the melting pot that the United States is."

The sheer density of the population may also give the Chinese a very different sense of personal space. "Personal spaces overlap," said Stuart Strother, an economist who has lived in China and who wrote a travel guide, "Living Abroad in China," with his wife, Barbara.

"It's not that you don't have any personal space, but I may have to share your space," he said. Perhaps as a consequence, Dr. Strother said, pointing at and touching people, even total strangers, is not considered rude.

He added that Chinese society emphasizes a collective mentality over an individualistic one. "They have an idea that we're all family," he said, noting that children in China are routinely told to address relative strangers as uncle or aunt. So picking up someone else's child, even if you don't know them, is not considered inappropriate.

He said that when he and his wife lived in Shanghai with their 2-year-old twin sons in 2000, local Chinese would often try to scoop them up in their arms. "A pair of two-year-old blond kids can be hard to resist," he said.

Shuhan Wang, the executive director for Chinese language initiatives at the Asia Society, said that while Chinese people were generally reserved with strangers and might not initiate conversations with adults they don't know, the rules for children are different. Children are all affectionately called "little brother" and "little sister," she said, and, quoting what she said was a Chinese saying — "You treat other people's elderly as if they are your own, and you treat other people's children as if they are your own" — she added, "So in a way, everybody in society is extended family."

All the attention had nonetheless made my children uneasy. I didn't have the benefit of experts to consult while I was in China, but I felt it was important to tell my children and their cousins, who are also mixed race, to expect more staring and touching. Some Chinese had never seen anyone who was multiracial and they were simply curious, I told them. I suggested that they should stare back and make a silly face at anyone who made them feel uncomfortable — an idea that made them laugh. They tried it a couple of times, too. A few Chinese on the receiving end made their own funny faces in return; a few others turned tail and left us alone.

My husband, Chris Langston, was surprised but relieved that he didn't stick out. At first, he also found the focus on our children unsettling. But when a young woman came up to him in Xian, midway through our trip, smiling broadly and gesturing that she wanted to pick up our 3-year-old daughter, Katie, and be photographed with her, he agreed. The woman's sheer delight as she gave Katie a final hug was palpable and infectious.

So we took no offense when a group of ladies pointed and giggled at my children and their cousins in the Shanghai airport. One woman was practically giddy when she spotted Katie and said to her friends: "Look at the smallest one. She's so adorable, let's take her home!"

I laughed and said to her, "Yes, let's take her home."

The above passage describes how the author goes through a process of cross-cultural understanding: from reading too much into or misunderstanding the local gaze to coming to understand it from the Chinese perspective. There are five instances of the mutual gaze depicted: (a) a woman encountered in the Forbidden City staring at the author's younger son,

which invites the author's gaze in return; (b) a woman encountered at the Great Wall seeking a photo with the author's older son, prompting a furious shout by the author, which is a form of open resistance (Doğan, 1989) from the tourist; (c) another woman encountered at the Great Wall requesting to have a photo taken with the younger son, which causes the author's open resistance again by snapping "no"; (d) a young woman they met in Xi'an seeking a photo with the youngest daughter, which obtains adaptation and cooperation from the author's American husband; and (e) the author appearing to have adapted to a woman in Shanghai gazing at her youngest daughter. Concerning the local gaze, it remains roughly the same, with the visual interaction as the primary mode being supplemented by some other means. It can be a comparatively passive gaze with only the visual mode of interaction utilized, e.g. (a); it can be a visual interaction going together with a verbal exclamation, e.g. (e); it can be a verbal request for a photo while the visual interaction is implied, e.g. (c); or it can be a request for a photo via sign language, e.g. (d); and it can also be a more aggressive local gaze, in which both gazing and touching are involved, e.g. (b). As regards the tourist gaze, the author has undergone somewhat of a transformation in her reaction to the Chinese local gaze. At first, she fails to adapt to the Chinese local gazes. She gazes back by maintaining their boundary, as seen in (a), or she demonstrates her open resistance to the local gaze, as witnessed in (b) and (c). She also suggests to the children some form of reaction to the Chinese gaze that is close to deliberate boundary maintenance (cf. Doğan, 1989) by gazing back and making funny faces. Probably due to her own ethnic background (being a Chinese American), the author shows more cross-cultural awareness than other travel writers by seeking consultation from experts on Chinese reactions to her children, although all the experts she consults are based in America. In addition, the author also attempts to avoid sounding ethnocentric by acknowledging that mixed-race children like her kids and her nephew elicit gazes and queries as well in a multicultural center such as New York City. Finally, the author and her husband have come to adjust to the Chinese locals' adoring gazes at her children, which are not read as a threat or danger any longer. Thus, the author self-presents as having taken a step forward in the intercultural interaction, hence with flexibility and dynamics, while the Chinese women depicted remain fixed in the image of 'foreigners' overtly and curiously reacting to the presence of the author's mixed-race children. And, not surprisingly, all the Chinese people presented as being engaged in such local gazes are women, who are often stereotypically associated with innocence and tameness (Thurlow, et al., 2005). Anyway, the local gazers are expected to be safe and unthreatening to the tourist, even though they may cause discomfort or unease in this example as well as in example 5.35.

One episode in the above textual representation of the Chinese gazers is reproduced in the accompanying photo of this travelogue:

Figure 5.6: AN UNUSUAL SIGHT A woman in Beijing paused long enough to get a good look at the writer's children, who are half Chinese and half-white (Toy, 2008, May 4).

This picture features a Chinese woman staring at the travel writer's children. As regards the pattern of representation, the image involves a reactional process (see section 2.2.3.2), in which the vector is formed by the direction of the look of the reacter, i.e. the Chinese woman, and her turning head. The writer's children thus become the phenomenon being gazed at, and the whole visual proposition, i.e. the woman gazing at the writer's children, is turned into the phenomenon being observed by the author/photographer. Considering the pattern of interaction, this picture presents an image of 'offer' in terms of the system of contact, featuring no engagement between the participant and the viewer. Being shown in a long shot, the participant is viewed from an impersonal social distance. Further, the use of an oblique angle and a slightly high angle respectively expresses detachment and conveys power over the represented participant. Indeed, as told from the caption of this picture, the Chinese woman gazer, even though she is depicted as observing the author's children, is actually objectified into "AN UNUSAL SIGHT" herself, with the capitalization emphasis added.

5.3.4 Chinese people engaging in reciprocal interaction

In the previous sections, Chinese people are mainly depicted interacting with travel writers through mutual gazes. There are a couple of instances, however, in two travelogues of the last decade (Evans, 2004, April 25; Gross, 2010, December 24) that represent Chinese people engaging in relatively more complex reciprocal interaction with the authors. In this situation, the travel writers may seek deeper communication with the locals for a taste of

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'authenticity.' The Chinese locals represented in these cases, however, remain as 'foreign' as those discussed previously.

In a travelogue titled "Foreigners in the Land of Their Birth" (Evans, 2004, April 25), the writer takes her two adoptive Chinese daughters to China, hoping the trip will help them foster a genuine feeling of connection with the land of their birth. They soon tire of playing tourists and decide to venture into the countryside with their friend:

5.37 As we walked down the dirt path, a woman came along, dragging a load of dried cotton stalks. She smiled broadly, plucked a few remaining cotton balls off the stalks and gave them to the girls. Then we walked past the rows of bok choy, past mounds of hay, to find a water buffalo and her baby standing tethered and placid.

It was like stepping back a century. The houses plastered with mud, the fields watered by hand. Our children were enchanted.

A row of plucked and gutted ducks, rubbed with red chili, had been hung to dry on a fence in the sun. Dogs sat on the stoops, and people strolled out to greet us with curiosity. In the inner courtyards of the houses, chickens were housed in coops, and a pig snorted and came up to rub its nose on the bars of a small enclosure. Inside, furnishings were minimal -- a stove, a table. On one wall were family photos, flanked by a photo of a young Mao Zedong, cigarette dangling from his lips.

People in the area, we were told, get by on $1,000 or less a year. And children who grow up here aren't likely to stay. They head for the cities where there is work.

As we passed one doorway, an older woman motioned for us to come inside. Her face was deeply etched, lines following the contours of her smile. She was small and agile. I could not have guessed her age -- she could have been 50 or 80.

Taking Kelly by the hand, she led us into a bare room with a cement floor. She pulled out small wooden stools for us, and we all sat beaming at each other, wondering what was next. She held a hand at the level of Kelly's head and then held up fingers. Seven? Eight? We worked out the children's ages with our fingers. She gestured at me, and then at the girls, talking all the while, a sweet quizzical look on her face. I think she was wondering how we'd gotten ourselves together into a family. But when I tried to tell her, my night-school Mandarin fell apart. It didn't seem to matter.

"Where do you sleep?" Kelly asked the woman, trying to make herself understood by folding her hands and tilting her head on them. The woman smiled and motioned with her hand to a place over her shoulder.

THEN she leaned forward and put her hands on my knee and made the gesture of taking chopsticks from bowl to mouth. Have you eaten, she asked, and she

made it clear she wanted to feed us. "Yes, yes, eat," she said in Chinese, and rose as if to bustle off to the kitchen.

I wanted to stay, but outside the door I could see our friends waiting by the minivan. So we got up, saying we were sorry, that we had already eaten, and that we had to get back to the city. We thanked her as profusely as we could. As we reluctantly walked away, my daughters said their goodbyes over and over, in two languages, to the woman and the water buffalo.

"That woman was so nice," my older daughter said, bouncing along in the car. "She was really nice, but her hands were rough. She didn't seem like she had much money."

"She was like a grandma," Franny said. "She liked us."

Whatever memories might eventually fade, like the calligraphy on the sidewalk, this visit had touched some deeper place. As we bumped along, Kelly clutched her cotton ball, staring back at the village. (Evans, 2004, April 25)

The above passage involves an obvious intrusion into the local people's lives in an unspecified "old village," which is explicitly constructed as timeless and poverty-stricken through the author's metaphorically referring to her entrance into the village as "stepping back a century" and her stressing the old-fashioned houses and the manual labor in the fields (see section 4.2 for the theme of timelessness). In a sense, the American visitors are represented as engaging in a touristic experience that goes beyond the mere tourist gaze, for the writer mentions the locals' standard of living and the unlikelihood of the younger generation's staying in the village. Presumably the author could only be informed of this through communicating with the locals with the help of their friend who is assumed to be Chinese. However, there is no trace of such interactions presented, and even the information source remains unidentified, as seen in the clause "we were told." Thus, the author's quotation of this information serves only to confirm the image of timelessness and poverty that is projected onto the village at the beginning. While this implied interaction with the locals is minimized in the text, the other instances of interacting with the villagers are included, which, however, all contribute to the construction of the village as underdeveloped and static.

In all, there are three encounters represented between the local villagers and the American family. At first, there is a mutual gaze involving a woman who offers cotton balls to the girls. Then, the villagers are represented as curiously reacting to the visit of the American family, which can be read as a reverse gaze. Their last encounter with the locals involves more than the mutual gaze, because an older woman is seen very actively engaging with the visitors. There are five instances of interaction depicted in the last encounter, which

involves primarily sign language (gesturing), some verbal communication, and touching. First, there are four instances that can be counted as reciprocal interaction engaging both sides, such as the communication about the girls' age, the formation of the author's family, the woman's sleeping place, and the woman's offer to feed her guests. While the woman's questions are resolved through gesturing in the first and the third instances, the writer presents herself as trying in vain to answer the woman's question in the second instance due to her deficient knowledge of Mandarin. This mild self-mockery, however, does not present the writer as incompetent as much as indicating that her poor Mandarin doesn't seem to constitute an issue for her because their encounter with this woman is meant to be as transient and fleeting as any other touristic experiences. Moreover, the mild self-deprecation of her Mandarin gives the appearance of self-reflexivity, a crucial skill for intercultural communication (cf. Lisle, 2006, p. 106). It is also notable in this instance that the depiction of the woman's facial expression as "sweet quizzical" actually corresponds to the stereotypical view of Chinese as smiling but inscrutable (cf. Pennycook, 2002). In the fourth instance, the reciprocal interaction involves both verbal and non-verbal communication, even though the message is mostly communicated through the woman's body language.

Eventually, the mutual interaction ends abruptly when the writer and the girls say goodbye to the woman, without the latter's involvement at all. All of a sudden, the woman is completely silenced, in sharp contrast to the previous imaging of her as "talking all the while." She is not, nonetheless, totally excluded from the scene, by being presented together with the buffalo as the passive recipients of the visitors' thank-you and good-bye. Thus, this woman is objectified and Othered as a result, being treated simply as a local sign of authenticity on the same level as the buffalo. Indeed, in two encounters, the villagers are presented in the same context as animals, namely the villagers and some domestic animals, and the woman and the buffalo. Thus we see the colonial rhetorical strategies of naturalization and debasement (see section 2.3.2) working here: the locals are presented at the same level of animals (see example 5.19 for similar imaging), hence viewed as the inferior Other that is dichotomized from the writing Self, who is presented as a keen observer surveying the village and its people, as well as her adoptive Chinese daughters.

Furthermore, it remains doubtful if the writer's Chinese daughters have developed a genuine feeling of connection with the old woman and the village, even though both girls have acknowledged the woman's friendliness. On the one hand, the older daughter finds the old woman more a 'foreigner' who is living a life vastly different from her American life, by commenting on the woman's physical features ("rough hands") and imagining her financial

circumstances ("She didn't seem like she had much money"). Hence, the girl's later action of clutching the cotton ball and staring back at the village can hardly be read as a clue of her attachment to the place and the people. On the other hand, the younger daughter seems to find a feeling of connection with the old woman, by comparing the latter to "grandma," a term of endearment. It is uncertain, nevertheless, if this kind of feeling of attachment derived from a brief and transient contact will soon fade away as quickly as the water calligraphy they have enjoyed at the beginning (Evans, 2004, April 25).

While the above example features local-visitor interaction as going beyond the mutual gaze, it is still restricted to the mode of sign language which is complemented with sporadic language use. Occasionally, the mutual gaze involves more participation from both sides and the visual interaction can lead to deeper-level communication so that they know more about each other. For example, in a travelogue titled "On a people's train from Urumqi to Beijing" (Gross, 2006, August 2), the author presents himself as increasingly involved in interacting with his fellow passengers:

> 5.38   Early the next day, as passengers padded about in rubber sandals and sipped their morning cups of tea, my bunk slowly became a zoo. People would seek me out: the children to stare at this rare blue-eyed traveler in their midst; the adults to practice English and meet a real life American. With an Urumqi high-school teacher, I griped about the problems that both China and the United States share, like housing, health care and politicians. With An-ran, a gap-toothed 8-year-old comedian, I sang Chinese nursery rhymes. And when people asked why I was in China, I invented a story about how I'd saved money, quit my job and was circling the globe alone — thus reinforcing the stereotype of Americans as rich and indolent. (My countrymen, I apologize.)
>
> By afternoon, everyone was comfortable enough with my presence that I could barely wander the corridors without being asked to join a game of cards, or sit on a bunk and listen to a Uighur man strum energetic folk songs on his two-string guitar. The 48 hours went by quickly. There was always something happening, whether it was the Dushanbe shoe salesman who came by to chat, a toddler to exchange funny faces with, or the 20-minute station stops, when half the train seemed to rush outside to buy some strange local melon.

In this passage, the local-visitor interaction is presented as developing from the local gaze to reciprocal interaction between the Chinese passengers and the travel writer. As a result, different modes of interaction are involved. It can be simply a local gaze, e.g. children staring at the writer out of curiosity. The local gaze may also be accompanied by verbal communication, e.g. adults come "to practice English and meet a real life American." This author seems to be more at ease with the local gaze, which is not represented causing him discomfort or unease as that discussed in section 5.3.3. While the children gazers are

stereotypically associated with innocence and tameness (cf. Thurlow, et al., 2005, p. 8), the adults are presented showing their enthusiasm for learning English, the language of power and prestige (see Chapter Six).

The local gaze is then developed into two-sided interactions: it can be a mutual gaze, e.g. exchanging funny faces with a toddler; it can engage the sense of hearing, e.g. listening to a Uighur man playing folk songs; it may involve the sense of hearing as well as verbal communication, e.g. singing nursery songs with a young boy; or it can be more complicated communication about a range of topics, e.g. being asked to join card games, chatting with a shoe salesman, talking about problems shared by China and the US with a high school teacher, and inventing a story about why he was in China. The last instance is a typical example of Othering, because the author wouldn't have lied to the Chinese passengers (and admit it freely) if he respected them or considered them equals. Interestingly, the writer apologizes to their fellow Americans for perpetuating a stereotype but not to his fellow-travelers for lying to them, while in the usual scheme of things, lying is considered a greater transgression than perpetuating stereotypes. These Chinese people, therefore, are not depicted as equals of the author, but remain the 'strangers,' the Other in the end, as also seen in the author's assumption that many of them were eager to get hold of certain "strange" melons at long stops.

This Othering of Chinese people is further illustrated in the accompanying photos:

Figure 5.7: A Uighur man plays folk songs on the train (Gross, 2006, August 2).

Figure 5.8: An-ran, comedian and card shark, shows his hand on the T70 train from Urumqi to Beijing (Gross, 2006, August 2).

The two photos present two of the individual characters mentioned in the text, who more or less serve as entertainers for the American journalist. Considering the patterns of representation, both photos involve narrative processes: Figure 5.7 portrays an elderly Uighur

man playing folk songs and Figure 5.8 depicts the boy named An-ran displaying cards, the only Chinese passenger identified by the first name, hence by informal nomination, in the text, as will be discussed in section 5.3.6. As to the system of contact, Figure 5.7 presents an image of passivated 'offer,' while in Figure 5.8 the young boy is seen having direct eye contact with the viewer, which, however, cannot be read as an image of 'demand.' Concerning the system of social distance, the Uyghur man in Figure 5.7 is captured in a long shot, hence indicating impersonal distance, while the boy in Figure 5.8 is captured in a medium shot, suggesting social rather than personal relations between him and the viewer. Lastly, considering the system of attitude, the image in Figure 5.7 is portrayed from an oblique angle, implying detachment of the photographer from the represented participant, whereas the boy in Figure 5.8 is photographed from a slightly oblique angle suggesting more or less detachment between the photographer and the boy and also from a high angle indicating power for the image-producer or the viewer. Therefore, these three systems interact to create a subtle relation between the photographer or the viewer and the represented participants, while the former is the observer and the latter are merely objects for tourist contemplation.

It should be noted that in the above discussions Chinese people are not presented as equals of the travel writers either, even though the two sides may engage in reciprocal interaction. There seems to be one exceptional case, however, in the travelogue titled "Lost in China" (Gross, 2010, December 24) that presents a Shanghai man who serves as the author's travel companion and who can be viewed as an equal of the author to some extent, as seen in the following extract:

> 5.39   Finally, I flagged down a taxi and went to the nearest light-rail station, knowing that, when I returned to the hostel and people there asked what I'd done all day, I'd have no clue how to explain myself.
> Luckily, one of the hostel's guests understood. He was David Wu, a Shanghai native who had spent the last decade working in Japan and was now traveling overland to India and Nepal. In some ways, David was as out of place as I was. Chongqing's fiery food didn't always please his Shanghainese stomach, and the local dialect was a mystery. The Three Gorges Dam — whose construction on the nearly 4,000-mile-long Yangtze was responsible for much of Chongqing's growth — gnawed at him. He claimed that it interrupted the flow of qi energy throughout China. "It's the dragon river," he said, using the Yangtze's nickname, "and they cut it in half."
> David also shared my yearning for unpredictable adventure, whether it was a spontaneous excursion to the neighborhood of Sichuan Fine Arts Institute, where we admired the artfully graffitied buildings on "Doodle Street," or an attempt to see how far we could travel in one day yet remain within Chongqing proper.

In this passage, David Wu is depicted in terms of his life experiences and is represented as a more individualized character than those discussed previously. In addition, he

is presented as being similarly "out of place" in Chongqing as the author is. Like the latter, he is longing for "unpredictable adventure." Further, he is depicted keeping the author company in their later jaunts. From this perspective, Wu is presented as more or less an equal of the author. Nevertheless, even though the author mentions that he is a fish out of water in Chongqing as Wu is, he actually presents himself as different from the latter: the author is portrayed as a flexible traveler who can enjoy the hot food and who can discover the "close-held secrets" of Chongqing by using his "dicey" Mandarin only occasionally (see example 6.41 for more discussion about this). By contrast, Wu, despite being a Shanghai native, is represented as a 'foreigner' who doesn't fit in with the current surroundings, including food, language and the Three Gorges Dam. Further, the author depicts himself feeling "embraced" by Chongqing in the end (Gross, 2010, December 24), compared with Wu who feels like an outsider all the time. Thus, instead of being presented as an equal of the author in a real sense, Wu serves more as a foil to bring out a more flexible image of the author as a world traveler.

5.3.5 Chinese people as the Other showing excessive friendliness and enthusiasm

While Chinese people are mostly represented as overtly and curiously reacting to the presence of American visitors in the previous sections, they are at times depicted as showing exaggerated enthusiasm toward the latter. Chinese people represented thus can be hosts extending hospitality to visitors, as also discussed in section 5.2.3, but they are depicted as excessively hospitable in this case, or they can be total strangers who are extremely eager to make friends with Americans. Thus, they are represented as the Other of Oriental inferiority by the same token as those discussed previously. It is noted that the enthusiasm manifested by Chinese people toward American visitors has not decreased in the *NYT* travelogues over the thirty-year period under examination.

Let us consider an example from the 1980s first:

5.40   We drank tea again at the source, Dragon Well commune to the south of the lake, where an entrepreneurial peasant family captured us. They improvised a tea table by the back door of the Government teahouse and poured on the ground the first two infusions of tea from our cups. "Third is best," the woman said, as she weighed out a cattie (slightly more than a pound) of individually dried leaves, packed them in a cardboard box and released us unharmed. (Fussell, 1988, March 13)

The above extract concerns the travel writer's touristic experience in Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang province. The Chinese locals are depicted as "entrepreneurial" business people trying to grab customers at the back of the Government teahouse. Again, the author employs humor as in example 5.34, although this time at the expense of herself, who is

"captured" and "released" as if she were a hapless fish out of water. While it sounds as if the American visitors had been taken by force, they are actually treated very warmly: being entertained by the process of making tea and being presented with a packet of tea leaves. Thus, as in example 5.34, the humor makes the writer look good but also appeals to the Western reader by depicting an activity that is (implied to be) subversive of the Chinese government as represented by the "Government teahouse." It is worth noting that no reciprocal interaction is depicted, though; the family and the woman host are represented demonstrating the process of tea infusion to the visitors and hence constructed as performers in a sense (see section 4.5.2.1 for discussion on cultural performers). On the other hand, the visitors are portrayed as the detached gazers of the tea infusion and the passive recipients of the gift pack, not engaging with the hosts at all. The last sentence also seems to suggest their feeling as one of being overwhelmed by the excessive enthusiasm of their Chinese hosts, who nonetheless turn out to be harmless. This encounter with the Chinese locals is merely one episode of the writer's tour of Hangzhou, in which the hosts are seen as the featureless Others instead of individuals to whom the writer feels obliged to return their hospitality (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 143).

While Chinese people are constructed as the over-friendly Other in a relatively implicit way in the above example, they can be explicitly represented as showing utmost warmth and hospitality, as seen in an example from the 1990s:

5.41   We stop for lunch at a stall amid the free market. A lanky woman in pigtails deftly shaves rice noodles from a giant block of dough into cauldrons of hot broth. Her fresh dumplings stuffed with pork and chives are even more delicate. The driver, Bright Yellow and I gobble up three platefuls heaped with a sauce of crushed chili pods spooned from a gallon jar. This is the closest I'll come during my visit to the hearty, overheated dishes successfully marketed in the United States as Hunan cuisine. And the vendor is so thrilled by the presence of an American that she refuses to let us pay. We leave her giggling and waving, and then returning to her eternal stewardship over steam. (Krich, 1991, January 20)

In the above extract, the travel writer depicts a service encounter with a food vendor, which is characterized with the writer's sensual experience of taste and the overflowing generosity and hospitality of the woman, while no conspicuous two-sided communication is represented. Surprisingly, compared with the woman who is described as "thrilled" to see an American, the author and his servers (tour guide and driver) are presented showing no response or reaction to the woman vendor's generous offer. If the writer sounds pleased in his portrayal of the dumplings, his representation of their departure from the woman turns out to

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be completely unmoved and detached. The woman is thus constructed as a fixed, inferior Other, as seen in "returning to her eternal stewardship over steam," whereas the writer remains the mobile, superior Self who continues his journey. Indeed, the dichotomy between American travel journalists and over-friendly Chinese people always persists, even in the context of closer interaction being involved, as seen in another example from the 1990s:

> 5.42 The Uighurs I met were extremely friendly, perhaps because I was an obvious foreigner. Maksoud, a squat blacksmith in his 30's, took a break from his work for four hours and showed me around the Sunday market. Maksoud spoke easily only in Uighur, a dialect of Turkish, but he knew a bit of Chinese and we managed to communicate in that language. (Only a few merchants and people in the tourist trade speak any English at all.) The only problem was that Maksoud was too polite: he kept buying me a sweet ice concoction that I felt obliged to sip, although I was apprehensive about anything made with the local water. Appropriately apprehensive, I soon discovered.
>
> Maksoud led me down a narrow street and turned to the right along an even narrower mud-walled alley, through a door and announced: "This is my home." In his living room, he seated me in a place of honor on the carpet-covered kang, the brick platform that in winter is heated by a fire underneath.
>
> "Have some food, have some drink," he urged. His wife brought refreshments and gave them to him to serve to me. He poured weak tea into a stained bowl, filling it halfway, and then added sugar -- nine lumps -- until the tea was ready to spill over the sides. He also laid out a local version of the bagel, which I munched on to drive away the sweetness of the tea. Maksoud kept plying me with bagels and tea, and it was more than an hour before I shook hands and strolled back out to the bazaar. (Kristof, 1994, May 15)

In this example, an "extremely friendly" image of the Uyghurs is presented, with a Uyghur blacksmith named Maksoud being selected as a representative of his community in Kashgar. As in example 5.33, the label 'foreigner' is not a Self-attribution, but an Other-attribution. The writer constructs his 'foreignness' not from his own perspective as a traveler in China but finds it sufficiently interesting to report that the Uyghur man finds him as such (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 141). Moreover, the writer hints that Uyghurs are particularly friendly to foreigners only. Although Maksoud is described as not having good language skills, the writer doesn't find this a problem, for he indicates his competence in the Chinese language, of which his Uyghur host knows a bit. What the author manifestly represents as a "problem" is the over-friendliness of Maksoud, for the latter's continuous buying him a strange mixture of drink makes him uncomfortable due to his concern about the local water quality. The writer's hygiene concern is also manifested in his depiction of the "stained bowl," similar to the concern shown over the Tibetan way of preparing food in example 5.24. In fact, compared with the writer who enjoyed the served food in example 5.41,

the writer here considers the hospitality offered by his Uyghur host an imposition, as seen in his presentation of the "weak tea" besides the "stained bowl" and his emphasis on the amount of sugar ("nine lumps"). Mentioning the time during which hospitality was received as "over an hour" further enhances the sense that the experience is unpleasant to the writer. In the end the writer sounds as if he has finally managed to free himself from the imposition of extreme hospitality, and he feels relieved to be able to go back to his mastery of the place, as seen in his exclusion of Maksound in the latter part of the last sentence. The writer, instead of establishing a bond with his Uyghur host, sees the local's attempts to make him feel welcome as a burden.

Indeed, it is rare for some sort of friendship or even mutual recognition to develop between travel writers and Chinese locals. The following passage provides another example:

5.43   As Dann and the middle-aged woman said goodbye, an aged, slim man in slacks and a pale green crocheted sweater-vest squeezed into the compartment and greeted us in English. The man's watery eyes were packed with years of 5 a.m. wake-ups, and his hair was the color of the moon. There was a gaping space between his striped button-down shirt and his long, thin neck, and his brown pants hung loosely off his telephone-pole legs. His deep face folds spread into a warm smile as he introduced himself as "Lin, a silly old pig."

Lin was a human whirlwind. He was laughing at his own sporadic English, while he threw his hands around with a crazed fervor, declaring his love for Chinese astrology and "funny" words like "horsefly." Within five minutes of our exchanging names, he was bestowing life details upon us, giving us answers to questions we hadn't asked. He told us that his wife had died six years earlier, and that he had had "200 dreams of her since." He was en route to his hometown from a visit to his daughter, a professor. His typical mornings were spent in his local town square flying kites, he said, adding that "many old Chinese loving fly kites because it can take up much time, and its cost is free."

Lin talked about his afternoons spent studying language and listening to English on the radio. He was speaking with the speed and enthusiasm of a man full of words, as though he had been on a deserted island for months. In spite of his self-declared loneliness, he had the most contagious and constant laugh I had ever heard. We could not help but join in with him as he became hysterical on hearing English phrases like "see you later, alligator."

Aaron and I got some explanations of Chinese characters over dinner in the fluorescent-lighted, smoky meal car, as men with long pinky nails sat at the table next to us eating hastily and spitting their chicken bones onto the table. While darkness set in over the farmers bent low at work in the green fields outside our window, we talked about American and Chinese home life, and flipped through a sauce-stained newspaper. Lin translated the headlines. We looked through a colorful all-China travel section and asked Lin about Nanjing, the week's featured destination.

After hours of conversation, as the lights were being dimmed in the slim corridor before bedtime, Lin gave us hand-drawn sketches of Chinese flowers and asked for my e-mail address. […] I wrote down my address and handed it to Lin.

At 5 a.m. the next day, when he saw us off at the Huang Shan train station, I told him that it was nice to have met, and that his high-pitched, boyish laugh was the most endearing I had ever heard. His face expanded in a smile as he said, "I am on the Internet soon. I will bother you many!"

In the seven months since that morning, Lin and I have been writing about once a week. He addresses his messages to me "Dear American daughter." I have helped him with bits of English and tried to be sincere in answers to questions about American life; in turn he has bestowed his wisdom as only a stranger, a wise old foreign stranger, could. In the ways of love, Lin says: "Try to be nice to each other is easy before marriage. It is difficult to respect to each other after marriage and all life. In Chinese, we say that a couple must respect to each other like noble guests."

Regarding cross-cultural relations, Lin says: "To you, I haven't any secret I can't tell. If only everyone all over could be like this friendship and not consider age or homeland, but only character!"

Commenting on the human condition, Lin says: "When I walk in the street, I like to see children in the public, especially when they are with their parents. Every child looks like the parent. From a single cell to a human being; it is the greatest biological engineering indeed."

When I hear about Lin's kite flying in the town square, his games with children in the park, his lunches of bamboo and boned meat, I am transported from New York back to my short trip in China, and I see the storefronts, the chubby-cheeked children, the countryside that passed outside the window of the K45. I think of all the people I have met during past travels and never contacted again. I am grateful that this time I broke one of my own cardinal road rules and exchanged addresses with someone met in transit. Lin and I have stayed in touch, and far beyond the train tracks, my Chinese journey continues. (Adler, 2002, November 24)

This passage represents the writer's encounter with a Chinese old man named Lin on the train from Beijing to Huangshan Mountain in Anhui province. Similarly to those presented in the previous examples, the old man is depicted as showing boundless enthusiasm and interest to Americans. Even though Lin is represented as a much more individualized character than those discussed previously, he is all the same depicted as a 'foreigner,' an Other from the standpoint of the writer. The theme of 'foreignness' is constructed through the writer's depiction of the old man's talking and laughing as well as his email messages. In particular, he is portrayed as a very talkative person with an infectious laugh. On the one hand, he impresses the writer as very quick to open up about his life details, no matter whether the author and her friend are prepared to listen or not, which suggests an imposition

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similar to Maksoud in example 5.42. His extremely talkative mood even reminds the writer of the image of a castaway; the old man is hence viewed as strikingly different from normal people. On the other hand, his laugh is depicted as so "contagious" that the writer and her friend cannot help but "join in with him." Specifically, the depiction of his "hysterical" reaction to hearing the English phrase "see you later, alligator" casts him as infantile and odd. Finally, Lin's email messages are quoted as proof for the writer's observation of him as a "wise old foreign stranger."

Of course, Lin is treated specially by the writer and their relationship is more meaningful than any other interaction between travel writers and locals in my corpus. Even so, their relationship can hardly be counted as an equal one. Compared with Lin's enormous enthusiasm, the writer appears rational and detached. In their email communication, Lin is described as addressing the writer as "Dear American daughter." The writer doesn't seem to share the old man's feelings toward her, nevertheless; she views him more as an exotically interesting stranger, in her words, "a wise old foreign stranger" than a real friend, to say nothing of one of her family. Moreover, the writer maintains a sense of superiority over the Chinese old man, by depicting herself as highly mobile, traveling in and out of China, while Lin remains in his place but enables her continued engagement with China.

5.3.6 'Foreignness' as a formal element

In this sub-section, I will examine representations of Chinese people as 'foreigners' from the perspective of the formal strategies that are utilized in different examples, such as reference labels, identification markers, rhetorical devices, and the present tense.

To begin with, the generic reference labels of classification by age and gender contribute to the imaging of Chinese people not only as genericized but also as the powerless and non-threatening Other. For instance, women characters are depicted in examples 5.27, 5.28, 5.29, 5.33, 5.36, 5.37, 5.40, 5.41, and Figure 5.6; old people are presented in examples 5.26, 5.27, 5.28, 5.29, 5.33, 5.43, and Figure 5.7; children are represented in examples 5.27, 5.29, 5.33, 5.38, and Figure 5.8. By contrast, adult men are only represented in examples 5.32, 5.34, and 5.42. Hence an old, feminized, and infantile human landscape is constructed as a result. Also, some reference labels tend to represent Chinese people as generialized individuals and groups. For example, they can be represented through functionalization, e.g. "vendor" in example 5.28, "villagers" in example 5.30, "peasants" in examples 5.30 and 5.31, "teacher" and "comedian" in example 5.38, "chef" in example 5.32, and "blacksmith" in example 5.42, or they can be assimilated into featureless groups through the aggregation

labeling, such as "group" and "gang" in example 5.29, "masses" and "crowds" in example 5.35, or they can be referred to in the most generalized labels "people" and "everyone," as in examples 5.35 and 5.37. Besides, physical identification tends to divert the reader's attention to the social actors' physical characteristics and this is usually done selectively (see section 2.2.3.1), e.g. "bent old men with white skullcaps and craggy faces" in example 5.27, "barefoot" children in example 5.29, "gap-toothed" boy in example 5.38, "lanky" woman "in pigtails" in example 5.41, "slim" old man with "watery eyes," moon-colored hair, "long, thin" neck and "telephone-pole" legs in example 5.43. Meanwhile, some representational choices are intended to impersonalize Chinese people, who are represented through references to something related to them, e.g. the use of instrumentalization--"chopstick" in example 5.28, somatization--"eyes" in example 5.35, metonymic reference--"approving squeals and fruitless efforts at sign-language conversation" in example 5.35, and spatialization--"half the train" in example 5.38. It should be noted that Chinese people of this category may occasionally be nominated, e.g. "An-ran" in example 5.38, "David Wu" in example 5.39, "Maksound" in example 5.42, and "Lin" in example 5.43. As discussed previously, even though these people stand out as more individualized characters, they can hardly be counted as the equals of the travel writers. Thus these nominations mostly serve to add authenticity to the writer's touristic experiences.

Furthermore, the use of some rhetorical devices, especially metaphors, reinforces the imaging of Chinese people as 'foreigners.' For instance, in example 5.35, interestingly, there is an instance of self-objectification of the author by her metaphorical self-reference as "sideshow." This objectifying self-reference, however, ascribes 'foreignness' not to the author and her family but to the Chinese gazers, who find the author's daughter, a normal American little girl, an object of particular interest. Similarly, in example 5.38, the writer's metaphorical reference of his bunk as a "zoo" projects the image of 'foreignness' onto the people who stop by. The Chinese people are represented sufficiently different, hence 'foreign,' from the writer (and his target readers by extension) by showing overt curiosity to the presence of a "normal" American. By comparison, in example 5.43, figurative language is frequently used in describing Lin as a 'foreign stranger': some metaphors are used to portray his physical traits which form an image of an overworked old man, e.g. "The man's watery eyes were packed with years of 5 a.m. wake-ups, and his hair was the color of the moon." Lin is also depicted as an impetuously active person by being metaphorically referred to as "a human whirlwind." Additionally, the metaphorical comparison of Lin's legs to "telephone-pole" sounds like a humiliating comment on the disproportionate size of his legs compared with his "slim" body.

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Further, Lin's self-introduction as "a silly old pig" sounds more like a self-deprecating means to please the Americans. Finally, the caricature of Lin is also brought about by the employment of hyperbole, e.g. he is depicted as gesturing "with a crazed fervor"; he is portrayed as speaking quickly and enthusiastically as if "he had been on a deserted island for months"; he is represented becoming "hysterical" when hearing the English phrase "see you later, alligator."

Finally, the universal present tense is used to foster an atmosphere of timelessness (see also section 4.2), thus adding fixity to the imaging of Chinese people as 'foreigners.' For instance, in example 5.27, while the author's act of surveying people is presented in the past tense, all the people surveyed by him are presented in the present tense, strengthening the construction of the local Uyghurs as timeless. In example 5.28, the *hutong* inhabitants engaging in daily routines are presented in the present tense. Although the instance of mutual gazing is portrayed in the past tense, it is presented as a supporting evidence for the author's conclusive observation about China as unchanged, as indicated in the text. Similarly, the use of the present tense in example 5.29 adds up to the aura of timelessness of the local ethnoscape, and the use of the present tense in example 5.41 reinforces the image of fixity and timelessness constructed for the woman.

5.3.7 Summary

In this section, I have explored the construction of Chinese people as 'foreigners' in interacting with American travel writers. As analyzed in the previous subsections, Chinese people are mostly fixed as passive gazees or gazers across different times under investigation, as illustrated in examples 5.26, 5.27, 5.28, 5.29, 5.30 and Figures 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, while the American visitors are represented as detached observers maintaining their dominance over the mutual gaze. Sometimes, Chinese locals are depicted being more engaged in the mutual gaze, and the American travel writers are mostly entertained or amused by this mutual engagement, especially in the 1990s, as seen in examples 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33, while occasionally the writer may show signs of boundary maintenance, as in example 5.34. At times, Chinese people may be presented as more aggressive gazers, mostly in the last decade. Thus, the local gaze may cause the American visitors discomfort and unease, which, however, may be simply dismissed by the latter, as discussed in example 5.35, or it may cause the travel writer to reflect on the cultural differences and then become more cross-culturally aware by adapting to the local gaze, as seen in example 5.36. Additionally, the mutual gaze is likely to develop into more contact and communication between Chinese natives and American visitors in the last decade, as discussed in examples 5.37 and 5.38, which, nevertheless, turn out to be transient and

fleeting touristic experiences as well. Finally, the local gaze of Chinese is sometimes depicted as that of more admiration than curiosity in the instances of mutual interaction in the thirty years, as seen in examples 5.41, 5.42 and 5.43.

Overall, the more recent the time is, the more instances of interaction in which Chinese people are viewed as 'foreigners' are depicted. Compared with the 1980s when there is only one such representation, the next two decades saw seven and eight representations of this kind respectively. Besides, while depictions of the mutual gaze between American visitors and Chinese natives were mostly featured in the first two decades, in the last decade some instances of deeper-level interaction can be observed. Despite this gradual increase in quantity and depth, the three decades have actually seen Chinese people consistently being cast in an image of foreignness, which nevertheless suggests a tame and safe community at large. This is further demonstrated in the consistent construction of Chinese people as the Other showing excessive friendliness and enthusiasm to American visitors across the three decades. It is the represented Chinese, therefore, that are framed as 'foreigners' but not the American writers. This "foreignness-reversal" (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 140) demonstrates the asymmetrical and unbalanced power relations between travel writers and Chinese natives, with the latter being fixed into certain cultural stereotypes by the former in the *NYT* travelogues of the three decades under analysis. Further, some formal strategies utilized in the representations reinforce the imaging of Chinese people as de-individualized, homogenized, and stereotyped bearers of national characteristics, who are mainly women, old people, and children. By contrast, the American visitors are endowed with much more individuality, such as the bilingual and cross-culturally competent travel journalist in example 5.33, the well-informed writing Self with cross-cultural awareness in example 5.36, the self-reflexive writer in example 5.37, the flexible authors who are highly adaptive to a foreign environment in examples 5.38 and 5.39, the humorous writers who set themselves apart from the local Others in examples 5.34 and 5.40, and the author who is presented as the rational, detached, and mobile, hence a more cosmopolitan and superior Self in examples 5.40, 5.41, 5.42, and 5.43.

5.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated how Chinese people are represented engaging in various types of interaction with travel writers. These people are considered less part of the tourism product (see Chapter Four for discussion on this), being depicted either as helpers who are purely ancillary to the travel writers in both newspapers, or as 'foreigners' encountered by American travel writers of the *NYT*.

On the one hand, when Chinese people are represented as helpers, they take a subservient role in interacting with the travel writers in both newspapers. Further, they are never represented engaging in reciprocal and egalitarian communication with the visitors. On the other hand, whether they are depicted engaging in the mutual gaze or more complex reciprocal interaction in the *NYT*, they are invariably constructed as the powerless or the inferior Other. By contrast, travel writers always maintain the status of dominators or masters of the places they visit in both newspapers, and they usually appear as highly individualized characters in the *NYT*. Thus, the interaction between travel writers and Chinese people is framed in a similar vein as the 'contact' explicated by Pratt (2008; see section 2.3.2), because it also features asymmetrical relations of power between travelers and travelees, between representers and represented.

Moreover, some discursive and rhetorical strategies are manifested in the representations of Chinese people as interactants. To begin with, as in Chapter Four, surveillance remains a primary means for the travel journalists to hold the authority to provide 'knowledge' about the cultural Other, i.e. the helpers who are simultaneously rendered into part of destination scenery in both newspapers and Chinese people who are engaged in the mutual gaze in the *NYT*. Second, the strategy of debasement frames Chinese people, in particular women, old people, and children, as the Other showing improper curiosity and exaggerated friendliness and enthusiasm to the American visitors in the *NYT* throughout the period under investigation. Additionally, the lifestyles of certain ethnic communities are constructed as backward and primitive through the employment of debasement. Third, through the strategy of naturalization, rural people are identified as part of nature, on the same level as animals, and this identification is presented as absolutely 'natural' in the *NYT*. A discursive consistency, therefore, can be seen working across self- and other-representations in my corpus and over the period under investigation. While the *NYT* travel writing demonstrates cultural fixity (Pennycook, 2002) in representing Chinese people in Orientalist terms, the *CD* travelogues exemplify internal Orientalism by following the Orientalist constructs in Othering certain groups of Chinese such as women, old people, and children (see also Chapter Four). Further, there is a discursive consistency between the 2000-2010 representations of Chinese helpers in both newspapers and the 1980s and 1990s representations of Chinese helpers in the *NYT*, as seen in the continuity of the themes in presenting the various roles of helpers. Finally, these is a discursive consistency between constructing Chinese people as 'foreigners' in the contemporary *NYT* travelogues and depicting them as the curious Other since the 16th century and as aliens since the 19th century in Western travel writing (see sections 1.3.2.1, 1.3.2.2, and 1.3.2.4).

Such recycling and reproduction of Orientalism is also manifested in representing the language aspect of the interactions between travel writers and Chinese people. As already noted in the illustrations of this chapter, the travel writers sometimes have touched upon the linguistic practices or language abilities of Chinese people, which constitute the other aspect of intercultural communication in my study (see section 1.1). I will take up this issue further in the next chapter, in which I consider how China's linguistic landscape is represented as another signifier of the Other to be consumed by Western tourists.

Chapter 6:   Linguascaping China

6.1   Introduction

This chapter is aimed to answer my third research question: how is China's linguistic landscape represented in the travel writing of online English-language newspapers? Further, it intends to address my fourth question by tracing the changes of these representations over time. Therefore, in this chapter, I will examine the linguistic aspect of intercultural communication in China's tourism, i.e. how languages in communicative practices and China's linguistic landscape at large are represented as indexes of specific groups of people and China as a specific travel destination, on the basis of the methodological framework of incorporating language ideology into CMDA (see section 2.2.3.3). Specifically, I will focus on identifying how travel writers in the *NYT* and *CD* achieve the ideologization of Chinese languages and English through the three semantic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure (see section 2.2.3.3). This will allow me to uncover how the seemingly simple act of representing languages of communicative practices in tourism discourses contributes to the construction of language ideologies. It will also shed light on how Chinese people and China as a tourist destination are represented because linguistic features are "reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities" (Gal and Irvine 1995, p. 973), and representations of language are seldom only about language per se, but mainly concern the speakers of language and institutions or histories that structure social life (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010, p. 131). First, I will examine how Chinese languages (namely Putonghua or Mandarin Chinese, dialects, and ethnic minority languages) are represented and used in the *NYT* and *CD* travel writings. Next, I will move on to explore the representations of English in China. I will then consider the representations of Chinese languages and English as resources of identity. The following section will present my reflections on the constructed power relations between English and Chinese languages. Finally, I will revisit the ideologization of Chinese languages and English and the constructed power relations between the four language groups. Concerning the data for analysis, I include instances of the use and representation of Chinese languages and English mostly occurring in interactions between travel writers and Chinese people, but exclude instances of interactions in which the original languages of communication are not specified, which have already been discussed in Chapter Five. A CMDA of the data reveals that China is ideologized as a simple (i.e. lacking in complexity), exotic, and inferior Other through four pervasive topics: reduced linguistic diversity, incomprehensible Chinese languages, lack of English, and improper uses of English.

6.2   Representations of Chinese languages

In the *NYT* and *CD*, Chinese languages have been represented to index a relatively homogeneous and exotic Other, with China's linguistic diversity being rendered almost invisible and snippets of Chinese languages being constructed as icons of exoticity.

6.2.1   China's linguistic diversity simplified

Overall, the uses and representations of Chinese languages in my data are fairly limited: Mandarin Chinese, ethnic minority languages, and dialects are generally toned down or silenced in the two newspapers. This type of under-coverage matches Cronin's (2000) saying, "sightseeing is the world with the sound turned off" (p. 82). Certainly, this can partly be explained by the short duration of the tours, which are commonly a couple of days at a destination; it may also be due to the linguistic profile of the travel writers and the targeted readership. The absence of Chinese languages in most touristic experiences, however, becomes noticeable and significant because Othering of a destination can be achieved by lack of attention to the local languages and their relegation to mere backdrop (Jaworski et al., 2003). In order to investigate how the simplified linguistic Other is constructed, it is of necessity to provide an overview of the linguistic diversity and practice in China first.

6.2.1.1 Linguistic diversity in China

In this subsection, I will discuss some evidences for the linguistic diversity in China, not only of a variety of ethnic languages and dialects, but also of their relationships with Putonghua, i.e. Standard Modern Chinese, also known as Mandarin Chinese, in theory and practice.

China is a country characterized by ethnic and linguistic diversity. China officially recognizes 56 distinct ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups in its citizenry, and only one of these is Han Chinese and the other 55 are minorities. Of course, Han Chinese are overwhelmingly greater in number than all of the minorities combined (Ramsey, 1987, p. 157). According to the famous Chinese linguist Zhou Youguang, the 56 ethnic groups use over 80 languages (Z. Yuan, March 10, 2008). The number of Chinese languages remains nevertheless controversial, for according to Ethnologue there are 293 living languages in China, with 292 indigenous languages and 1 extinct language (Jurchen) ("Languages of China, " 2009). In general, Chinese languages can be classified into five families: more than 40 languages belong to the Sino-Tibetan family, 19 to the Altaic family, 13 to the Austronesian family, three to the Austro-Asiatic family, and two to

the Indo-European family (White, 2009, p. 48). In addition, some languages, such as Korean and Gin, need to be further studied before their genealogies are fully understood.

Chinese minorities are officially encouraged to preserve their own languages and cultures, even though Putonghua is the official national language. The equality of all ethnic languages (including Hanyu [Chinese]) is enshrined as "every ethnic group has the freedom to use and develop its language and writing systems and to maintain or reform its customs and religion" (The PRC Constitution, as cited in M. Zhou, 2004, p. 80). There is a disparity, however, between constitutionally guaranteed minority language rights and the actual language rights enjoyed by minorities (M. Zhou, 2004). On the one hand, equality of use between Chinese and minority languages has not been fully practiced nationally, despite considerable efforts made to ensure the minority languages rights. The situation has been less satisfactory locally and even worse at the prefectural and county level (M. Zhou, 2004). On the other hand, the same relationship is found among minority languages. China's ethnic minority languages are allocated to a three-tier categorization according to "its community's threat, real or perceived, to the state in relation to the territorial integrity and national unity of the PRC" (M. Zhou, 2004, p. 82). Thus there can hardly be equality in practice between the first/second-tier minority languages and minority languages with no official status (M. Zhou, 2004, p. 86). However, the general point is that the Chinese linguistic landscape is dominated by the coexistence of Chinese and minority languages.

The other aspect of China's linguistic diversity is evidenced in the diversity of Chinese itself. The number of Chinese dialects is also controversial, as in the case of ethnic languages. According to the renowned Chinese linguist Shuxiang Lu (1980, as cited in W. S.-Y. Wang, 1996, p. 236), Chinese dialects can be too numerous to count if the criterion of distinction is pronunciation, or they can be hundreds or even a thousand or two if the phonological system is considered. But if the criterion is based on a handful of important characters (*tedian*), there would be only around ten dialects. A popular classification of Chinese dialects into seven general groups (Yuan, 1983, as cited in Norman, 1988, p.181) is presented as follows:

- Mandarin (dialects used north of the Yangtze River)
- Wu (dialects used in Jiangsu, Shanghai, and Zhejiang, south of the Yangtze River)
- Xiang (dialects of central and southwestern Hunan)
- Gan (dialects in Jiangxi and the eastern part of Hunan)
- Kejia (Dialects in Sichuan and Taiwan)
- Yue (Cantonese, dialects in Guangdong and Guangxi)
- Min (dialects in Fujian)

In terms of China's size and the very long history of interaction among numerous peoples, China's dialectal diversity is a natural consequence (W. S.-Y. Wang, 1996). It is often said that Chinese dialects are more like different languages (Kane, 2006; Norman, 1988). Although there is no definite answer to the question of what constitutes a language and what constitutes a dialect, it is important to bear in mind that the differences among the Chinese dialects are very considerable (Norman, 1988). China's dialectal diversity, however, had been considered harmful to its national unity, national security, and socialist construction (Guo, 2004, p. 47). China's view of dialects can be traced to the social concerns underpinning China's language policy (Guo, 2004, p. 47). Since China's repeated defeats by Western powers in the 1840s, the establishment and promotion of modern standard Chinese and the reform of the Chinese written language have been considered one of the top priorities in the modernization of the country (P. Chen, 2004, pp. 13-14). Mandarin Chinese, Putonghua, was officially adopted as the common speech for the PRC in 1956. The basic official view that Chinese dialects were to be eventually replaced by Mandarin Chinese persisted until the 1980s (Guo, 2004, p. 47). The early misconception that the elimination of dialects was a goal of Putonghua promotion started to change in late 1980s, when there was a revival in public dialect use (Guo, 2004, p. 49). In the mid-1990s, it was officially clarified that Chinese dialects are not to be prohibited or eliminated with the promotion of Putonghua (Guo, 2004, p. 50). On September 14, 1998, *People's Daily* published a commentator's article titled "To promote Putonghua vigorously" (Guo, 2004, p. 51) which signaled that China had gained a "healthy" understanding of the relationships between Putonghua and dialects by that time. As pointed out in that article, the Publicity Week for Putonghua promotion and public relations is intended to make the following points clear to language workers and the public. First, Putonghua, as the standard form of modern Chinese, is the national commonly used language in China, which is intended to remove the communicative barrier and to improve the efficiency of communication. Second, dialects, as regional forms of a language, serve as useful media of daily communication and important carriers of regional cultures and also precious treasures of the Chinese nation. Third, Putonghua and dialects keep changing. Chinese dialects are changing along with the spread of Putonghua, and Putonghua constantly borrows from dialects to increase its dynamics of expressions.

In a nutshell, China's linguistic diversity consists in its wide variety of ethnic languages and dialects, with Putonghua serving as the official language of the nation. China's linguistic diversity, however, has been rendered virtually invisible in the tourism discourses of the *NYT* and *CD*, with the majority of minority languages and dialects being erased from the picture. This will be considered more closely in the following section.

6.2.1.2 China's linguistic diversity rendered invisible

Despite China's linguistic diversity, the *NYT* and *CD* travel writers have represented China's linguistic situations as homogeneous, by either rendering the local languages totally invisible or simplifying the local language practices.

Generally, Chinese languages are not represented in touristic experiences. When they are mentioned, they tend to be lumped into "Chinese," without its varieties being distinguished. For example, in the 1981-2010 *NYT* travelogues, among 43 references to Chinese languages there are 32 uses of generic term "Chinese," along with seven references of "Mandarin." In the *CD* travelogues, of 40 references to Chinese languages, 16 references are made in the generic term "Chinese," together with six references of "Mandarin" and three references of "Putonghua." In fact, the generic "Chinese" in the two sources mostly denotes Mandarin Chinese or Putonghua, or possibly some local dialects. Witness the next two examples:

6.1   IN a private room in a mysterious little restaurant in Chengdu, my fellow diners goaded me to eat the turtle. It was soft-shelled, they said — as if that made it more enticing. They laughed and joked in Chinese, which I do not speak. Eating turtle grows a man's bank account, my translator said. I didn't get the meaning at first. Then it sunk in. (Giridharadas, 2010, November 11)

6.2   Emei's patron is the Samantabhadra — known in Chinese as the "Puxian" — bodhisattva, entrusted with transmitting the belief system. He rides magical elephants with six tusks on its quest to spread Buddhism. (Nilsson, 2010, April 16)

In extract 6.1, the language of communication among the author's Chinese diners is reported as "Chinese," which is most probably Mandarin Chinese or Chengdu dialect in that specific situation. The language practice of the Chengdu people in this example is thus generalized, with the local linguistic specificity being erased. In a similar vein, the generic term "Chinese" in example 6.2 is used to refer to one of its varieties, Mandarin Chinese in this case. Such genericization of China's linguistic diversity in both instances creates a homogenized linguistic landscape in China.

Further, it is worth noting that regional dialects are virtually out of the picture in the travelogues of the two newspapers. In the *NYT*, of 43 references to local linguistic practices, there are merely three references to regional dialects such as Cantonese (Ashenburg, 1998, November 8), Guilin dialect (Altman, 2006, February 26), and Kunming dialect (Rocha, 2007, September 23). In *CD*, of 40 references to Chinese languages only five Chinese local dialects are mentioned: Chaozhou dialect (T. Xie, 2008, July 31), Cantonese (Ou, 2008, October 30), Jinan dialect (Z.

Zhang, 2010, March 4), Kunming dialect (J. Liu, 2008, January 31), and Hefei dialect (Yue Zhang, 2010, May 27).

Finally, the ethnic minority languages are mostly ignored or a few are mentioned only in passing. In the *NYT*, in all there are seven out of 43 references to ethnic minority languages: three of them are from the contemporary dataset, namely Naxi (MacLane, 2001, December 2), Tibetan (Wong, 2009, April 5), and Uyghur (Kurlantzick, 2004, November 21); the remaining four are from the diachronic dataset of the *NYT*, namely Uyghur (Pete Hessler, 1998, April 19; Kristof, 1994, May 15; S. Oakes, 1986, June 22) and Yi (Terrill, 1987, December 20). In *CD*, of 40 references to local languages, there are nine references to ethnic minority languages, which includes three references to "Tibetan" (J. Liu, 2006, August 17; X. Qi, 2010, August 26; F. Xie, 2007, August 30), one reference respectively to "Dong" (Mu, 2007, Septemer 6), "Kazak" (Borg, 2008, August 28), "Mongol" (Borg, 2008, August 28), "Naxi" (Cheng & Yang, 2006, July 24), and "Tuwa" (Borg, 2008, August 28), and one vague reference to "the local ethnic language" in Linxia Prefecture of Gansu province (R. Zhou, 2006, July 8).

It is therefore noted from the two sources that China's linguistic diversity remains largely unseen despite a few dialects and ethnic languages that are mentioned. To invoke Gal and Irvine's (1995) terminology, such homogeneous socio-linguistic landscapes of various destinations are achieved by erasing local dialects, ethnic languages and social actors from the scene.

Furthermore, the homogenization of local linguistic landscape is also achieved through reducing the local language practices to folk music only, in particular in *CD*. Consider the following two extracts:

6.3 Music has a special place in the Dong people's lives. Without a traditional written language of their own, the Dong people have recorded much of their history and culture in their songs. (Mu, 2007, September 6)

6.4 Yang says the grand songs play an important role in passing down culture. Because the Dong don't have a written language, they use singing to preserve their oral history. (Qiu, 2009, October 22)

Both examples are about the linguistic practice of Dong people, respectively in Zhaoxing, Guizhou province, and in Huaihua, Hunan province. In extract 6.3, the functions of the Dong ethnic language are constructed to be replaced by music; the Dong language, which is subordinated in the adverbial of the sentence, is simplified to be music only. This diminution of Dong people's language practice is echoed in example 6.4, which quotes a local celebrity (Yang, a local vocalist) to testify to the significance of the grand songs in Dong culture. Again, the Dong

language is said to lack a written form, while the Dong music is represented to create the local linguistic landscape.

As is clear from the above illustrations, China's great varieties of languages have been much reduced and even rendered invisible in most cases. The representation of only a limited number of languages tends to downplay and ignore the internal multilingualism in China (cf. Pietikänen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011). Within the big picture of simplifying China's linguistic diversity, there are, undoubtedly, occasional representations of Chinese linguistic varieties. One aspect of such representations function as the backdrop of travel experiences as observed in this subsection. The other aspect concerns the construction of Chinese languages as icons of exoticity for the relevant destinations, a detailed inquiry into which will be presented as follows.

6.2.2   Chinese languages: icons of exoticity

In general, the construction of Chinese languages as icons of exoticity is demonstrated in two practices: naming of site-specific concepts and objects in Chinese languages, and metapragmatic comments about local languages.

In the travelogues of both newspapers, there are a range of Chinese names and referential expressions specific to the destinations and China in general. In the *NYT*, there are place names such as *Tianya Haijiao* (the Edge of the Sky and the Rim of the Sea) in Hainan (Tsui, 2009, March 15), cuisine such as *ti pang* (pork shank) and *xiao long bao* (soup dumpling) (Gross, 2006, August 2), clothes such as *Qipao* (Chang, 2002, August 18), negative answers such as *Meiyou* (Gross, 2006, August 2), and greetings such as *Tashi delek* (hello in Tibetan) (Wong, 2009, April 5). In *CD* , there is a wider range of Chinese names and referential terms which include: place names such as *Changjiang* (Yangtze River) (Quartly, 2009, May 14), *Nam Co* (Lake of Heaven in Tibetan) (F. Xie, 2007, August 30); cuisine such as *baochaoyaohua* (fried pig kidney), *jiuzhuandachang* (twisted large intestine of the pig) (Z. Zhang, 2010, March 4); architecture such as *tulou* (earthen buildings) (L. Chen, 2008, July 17); horse names such as *Adan*, *Dundan*, and *Yingdan* (Mu, 2008, July 31); music such as "big song" (*da ge* in Chinese, *ga lao* in Dong language) (Mu, 2007, Septemer 6); games such as *Xiangqi* (Chinese chess) (Hodges, 2009, June 18); drinks such as *baijiu* (spirit) ; fruits such as *pipa* (loquat), *shanzha* (hawthorn), and *yangmei* (waxberry or Chinese bayberry) (Wu, 2010, September 5). Rather than serving any communication needs, these snippets of Mandarin or ethnic minority languages serve more as decorations and act as a vehicle for injecting some local flavor authenticating the writers' touristic experiences, and thus contribute to linguascaping the exotic in China.

Undoubtedly, the above two lists of semantic domains are by no means exhaustive of all my data. However, it is not the purpose of this subsection to offer a comprehensive account of all

the domains of the open-ended semantic fields in the travelogues. Instead, I am more interested in teasing out the underlying motivations and consequences of such representations of local languages. Actually, it is in the references to local food or cuisine that provide me with a particularly rich source of insights into the language ideological work of the travelogues (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010). Sampling of food has become an essential part of experiencing and consuming exotic places (Franklin, 2003). Whether it is enjoying gourmet local delicacies or daringly trying the dishes thought of as bizarre or less palatable back home, sampling of food in tourist destinations is a fundamental but also emotional and politicized component of everyday life and an essential source of class distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Hence the references to local foodstuffs by their Chinese names in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues are "a powerful means of creating linguistically a sense of desire or revulsion, admiration or contempt for the destination" (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010, p. 140). Indeed, food serves as a vital cultural resource for Othering, boundary making, hence for the production of social order (Douglas, 1966; Levi-Strauss 1970). It then comes as no surprise to see travel writers distancing themselves from the local dishes, as seen in the following example from the *NYT*:

6.5 Bao Luo, in the French Concession, is all you might expect a Chinese restaurant to be --big, raucous, smoke-filled, dingy despite the marble on the walls--and more. It's open until 6 in the morning, and it often features a parade of fashionistas in thigh-high white boots around midnight. Its menu provides a primer of home-style Shanghainese cooking, however bizarre the English translations (for example, "lima bean curd with crisp hell"). Cold dishes first - amazingly tender, custard like tofu, a reproach to the flannel-like stuff often served outside China, topped with coriander and chili oil; ma lan tou, made from the crunchy stems of the boltonia flower (a member of the aster family that I grow, but don't eat, at my farm in Pennsylvania); "drunken" chicken, marinated in rice wine; and kaofu, bran cubes flavored by five-spice soy sauce. This is no cuisine for the squeamish. (Apple Jr., 2005, October 9)

In the above passage, the author portrays an exoticized picture of Shanghai in terms of its cuisine. At first, a stereotyped image of the Chinese restaurant is presented by utilizing a series of negative adjectives ("big, raucous, smoke-filled, dingy"). Further, the representations of the fashionistas arriving around midnight and the bizarre English translations of the dishes reinforce the exotic aura of the restaurant. Then the author provides a list of local dishes with Chinese names and explanations or translations that are likely to provoke a sense of exoticity among the readers: *tofu*, *ma lan tou*, "drunken" (*zui*) chicken, and *kaofu*. The labeling of Chinese dishes goes with an explicit commentary on their exotic or unsavory qualities in the final statement, i.e. "This is no cuisine for the squeamish." Such exoticization of tourist destinations in terms of local cuisine is also witnessed in the following passage from *CD*:

6.6   Unlike some places where everything has been made to cater to tourists, it seems that in Zhaoxing the local culture lives harmoniously with tourism. On one side of the town are hostels and bars packed with tourists, while on the other side is a river where local Dong people wash their rice and clothes, as well as themselves and their cattle. You will learn much about the Dong culture by watching local people's activities, as long as you can stand the sight of ducks being slaughtered in the street and dogs' heads sold along with pork at the market.

For dinner, my local friend Xiao Li invited me to a restaurant with "race taste". At the restaurant, I found that we would have a hotpot with *niubie*. I had heard about *niubie* when I was in Liping. From my understanding, it is the digested grass in a cow's stomach.

"No, that's not the real *niubie*," said the chef of the restaurant, who allowed me in the kitchen to watch the way he cooked. "The real *niubie* is taken from the cow's intestine, just before it's too late to eat it."

After putting some garlic and chili into the hot oil, he took out a Coca Cola bottle of *niubie* from the refrigerator, which he said was from a cow killed that morning, and poured it into his pot. It was a kind of green thick liquid. Then he added some water and a kind of local herb.

Soon, the hotpot was ready and we began to dip all kinds of meat and vegetables in the soup. A lady at our table refused to eat it, for she believed that only *niubie* served in the morning was fresh.

I tasted the soup, and it wasn't bad. A little bitter, but the aftertaste was nice. Probably, it would have been even better if I didn't know where it came from.

Li said that *niubie* is very good for the stomach and intestine, and that we could also have *yangbie*, the equivalent of *niubie* from a sheep, but I told him that the *niubie* hotpot was enough for me for the night. (Mu, 2007, Septemer 6)

In the above example, the author presents an exoticized picture of Zhaoxing in Guizhou province through representations of selected aspects of Dong people's daily lives, in particular the local-specific dishes. Overall, the local Dong people are represented as maintaining their traditional primitive lifestyle, with certain elements of their life being made more salient: depending on a local river for washing everything, slaughtering ducks in the street, and selling dogs' heads at the market. It is worth noting that the latter two points seem to echo the comment made by Thubron (1988) on Canton food market (see section 1.3.2.4). The author's following narration of an anecdote of eating a local-specific dish, *Niubie*, serves to reinforce the exoticization of the local community. The author distances himself from the local dish *Niubie* by elaborating on its source and preparation process that may well provoke a sense of disgust among the readers.

In both examples 6.5 and 6.6, phrases of Mandarin Chinese are inserted into the English text. This "code-crossing" or language crossing (see section 6.4.2.2. for further details) connects the practice of language display to the socio-cultural ideologies of tourism (cf. Thurlow &

Jaworski, 2010, p. 140). In this context, it is the Mandarin Chinese snippets that feed the English-language readers' fantasies and desires of exotic travel to China and its consumption. These Chinese snippets, removed from their original communicative spaces, are transformed from organizing interactional orders within the local community to indexing the same community as exotic. These are instances of fractal recursivity, where contrasts between 'their' cuisine and 'ours' work as dichotomizing processes that index differences between 'them' and 'us,' serving to establish the distinct roles and identities for locals and tourists (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010).

In addition, exoticization of Chinese languages also consist in metacomments that make judgments about or express attitudes toward Chinese languages, serving the purpose of "drawing social boundaries between 'self' and 'other'" and "reinforcing similarities and differences" (cf. Jaworski et al., 2003, p. 17). Consider the following extracts:

6.7 But tourism is not an entirely straightforward proposition here. Almost no one speaks English outside of hotels, and the Guilin accent is fairly different from standard Mandarin's. Be prepared for some misdirection and a few wrong turns; keep a phrasebook handy, and your good humor. Your patience will be rewarded by truly awe-inspiring scenery, friendly people and tasty, unique food. (Altman, 2006, February 26)

6.8 Jinan is also a good place for foreigners to practice their Chinese. The local dialect shares the same pronunciation as Putonghua for almost every Chinese character, but uses different tones.

Hence, those still struggling with the four tones of Putonghua can easily communicate with the locals, as their less-than-perfect tones are very likely to match the correct tones of the Jinan dialect. (Z. Zhang, 2010, March 4)

6.9 It would be wise to go with a local because the Guangdong dialect, called "bird language" thanks to its minimum nine tones, might fail most Mandarin speakers, let alone foreigners. (Ou, 2008, October 30)

The above three examples contain some metapragmatic comments about the local languages, which are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of local communities. In extract 6.7, the portrayal of Guilin dialect as "fairly different" from Mandarin hardly presents the local language as a real obstacle but rather adds local flavor and exoticity to the city. Guilin is thus constructed as a peripheral destination which features a dialect that is distanced from Mandarin. Further, there is no real communication or interaction presumed in travel to Guilin, for the suggested "phrasebook" can hardly provide sufficient information for any but the most rudimentary of service encounters (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011). As such, the local language, Guilin dialect in this case, is reduced and packaged, as well as the local culture more generally (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011). Such exoticization and simplification of local dialects is more explicitly manifested in extract 6.8, where the author compares Jinan dialect with

Putonghua and comments specifically on the former's tones. The assumption that Jinan dialect sounds like Putonghua spoken by foreigners who cannot grasp the four tones is another instance of simplifying Chinese languages. Moreover, Jinan dialect also becomes a pointer to the local speakers whose image is thus exoticized. Compared with Guilin and Jinan dialects represented in examples 6.7 and 6.8, the Chinese dialect represented in example 6.9, Cantonese, is further differentiated from Mandarin by being nicknamed "bird language." This nicknaming of Cantonese adds exotic flavor to the local community not only for foreigners but also for Mandarin-speaking Chinese. Moreover, this iconic comparison of Cantonese to "bird language" suggests that the speakers of this dialect are in some way represented as "subhuman or degraded" because human language is compared to animal sounds in this case (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 40), hence the rhetorical strategy of debasement to a certain degree. The real value in pointing out phonetic characteristics such as these in extracts 6.7, 6.8, and 6.9 does not lie in the linguistic validity or significance of these dialects, but rather in their perceived oddity and hence implied exoticity. Thus, in the context of tourism, "language is given value (attention) because of its symbolic rather than representational or interpersonal function" (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011, p. 297). Linguistic varieties, local dialects in this case, that index geographical boundaries or regions appear to be iconic representations of local places. Such indexical relationships become even more conspicuous in the following example:

> 6.10   Riding an early morning bus with a dozen Tibetans in Nedong county feels surreal. Listening to them make small talk in their own language feels even more unreal. (X. Qi, 2010, August 26)

In this extract, the local Tibetans' communication in their language, as represented by the travel writer, makes the travel experience seem more like an escape from the 'real' world. The Tibetan language, together with the local Tibetans, is constructed as part of the local scenery of Nedong. The Tibetan language is specifically packaged as "tourist linguascape" (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010) for unproblematic and enjoyable consumption of the travel writer; hence it is mentioned to add exotic flavor or to serve as backdrop to the latter's travel experience. In the meantime, it serves as an index of exoticity of its speakers and the destination that are distinguished from the travel writer and his familiar 'real' world.

While the foregoing discussion about the tourist linguascape concerns the sense of hearing, it can be a way of seeing, too, as with any other landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). Tourist consumption is inevitably organized around interpretation of various signs, which are frequently linguistic (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). At times, the linguistic inscriptions on signs themselves become the object of the tourist gaze, as witnessed in the next example:

6.11 Even if you have 20-20 vision, it takes a moment to focus when you first enter Beijing Eyeglass City. The endless display cases (below), the mirrors, the Chinese characters and the pretty sales girls — it all adds up to a slightly kaleidoscopic effect. (Hooker, 2006, October 1)

As in the previous examples, the principle of iconicity is manifested in the representation of Chinese characters in extract 6.11, where the Chinese characters, being deprived of their meanings, are portrayed as part of the scenery in Beijing Eyeglass City, for it "adds up to a slightly kaleidoscopic effect" together with "the pretty sales girls." Chinese represented thus has become an icon of the Other, together with the people and the places (cf. Pennycook, 2002). This will be further illustrated in some pictures as presented next:

Figure 6.1: Replicas of ancient bamboo slips feature texts from Sun Tzu: The Art of War ("War and pieces, 2007, " September 20).

Figure 6.2: Asian fusion Jinbi Lu, a main thoroughfare (Rocha, 2007, September 23).

Figure 6.3: Nestled in the heart of Xi'an, 400-year-old Gao Fu is a good example of the city's old architectural style (Borg, 2008, December 18).

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As depicted in the textual representation of example 6.11, Chinese characters presented in the above three photos constitute the tourist linguascape for consumption. In Figure 6.1, the presentation of a fragment of the Chinese military classic *Sun Tzu: The Art of War* (*Sunzi Bingfa*) is intended to show how the ancient text looks rather than what it is about. The ancient Chinese characters written on bamboo slips are thus clearly framed as a tourist attraction. Very often Chinese characters are presented more as a backdrop as seen in the next two pictures. In Figure 6.2, the Chinese inscriptions carved over the archway, *Zhong'ai*, are used as an index of the place (Kunming) as well as part of the place's linguascape. By the same token, the traditional Chinese couplets carved over the doorway and on the two pillars in Figure 6.3 are deployed to mark the courtyard house as an old dwelling, and they also form part of the tourist linguascape of the place, Gao Fu (Mansion of Gao), and Xi'an at large, the most well-known ancient capital of China.

6.2.3 Summary

To sum up, representations of Chinese languages discussed in this section are meant to create a more authentic and exotic atmosphere for the travel experience. Such representations of Chinese languages are certainly manifestations of the travel writers' language ideologies that "locate linguistic phenomena as part of, and evidence for, what they believe to be systematic, behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among the social groups indexed" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37). Thus, an exoticized Other has been accordingly constructed of the local linguistic landscape and the local communities. Furthermore, this type of Othering China extends into the representations of English in China as well, as will be considered in detail in the following section.

6.3   Representations of English in China

In this section, I will examine how English in China is constructed to index inferiority, and then I will present a diachronic analysis of the *NYT* representations of English in China since the 1980s. Due to much debate and argumentation about the uses of such terms as China English and Chinglish or Chinese English (F. Zhang, 2009), I use the term "English in China" to refer to all sorts of uses of English in China that may be covered in the two newspapers, including English with China's cultural peculiarities or China English (Ge, 1986, as cited in F. Zhang, 2009), and Chinglish or Chinese English which may be erroneous or nonsensical (Eaves, 2011).

6.3.1 English in China's tourism: the inferior Other

The touristic representations of English in China in the *NYT* and *CD* tend to emphasize the lack of services in English and incompetence of Chinese people in English. While the availability

of services or signage in English is mentioned sometimes, there are predominant references to non-English services and inaccurate uses of English or inadequate translations of Chinese into English. These evidences lead to my argument in this section that English in China's tourism is represented as an index of inferiority relative to Standard English, mainly through metapragmatic comments either on the local's little use of English or on the locals' improper use of or low proficiency in English.

Let us consider the following extract first:

6.12   But tourism is not an entirely straightforward proposition here. Almost no one speaks English outside of hotels, and the Guilin accent is fairly different from standard Mandarin's. Be prepared for some misdirection and a few wrong turns; keep a phrasebook handy, and your good humor. Your patience will be rewarded by truly awe-inspiring scenery, friendly people and tasty, unique food. (Altman, 2006, February 26)

In the above extract (the metacomment on the Guilin dialect has been discussed in example 6.7), the metacomment on the unavailability of English outside of hotels in Guilin serves as a means of Othering the city as a destination that is distinct from one's English-speaking home as well as other tourist destinations where English is widely used. Such metapragmatic comments are deployed as a means of recursively demarcating tourist destinations from other places where English is the dominant or popular language, as seen further in the following passage:

6.13   It is a fact of life, not necessarily to be applauded, that the world is largely an English-speaking place and that most people abuse this when traveling overseas.

Wherever people are (with the exception of France, perhaps!), the natives are often ready and willing to hold a passable conversation with them, especially if they are in a service industry or trying to sell them something.

It would be all too easy to spend one's life in such blissful ignorance of any other language, were it not for the occasional mishap that occurs when one finds oneself in uncharted waters.

So it is in modern China, where its people's magnificent obsession with learning English has not yet reached those places which are for the first time opening their doors and hearts to foreigners.

One such place is Zhangjiajie in western Hunan, one of the jewels in China's tourism crown.

Blessed with the chance to explore this land of spectacular scenery, my first discovery was most unwelcome: Nobody on my media tour bus, including the guides, spoke any English and these were to be my companions for the next week.

It is a frustrating and lonely experience when everything is explained in a foreign language to people who all around are absorbing a wealth of information, chatting and generally making merry, and when even media hand-outs and maps are also in Chinese and make no sense to the rest of the group.

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With my ears likely to be of limited use in the days ahead, I resolved to open my eyes instead and the visual treats all around began to penetrate my resistance, for this is truly a place where you can gaze in awe at the finest scenery imaginable.

[…]

The Zhangjiajie region is deservedly getting the star treatment by tourism promoters and its people charmed me from start to finish. As time passes, more overseas visitors will eagerly seek it out on the map. I hope it's a map they all understand. (Simon, 2008, September 25)

In this extract, the writer recursively extends the lack of service in English in his media tour bus to the geographical and social characteristics of Zhangjiajie which he labels as "uncharted waters" and where people are "for the first time opening their doors and hearts to foreigners." This labeling, however, is a factual inaccuracy that serves to exoticise the destination even further because Zhangjiajie became the first national forest park of China in 1982 when it was officially opened to tourists from all over the world (Zhangjiajie). By recursive logic, the writer finds lack of service in English and the use of Chinese "most unwelcome" that makes his experience "frustrating and lonely," hence the linguistic differentiation is projected onto the level of the locals' hospitality. "Chinese" in this context, assumedly a less spoken language than English, becomes an object of exoticizing metapragmatic comments with emphasis on their uniqueness and hence apparent insurmountability (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010, p. 144). Interestingly, this threat is offset by the author's shift to the "visual treats" that has made his tour enjoyable in the end. This shift, nevertheless, supports Cronin's (2000) view that tourists usually end up gazing simply because they cannot understand the languages spoken by the locals. Moreover, what becomes the object of the tourist gaze is not only the natural scenery but also the local people who "charmed" the travel writer, who, nevertheless, are rendered virtually invisible in the text. Zhangjiajie is thereby constructed as an exotic Other through a dichotomizing and recursive logic. Furthermore, this exoticisation of Zhangjiajie is reinforced by the use of the generic present tense which seems to indicate permanence in the linguistic landscape constructed for the destination.

Further illustrations of Othering destinations through recursive logic are also witnessed in metapragmatic comments on the improper uses of or inadequate or erroneous translations into English, which are exemplified in the next two extracts:

6.14   Menus were in Chinese with photos subtitled in surreal English, but my friends, Terry Acree, a professor of flavor chemistry at Cornell, and Janelle Bloss, a graduate student studying Chinese in Nanjing, interrogated our waitress to make sure we ordered the don't-miss crab dishes. We also asked for Shaoxing-style "yellow" wine, the traditional accompaniment. (Green, 2008, September 21)

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6.15   Travelers from other countries can be seen from time to time in Zhaoxing. As a result, signs in English are ubiquitous, though it often takes some thinking before you can understand the meanings of those signs.

For example, "The Race Gathers the Ancient Handicraft Product Store" means "Ethnic and Ancient Handicraft Store," while "Chiyu Motorcycle the Appliance Maintain the Store" means "Chiyu Motorcycles and Electric Appliances Maintenance Store." You are also welcomed to stay at a hotel room with "televiolon" and "hot baht." (Mu, 2007, September 6)

In example 6.14, the metacomment of English on the menus in a Shanghai restaurant as "surreal" points to the strange uses of English in this case, which serves as a sharp contrast to the interlingual capability of the author's friends who could interrogate their Chinese-speaking waitress when ordering dishes. This message of Othering is echoed in extract 6.15, which features metacomments on improper translations of signs and misspellings of English words on the shop signs in Zhaoxing that make the ubiquity of English there sound useless. An implication is that those unreliable English signs reflect an aspect of the local linguistic landscape—inadequacy in the use of English in tourism signage. Hence the contrast between the ubiquity of English and the inaccuracy in its uses is framed to index the futile efforts of the destination, Zhaoxing, to ascend to modernity that is marked by the proper uses of the global language--English.

The recursive framing of the use of English in China as the inferior Other is more explicitly illustrated in the following passage:

6.16   …We thus end up in Hong Kong on New Year's Day, looking for somewhere to go in mainland China. Our criteria: We want to find a place that neither of us has been to, that is off the beaten track and that has as many magical, spiritual properties as possible.

[…]

Having spent several days in Hong Kong, we are unprepared for the size of the language barrier that confronts us. Nothing in my life could have prepared me for communication difficulties of this magnitude.

A young girl, Jean, with a lovely face and a voice that could singe the hair out of your nose, greets us at the airport. "We go to shell," she tells us, nodding happily. "Big soft head." She gestures something round and -- yes -- big. I look at Harper: maybe he understood what I didn't. But no such luck.

"Uh," he manages to shrug, helplessly.

She tries again, her voice getting into places in your skull where previously only migraines could go. "Biiiiiig head. Soft. Shell. You see?"

Harper grimaces. "A snail?"

She shakes her head vehemently. "No. No snail. Head!" Well, we're totally at a loss. And we're hungry. Maybe that's it. Maybe a little food and we'll understand Jean completely. "You'll have to show us," I tell her apologetically.

She smiles. Her skin glows. Only this girl and Meryl Streep could look luminous in such horrible airport lighting. We follow Jean to a van, climb aboard with our luggage and head off to our hotel in the small city that is Guilin – "small city" in China meaning half a million souls. Forty-five minutes later, we arrive at our hotel, the gigantic Guilin Royal Garden Hotel, and fumble out of the van.

Harper goes to the front desk and says, "Checking in." The man behind the desk looks at him blankly. Oh, man. If "checking in" is an exotic term at the front desk, we're in really big trouble. But somehow something is communicated when his credit card is seen.

Following our porter to our rooms, we pass the health center, which offers massage, sauna and ear cleaning. "How dirty do your ears get here?" Harper asks.

In the rooms, there is a little sign telling us of further services that the hotel offers. I frown. "What is nurese hair?"

"Now what?" he asks me, tipping the porter.

"Well, it says you can get 'nurese' hair, unless they mean nurse hair -- which is a strange idea. I mean, though I frequently think people in the medical profession keep themselves well groomed, I still can't imagine wanting 'nurse hair.'"

The next day, we visit some nearby caves. Our guide, who speaks English, tells us that the caves were discovered by a famous cowboy. "His name is no longer remembered, only his flute." I consider asking a question that might further explain what he just told us, but then decide not to. It's better as it is. His name is no longer remembered, only his flute. I love this place.

Translations are just odd enough to be like Surrealist poetry. Even in the caves, a marvel of stalactites and stalagmites, the formations have been lighted, and they've placed little placards in front of particular ones, explaining what you're looking at. "Snowman," "Singing Birds," "Fragrant Flowers," "Christmas Tree" -- on and on until "Lion Roaring Goodbye to the Guests."

"'Brilliant," Harper says. He means the idea that someone went through these caves and decided what everything looked like. No room for interpretations. Just, "This is what it is."

We are taken to a pearl factory, where a sign proclaims that Hollywood made the famous women and that pearls made them more beautiful, and so more famous. And the most famous of all was Grace Kelly, who was given the honor of being named something that seems to translate as "Golden Turtle Son-in-Law." I shake my head.

How do you get to that name as the honorable compliment? I'm willing to go with "Golden Turtle" representing something to do with, I don't know, maybe a turtle is a good thing to be. And certainly "golden" works in many languages. But "son-in-

law"? Didn't anyone say something? But then, perhaps "son-in-law" is a female thing in China.

That night, we find out about the other amenities available at our hotel. After a few beers, a man who shall forever remain anonymous tells me that, because of a misunderstanding with a masseuse, he was escorted to a room with a two-way mirror, and that behind the mirror were something like 14 Chinese women sitting on chairs. He then realized he was expected to pick one of them.

"Oh, my God!" I exclaim. "You're saying this is like a brothel?"

"It's not like a brothel," he says. "It bloody is one!" I'm overwhelmed with joy to be staying at such a full-service hotel. The term "room service" takes on a whole new meaning when you throw in a bunch of hookers to accommodate the guests. Between that and the ear cleaning and the nurese hair, this hotel really has a broad spectrum of delights available to its guests.

Who cares that they can't speak English? Maybe ear cleaning is a euphemism. Maybe everything is! From "Golden Turtle Son-in-Law" to "Big Soft Head" to "Famous Cowboy No Longer Remembered, Only His Flute."

[…]

We haven't gotten nurese hair or our ears cleaned, but we've been spiritually cleansed and roared at by stalactites shaped like lions, and we floated down a fairy-tale river, listening to Dylan and Debussy. Our big, soft heads have been filled with sweet memories nestled in soft fog and firelight from our time on the Li River and in Guilin. Golden Turtle Son-in-Law and all. (Fisher, 2005, March 20)

This long extract is a humorous narrative about the "language barrier" and "communication difficulties" Carrie (the writer) and Harper (her stepson) have encountered in Guilin. These instances of breakdown in communication are portrayed in a comic way to contribute to the entertainment aspect of the travelogue. First, Carrie and Harper cannot understand the tour guide's reference of "shell" and her explanation of "shell" as "big soft head." This scene appears funny not only because of Jean's incomprehensible uses of these English words but also because of her ear-piercing voice constructed in the two hyperboles: a voice that "could singe the hair out of your nose" and could be "getting into places in your skull where previously only migraines could go." Jean, the only Chinese person named and described in some detail in this article, seems to be a representative of the city that is oddly different from Carrie and Harper's world. The following scenes are also constructed in an amusing way through the use of comments or metaphors. First, the receptionist's reaction at hearing the term "checking in" is negatively commented on (as in the word "blankly"). Then the Chinese-specific use of English ("ear cleaning") and the improper translation or misspelling of English words in signage ("nurese hair") are found to be "strange"; the translations in the caves and the pearl factory are commented as "odd" enough to be like "Surrealist poetry"; and lastly, the entertainingly awkward experience

of an anonymous man is metaphorically framed as among "a broad spectrum of delights available to its guests" the hotel offers. Despite the represented "communication difficulties," the two Americans have apparently enjoyed the tour, as is clear in the last paragraph and the title "The Joys of Ear Cleaning." Therefore, these episodes of communication breakdown serve more to create an image of Guilin as "off the beaten track" than to present the "language barrier" as truly threatening. Guilin is thus represented according to their expectation: they can only see what is already in their mind. That's why they won't even bother to know more about the caves through the guide even though the latter speaks English. In the writer's words, "Who cares they can't speak English?" What is implicit in this question is that no cares if they speak English either, because, either way, "they" are heard as incomprehensible. The specific case of Jean is generalized to the English communication skills of other locals. Thus a single aspect of their Guilin tour—the language barrier--is picked out and made to become the essence of what their Guilin tour is. The linguistic phenomena are represented to iconize Guilin as a city that hasn't been effectively globalized by the English language. Hence the opposition between Guilin and other places (i.e. Hong Kong in this case) in terms of English language uses can be reproduced on the level of the places in general and projected onto their features. Guilin is thereby framed as the inferior Other, set apart from the more globalised world such as Hong Kong, and the Guilin hosts are constructed as 'they'—the Other who use an inferior form of English that causes language barriers for the native English speakers. However, this Othering is achieved through the author's use of humor in her narration of the communication episodes as mentioned above. Difference thus framed becomes ridiculous rather than threatening. By laughing at the funny and nonsensical uses of English by the locals, the travel writer reproduces the superiority enjoyed by her colonial predecessors (cf. Lisle, 2006). Indeed, humor is often used to enact unequal power relations, as Critchley (2002) argues:

> Humour is a form of cultural insider-knowledge . . . Its ostensive untranslatability endows native speakers with a palpable sense of their cultural distinctiveness or even superiority. In this sense, having a common sense of humour is like sharing a secret code.' (pp. 67-68)

The comic effect in this passage is certainly intended to be shared by the targeted English-speaking readers, the 'insiders' of the author, but not by the locals depicted in the travelogue. In effect, the travel writer uses humor to establish a "secret code" that expresses the values she shares with her assumed readers, and highlights the linguistic and cultural differences of Others who are ultimately excluded as the butt of the jokes (cf. Lisle, 2006). It is also noteworthy that this Othering of Guilin is reinforced by the consistent use of the universal present tense throughout the text that depicts Guilin as a city that is trapped in the linguascape constructed in this article (for more discussion on the use of the present tense, see Chapters Four and Five).

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To sum up, an examination of metacomments on non-English services or the various uses of English brings out a constructed image of China as a tourist destination where English is not yet ubiquitous nationwide and where English is often used in an entertainingly inaccurate way. Thus, English in China is constructed as an icon of inferiority, which is recursively transposed onto the representations of relevant people and places.

6.3.2 Diachronic changes in the representations of English in China

While the previous section is focused on the representations of English of the last decade, this subsection is intended to explore how English in China has been represented over the three decades under investigation. The *NYT* will be the focus of my analysis due to the following factors. In the first place, as indicated in section 3.2, the dataset of the *NYT* in this study dates from 1981 until 2010. These three decades happens coincide with the thirty years of China's reform and opening up, which has witnessed the rapid growth of China as a leading tourist destination worldwide (see section 1.2). Moreover, in the *NYT*, there are more comments on the uses of English by locals than *CD*. Among 111 references to languages, there are 68 comments on the uses of English, in comparison with *CD* which has only 15 references to the uses of English among 55 references to languages. In addition, these references in *CD* don't differ from their counterparts in the *NYT* in terms of their focuses, as has already been discussed in the previous subsection. I therefore will base my discussion in this subsection on the historical dataset of the *NYT*.

As discussed in section 1.2, the three decades since the 1980s have been critical for the development of China into a major international tourist destination. In line with the extensive opening up of China and the rapid development of tourism as a result, the learning and teaching of foreign languages, English in particular, has gained immense popularity during these three decades (G. Hu, 2005; A. Lam, 2002). Since English language learning in China has been inextricably related to the political, economic, and social contexts in the country (G. Hu, 2005), an examination of representations of English in China across different times will cast light on how China is imaged in terms of its English languascape and its sociocultural transformation at large. An investigation of the diachronic data of the *NYT* shows that the 1980s are characterized by mostly positive comments about Chinese people's English language proficiency. In the 1990s fewer positive comments about English language proficiency in China can be observed. In the first decade of the 21st century comments are almost exclusively negative. I will now explore representation of Chinese English language proficiency for each decade in detail.

First of all, the first decade--the1980s--saw China marching into a new phase of modernization since Mao Zedong's proposal of Four Modernizations of agriculture, industry,

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science and technology, and national defence in the 1950s and in 1964 (S. Chen, September 25, 2009). The official announcement of the Reform and Opening Policy in 1978 made it vital for the Chinese people to learn English and other foreign languages. In 1982, English was proclaimed as the principal foreign language in secondary education (A. Lam, 2002, p. 247). The flourishing economy and the booming international exchange brought about a growing enthusiasm for English learning nationwide (Yao, 1993). In 1985, in response to the shift from a centrally planned economy to a market-oriented one, a drastic reform of the educational system was launched. As a result, English learning in China gathered further momentum from the mid-1980s onward (G. Hu, 2005). This upsurge of English language learning in China (cf. J. Zhang, June 2011) is mirrored to some extent in articles of the first decade (1981-1989) in the *NYT*. For instance, the 1980s articles feature more positive comments on the English competence of Chinese people. Among 11 references to the communicative practices in the destinations, there are six positive comments on the English speaking skills of Chinese locals (Auer, 1985, March 31; Chatwin, 1986, March 16; S. Oakes, 1986, June 22; Rosenthal, 1981, July 19; Selvin, 1985, November 3; Shepard, 1981, August 30) and three positive comments on the English-language services (Bernstein, 1983, February 6; Denenberg, 1981, June 21; Kleiman, 1983, September 11). Three examples are presented as follows:

6.17   I asked anyone I could find who spoke English if they knew of any folk singers in the area. Most answers were a blank stare. Discouraged, I went into a shop to buy post cards. The young man behind the counter wanted to practice his English, so we introduced ourselves and started chatting. His name was Ho, and his English was excellent. (Auer, 1985, March 31)

6.18   Presently a young man approached and greeted me in perfect English. As the morning unfolded I realized he was one of a loosely knit group of teachers, translators, engineers and lawyers who are all acquainted, at least by sight, and who seek out foreigners - not only to practice their English, I believe, but to open a window on the world and a window into China. (Selvin, 1985, November 3)

6.19   We were welcomed at the airport by an energetic young woman named Wang Fong, who spoke impeccable English and ushered us into a chauffeur-driven sedan that whisked us off to our hotel. (Kleiman, 1983, September 11)

Extracts 6.17 and 6.18 are among the six positive comments about Chinese locals' English proficiency. Extract 6.19 is one of the positive comments about the English-language service. These examples illustrate that the American travel writers in the 1980s were mostly very much impressed by the spoken English of Chinese locals or people in tourism industry, for the highly positive adjectives such as "excellent," "perfect," and "impeccable" are used in the metacomments. To some extent, these representations reflect Chinese people's increasing enthusiasm for English language learning in the 1980s.

The positive view of Chinese people's English proficiency in the 1980s, however, became less noticeable in the 1990s' articles. The second decade (1990-1999), in fact, had witnessed China making great progress in English language education. During these ten years, China enjoyed phenomenal economic growth and social stability. Facing the unprecedented challenges of globalization, technological advances, and knowledge-driven economies as well as the pressures for innovation, the Chinese government staged a new wave of educational reforms, one of the features being quality education. In the syllabuses issued in 1992, 1993, and 1996, English proficiency was esteemed as an integral part of quality education (G. Hu, 2005). In fact, from 1986 until the 1990s, great efforts had been taken to improve the quality of ELT, including a significantly increased recruitment of foreign EFL teachers and sending more and more Chinese EFL teachers for study or training in Western countries. In the meantime, innovative language learning theories and pedagogies, communicative language teaching in particular, were introduced and promoted in China (G. Hu, 2005). Based on this socio-political context of China's English language education, it is reasonable to assume that there were many more English language learners in China in the 1990s than in the 1980s. Their English language proficiency, nevertheless, received fewer positive comments in the *NYT* travel articles than it did in the 1980s. Overall, there are 10 negative and seven positive metacomments, and one seemingly positive metacomment with negative connotation in the 1990s. As regards Chinese locals' spoken English, there are more negative (four out of five) comments (Finkel, 1999, April 18; Kristof, 1992, June 21, 1993, September 12, 1994, May 15), in comparison with the 1980s which sees all the six metacomments on the locals' English competence as positive. The extract below is an illustration of the negative metacomments on Chinese people's English language proficiency in the 1990s:

> 6. 20   Beyond Qinghai's main city, Xining, there are few tourist facilities. Only the most basic of accommodations are available, often without plumbing or electricity. In many places, yak meat and bread are the sole obtainable foods. No one speaks a word of English. (Finkel, 1999, April 18)

The above extract constructs a general picture of travelling beyond the capital city Xining in Qinghai: the locals' illiteracy in English, alongside the Spartan conditions there, is framed to cast an image of Qinghai as inconvenient to tourists. Compared with example 6.21 which features Shanghai children's proficiency in English, this example also points to the urban-rural distinction, i.e. lack of English marks a place as off the beaten track, which is usually sought by tourists though, as witnessed in example 6.13.

Moreover, the only positive comment doesn't really convey a favourable impression either, as seen below:

6.21   And so what if our visit to a Shanghai children's palace (an after-school activity group for gifted children) was shamefully manipulative, guaranteed to trick Americans, a cynic might say, into feelings of universal friendship. It worked.

The children assigned to greet us spoke perfect English. If they had been directed to hold our hands and sit on our laps, then they did it well. We went from classroom to classroom where children were waiting to perform … (Kramer, 1990, Feburary 18)

In this example, it is worth noting that the represented encounter between the American visitors and the Shanghai children doesn't sound as natural and pleasant as those depicted in the 1980s examples 6.17 and 6.18. Although the Shanghai children's English is assessed as "perfect", this metacomment turns out to be negative in context as the 'perfection' is imagined to result from drill and manipulation. First, the word "assigned" indicates that these children have been carefully selected to meet the American visitors by putative officials, in sharp contrast to the two young men accidentally encountered by the writers in examples 6.17 and 6.18, where the accidental meeting created a sense of authenticity. Furthermore, the word "directed" implies that the children are ordered to have intimate contact with the American visitors. Finally, the word "perform" explicitly constructs such encounters as inauthentic and hence manipulative. Thus, the children's English and behavior are cast in the frame of performance, and the children are accordingly framed as puppets.

In the meantime, there emerged an increased concern over the availability of services in English which can be evidenced in 12 comments, among which six are positive (Kristof, 1991, January 20, 1993, April 25, 1993, October 10; Spano, 1996, December 8) and six are negative (Kristof, 1993, April 25, 1993, September 12, 1994, December 4; Spano, 1996, November 24; Swenson, 1997, October 19). It should be noted, however, the positive comments are mostly about the availability of English-language services instead of complimentary comments. Two examples are listed below:

6.22   Frankly, I wasn't counting on a response -- and certainly not the one I received in perfect English from Ms. Peng, who really ran with the ball. Instead of answering my specific questions, she gave me a full itinerary…(Spano, 1996, December 8)

6.23   They can be met at the airport by an English-speaking representative of their hotel, who can arrange for a car…

[…]

Another trader is Wang Jun; call 301-7772 (the operator speaks English) and page beeper number 96212 to call you back; he speaks English…

[…]

The Xiheyaju Restaurant, 501-0385, is in the northeast corner, and offers Cantonese food. Both have English menus… (Kristof, 1993, April 25)

Extract 6.22 is the only example of this category in which the highly positive term "perfect" is used. Viewed in the context, it nevertheless reflects the writer's negative presupposition about the English-language services in China. Extract 6.23 represent the typical positive comments in this regard, which are brief notes about the availability of services in English rather than compliments in real sense.

There is one more comment about the uses of English in public places in Beijing, as presented below:

6.24   The road narrowed into a crowded alleyway and took a sudden swing to the east, and the only sign in English I saw said, "Take care of the fire in the important place." (Spano, 1996, November 24)

Extract 6.24 may not appear explicitly negative on the surface, but the presented "only" English signage that is of little help to English-speaking tourists renders the description into a negative comment of the English signage in Beijing.

Illustration of the above examples casts light on the negative linguscaping of China in the 1990s, with many fewer positive comments on the English proficiency of Chinese people being evidenced. This discursive trend seems to run counter to the factual situation of English learning and teaching in China in the 1990s, when, as discussed earlier, much progress was made over the 1980s. This negative trend in the 1990s, however, matches the findings of Gartner and Shen's (1992) study about the impact of the Tian'anmen Square incident on China's tourism images: for the most part, touristic images of the country had declined; the images of service-related attributes are particularly affected by the conflict. The latter finding specifically explains why there is more concern over the English-language services and there is no noticeably favorable perception in this regard in the 1990s.

Finally, the first decade of the new century saw China's further expansion of English language education which had been driven by China's joining the World Trade Organization and China's successful bid for the 2008 Olympic Games. When it came to the third decade (2000-2010) in the *NYT* travelogues, however, English in China was generally viewed even more negatively than in the 1990s. In all, there are 11 negative and seven positive metacomments.

First of all, as in the 1990s, more attention was paid to the English used in the service industry, which had received more negative comments: among thirteen such metacomments

seven are ostensibly negative. For instance, a lengthy conversation with a mixture of English and Chinese is presented as necessary for an order with a restaurant manager in Shanghai (Simonds, 2000, December 3); a taxi driver in Urumqi is presented as speaking "elementary" English (Gross, 2006, August 2); the English of a tour guide and the English used in a hotel and at the tourist sites are constructed as an unexpected language barrier in Guilin (Fisher, 2005, March 20), as analysed in example 6.16; English translations of Chinese menus in two Shanghai restaurants are viewed as either "bizarre" (Apple Jr., 2005, October 9) or "surreal" (Green, 2008, September 21). Among the six positive metacomments of this category, five of them are brief comments similar to those in the 1990s (see example 6.23), such as "The servers came on time, wearing fine clothing and speaking English" (Barboza, 2010, October 3) and "Talk to several tailors (many speak English) to gauge their strengths" (A. Yang, 2006, July 9). The only explicitly positive comment is seen in the representation of the English of a rap artist in Kunming as "eloquent" (Rocha, 2007, September 23).

Further, Chinese locals' English proficiency in this period is rarely considered. There are only two metacomments in this aspect, and both of them are negative , as seen in the generalization of locals' English proficiency in Guilin as "almost no one speaks English outside of hotels" (Altman, 2006, February 26), and the Chinese passengers on a train from Beijing to Huangshan being represented speaking only "sporadic English" (Adler, 2002, November 24).

Finally, the uses of English in public places has also been viewed more negatively (two out of three), as witnessed in the references to the lack of English explanations at many exhibits in a Shanghai museum (Koh, 2007, May 13) and the "creaky" English announcements on the light rail of Chongqing (Gross, 2010, December 24). The only positive comment is seen in "There are signs in Chinese and English with a brief note about the rocks" (Goldkorn, 2008, November 2).

Based on the illustrations above, it is clear that the predominant negative tone that emerged in the 1990s persists in the representations and comments on English in China from 2000 to 2010.

To sum up, the *NYT* touristic representations of English in China in the three decades feature an interesting trend: it seems that the more open China has become and the more people have traveled there, the less favorably the English proficiency of Chinese has been perceived. As discussed above, the 1980s' travelogues contain more positive representations and feature highly complimentary terms such as "with remarkable fluency," (Shepard, 1981, August 30),

"impeccable" (Kleiman, 1983, September 11), "excellent" (Auer, 1985, March 31), and "perfect" (Selvin, 1985, November 3). These favorable terms are much less visible in the 1990s travel articles, however, which see only "perfect" used twice (Kramer, 1990, Feburary 18; Spano, 1996, December 8) and the connotations of this term in relevant contexts are not positive either (see examples 6.21 and 6.22). Thus, there is a generally negative linguascaping of Chinese people's English proficiency in the 1990s. From 2000 to 2010, the English in China is least favorably perceived, with more negative comments and no complimentary terms used except for the one-time use of "eloquent" (Rocha, 2007, September 23). In fact, these thirty years had seen China's English proficiency level much enhanced, and more people in China are learning English than in any other country. It is reported that China ranks ahead of India, the former British colony reputed as an English-speaking nation, in Asia's English proficiency scores, according to the 2011 report of Education First English Proficiency Index ("EF English Proficiency Index," 2011), i.e. the first index of its kind to give countries a standardized measure of English competency of adults. Nevertheless, the progress China has made in the English learning in the three decades since the 1980s cannot be evidenced in the *NYT* travelogues.

The *NYT*'s increasingly negative perceptions of English in China may be attributed to the following reasons. Firstly, the changing perceptions of Chinese people's English proficiency is consistent with American's ratings of China in these three decades as well as a global negative discourse about China that re-emerged after 1989: throughout the 1980s, relatively favorable ratings of China were found prior to the Tian'anmen Square incident in 1989, which had an immediate and devastating effect on Americans' views of China. As a result, there emerged a drastically negative swing of American perceptions of China after the June 4 incident (Hirshberg, 1993). It should be noted that a global negative discourse about China also started to resurface after 1989 (Hirshberg, 1993) and features the "China threat" theory that appeared in early 1990s (Murray, 1998, p. 171). This negative imaging of China was echoed by the protests in some countries during the Olympic torch relay in 2008. Later, owing to its swift and effective response to the devastating earthquake that hit Wenchuan on May 12, 2008, the Chinese government had won worldwide sympathy and support. But after this moment of sympathy passed, concerns over China's future role have remained (Yew, 2008). As shown in the above illustrations, these evolving perceptions of China by the West are manifested in the *NYT* travelogues' increasingly negative discursive constructions of English in China since the 1980s.

Secondly, this may have something to do with the places the writers visit, where there may well exist some gaps in ELT, as discussed earlier. The six positive comments in the 1980s are based on the traveling experiences to big cities such as Beijing (Kleiman, 1983, September

11) and Shanghai (Rosenthal, 1981, July 19; Selvin, 1985, November 3) or provincial capital cities such as Xi'an (Auer, 1985, March 31; Denenberg, 1981, June 21) and Kunming (Shepard, 1981, August 30), whereas among the four negative metacomments in the 1990s there are two concerning the English speaking skills of the people in Qinghai province (Finkel, 1999, April 18; Kristof, 1992, June 21), and another one relates to the English proficiency of the people in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Kristof, 1994, May 15), both belonging to the northwest China which is generally much less developed than the coastal areas. The observed contrastive comments in the two decades somewhat reflect Cortazzi and Jin's (1996, p. 61) observation about the English learning in 1990s' China that ''there are significant differences in language teaching developments between the major cities and small cities, between rural towns and countryside, between coastal and inland areas, between north and south, between key and non-key schools or universities.'' This observation is further borne out by G. Hu's (2003) findings about regional disparities in secondary ELT, which had found clear differences between freshmen who received secondary education in developed areas and their counterparts from underdeveloped areas in terms of English proficiency, previous learning experiences, classroom participation, and learning strategies. These disparities, which are somewhat manifested in the contrasting metacomments on the Englishes of the locals in big cities, capital cities, and remotes areas in the *NYT* travel writing, can be attributed to the joint influences of infrastructure resources, socio-cultural factors, and curricular and pedagogical practices (G. Hu, 2003, pp. 302-312). Another explanation for the increasingly negative metacomments may well be related to the quantity-quality trade-off in education: usually, in education, the outcome is very good if we educate only a small group of people; however, the quality of education decreases as the system expands. It can thus be assumed that the people the travel journalists met in the 1980s were exceptions. In the 1980s there were few English speakers in China but if you met one, especially one from big cities, their English was good; by contrast in the 1990s and nowadays, more and more people speak English but most of them probably not very well.

6.3.3   Summary

In sum, representations of English in China in the two newspapers' travel writing tend to emphasize the lack of English-language services and the locals' inaccurate uses of English. Thus, English in China is constructed as an index of inferiority, which is recursively transposed onto the representations of relevant people and places. Moreover, a diachronic analysis of representations of English in China in the *NYT* since the 1980s reveals that the more open China has become, the more negatively Chinese people's English proficiency has been perceived.

6.4 Power relations between English and Chinese languages

The discussion so far has covered how China's linguistic landscape has been constructed as essentially simplified, exotic, and inferior. The framing of linguistic simplicity, exoticity, and inferiority resides not only in the representations of languages other than English, including Mandarin Chinese, dialects and ethnic minority languages, but also in the metacomments about the various uses of English in China. In essence, this way of linguascaping China is connected to the characterization of Chinese people and places as the Other (see Chapters Four and Five). Thus, Chinese languages and English in China are iconized to index the Other, the out-group of travel writers. The demarcation of these languages along with the consequential differentiation of Chinese people and places boils down to one point: English is esteemed as a lingua franca, whereas Chinese languages in general are positioned at a lower standing.

6.4.1 English as a lingua franca of tourism in China

As Jaworski and Piller (2008, p. 316; see section 2.4.3) have observed in their study of British newspaper travelogues of Swiss tourism, English is naturalized as the language of tourism in Switzerland, and undoubtedly beyond, because Switzerland can hardly be an exception in this regard. Indeed, "[t]ourism discourses are yet another discourse where the ubiquity of English is brought into existence" (Jawoski & Piller, 2008, p. 316). By the same token, in the travel writing of the *NYT* and *CD*, English has been unanimously acknowledged as the lingua franca for tourism in China (cf. Jawoski & Piller, 2008; Piller, 2007). In this subsection, I will discuss how English is constructed as the lingua franca for tourism in China from two aspects: travel writers' obsession with the availability of English-language services in China, and English as an aspiration for Chinese people.

First of all, the *NYT* and *CD* travel writers tend to emphasize the availability of services in English for tourism in China, and they may sometimes become obsessed with that, which can be witnessed in the following extracts:

> 6.25 Personnel of the China International Travel Service (C.I.T.S.) generally speak some English, and they will make arrangements for you as you go, such as buying train tickets or hiring guides and taxis. (S. Oakes, 1986, June 22)

> 6.26 These days, however, travelers can easily find a comfortable hotel and good meals. They can be met at the airport by an English-speaking representative of their hotel, who can arrange for a car. In their hotel they can watch MTV, order a bagel, book a squash court and direct-dial New York. (Kristof, 1993, April 25)

> 6.27 To ease the burden, about 1,000 Beijing families are being recruited by the government to play host to foreigners during the Games, according to the

Associated Press. At least 400 English-speaking residents have listed rooms for rent at Homestay Beijing 2008… (Higgins, 2008, February 24)

6.28)   It's the most accessible destination in China for independent foreign travelers, offering accommodation across all ranges, an eclectic array of restaurants with English menus and English-speaking tourism service providers. (Borg, 2009, March 12)

6.29   English-speaking staff, convenient transportation and ticket booking services were all available, providing great relief to those who had been on the road for a while. (Y. Li & Guo, 2009, November 19)

The first three examples (6.25, 6.26, and 6.27) which are taken from the *NYT* dataset (1981-2010) represent the predominant view of English as the language for travel to and in China in the thirty years under examination. If the presentations of English in extracts 6.25 and 6.26 sound more acceptable because the articles are oriented toward English language readers, the reference to the availability of homestay services in English in extract 6.27 doesn't sound sufficient to "ease the burden," because foreigners coming to the Games consist of many more people from non-English speaking countries than from the English-speaking countries, with about 166.5 million Asians, Europeans and Africans whose primary languages are those other than English, compared with about 111.5 million people from English-speaking countries such as the USA, Canada, the UK, Singapore, India, Australia, and New Zealand (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 2009). The other foreign languages required and used for the Games are made invisible because English is presupposed as the lingua franca for the Games in extract 6.27.

Such representation of English is further evidenced in the next two *CD* excerpts. Yangshuo (Guangxi) in extract 6.28 is regarded as "the most accessible destination in China for independent foreign travelers" largely because services in English are available there. The English language in this case is iconized to index the accessibility of the destination. It is even naturalized in extract 6.29 that "English-speaking staff" would be part of the "great relief" for the exhausted tourists, because it appears commonsensical to accept that English is the language for travel in China. It should be noted that these metacomments on the availability of services in English are focused on the linguistic needs of English language speakers only. In fact, since 1980 the inbound tourists to China consist of many more people from non-English speaking countries than from English-speaking countries. Between 1980 and 1990, inbound tourists to China were more likely to come from Japan (184.3 million) than from the USA (114.6 million) and the UK (29.5 million) combined. There were also 33.9 million Germans and 25.8 million French visitors. From 1991 to 2000, there were 417.4 million Japanese, 187.5 million Americans, 139.8 million Koreans, 98.9 million Germans, 69 million Britons, 67.6 French people, 55.5 million Russians.

Again from 2001 until 2008, the tourists from non-English speaking countries far outnumbered those from the USA and the UK (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

In addition, the construction of English as a lingua franca is also reflected in the representation of English as an aspiration for the Chinese people, which is manifest in the frequent references to Chinese people's enthusiasm for learning English in the *NYT* travelogues since the 1980s, which is comparable to the representations of Chinese people showing excessive friendliness and enthusiasm to American visitors (see section 5.3.5). Most writers would assume that Chinese people strike up a conversation with them just in order to "practice English" (see Adler 2002, November 24; Auer 1985, March 31; Gross 2006, August 2; Kramer 1990, February 18; Kristof, 1991, January 20, 1992, June 21; Rosenthal 1981, July 19; Selvin 1985, November 3). Three of the many examples are as follows:

> 6.30 The young man, one of China's determined English-practicers, told me he had learned English on the side while working as a mechanic and would see every film because he wanted to know more about my country, which he said he thought was a good friend of China's. (Rosenthal, 1981, July 19)

> 6.31 On the other hand, many young Chinese -- particularly university graduates -- are delighted to exchange views with foreigners. One way to meet local people is to visit a local "English corner," where people gather in the evening to practice their English. The best English corner is in Shanghai, along the Bund by the Huangpu River, but you may ask around in other cities if there is a functioning English corner. (Kristof, 1991, January 20)

> 6.32 People would seek me out: the children to stare at this rare blue-eyed traveler in their midst; the adults to practice English and meet a real life American. (Gross, 2006, August 2)

As exemplified in the above extracts, Chinese locals' approaching foreigners is mostly constructed as "to practice English" in the *NYT* travelogues. English is thus represented as a language that Chinese people aspire to, which correspond with the nationwide "English craze" that had started in line with the flourishing economy and the booming international exchange ever since the early 1980s (G. Hu, 2002). English language teaching and learning in China has been rightly described as "the most ambitious language-learning campaign in history" (Herttling, as cited in G. Hu, 2002, p. 3). As G. Hu (2002) contends, English proficiency in China "has accrued superior national, social, and economic prestige" (p. 3). China's English craze is certainly linked with the worldwide dominance of English, which is a consequence of geographical-historical and socio-cultural factors (Crystal, 2003, p. 29). The *NYT*'s discursive construction of English as an aspiration for Chinese people is thus entrenched in the global discourse that associates English proficiency with economic, technological, and cultural power (cf. Crystal, 2003). While English, the language of power, is naturalized as an indispensable lingua franca that is highly sought-after

by Chinese people, Chinese languages represented in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues serve as mere playful background, as will be explored in the next subsection.

6.4.2   Chinese languages positioned at a lower standing

Compared with the lingua franca use of English, Chinese languages are placed at a lower standing. In general, Chinese languages in tourism are either deprived of any utilitarian value, or deployed as ludic resources for travel writers' self-construction as belonging to the elite cache of tourists, or treated as unnecessary identity markers for certain places (specifically Hong Kong).

6.4.2.1 Chinese languages without utilitarian value

While English is the dominant language for travelling to China, Chinese languages are rarely considered in terms of their representational and interpersonal functions. Moreover, within the big family of Chinese languages, Mandarin, dialects, and ethnic minority languages can be hierarchically positioned as well in terms of their economic and political power.

Firstly, the idea of English as a lingua franca is so deeply-embedded in travel writers' minds that even the use of Chinese in China can be deemed as unhelpful. This can be illustrated in this instance: A travel writer thinks that his hotel key is of no help for him to find his hotel because it is "inscribed in Chinese" (Whiteley, 2007, May 24). This paradoxical comment about the use of Chinese seems to be related to a presumption that only English can be helpful when traveling in China and anywhere else. This view of Chinese as useless echoes the message in the following extract: Chinese is not necessary when traveling in China; it can even be ignored. Thus, Chinese is placed at a lower status in tourism as compared to foreign languages such as English.

> 6.33   "We still have a lot of work to do to improve our services in Guilin," says Li Zhigang, director general of the tourism bureau.
>
> For example, a number of language training programs have been launched in the service sector.
>
> "Such efforts will ensure that foreign tourists can find their way and enjoy their time here in Guilin, even without knowing any Chinese," says Li. ("Crystal clear," 2009, March 26)

Chinese in this case, being perceived similarly to the local languages represented by the British travel programs in Jaworski et al.'s study (2003), "[is] reduced to the status of rubber-stamp phrases from guidebook glossaries, co-opted for the staging and authenticating of unproblematised, exoticised linguascapes" (p. 21). This example also points to the tension between Chinese as a marker of authenticity and as a barrier to global tourist mobility, as also touched upon in example 6.13. By contrast, foreign languages, most probably English in this case, are deemed as languages for travel to Guilin.

Secondly, while Chinese in general is reduced to a lower-status language, the varieties of Chinese languages are viewed hierarchically within themselves. Thus, Chinese dialects and minority languages are reduced in significance compared with Mandarin in the same contexts, and minority languages are hierarchically considered within themselves in practice. The following extract serves as a telling example:

6.34   Now many Tuwas are giving up the herding life and getting into tourism. Many families have built appendages or extensions to their houses as guesthouse rooms; others take tourists horse-riding in the surrounding mountains. Ambitious adventurers can go all the way to Kanas Lake or Jiadengyu.

[…]

Their most distinctive feature is a unique language. Yet the language never developed a written form and now that the outside world has caught up with them, and tourists are flooding to Kanas, the Tuwa language might slowly die out. "Only Mongol, Kazak, and Mandarin are taught at school," explains Yi. "So we only speak Tuwa at home, but children increasingly speak a mixture of Mandarin and Tuwa." (Borg, 2008, August 28)

A hierarchy of China's minority languages is demonstrated in extract 6.34: Tuwa is not preferred at school where Mongol, Kazak, and Mandarin are taught instead. This mirrors the hierarchical categorization of Mandarin and minority languages in practice: Mandarin is the common language for the whole nation; Mongol and Kazak belong to the first-tier minority languages which enjoy higher status than Tuwa, one of the minority languages with no official status. Mandarin, the first-tier and the second-tier minority languages are used as the instructional medium in schools as well as the languages of public media in minority communities (M. Zhou, 2004). It is no wonder that in the case of extract 6.34, the Tuwa language is wiped out from school education. It is worth noting that Tuwa, an iconic language in Kanas National Park, coupled with the traditional herding life, is represented as dying out under pressures of tourism and globalization, which may lead to the loss of the exotic flavor and authenticity of Kanas in the end. The represented status quo of the Tuwa language seems to reflect the gap between constitutionally stipulated minority languages rights and the reality of minority language use as observed by M. Zhou (2004). This theory-practice gap is also witnessed in representations of the use of minority languages in the diachronic data of the *NYT*, such as Uyghur in extract 6.35:

6.35   I asked him if he could speak Uyghur, and he laughed. "You don't need it," he said. "At work, when you go shopping -- always you use Chinese. But I know a few words. Salaam aleikum is 'hello.' And 'thank you' is ----." He paused, thinking hard. He had lived in the region for two years. "I forget," he said at last. "But I know 'good bye.'"

And he said it, but he spoke softly and the word was lost in the hot desert wind. (Pete Hessler, 1998, April 19)

In the above extract, Uyghur is quoted to be an unpopular or useless language in Urumqi, the capital city of Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region, in comparison with the widely-used Mandarin. The quoted oil worker's description of the Uyghur language seems to be in sharp contrast with the language rights of Uyghur that are constitutionally stipulated. The Uyghur language actually belongs to the first-tier minority languages in China that are recognized as commonly used and have been given higher status since the founding of the PRC in 1949. The constitution not only guarantees the right to use and develop minority languages in minority regions but also requires minority languages to be used in minority administrative processes and the judicial process in autonomous regions, which applies to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Furthermore, the autonomy law encourages government officials to learn and use minority languages and rewards those who can use two or more languages (M. Zhou, 2004, p. 79). Therefore, it seems reasonable to contend that the use of the Uyghur language described in this extract does not match its constitutionally guaranteed rights. Of course, this description can be attributed to a disparity that may exist between "constitutionally guaranteed minority language rights" and "the actual language rights enjoyed by minorities" (M. Zhou, 2004, p. 91), with Uyghur being no exception, as discussed in section 6.2.1.1. However, this extract, together with example 6.34, should not be merely read as the author's 'concern' over the locals' language practice; in both examples, the writers' 'concern' over the 'dying-out' of Tuwa and the unpopularity of Uyghur actually points to the issue of authenticity in tourism because smaller languages and traditionally minoritized languages like Tuwa and Uyghur are usually used for authentification in tourism discourses due to their exotic indexicality (Pujolar, 2006). Moreover, the representation of the use of Uyghur in extract 6.35 relates more to individual language choices, as also illustrated by the situation of Hefei dialect in the following example from *CD*:

6.36   Another interesting thing about Hefei is that its distinctive dialect is not widely used by the locals, especially the younger generation. When I was in college, I was mocked by my classmates because I could not speak my native dialect. That's because I started with Mandarin in primary school, and very few of my family members speak the local dialect. (Yue Zhang, 2010, May 27)

6.37   "Urumqi changes so fast -- every time I go my favorite places are gone," said a Uyghur friend, Kurban, a moon-faced 20-year-old woman with oily black tresses and a thin fuzz of facial hair, who proudly wore traditional Uyghur dresses, printed in reds and yellows and oranges. Kurban was trying to keep up. She studied Chinese diligently and, when in Urumqi, she hung out at "English Corner," an area of a park where Uyghurs chat in English with travelers. (Kurlantzick, 2004, November 21)

Extract 6.36 shows an internal power imbalance constructed between Mandarin and Hefei dialect through the writer's illustration of her personal experience with the two varieties of Chinese: Mandarin enjoys high prestige among the locals while Hefei dialect is losing popularity with the young people. This example doesn't seem to reflect the relationship between Putonghua and dialects that has been redefined since mid-1990s, for the redefined relationship sees the necessity of promoting Putonghua for the quality and efficiency of national communication and also sees the need to protect dialects in order to preserve the diversity of regional cultures (cf. Guo, 2004; see section 6.2.1.1). In extract 6. 37, both Mandarin and English are the languages Kurban aspires to in order to "keep up." The young Uyghur woman takes the initiative to study Mandarin and English diligently because Mandarin is the national language of China and English is linked with personal economic and socio-economic well-being (cf. Crystal, 2003). Both extracts concern individual choices of language that are primarily determined by socio-economic factors. As M. Zhou & Ross (2004) observe, individuals have to make choices about what language they use, under the pressure of globalization and the market-driven economy, which are in favor of the language of economic and political power, in China and worldwide (M. Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 9). Moreover, Kurban's language choice as represented in extract 6.37 constitutes an indication about the macro-context of China's modernization drive, which, coupled with the forces of globalization and a market economy, "appears to favor only two dominant languages, Chinese as the national commonly-used language and English as the world language" (M. Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 16).

On the basis of the previous illustrations, a hierarchy of English and Chinese languages can be revealed, as clearly expressed in the following extract:

> 6.38   Getting Around - Uyghurs speak Uyghur, a Turkic language; many also speak a little Mandarin Chinese. Many Chinese speak some English. A knowledge of Mandarin is useful but not vital. (S. Oakes, 1986, June 22)

Extract 6.38 is the only relatively complete introduction to the local linguistic situation in the *NYT*, which is not seen in *CD*. A hierarchical relation of the three languages in tourism is constructed: English is implicitly represented as the language for travel, Mandarin is "not vital" in comparison but can be "useful," while Uyghur is confined to Uyghurs.

6.4.2.2 Chinese languages as ludic resources

As discussed in the previous subsection, Chinese languages represented in both the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues can hardly be considered as regards to their communicative value, hence being rendered useless in tourism discourses. Sometimes, they can, however, be utilized by travel writers through practices of language crossing so as to enact an elite identity

for themselves. Language crossing, as Rampton (1995) observes, relates to switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. As Jaworski et al. (2003) demonstrate in their study of British TV holiday shows, the programs' presenters are able to create for the viewers a sense of belonging to a community of tourists by playfully crossing into host languages, with the tourists being elevated to the elite cache and the locals being Othered or out-grouped. The following extract presents an instance of exploitation of language crossing:

6.39　　The entire way, we met Tibetan pilgrims carrying bundles of food and green bamboo walking sticks. A grandfather in a gray suit walked next to his grandson, and a mother carried a baby in a sling over her back. "Tashi delek," we said to each other — "Hello" in Tibetan. (Wong, 2009, April 5)

The quote of the Tibetan greeting "Tashi delek" in this extract serves to create a more authentic atmosphere for the writer's encounter with some Tibetan pilgrims and his hike to the Mystic Waterfall in Yunnan. Moreover, the writer's crossing into the Tibetan greeting sounds like a form of fun activity (cf. Jaworski et al., 2003), with the writer maintaining his identity as an American tourist while momentarily embracing the identities of the Tibetan pilgrims by playing with the Tibetan greeting phrase. It also constructs the travel writer as knowledgeable, well-travelled, and not a cultural/linguistic imperialist who enables dominant cultures/languages to ingratiate themselves, often at others' expense (cf. Lisle, 2006). Further, it's interesting that it happens with Tibetan, the language of a 'sacred' destination that has long enticed the Western imagination (cf. Klieger, 1992). In a similar vein, the travel writer of the following example presents an image of a worldly and well-travelled Self by crossing into the language of the Other:

6.40　　IN a private room in a mysterious little restaurant in Chengdu, my fellow diners goaded me to eat the turtle. It was soft-shelled, they said — as if that made it more enticing. They laughed and joked in Chinese, which I do not speak. Eating turtle grows a man's bank account, my translator said. I didn't get the meaning at first. Then it sunk in.

[…]

With the help of time and intoxicants, the businessman relaxed. Soon we were taking turns declaring what an honor this dinner was. We were transcending acquaintanceship to become part of one another's guanxi — the wondrous Chinese phrase for one's web of enduring relationships. (Giridharadas, 2010, November 11)

The two parts of this extract are the beginning and the end of this travel article. To begin with, "Chinese" in this extract is constructed as a resource of identity: distinguishing the writer from his fellow Chinese diners. While the latter laugh and joke in Chinese, the language which he does not speak, the writer remains aloof or detached with a sense of superiority that can be traced

in the remainder of the article. The linguistic differentiation is recursively transferred and projected onto the level of categorization of social groups: those who speak Chinese are framed as the Other, the out-group of the writer. By the end of the article, the writer still remains safe in his categorization of in-group even though he quotes the Chinese phrase "guanxi" to depict the progress of his interaction with the locals. This language crossing sounds playful and transient, for "guanxi" in Mandarin Chinese, "relationships" in English, is ironically constructed to be based on a dinner and alcohol. His Chinese fellow diners, who have been out-grouped at the beginning, continue to be demarcated from him in the end. By contrast, the travel writer self-presents as possessing a facility in winning the hearts and minds of the Chinese: with little effort and no language skills, he apparently manages to gain entry into the social networks of his Chinese hosts over a dinner and alcohol. Such construction of a superior Self is further witnessed in the example below:

> 6.41　To lighten my load for the first day's wandering, I left my luggage in storage, then went next door to the bus station, where I muscled past the map vendors — "Don't want," I told them in dicey Mandarin — to find the No. 601 bus, which would take me into your heart.
>
> […]
>
> We drank cheap Shancheng Beer, we joked around, we took turns singing songs. (I proudly busted out the Chinese nursery rhymes that my daughter, Sasha, loves.) And we did it mostly in Mandarin — a language I speak poorly at best — with occasional forays into English when my comprehension skills failed. For some, I imagine, this would be a disconcerting, frustrating experience, but I quickly got used to this linguistic interzone. Billboards heralded the municipality's future: "Livable Chongqing" and "Safe Chongqing," but also "Forest Chongqing" and "Iatrical Chongqing." Announcements made on the new, multibillion-dollar light rail were delivered in English almost as creaky as my Mandarin. I even spotted a warning sign, next to an elevator, that read, "Nihil obstat elevator." (Gross, 2010, December 24)

In the above extract, the writer comments on his own "dicey" and "creaky" Mandarin which made him (and maybe his hosts as well) occasionally shift to English when singing the Mandarin nursery rhymes. While the mild self-deprecation of the travel writer gives the appearance of self-reflexivity and the ability to ethically engage with cultural difference, it does nothing to question the privileged network that exists between the writer and his targeted readers (cf. Lisle, 2006). By presenting himself as incompetent in Mandarin Chinese, the writer positions himself firmly as an American tourist (cf. Jaworski et al., 2003, pp. 24-25). Further, the writer, alongside the authors of extracts 6.39 and 6.40, plays with the crossing into Mandarin Chinese and presents himself as worldly and well-travelled, dwelling comfortably in the linguistic "interzone." The writer's flippant language crossings thus set himself apart from the Chinese

locals, with this sense of division being reinforced by his comments on some strange or improper uses and inadequate translations of English in public places, which are made salient and hence selected as representative of the destination's (Chongqing in this case) inferior English linguascape (see section 6.3.1). The two language varieties, Mandarin Chinese and the inferior variety of English are thus framed to index the local social groups and the destination as the Other, while the former is also deployed as a primary resource by the travel writer for Self construction.

As illustrated above, it is through playful and transient crossing into Chinese languages that the *NYT* travel writers further position themselves as knowledgeable and worldly tourists. These people can freely traverse linguistic borderlands but stay firmly rooted in their identification with their targeted readers instead of the Chinese people they have encountered. Chinese languages are thus deployed and devalued as both backdrops and ludic resources.

6.4.2.3 Chinese languages as unnecessary identification markers for certain destinations

As revealed from the above discussions, Chinese languages are predominantly represented as indexes of Chinese people and destinations, although the uses of Chinese languages are fairly limited in the *NYT* and *CD* travel writings. In the *NYT* travelogues, there are some representations of selected languages that frame identities of places, from which, however, certain Chinese languages are erased.

Illustration in this respect is presented in the following two extracts: Hong Kong, through the representations of English and Cantonese, is constructed as a city that maintains its old identity as a British colony and remains unaffected by Mainland China even years after the handover back to China.

> 6.42   Yet Hong Kong does not wish to disappear into China either. English is still widely spoken here, although -- frustratingly -- not by cabdrivers. And the English street signs have not been taken down. From Connaught Road to Pedder Street, parts of Hong Kong still recall Mayfair more than mainland China. (Landler, 2000, April 16)

> 6.43   The organization also offers tours that provide a rare glimpse into local traditions. "Community Tours" are conducted in Cantonese; themes have included haunted places in the neighborhood, as well as local restaurants. "Heritage Walks," which are given in English, can be arranged upon request; the standard tour includes a primer on the background of Blue House, a visit to the nearby Pak Tak temple and open market, and a discussion of the impact of modernization on local culture. (C. Chow, 2010, March 28)

In example 6.42, "English" is presented as a symbol or reminder of British colonialism which seems to be a treasured past that Hong Kong hates to lose. Extract 6.43 is part of the search

for Hong Kong's authenticity, as implied by the title "Hong Kong: Finding Authenticity." The authenticity of linguistic landscape in Hong Kong is constructed to be associated with Cantonese and English, the two languages in which the tours are conducted. Mandarin Chinese, one of the three official languages in Hong Kong, is left out of the picture in both extracts despite its dramatic spread across Hong Kong in education and various social situations (B. Zhang & Yang, 2004). In extract 6.42, the erasure of Mandarin may be explained that a reference to it would dilute Hong Kong's identity as a former British colony. The invisibility of Mandarin Chinese in both cases seems to echo B. Zhang and Yang's (2004) argument that the increasing use of Mandarin Chinese after 1997 has never challenged the position of English as the "high-status language" in Hong Kong (2004, p. 148). The representations of English and Cantonese and the erasure of Mandarin Chinese in these two extracts, however, reflect the writers' perceptions of English and the two varieties of Chinese: English is viewed as an icon of Hong Kong; Cantonese also constitutes part of Hong Kong's identity, which is not linked with Mandarin, however. The practice of rendering Mandarin invisible matches the argument of B. Zhang and Yang (2004) that Mandarin is considered as no rival to English or Cantonese in status and usage in Hong Kong. Therefore, selections about what languages to present in relation to certain places are determined by the power relations between different languages in relevant socio-cultural contexts.

6.4.3 Summary

All in all, a hierarchy of significance of different languages is constructed in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues, with English being represented as the lingua franca for tourism to China and Chinese languages in general being reduced to being of lower-status, among which local dialects and ethnic minority languages are positioned at further lower standing. Moreover, the constructed hierarchy of various languages in the two newspapers mirrors the global discursive constructions of the power relations of these languages: English as a global language, Mandarin as the national language of China, and Chinese dialects and minority languages as the regional or ethnic medium of communication for certain purposes.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored how Chinese languages and English in communicative practices as well as linguistic situations in tourist destinations more broadly are constructed as indexes of particular types of people and places in the travel writing of the *NYT* and *CD*.

Two central themes in linguascaping China are observed: Chinese languages represented and used in the travelogues serve to index a homogenous and exotic Other, with China's linguistic diversity being rendered almost invisible and snippets of Chinese languages used to

lend exoticized 'authenticity' to travel narratives; the representations of various uses of English in China, in particular the locals' inappropriate or incorrect uses of English, serve to present Chinese people and China as an inferior Other. Thus, an exotic and inferior linguascape of China is ideologically constructed through the three semantic processes, namely simplifying China's linguistic landscapes by erasing its linguistic varieties, iconizing Chinese languages and English in China, and transposing the linguistic differentiation between English and Chinese onto the identity differentiation between tourists and Chinese people. In linguascaping China as an exotic and inferior other, the two newspapers feature different focuses: while the *NYT* shows more concern for the uses of English by Chinese people, *CD* includes more snippets of Chinese languages to create a more 'authentic' atmosphere for relevant travels. This minor difference may be related to the linguistic profiles of the travel writers: most of the *NYT* writers tend to be monolingual while most of the *CD* writers are likely to be bilingual (see section 3.2).

It is worth noting that a diachronic analysis of the touristic representations of English in China in the *NYT* reveals an interesting trend: During the three decades of China's rapid growth as a tourist destination, the more open China has become, the more travelers have come, the more negatively English in China has been perceived, despite the tremendous progress China has made in its English language teaching and learning. The increasingly negative construction of English in China may be explained from three aspects. First, this trend is consistent with evolving American perceptions of China since the 1980s and a global negative discourse about China that re-emerged after 1989. Second, this may be related to the destinations visited, where there exist regional disparities in terms of English language teaching and learning. Third, the increasingly negative perceptions of Chinese people's English proficiency may be related to the quantity-quality trade-off in education.

Furthermore, the two newspapers' representations of Chinese languages and English in China points to the imbalanced power relations between these languages: English is naturalized as the lingua franca for tourism to China, whereas Chinese languages as a whole are placed at a lower standing. In general, Chinese languages in tourism are either deprived of any utilitarian value, or deployed as ludic resources by which travel writers may construct themselves as belonging to the elite cache of tourists, or treated as unnecessary identity markers for certain places (specifically Hong Kong). This constructed hierarchy of English and Chinese languages in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues is de facto consistent with the global discursive construction of these languages. Thus, a map of a simplified touristic linguascape of China can be drawn on the basis of this hierarchy of positions between different languages on different levels of order. This map highlights English as the language of tourism to China, with Mandarin, Chinese dialects and

minority languages serving as the exotic and playful background. In a sense, this map testifies to Jaworski and Piller's (2008) observation about linguistic standardization in tourism that only English and certain officially recognized languages become widespread knowledge through travelogues and other tourism genres (p. 316).

In essence, the touristic representations of China's linguascape once again manifest the discursive consistency between the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues, which is also reflected in the representations of Chinese people as discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Thus, the *NYT* travel articles exemplify the recycling and reproduction of Orientalism in representing China's linguistic landscape, as particularly seen in its construction of Chinese languages as icons of exoticity, which is apparently a contemporary version of the Orientalist imaging of "the Chinese language" as "outlandish" (see section 1.3.2). Meanwhile, in the *CD* travelogues, the Orientalist logic has been internalized in the representations of ethnic minority languages and dialects as iconic tokens signifying local cultural specifics and authenticity. Additionally, the rhetorical strategy of naturalization is extended to a different context: English is naturalized as the lingua franca for travel to China and Chinese languages are naturalized as the exotic and authentic backdrop of the touristic experience (for discussion on the utilization of naturalization in representing Chinese people as part of nature, see Chapters Four and Five). Finally, the asymmetrical relations of power featuring the contact zone explicated by Pratt (2008; see section 2.3.2) is clearly demonstrated in the hierarchical positioning of English and Chinese languages in the context of China's linguistic landscape.

Chapter 7:   Conclusion

7.1   Introduction

This thesis constitutes a CMDA of representations of China, specifically of Chinese people and linguistic landscapes, in travel writing from the *NYT* (1981-2010) and *CD* (2006-2010). I have analyzed how Chinese people are represented under the tourist gaze and in interactions with tourists, and how Chinese people's linguistic practices are represented. Through an exploration of the ideologies underpinning those discursive constructions, I have demonstrated that Orientalism continues to affect the Western imaging of China in the late 20th and early 21st century through different times and that China has internalized this Orientalism in its self-imaging. I argue that contemporary travel writing contributes to the continuation of Orientalist discourses that represent Chinese people and China's linguistic landscape as signifiers of the Other to be consumed by tourists. In this chapter, I will first revisit my research questions by synthesizing the main research findings. Then I will consider my findings from the perspectives of gender, ethnicity, age, and rurality. As a next step, I will discuss how my study contributes to existing scholarship in four related areas. Finally, I will suggest several interesting avenues for future investigations.

7.2   Research question 1: How are Chinese people under the tourist gaze represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers?

By asking this question, I have focused on how Chinese people being gazed at are represented in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues (see Chapter Four). In essence, Chinese people viewed this way form part of destination scenery. Textually, they are predominantly represented as unidentified individuals or characterless groups, while pictorially they usually appear in images of 'offer,' featuring little contact or interaction between the participants and the viewer. Thus, I have found that cultural fixity in representations of China gets repeated in both the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues. Essentially, while the *NYT* travelogues exemplify a continuation of the Orientalist discourse about China, the *CD* travelogues demonstrate a form of self-Orientalization in contemporary Chinese society, and internal Orientalism that features the fascination of more cosmopolitan Chinese with ancient rural life-styles or exotic minority cultures. Moreover, this imaging of Chinese people reflects modern tourists' search for authenticity and the sacred in order to compensate for our alienated existence in our world of modernization, urbanization, and fragmentation (cf. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Chinese

people are therefore framed as the touristified Other, while the travel writers present themselves either as highly individualized characters in the *NYT* or as detached observers in *CD*.

These observations are drawn from the findings that are summarized in the following subsections, including the similar and different themes manifested in the two newspapers. The three themes common to both newspapers are presented in the next three subsections.

7.2.1 Symbols of timelessness

In both newspapers, Chinese people are predominantly represented in the image of the timeless Other (see section 4.2). Being presented as part of the scenery of unchanged places, Chinese social actors, characterized by their enduring simplicity, are entrenched in a time that is located somewhere in an unspecified past. The myth of the timeless is expressed in two subthemes in the two newspapers: Chinese people are portrayed either as undisturbed by the country's modernization drive, or as actively maintaining their traditions despite the encroachment of modernity.

Above all, travel writers of both newspapers are particularly interested in portraying Chinese locals as unaffected or uncorrupted by modernity, usually in the contexts of old neighborhoods or remote areas that are constructed as isolated from the outside world. They are often depicted engaging in mundane activities that indicate traditional ways of life. The *NYT* travel writers tend to search for such traces of old times in old neighborhoods of cities, although occasionally they would also turn to rural areas for traces of the past. By contrast, the *CD* writers are more likely to seek the everlasting charm of the past in remote areas, especially areas inhabited by peasants or ethnic minorities. At other times, Chinese people can be represented adhering to their traditions even though their life has been inevitably affected by modernization, or they may be imaginatively presented as resisting the urbanization of their neighborhoods or changes to their old way of life, especially in the *NYT*.

Moreover, a number of formal features contribute to the building up of the mystique of timelessness, objectification, and homogeneity. Above all, the predominant use of the generic labels of reference, such as classification, functionalization, relational identification, and assimilation, represent social actors as unindividualized characters or faceless masses, and the identification of Chinese locals by physical features and clothing tends to objectify the social actors for tourist contemplation. Further, the frequent use of the universal present tense intensifies the thematization of timelessness. In addition, social actors are backgrounded by being grammatically realized as post-modifications. Lastly, the utilization of metaphorical

references of social actors creates the myth of the timeless or impersonalizes the relevant social actors and groups.

The thematization of timelessness also depends on the pictorial representations, which involve either narrative or analytical structures. Therefore, Chinese people either appear in narrative pictures as being engaged in everyday activities, or are objectified in analytical pictures as carriers who consist of some possessive attributes such as physical features, ethnic clothing, and accessories that symbolize traditions and ethnicities. As regards the patterns of interaction, these pictures predominantly present images of 'offer,' indicating no engagement between the represented participants and the viewer. Sometimes, the pictorial representations in this case may also turn to the nostalgic black-and-white color, the lowest color saturation and hence the lowest modality, in order to build up the mystique of the unworldly timeless.

7.2.2   Circumstances of destinations

The term "circumstances" in this case refers to both textual and pictorial representations (narrative and conceptual) of Chinese social actors as secondary participants. Chinese people represented in this sense are pushed further into the background, compared with those serving as 'props' reinforcing the atmosphere of timelessness. They are therefore deemed as the insignificant Other, either providing life and authenticity support to destination scenery, or functioning as circumstances of means that are utilized to carry out an activity or form a scene (see section 4.3).

First of all, my analysis showed that it is very rare for the travelogues under examination to present absolutely empty sights. Textually, every now and then the travel writers add a hint of local color to the landscape, seascape, or townscape by introducing some locals in passing. The local people in this case are not the focus of depiction but rather play a subsidiary role in bringing out the flavor and essence of the places. Mostly, the circumstantialization of social actors is realized through some formal elements. Hence the labels of genericization are employed in reference to social actors, such as classification, functionalization and aggregation, and some points of identification that tend to genericize and objectify social actors, such as physical identification, identification with respect to clothing, and instrumentalization. Chinese social actors can be pushed into the background by being grammatically realized as post-modifiers. At other times, they can be rendered almost invisible in texts, being represented in terms of the sounds they make that constitute the local acoustic landscape.

Pictorially, Chinese people are circumstantialized when they are presented to provide life and movement to destinations, serving as decorations to the scenery. Concerning patterns of representation, these people are mostly presented in narrative or analytical pictures: participants are captured engaging in their daily routines in the former or are represented as part of possessive attributes of a carrier, i.e. the whole tourist sight, in the latter. As for patterns of interaction, these pictures feature no contact between the represented participants and the viewer, thereby presenting images of 'offer.' Besides, the Chinese participants are always captured from a long distance, suggesting an impersonal relationship between them and the viewer.

Furthermore, Chinese people can be more radically excluded from the scene in pictures when the presence of humans or certain parts of the human body is needed only in order to realize an activity which is the tourist attraction proper or to present an object which is the focus of depiction. Chinese people presented in this sense are regarded as circumstances of means, just like the tools used in action processes (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72).

7.2.3 Chinese people as objects

When Chinese people are presented as symbols of timelessness or human circumstances of destinations, they are inevitably objectified in one way or another. However, in some other cases, they are objectified even more outright when they are explicitly referred to as tourist attractions or objectified tokens (see section 4.4). Chinese people represented this way are often women or ethnic minorities. Not only real-life individual characters but also the whole of local communities can be objectified as tourist attractions, usually through the use of metaphorical reference terms of objectification. Moreover, local communities can be presented as objects for display, being treated as statistics. Pictorial representations of this category often feature images of 'offer' involving analytical processes in which the participants, usually decontextualized, are presented as carriers which are analyzable in terms of their costume or physical characteristics.

7.2.4 Differential constructions of Chinese people in the *NYT* and *CD*

While the two newspapers share the discursive constructions of Chinese people as symbols of timelessness, circumstances of destinations, and objects, they also feature seemingly disparate themes that fit together in constructing Chinese people as destination scenery (see section 4.5).

In the *NYT*, ordinary Chinese people carrying out routine activities can be presented to particularly evoke an exotic feel, as a continuation of exoticizing Chinese people in the Western travel writing ever since Marco Polo's time (see section 1.3.2). The represented characters thus become the exoticized and mystified Other by the curious process that tourists brings into play (cf. Feifer, 1985). Chinese people in general can also be lumped together into faceless masses, which is a continuation of the early Western image of Chinese people as crowds (see section 1.3.2). This theme can be expressed through pictures in which large groups of Chinese people are captured from a long distance, forming a "monarch-of-all-I-survey" scene (Pratt, 2008; see section 2.3.2) that gets repeated in contemporary travel writing. Certain communities such as ethnic minorities and peasants, however, can be differentiated from the dominant majority. These communities are generally portrayed as being cut off from modernity or being placed at a disadvantageous position, in stark contrast with their modernized compatriots.

On the other hand, the *CD* travelogues feature portrayals of Chinese people as ethnoscapes entertaining tourists with cultural performances. Being cast in the frame of performance, these people are presented to act out ethnicity and hospitality or to promote cultural traditions. Hence they are mostly depicted as being involved in activities that are typically linked to intangible Chinese cultural heritage. These expressions of ethnicity and cultural traditions thus function as commodities for tourist consumption, being reduced to the staged authenticity and presented as a spectacle to be gazed at instead of an active engagement with the world (cf. Edwards, 1996).

Further, some social actors, ethnic minorities in particular, can be depicted as representatives of their communities in the *CD* travel articles. In pictures, these people usually appear as individuals or small groups, dressed in ethnic costumes and carrying out certain activities that are stereotypically associated with their ethnicities. Textually, they usually appear as individuals who are considered as prototypical bearers of the characteristics of their communities.

Finally, in the *CD* travel pictures, Chinese people can be presented as if merely to display colorful ethnic costumes for tourist contemplation. These pictures predominantly feature ethnic females, usually young, clad in colorful and splendid traditional attire, being portrayed in close-up or medium shots, very often at a slightly oblique angle. These ethnic females, being deprived of individuality and personal history, are presented as the objectified Other demonstrating differences in dress, the most plainly noticeable signs of ethnic identity (Kolas, 2008).

Compared with the *NYT*, *CD* features more diversity in presenting traditions and minority ethnic cultures, but its textual and pictorial representations are almost exclusively constructed around an essentialist conception of Chinese ethnicities and cultural traditions, which will be discussed in more detail in section 7.6.

7.3   Research question 2: How are Chinese people interacting with tourists represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers?

In answering this question, I have particularly focused on how Chinese people are viewed in their interactions with tourists. In both newspapers, Chinese people are primarily portrayed as helpers who facilitate the travel writers' completion of their tours (see section 5.2). They can also be constructed as 'foreigners in their own land' who react curiously and overenthusiastically to the presence of American visitors in the *NYT* (see section 5.3). Even though these people are considered less part of the tourism product, they are by no means depicted as the travel writers' equal, for the latter always maintain the status of dominators or masters of the places they visit.

In both newspapers, Chinese people are depicted providing help in one way or another to travel writers, hence serving as information sources, guides, hosts, and servers (see section 5.2). Despite the different roles they are cast in, these people are endowed with the subservient character of helpers, being Othered from the Self of travel writers.

Most often, individualized Chinese act as information sources, offering information about various aspects of the travel journalists' tours. In the *NYT*, they can be business owners, local residents, and sometimes people in authority (government officials and experts). In *CD*, they are mostly people in authority (government officials, people in academia, and experts), business owners, and local residents. It is notable that when Chinese individuals are quoted as information sources in both newspapers, they are always nominated if they are people of authority and business owners, but they are not necessarily identified by name if they are simply local residents. Chinese people can also be presented as tour guides showing travel journalists around destinations. In this case, they can be identified by nomination, hence in terms of their unique identity, but they are presented only in the subservient role of guides, and there is never an extension of the relationship beyond that role. In addition, Chinese helpers can act as hosts who extend hospitality to travel writers by inviting the latter to a meal or their homes. They are predominantly represented as non-interactive as the previous two types of helpers. In *CD*, there are comparatively more instances of host-tourist interaction

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depicted than in the *NYT*, probably because most of the *CD* writers are bilingual (see section 3.2). The representation of Chinese hosts in such interactions, however, can be seen as part of their romanticization as kind, hospitable, unspoilt, and naïve individuals, and as providing a safe environment for travel (cf. Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003). Very often Chinese hosts are rendered invisible, especially in *CD*, which is similar to enacting elitism of tourists by emphasizing solitude as a marker of privacy (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2009). Finally, Chinese servers are perceived more negatively, compared with the previous three types of helpers who are cast in a neutral or relatively positive light. This negative imaging of Chinese servers echoes the criticism of China's service industry made by Thubron (1988) and Theroux (1989) (see section 1.3.2.4). Concerning the pictorial representations, helpers appear much less frequently in pictures than Chinese people as scenery. Mostly, they are portrayed in images of 'offer,' featuring no contact between them and the viewer, and the employment of a long or medium shot further widens the distant relations.

In some cases, Chinese people can be presented interacting with travel writers in another way in the *NYT*, i.e. by being depicted as showing various responses to the tourist gaze of travel writers (see section 5.3). While Chinese people are mostly portrayed as passive recipients of the tourist gaze (see Chapter Four), they can sometimes gaze back, directing the local gaze at their observers. In this case, the interaction between travel writers and Chinese natives is characterized by the coexistence of the tourist and local gazes that affect and feed each other, resulting in the mutual gaze (cf. Maoz, 2006). Above all, Chinese people are primarily represented as passive locals reacting to the tourist gaze over the thirty years under analysis. Sometimes, they can be depicted taking a more active part in the mutual gaze, particularly in the 1990s. During the last decade, they may also be presented as aggressive gazers who cause the travel writers discomfort and unease and they can be represented as engaging in relatively more complex reciprocal interaction with American visitors. Finally, Chinese people can be represented as more active in interaction in that they are depicted as demonstrating excessive friendliness and enthusiasm to American travel writers. It is worth noting that some formal strategies contribute to the construction of Chinese people as 'foreigners,' such as generic reference labels, identification markers of unindividualization and impersonalization, metaphorical expressions, and the present tense.

These findings have thus demonstrated that even though American travel journalists are understood as foreigners in the travelogues, 'foreignness' is invariably attributed to Chinese natives depicted in this context. This 'foreignness' reversal (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003, p. 140) exposes the asymmetrical power relations between American travel writers and

Chinese natives, the latter being fixed into the cultural stereotype of the enthralled Other, a theme introduced into the Western representation of China as early as the 16th century (see sections 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.1.4). Indeed, while Chinese people are framed as the Oriental Other, as 'strangers,' satisfying the writing Self's desire for the exotic and the 'authentic,' the travel writers represent themselves as rational and detached observers, and always on the move, thereby a more cosmopolitan and superior Self.

7.4 Research question 3: How is China's linguistic landscape represented in the travel writing of English-language newspapers?

In order to answer this question, I investigated how the representations and uses of languages in communicative practices and linguistic situations in tourist destinations more broadly are constructed as indexes of particular groups of people and China as a specific tourist destination (see Chapter Six). Specifically, I have explored how travel journalists of the two newspapers achieve the ideologization of Chinese languages and English through the three semantic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. A CMDA of the data reveals that China is constructed as a simple (i.e. lacking in complexity), exotic, and inferior Other through four pervasive themes about Chinese and English: reduced linguistic diversity, incomprehensible Chinese languages, lack of English, and improper uses of English.

Clearly, Chinese languages in both newspapers have been represented to index a relatively homogenous and exotic Other, with China's linguistic diversity being rendered almost invisible and snippets of Chinese languages being constructed as icons of exoticity (see section 6.2). While the use or representation of only certain Chinese languages tends to downplay and ignore the internal multilingualism in China (cf. Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011), the quotation of fragments of Chinese languages in the English texts is meant to create a more authentic and exotic atmosphere for the narrated travel experiences. Pictorially, Chinese characters are presented to constitute the local linguascape for tourist consumption.

Moreover, the representations of English in China in the two newspapers tend to emphasize the lack of services in English and the incompetence of Chinese people in English (see section 6.3). While the availability of English-language services are mentioned in some travel experiences, there are some comments on the non-English services and inaccurate uses of English or inadequate translations into English. My analysis of these metacomments has shown that English in China's tourism is represented as an index of inferiority relative to 'standard' English, which is recursively transferred onto the construction of relevant people and places.

Finally, this framing of Chinese languages and English in China and the resulting differentiation of Chinese people and places points to the unbalanced power relations between English and Chinese. Above all, English is unanimously acknowledged as the lingua franca for travel in China. In contrast, Chinese languages in general are placed at a lower position. First, Chinese languages in tourism are rarely considered in terms of their representational and interpersonal functions, and the varieties of Chinese such as Mandarin, dialects, and ethnic minority languages can be hierarchically positioned as well according to their economic and political power. Further, Chinese languages can sometimes be deployed as ludic resources for travel writers to enact an elite identity for themselves through practices of language crossing. Finally, in the *NYT* travelogues, there are some representations of selected languages that construct identities of places, from which, however, certain Chinese languages can be erased.

7.5   Research question 4: Have these representations changed over time? If so, how?

To begin with, all the major themes identified in this study, representing Chinese people as destination scenery and helpers, remain constant over time (see Chapter Four and section 5.2). There are only two categories of representations where there is any observable diachronic change over the thirty years under investigation, namely representations of Chinese people as 'foreigners' (see section 5.3) and English in China (see section 6.3.2).

As regards the representation of Chinese people as 'foreigners,' three trends can be observed. First, the more recent the time is, the more instances of interaction are depicted. Besides, while depictions of the mutual gaze between American visitors and Chinese natives were featured mostly in the first two decades, in the last decade some instances of deeper-level interaction can be observed. These two trends in general reflect the increasing opening-up of China since the 1980s (see section 1.2). Despite this gradual increase in quantity and depth of interactions, the three decades have actually seen Chinese people consistently being cast in an image of 'foreignness,' which suggests a tame and safe community. This is further shown in the consistent construction of Chinese people as the Other showing excessive friendliness and enthusiasm to American visitors in the three decades, which can be linked to the representations of Chinese people's enthusiasm for learning English since the 1980s (see section 6.4.1).

Regarding the *NYT* representation of English in China, an interesting trend can be observed: it seems that the more open China has become and the more people have traveled there, the less favorably the English proficiency of Chinese people has been perceived. This

increasingly negative view of English in China may be explained from three perspectives. Firstly, the increasingly negative perception of Chinese people's English proficiency is consistent with Americans' ratings of China in these three decades: throughout the 1980s, relatively favorable ratings of China were found prior to the Tian'an Square incident in 1989 (Hirshberg, 1993); after that Americans' view of China shifted to be negative for the next two decades, as part of a global negative discourse about China that started to resurface after 1989 and features the "China threat" theory that emerged in early 1990s (Murray, 1998). Secondly, this may be related to the places the writers visit, where there may well exist some gaps in ELT. I have found that the positive comments are based on travel experiences in big cities while the negative comments are about remote areas. Thirdly, this can be explained from the perspective of the quality-quantity trade-off in education: the outcome in education is usually good when we educate only a small group of people, but the quality of education decreases as the system expands. Therefore, it can be assumed that the people encountered by the *NYT* journalists in the 1980s were good exceptions, while in the 1990s and later more Chinese people speak English but most of them probably not very well.

7.6   The discursive construction of Chinese identity

Following on from the many themes discussed in the preceding sections, it is clear that the touristic images of people in texts and pictures are typically represented to be exotic but safe and unthreatening to the tourist. This is especially manifest in the choice of subjects in both texts and pictures that represent Chinese people as part of destination scenery: women, old people, children, ethnic minorities, and rural people. The people placed in those images have to be viewed as metonymic of the country or regions they represent (cf. Thurlow et al., 2005). As such, they become typified and objectified, turned into tourist attractions to be gazed at, scrutinized and Othered by travel writers and potential tourists (cf. Thurlow et al., 2005). As media sociologists claim, ethnic minorities, women and older adults are differentially portrayed in advertising images and the roles ascribed to them are usually stereotypical in nature (Berger, 1998). Arguably, touristic representations of Chinese people discussed in this study reproduce these ethnic, gendered, age and rurality related stereotypes that accord their limiting roles to the represented Chinese. In this section, I will consider my findings about representations of Chinese people from the perspectives of gender, ethnicity, age and rurality.

First of all, women are predominantly touristified in both texts and pictures, serving as symbols of timelessness, objectified tokens, performers of cultural heritage, community representatives, and displayers of ethnic costumes (see sections 4.2, 4.4, and 4.5.2).

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Sometimes, they are cast in the role of serving the tourists (see section 5.2.4), or viewed as 'foreigners' reacting curiously and overenthusiastically to the presence of American visitors (see section 5.3). This gendered nature of touristification, subordination, and exoticization of people reflects the fact that tourism representations, in a similar vein as tourism advertising and the myths and fantasies promoted by tourism marketers, are dependent upon shared conceptions of gender, sexuality and gender relations and that women are often used to promote the exoticized and non-threatening nature of destinations (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a). Such representational language and imagery privileges the white, Western, male, heterosexual gaze over Others (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a). Chinese women, being portrayed in a narrow range of senses, namely as tourist attractions, submissive helpers, and 'foreigners,' are represented as awaiting the exploration of the male onlooker (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2000b). They are thus reduced to be exoticized commodities which are there to be experienced and consumed by tourists.

Moreover, some ethnic minorities seem more inclined than others to be used as national hallmarks, i.e. as prototypical bearers of ethnic characteristics of the Chinese community (cf. Thurlow et al, 2005). Seemingly, there is a hierarchy of ethnographic curiosity and objectification at play. Of the 56 ethnicities in China, there are a few that are recurring in the representations of social actors in the two newspapers, namely Hui, Miao, Naxi, Tibetan, Uyghur and Yi. In addition to these, *CD* features more diversity by also including Bai, Blang, Bouyei, Dong, Jino, Kazakh, Li, Lisu, Manchu, Mongolian, Mosuo, Tujia, Tuwa, Wa, Yao, and Zhuang. In most cases, however, Chinese people are classified in terms of age and gender but not ethnicity. The represented ethnicities are overwhelmingly treated as ethnoscape for tourist consumption, whereas other ethnic minority groups are either unidentified or backgrounded or virtually left out of the picture. Both textual and pictorial representations have often shown selected members of some ethnic minorities as performers of ethnic cultural traditions, or prototypical bearers of the characteristics of their communities, or picturesque Others displaying their ethnic costumes (see section 4.5.2). At times, they can be represented as helpers (see section 5.2), or 'foreigners' showing curiosity and excessive enthusiasm to American tourists (see section 5.3). Such representations of China's ethnic minorities is non-inclusive and reinforces stereotypes by privileging particular social realities and allocating limited roles to members of certain ethnic minority groups (cf. Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006). The selective representation of realities in which only certain ethnic minorities are presented yet are limited to marginal roles can further perpetuate power asymmetries among social groups, for this representational hegemony allows for only a

particular reality and hence arguably affects people's lives, rights and positions in a given society (cf. Buzinde, et al., 2006).

In addition, the represented Chinese people who are considered as part of destination scenery are noticeably old people and young children. Old people and young children are constantly selected to appear in the textual and pictorial examples that convey idealized images of local life: idyllic and unaffected by the outside world. Old people tend to be associated with images of the past, for they are often portrayed as living a life uncorrupted by the country's modernization and adhering to traditions despite the encroachment of modernity (see section 4.2). They also frequently appear as performers of cultural traditions (see section 4.5.2.1), or community representatives (see section 4.5.2.2), or informants in pictures (see section 5.2.1), or 'foreigners' reacting with inappropriate curiosity and extreme friendliness at the sight of Americans (see section 5.3). Meanwhile, children are often presented along with old people: they can be associated with the theme of timelessness (see section 4.2), or serve as props adding life to destinations (see section 4.3.1), or as exoticized Others satisfying the American's imagination about the Orient (see section 5.3). Symbolically speaking, children, women and the elderly in tourism are strategically safe and unthreatening for visitors (Thurlow et al., 2005). Children are, of course, also cross-culturally available icons added with the connotative meaning of innocence and, in turn, 'naturalness' and 'tradition' (Aiello & Thurlow, 2006).

Lastly, Chinese women, ethnic minorities, old people and children under analysis are always presented as inhabitants of rural or remote areas or undeveloped neighborhoods in cities. The imagery of rurality, much like the exoticization of ethnic minorities, also constitutes part of Othering China by reaffirming and reinstating rural places as the ideal periphery, a desirable and attractive 'decorative edge' to the modern contemporary Chinese nation (Chio, 2011). While tourism development clearly prioritizes modernizing ethnic minority groups and rural regions, it simultaneously emphasizes the Otherness of ethnic minority and rural communities in order to promote them as tourist attractions (Chio, 2011; T. Oakes, 1992). The construction of the rural Other stems from the dichotomy set between rurality and urbanity in Euro-American societies as well as in China ever since the 1949 Socialist Revolution (Park, 2008). There exists a cultural hierarchy in China in which urbanity has been made a synonym of modernity while rurality has been constructed in contrast to the discursive merger of urbanity and modernity (Park, 2008). According to this cultural hierarchy, rural China has been constructed as "the locus of tradition and continuity with the past" and urban China as "the site of modernization and change" (Ferguson, 1997, p. 137).

Further, there are two paradoxical connotations attached to China's rurality: one is a romanticized imagery signifying an idealized rural life and natural scenery; the other is a derogatory association of the rural with poverty, ignorance and underdevelopment (Su, 2011). This paradoxical construction of China's rurality is evident throughout the touristic representations of Chinese peasants in the two newspapers (see sections 4.2, 4.4, 4.5.1.3, 4.5.2, 5.2, and 5.3).

It should be noted that there is a stark absence of mature modern or urban Chinese men except some appearances as helpers (mostly informants) for tourists (see section 5.2.1).The Chinese communities reviewed above, by contrast, are even more subordinated due to the signification that links ethnic to female to rural to backward (see also section 2.3.1). In general, Chinese people, as typified by women, ethnic minorities, old people, young children, and rural communities, are represented as exotic yet powerless and vulnerable, locating contemporary tourism representation of China firmly within the same tradition as historical Oriental discourses (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2000b). Specifically, the *NYT*'s selective representations of Chinese people comply with Western (American) Orientalist desires for an exotic China which is simultaneously tame and safe. The *CD*'s touristic representations not only reflect the fascination of more cosmopolitan Chinese with exotic minority and rural cultures, but also China's attempt to seek the reinvocation of mythic pasts and to create internal Others in order to cater to the consumer taste of Western visitors.

I have thus identified a series of rhetorical tropes that emerge from the construction of Chinese identity as discussed above. First, surveillance is the primary means through which travel writers hold authority in providing 'knowledge' about the cultural Other, namely Chinese people as destination scenery, helpers, and 'foreigners.' Second, by negation, certain groups of Chinese such as women, ethnic minorities, old people, children, and rural people are rendered into destination scenery, being denied of individuality, mobility, modernity, and change. Third, debasement is employed to frame Chinese people, particularly women, old people, children and peasants, as the Other reacting inappropriately to the presence of American visitors (see section 5.3). Besides, the lifestyles of certain ethnic communities are framed as backward and primitive (see sections 5.2.4 and 5.3.5) through the strategy of debasement. Fourth, the rhetorical trope of idealization is manifested in the portrayals of Chinese locals as living in a pre-modern, Eden-like state of purity and simplicity that is not yet corrupted by the country's modernization. Fifth, through the strategy of naturalization, rural people are presented as part of nature, being placed in the same context as animals, and this presentation is treated as absolutely 'natural,' especially in the *NYT*. A discursive

consistency of Orientalism, therefore, can be seen working between the *NYT* and *CD* in constructing Chinese identity. While the *NYT* travel writing demonstrates cultural fixity in establishing China as the Oriental Other, the *CD* travelogues exemplify internal Orientalism by following Orientalist constructs in Othering certain groups of Chinese such as women, ethnic minorities, old people, children, and rural communities. Thus, in the contact zone of tourism discourses about China, the *CD* travel writing under examination shows little resistance in appropriating Western Orientalist mode of representation; its practice of internalization of Orientalism in constructing Chinese identity serves to perpetuate and even consolidate the existent stereotypes related to gender, ethnicity, age, and rurality and also the asymmetrical power relations between China and the West.

7.7   Significance of this study

By critically investigating the external and internal representations of Chinese people and languages, this study is situated in four related areas, namely discourse analysis of tourism representations, tourism representation and Orientalism, media representations of the Other, and representations of China and tourism to China. In this section I will discuss how my study contributes to furthering the literature in these areas.

7.7.1 Discourse analysis of tourism representations

As explicated in section 2.2, CMDA was employed as the primary overall theoretical and methodological framework for this study. In this sub-section, I will consider how my implementation of CMDA has shed further light on discourse analysis of tourism representations.

Above all, my employment of CMDA constitutes a substantiation of integrating the concept of multimodality and the critical approach into discourse analysis of tourism representations. Tourism discourses in the online newspaper travelogues under investigation are multimodal in nature, as manifested in the linguistic elements of travel texts and the semiotic features of accompanying pictures. Adopting the multimodal approach, I have explored the multiplicity of verbal texts and pictorial elements that are superimposed on or embedded within each other in the online *NYT* and *CD* travelogues, emphasizing the interdependence of the two modes in orchestrating a coherent meaning. As is established practice in the critical approach, I have situated the immediate formal properties of texts and pictures in their wider social, cultural and historical contexts. This has been realized through intertextual and interdiscursive analysis in my study. I have specifically examined the intertextuality of the travelogue representations by comparing across the verbal and visual

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modes, the two sources of travelogues, and different periods of time. Besides, through the interdiscursive analysis, I have incorporated elements of context such as relevant socio-cultural backgrounds (i.e. China's modernization and globalization) and ideological systems (i.e. Orientalism, self-Orientalism and internal Orientalism) into the analysis of texts and pictures.

In addition, the implementation of CMDA in my study has developed the theoretical and methodological flexibility of CMDA. While building my work on the variants of CDA for the overall approach and the key themes (see section 2.2), I have utilized an array of analytical methods which has provided further light on the examination of touristic representations of native people and communicative practices (see section 2.2.3). Firstly, in examining the travelogue representations of Chinese people, I have drawn on the socio-semiotic application of CDA to analyzing touristic representations of people, the socio-semantic inventory of representing social actors, and the socio-semiotic application of CDA to the analysis of multimodal discourse (see section 2.2.3). Secondly, I have applied the theory of language ideology to my analysis of the touristic representations of China's linguistic landscape, thus contributing to an integration of the concept of language ideology and the ideologization of languages into the overarching framework of CMDA. Therefore, by employing a range of theoretical and analytical approaches in this study, I have provided an interdisciplinary and eclectic CMDA framework for examining tourism discourses.

7.7.2 Tourism representations and Orientalism

Within the primary framework of CMDA, this study has adopted Said's critique of Orientalism as an essential perspective to examine the Othering of China in tourism representations (see section 2.3). In what follows I will review how my findings illuminate the application of Said's critique of Orientalism to analyzing travel writing.

To begin with, the applicability of Said's theorization of Orientalism has been enriched through my analyses of the travelogues' representations of Chinese people and their linguistic practices. As revealed by my findings (see Chapters Four, Five, and Six), the concept of Orientalism (see section 2.3.1) in my study refers to the ideological suppositions about China that form part of the complex institutional practice of Othering China and the Western (American) model of dominating and exerting authority over China in the process of representing it, hence an extension from its original sense that focuses on the European imagination of the Middle East. America's share in Orientalism has been explored specifically in my discussion of the *NYT* travelogues' construction of Chinese natives and their languages,

which has brought to light the ideological configurations of power embodied in the textual and pictorial representations. The typical Orientalist practice of disregarding, denuding and essentializing the humanity of another culture and people is witnessed in the *NYT* touristification of Chinese people as symbols of the timeless, circumstances of destination scenery, objectified tokens, exoticized Others, faceless masses, and differentiated communities, as well as in the *NYT* ideologization of Chinese languages and uses of English in China. Such a representational practice reflects the essential part of Orientalism that involves the asymmetrical power relations between the American travel writers as the representer and the Orientalized Chinese as the represented, which is further evidenced in the representations of Chinese natives in interaction. While the imaging of Chinese people as helpers assigns a subsidiary role to them, the representation of them as 'foreigners' over the three decades not only confirms the unbalanced power relations at work but also demonstrates the fixity and consistency in the discursive constructions of China.

Furthermore, the recycling and reproduction of Orientalism on the part of the Orient noted by Said (see 2.3.1) has been exposed through my examination of the *CD*'s touristic representations. On the one hand, self-Orientalism is manifested in *CD*'s representations of Chinese people and communicative practices in general that actively comply with the Western Orientalist fantasies about an 'exotic' China. On the other hand, internal Orientalism is evidenced in *CD*'s creation or invention of internal Others, such as women, ethnic minorities, old people, children, rural people and undeveloped communities, as well as dialects and minority languages. In particular, *CD* engages in self-Orientalization and internal Orientalization in its touristification of Chinese natives as icons of the timeless, circumstances of destination scenery, performers of cultural heritage, community representatives, and displayers of ethnic costume. This internalization practice of Orientalism serves to perpetuate and even consolidate the existent forms of power by absorbing the historical assumptions about China as the Oriental Other (Dirlik, 1996).

Briefly, by tracking the Orientalist logic in the American representations of China and unraveling the complex discursive processes of self-Orientalization and internal Orientalization in Chinese constructions of China as a tourist destination, my examination of the *NYT* and *CD* travelogue representations contributes to the line of inquiry about Orientalism in tourism discourses that has predominantly stressed the Western, i.e. the outsiders' representations, and also the existing literature about the persistence of Orientalist tropes in self-representation (see section 2.3.1).

7.7.3 Media representations of the Other

Since my project also draws on critical studies of tourism representations in media discourses (see section 2.4), my study contributes to this critical pool of existing research in touristic representations of native people and their linguistic practices.

Compared with the critical approaches to the touristic imaging of the Other (see section 2.4), the current study has moved a step further in synthesizing and utilizing insights from a variety of critical inquires. Specifically, it has incorporated the three salient points raised across different studies into an analysis of the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues. First, the discrepancy between travelogue representations and realities in China has been noted. In essence, the touristic representations of Chinese people and languages under analysis in this study is a construction that involves establishing opposites and Others whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us' (Said, 2003). Second, the present study has provided additional support for the findings about the continuity and consistency of tourism representations in previous critical approaches. This is evidenced in the *NYT*'s discursive consistency in framing Chinese people in intercultural encounters as unchanged over the thirty years under examination, by making certain features of their way of communication salient such as staring at foreigners and extending excessive friendliness and hospitality to Americans. Third, my study has extended the general critical research by relating my textual and pictorial analysis to the socio-historical and ideological contexts for tourism representational messages. This is not only reflected in my analysis of the *NYT* travelogues which is set against the historical and the present socio-cultural background of the Western constructions of a rapidly changing China , but also in my analysis of the *CD* travelogues which is situated in the contemporary context of China's self-representation as part of its modernization drive.

Apart from its general significance viewed from critical perspectives, my study has in particular contributed to existing research on tourism representations of native people and linguistic landscapes. It is notable that my analysis of representations of Chinese people has gone beyond previous work in two senses.

First, this study has offered a thorough and detailed textual and pictorial analysis of Chinese people represented in the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues, which was intended to fill in the glaring gap that exists in the current scholarship in this aspect. As reviewed in section 2.4.2, previous work focuses only on one mode of representation, either on the textual/verbal representations of local people (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003; Jaworski et al., 2003) or on the

visual image constructions of ethnicities (Thurlow et al., 2005). Further, this study has provided a clear and comprehensive categorization of the represented social actors in terms of the primary roles they play in encounters, and has given a minute examination of the constructed images of Chinese people by investigating their primary roles which are further classified into a variety of sub-themes (see Chapters Four and Five). In the meantime, this project constitutes part of the emerging critical work on the tourism discursive construction of native people's language practices (see section 2.4.3). Drawing on earlier critical studies of the ideologization of languages, I confirmed the central theme of the hierarchical positioning of English and local languages in tourism. Additionally, I have extended this work by locating my investigation in the context of contemporary China.

Finally, this study enriches the scholarship on tourism representations in media discourses by examining online newspaper travelogues, which have received scant attention compared with other forms of media such as travel brochures and postcards (see section 2.4). Moreover, my study of the online *NYT* and *CD* has confirmed that travel journalism serves as an important site for investigating ideological dimensions of representations of the Other in the context of globalization (see section 1.1).

7.7.4   Representations of China and tourism to China

As set out in the Introduction, this study relates to the general issue of representations of China as well as tourism to China while laying specific emphasis on how Chinese people and their linguistic practices are represented in tourism discourses. In this subsection I will explain how this study has cast new light on research in this regard.

Firstly, through analyzing the internal/insider's touristic representations of Chinese people and languages, this study has offered some insight into Chinese self-representations in tourism discourses. As indicated in section 1.3.3, China's self-representation is closely linked to its development model, which is primarily based on the modernization paradigm of the West while asserting its uniqueness of culture and identity. To some extent, this is also mirrored in China's touristic self-representation as exemplified in the *CD* travelogues under analysis. On the one hand, the internal/insider's self-perception as revealed in the *CD* travelogues comply with Western Orientalist fantasies about an 'exotic' China (see also section 7.7.2). Specifically, *CD* is consistent with the *NYT* in representing Chinese people in a limited number of images. Above all, it depicts Chinese people as the touristified Other and subsidiary helpers in a similar vein to the *NYT*. Furthermore, similarly to the *NYT*, it renders China and its people simple, exotic, and inferior, by characterizing its linguascape as

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homogenous, incomprehensible, and lacking (correct) English. In this sense, *CD* follows the *NYT*'s mode of construction that places China at some lower rung of the ladder of development than the West/America.

On the other hand, to bring out the uniqueness of Chinese culture and identity, *CD* relies heavily on its tourism imagery of the intangible cultural heritage that involves ethnic minorities and cultural traditions, as seen in its predominant representation of Chinese people as performers of cultural heritage, community representatives, and displayers of ethnic costumes (see section 4.5.2). Undoubtedly, *CD*'s representations of cultural heritage reflect the state's attempts to attract an influx of international capital by actively complying with Western Orientalist desires to experience a more diverse, colorful, and 'authentic' China. Meanwhile, these representations also manifest the fascination of more cosmopolitan or modernized Chinese with 'exotic' minorities and traditional culture, which are respectively regarded as "reservoirs of still-extant authenticity" in contemporary China (Schein, 1997, p. 72) and part of the very core of Chineseness (B. Xu, 1998). However, in order to make an exoticized China more attractive to Western tourists, the represented ethnicities and cultural traditions are reified into commodities in the context of tourism. Further, only certain ethnic minorities (see section 7.6), and some forms of traditional culture (see section 4.5.2.1) are represented, creating and reinforcing a hierarchical ranking of ethnic groups and cultural traditions. With a selected few being naturalized as the whole, Chinese ethnicities and traditions are thus simplified and essentialized.

Thus, in its self-representation, the *CD* travel writing under examination communicates with the West through self-Orientalizing and internal Orientalizing gestures (see also section 7.7.2). The gesture of self-Orientalization may play a part in the struggle against external hegemony in the sense that it utilizes the Orientalized image to look back at the Western gaze. It may also be possible to see it as a marketing tactic that packages and sells Chinese culture to Western tourists (cf. Chu, 2008). In this very process, however, it perpetuates and even consolidates Western ideological hegemony by resorting to the historical assumptions of Orientalism (see section 2.3.1). Therefore, it makes sense to view *CD*'s self-representation as a product of the contact zone in which Chinese encounter Westerners/Americans and where Western/American Orientalist conceptualizations about China dominate. *CD* travel writing does constitute a voice in the contact zone, which, however, speaks in a language that is essentially complicit in Othering China for tourist consumption. Indeed, considering the presence of a number of Western travel writers in *CD*

(see section 3.2), it is sometimes impossible to tell what is identifiably Chinese or identifiably Western in *CD*'s self-representation.

Secondly, concerning the external perspective, my findings about the *NYT*'s Othering of China in its travel writing demonstrate the continuity of Orientalism in the Western/American touristic representation of contemporary China. While tourism imageries generally reflect and reinforce relations of power, dominance, and subordination which characterize the global system, this is clearly reflected in the *NYT*'s touristic construction of Chinese identity as feminine, exotic, aged, childlike, and backward (see section 7.6). In addition, my study has focused on representations of native people and languages, two aspects of touristic representations of destinations that merit more academic attention (see section 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). Further, it reviewed the diachronic changes in the *NYT*'s depiction of China in terms of people and languages since 1980s, adding a historical perspective to the discussion of contemporary tourism discourses about the nation.

Thirdly, this study has moved a step further than the previous research by comparing external and internal representations of China and tourism to China. The intertextual and interdiscursive analyses of the *NYT* and *CD* travelogues point to repercussions of Western Orientalist paradigms in contemporary tourism discourses about China, both external and internal (see section 2.3.3). Thus, Orientalism becomes even more difficult to detect, for the East participates in the construction of the Orient and becomes "an appendage" to the West in the process (Chu, 2008). Indeed, Orientalism has ironically turned into a motto for both the West and the East as they enter the contact zone of global modernity (Chu, 2008).

Finally, this study has extended existing research on representations of China by considering tourism media discourses. With the increasing significance of tourism media as a major source of understanding foreign places, peoples and cultures (see section 1.1), my investigation of online newspaper travel writing of China has illuminated the discursive conventions of representing China and the underlying ideological implications, as seen in the observed consistencies between the American touristic construction of English in China and American images of China in general (see section 6.3.2), between the contemporary tourism imagery of Chinese as 'foreigners' (see section 5.3) and the historical Western images of Chinese as the curious Other (see section 1.3.2), between the 2000-2010 touristic representations of Chinese people and the historical representations of Chinese people in the *NYT* travel writing (see Chapters Four and Five), and the Orientalist logic that undergird such consistencies.

7.8   Future directions

I see this study as a starting point in what can possibly be a much larger research agenda in the study of how China is represented in tourism discourses emanating from the West and China. This project could be expanded by incorporating additional types of data, methods of analysis, and other focuses in content of analysis. While it is not feasible to discuss all of the potential research projects here, I present below what is particularly promising.

While the current study is based on the online *NYT* and *CD*, future studies could include other English-language newspapers, or newspapers in other languages, or other genres of tourism representation, such as advertisements, souvenirs, tourism websites, travel guides, brochures, travel magazines, TV programs, and touristic events. Possible next steps in this line of inquiry might involve a comparative exploration of the touristic images of Chinese natives and communication practices produced by either different newspapers in English or those in other languages, or the various media of representation.

In dealing with a large body of data, corpus linguistics methods can be employed to strengthen the in-depth qualitative analysis of CDA that is based on small corpora (Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Stubbs, 1997). Critical discourse analysts such as Baker (2006), Baker et al. (2008), de Beaugrande (2004), Hakam (2009), Mautner (2005), and Orpin (2005) have demonstrated, through their employment of corpus linguistics methods and specifically concordancing software, that CDA can draw on corpus linguistics to supplement its traditional qualitative analyses. CL techniques, as contended by Baker et al. (2008, p. 284), provide "a 'map' of the corpus, pinpointing areas of interest for a subsequent close analysis."

Similarly, ethnography could provide interesting extensions to the present study either by exploring how Chinese actors appropriate or resist the dominant representations as they try to do business with tourists or engage internationally, or by focusing on Chinese locals' self-representation processes which involves heterogeneous subjectivities of local participants. In addition, in examining actual encounters between tourists and Chinese natives, more research can be done concerning the mutual gaze, e.g. how the local gaze interacts with the tourist gaze, or how the mutual gaze develops into more complex interactions between tourists and locals, by conducting a photo ethnography which can be supplemented by intensive interviews and participant observation (cf. Bandyopadhyay, 2011).

While the present study focuses on the representations of Chinese people and China's linguistic landscapes, future studies could address representations of destinations. Discussions

could be elicited in relation to how specific destinations are represented, and what aspects of destinations other than native people and languages are represented. Future research could also expand the current study concerning the internal touristic construction of China by asking questions such as why a carefully constructed state version of China is so close to the classical forms of Orientalism and why such state massive resources go into the project that is characterized as self-Orientalism. More generally, it would be interesting to examine the historical and contemporary touristic representations of China that are derived from the West. A possible inquiry would be comparing the touristic construction of China in a certain historical period with its contemporary imaging in tourism discourses. Future studies could also address the touristic images and non-touristic representations of China (political or ethnographic). This type of comparative analysis would shed further light on the intertextual and interdiscursive processes of constructing China. Additionally, it would be a promising future study to introduce some other perspectives into the inquiry about the product of tourism construction, such as the production and the reception or interpretation of the constructed messages. These additions to the scholarship will further our understanding of the ideological workings that may reinforce or resist the existent relations of power in the world. Finally, it is worthwhile to add a reflexive aspect to future studies that addresses the utilization of research methods, such as how triangulation can be used as an effective and appropriate counterbalance to questions of bias in qualitative research about tourism discourses, and how useful triangulation can be as a credibility measure of CMDA. Reflections on these issues will induce a fuller understanding of the relevant research methods and thus guide future researchers in this field.

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