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EXPLORATION OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM:
THE EXAMPLE OF PARTITIONED CHINA

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
June, 1995

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ABSTRACT

The European political state system has spread throughout the world and has become the predominant geo-political organization. However, the recent partitioning of states have generated a type of abnormal political entities: partitioned states. These partitioned states have serious implications for tourism development. Despite the uncertainty created by political strife and subdivision, many people continue to travel between partitioned states. Economic necessity, religious obligations, family ties, political negotiations, and pleasure are all relevant motivations driving the movement of people between these partitioned states. However, there is a substantial lack of systematic research on the movement of tourists between divided partitioned states. Most research has been case specific, if tourism between partitioned states has been included at all. Consequently, the nature and patterns of this unique tourism movement have not been analyzed or presented.

This dissertation starts from an examination of the geo-political context of the partitioned state globally, proceeds by means of a case study, through a review of unique political and cultural boundary conditions, and evolutionary process of partitioned states. It argues that the tourist movement between partitioned states does not fit easily into any conventional tourism classification. In the light of comparisons to conventional tourism, general conceptual frameworks and models are developed to describe the nature, patterns, and typology of partitioned state tourism.

Partitioned state tourism in partitioned China is systematically investigated, using existing data sets and an independent sample specifically conducted for the research. A series of

hypotheses are tested. It is concluded that partitioned state tourism is a unique tourism phenomenon which differs from conventional tourism in many aspects, including motivation, travel behaviour, expenditure, and temporal and spatial patterns. It is shown that partitioned state tourism has important and distinct economic impacts on PRC. This dissertation represents a first step towards understanding of partitioned state tourism, and its relationship with conventional tourism. It is clear from the nature of the findings and contributions of the dissertation that further research on partitioned state tourism is needed. At a broad level, theory and models must continue to be developed and tested. Special attention must be given to the mechanism of the development of partitioned state tourism and its impacts on the improvement of bilateral relationships.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter 1

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most significant trends in recent years has been the rapid increase in the number of sovereign states and other types of political units. At the beginning of Second World War in 1939, there were about 70 independent countries; by 1970, this number had more than doubled. In 1992 there were 184 members of the United Nations, 11 non-UN nations and a further 76 or so other political units (C.I.A.: The World Factbook 1992). All of these new states and other political units were established through the partition or division of the already existed states, rather than through the occupying uninhabited territory or exploring remote frontier as before. For instance, Indochina has split into Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; and the India subcontinent broke down into three independent countries: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

However, political and territorial partition is not a simple physical division of the earth's surface. Partition of an existing state involves a very complicated social and political process (Henderson and Lebow; 1974 Johnston, 1976). Since historical, economic, political, and geographical factors define unique conditions under which a state evolves, the end result of the partition of a state is often quite different from each other in terms of internal structure and external relations (Minghi, 1976). Consequently, not all of the political units which have resulted from partition are universally recognized as sovereign states. Some may become colonies of the foreign powers, and others become irregular political entities (Glassner and de Blij, 1989). Since 1945, Vietnam, Korea, Germany, China, Cyprus, and the India subcontinent have been split into two or more segments by the fortunes of war. Most had or still have problems in their political identification and their bilateral relations, and indeed the world community has been divided on the issue of their status quo for the past four decades. As a result, the nature and political status of these partitioned states have experienced unique political and social challenges from both inside and outside.

For example, though both China (People's Republic of China, PRC) and Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC) insist on a " One China" policy, they could not agree or negotiate over who represent this "One China". Each claims its sovereignty over the whole Chinese mainland and Taiwan Island, and dismisses the other section as an illegitimate government (Tregear, 1980). Such problem also existed between the former West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany, FRG) and East Germany (German Democratic Republic, GDR). After the initial division of Germany for the purpose of the dismantlement of the Third Reich, the

disagreement between the three Western Allies and the USSR eventually resulted in the establishment two political and territorial distinct units. However, the former West Germany, and in fact most Western countries in the early years, refused to accept the former East Germany as a legitimate state. Though West Germany eventually compromised on this stand and accepted the reality of two political entities in 1972, it insisted on the concept of two states within one German nation (Kindermann, 1994).

Like Germany, both Vietnam and Korea were partitioned after the Second World War by the Allies for temporary military purposes (Choy, 1971; Henderson, 1974; Tuyet; 1974) . However, the difference of self-interests among the Allies transformed this temporary arrangement into a more permanent status through the establishment of separated governments. This in turn resulted in each part struggling to gain representative of the original country. Unfortunately, such rivalry between these governments caused two more wars: the Korea War and Vietnam War. Vietnam was eventually reunited, while Korea has maintained its divided status with persistent near-conflict (Waterman, 1987).

Through decolonization, British India first partitioned into two countries: India and Pakistan. Under this arrangement Pakistan consisted of two parts which were physically separated by India. However, the increasing economic and socio-political gap, plus ethnic conflicts between East and West Pakistan resulted in a second division after East Pakistan claimed its independence as the state of Bangladesh. Pakistan denied this and a short war broke out. With Indian back up, Pakistan was defeated and East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan. However, the conflicts between these units have remained for many years (Jahan,

1974). Cyprus is one of the most recently partitioned state The division originated from the ethnic conflicts between Greeks and Turks, but was finalised by the Turkey invasion in 1974. Though The Turkish Republic of North Cyprus has claimed independence, it has not been recognized by either Greek Cyprus or any members of the international community except Turkey (Waterman, 1987).

From this perspective, it is logical to assume that some of these new political units which have resulted from partition were, or still are not conventional states. Their irregularity has been clearly indicated by disputed sovereignty, territorial and boundary conflicts, and problems of international recognition (Glassner and de Blij, 1989). Not only there was often a lack of a conventional diplomatic channels for them to communicate each other, many also have had problems gaining admittance into the United Nations as sovereign states. Many of these partitioned countries used to be the "hot" frontiers of the Cold War.

Despite the often unsettled political climate which surrounds many of these political anomalies, the cultural and social linkage between the partitioned sections have often been maintained in certain forms, in particular by kinship or general ethnic, religious, and language linkage. Such linkage has tended to eventually foster frequently and considerable travel between these partitioned pairs, though such movement may politically be prohibited in the early stage of partition (Whetten, 1980). The tourist movement sometimes, in fact, has been the initiative to channel rapprochement (Kim and Crompton, 1990). In some cases, it was even found that tourist flows between such units are much significant than tourist flows from outside (Chow, 1988; Richter, 1989; Gormsen, 1995).

However, an extensive literature review made by the author found that almost all authorized statistics and most tourism research had made no attempt to include this type of travel in their records or analysis. Few explained or justified the rationale for such an approach. Indeed such an approach not only created inconsistencies, even confusion and inaccuracy, in tourism statistics, but also tend to lead to misrepresentation of the travel patterns, both at the international level and the national level. Initial research (Butler and Mao, 1994) revealed that this tourist movement involved a large amount of traffic and is a very complicated phenomena, which should not be ignored. Moreover, it was found that not only did the government statistics and documents tend to exclude such traffic because of a political bias, but more importantly, this type of tourist movements do not fit conventional categories of tourism. In fact, this creates a significant conceptual and methodological problem for researchers in travel and tourism.

Tourism contains two type of activities: the stay at the destinations, and travel between origin and destinations (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1988; Smith, 1989). In many cases tourism is classified into two basic types of travel for analysis, convenience and statistical collection, using political boundaries as the criterion. Tourism between countries is termed international, and travel within one country, domestic tourism (Matley, 1976; Pearce, 1987; Smith, 1989). According to the political relationship of the origin and destination, where international tourism is involved, this refers to travel between two officially recognized independent political units or states. This is clearly reflected in national and international tourism statistics and literature (Butler and Mao, 1994). Where then does travel between political units which are not

universally recognized or fully independent fit? Is it international tourist, domestic tourist, or what? It is not rational to exclude them from the statistics and research whenever these partitioned states are involved. It is these questions and issues which stimulated this study.

1.2 BASIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The fundamental premise driving this study is an attempt to geographically describe and explain if, why, and how tourists move among the paired partitioned state. In this context, a set of research questions are proposed:

(1) What is the status of political entities which resulted from partitioning of states in recent years and how have this factor affected tourist movement?

(2) Does travel exist among these divided political entities, and if yes, how significant is it? Why do the official statistics exclude such travel?

(3) Does travel between these paired partitioned sections fit international or domestic tourist, if not, what is entitled it ?

(4) What characteristics typify the tourism element between these entities? And what type of travel patterns is formed?

(5) Are the impacts of the travellers the same as those of other tourists?

(6) Do the conventional tourism models, concepts and theories apply to such travellers and travel, or are new approaches and theories necessary?

1.3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this research is, through comparative studies (Pearce, 1994), to identify and explain the nature and characteristics of tourism movement and patterns between pairs of

partitioned states, in particular among the elements of partitioned China. The comparative study approach involves the use of a variety of research methods to identify and explain the similarities and differences between two or more phenomena. In this research, the focus is, first, put on a comparison of the states and partitioned elements in terms of their political functions and components, in order to identify the nature and characteristics of these partitioned states and the relationships with conventional states. The second focus is on a comparison between conventional international tourism and tourism between pairs of partitioned states. This serves to create a general theoretical framework to answer the basic research questions. In this context, the tourism movements between China-Taiwan-Hong Kong-Macao are systematically researched.

The broad focus of this study requires that a number of political, historical and geographical processes and features be incorporated and evaluated. The objectives of the proposed research are as follows.

(1) To identify the nature of the newly partitioned states and their status through comparative analysis.

(2) To create a new theoretical framework to incorporate the tourist movements between paired partitioned state.

(3) To identify and assess the patterns and processes of tourist movement between the paired partitioned states (partitioned states) by comparison to these of conventional international tourist movements, both in general and in the specific context of China.

(4) To identify the unique economic, cultural, and political impacts resulting from tourism between paired partitioned state.

1.4 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The fundamental hypothesis of this study is:

newly partitioned states do not have complete statehood for a period of time in the partition process. In this period of time, the cultural and socio-political relationships between paired partitioned states are different from those between conventional states. Consequently, the patterns, processes, and impacts of tourism between paired partitioned state differ from those of international tourism.

1.5 THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The partition of a state is not a sporadic event, but an integral part of the evolution of the world's political organization. Indeed, the partition has been the most dynamic element in international affairs (Johnston, 1976; Kihl, 1984; Waterman, 1987). This section focuses on developing a theoretical context for the research in the light of previous studies on the state, partition of state, and tourism.

1.5.1 Definitions of Terms

State: In contrast to many of the complex definitions of state presented in the political science and international relation literature, a rather straightforward definition has been used throughout this dissertation. State is "traditionally regarded as an area of land (or land and water) with relatively well defined, internationally recognized, political boundaries. Within this

territory resides a people with an independent political identity, usually referred to as nationalism" (Johnston, 1994, p. 591-592). An interchangeable term is country.

Nation: Nation is "a community of people whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity rooted in a historic attachment to territory and a common culture, and by a consciousness of being different from other nation" (Johnston, 1994, p.404).

Partition: Partition is "the division of territory between two or more sovereign entities. Partition can involve an entire state, a portion thereof, or an area that does not have the status of statehood. Partition may be imposed by a powerful state upon a weaker one by war or by threat of war. It might also occur as a result of mutual agreement or as a method of peaceful settlement offered by a third state or international organization, as in mediation or arbitration. Partition may be determined by political elites or by plebiscites or other forms self-determination " (Plano et al., 1973:274).

International (Foreign) Tourist and Domestic Tourist: Though there exists a variety of definitions on tourist, only the definitions formulated by world organizations, such as the UN and WTO, have been adopted by most countries. Consequently, most official statistics have been recorded based upon these definitions. An international tourist was defined by The United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism in 1963. "For statistical purposes, the term 'visitor' describes any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited. This definition covers:

(1) tourists; i.e. temporary visitors staying as least 24 hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following heading:

(a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study. religion, and sport);

(b) business, family, mission, meeting;

(2) excursionist; i.e. temporary visitors stay less than 24 hours in the country visited (including travellers on cruises" (The United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism, August-Sept. 1963:14).

There has been less progress on consensus on the definition of domestic tourist, and consequently, there are diverse definitions of domestic travel. In general such definitions agree that domestic tourist is one whose travel is confined within the boundary of his residence country, but differ in two aspects: distance and time. This dissertation uses the concept proposed by the WTO in 1981. According to WTO (1981), a domestic tourist is a traveller visiting a destination in his country of residence for at least 24 hours but less than one year for the purposes of recreation, holidays, sport, business, meetings, conventions, study, visiting friends or relatives, health, mission work or religion. A domestic excursionist is a visitor travelling in his country of residence for any of the reasons given for tourists but who stays less than 24 hours at the destination.

Tourism and Tourism Industry: Both terms refers to a fairly broad range of tourist activities and organizations, but they are not the same. According to Hunziker and Kraf (1942), "Tourism is a sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of non-residents, in so far as they do not lead to permanent residence and are not connected with any

permanent or temporary earning activity" (p. 21). The tourism industry has a much narrow scope. "The tourism industry is made up of all those economic activities that take place because tourists travel" (Blank, 1989:8).

1.5.2 Prior Research

Political Geography and State Development

Political geography had been defined as "the spatial analysis of political phenomena" (Kasperson and Minghi, 1969, p.xi). Most agree that political geographers are concerned with the geographical consequences of political decisions and actions, the geographical factors which were considered during the making of any decision, and the role of any geographical factors which influenced the outcome of political actions.

Conflict arising from the pursuit of self-interest by states, interest groups or individuals is a fundamental element of society, and therefore of political geography. The twin concepts of power and conflict nave continued to underlie political geography at all scale. Since the state is one of the most powerful institutions in the contemporary world, the role of the modern state is of particular concern to political geographers. For much of the subject's history, the focus has been on the state and its relationship within the international community.

Friedrich Ratzel, who is universally recognised as the founder of modern political geography (Berman, 1975), viewed the state as comparable to an organism with the biological necessity of growth. He endeavoured to lay the groundwork of principles in political geography that would explain the contemporary division of the areas of the world in terms of the past growth of individual states. Like other social scientists of the late nineteenth century,

Ratzel was inspired by the publications of Darwin's <u>On The Origin of Species</u> in 1859. Ratzel viewed a state as "an organic entity increasingly attached to the land on which it lives" (Kasperson and Minghi, 1969, p.8). He thought that a state grows through the processes of expansion over other small units, and in competition with similar growing units, and passes through a life cycle from birth through youth to maturity and finally to the decadence of old age. As a geographer Ratzel sought to find this cycle not merely in internal development, but more particularly in terms of area growth. The organic theory of the state "provided a simple and powerful model in analytical political geography" (Stoddart, 1966, p.694).

Following Ratzel's principle, Kjellen (1917) showed an early interest in the role of state power, and went on to explore and develop Ratzel's organic view of the state. Kjellen added the dimensions of moral and intellectual capacities to Ratzel's state as a living organism. Kjellen was the first writer to use the term "geopolitics", which he defined as the natural environment of the state. Haushofer advanced geopolitics by combining Ratzel's organic state theory, its refinements by Kjellen, and global strategic views principally of Mackinder (Kasperson and Minghi, 1969). "Vast space" is necessary for the greatness of a state--so necessary, he thought, that if states decline, it is invariably due to a "declining space conception". He held that a state must continue to expand its territory or it would decay. Haushofer's theory made very important contribution to propaganda, supplying a pseudo-scientific rationalization for the Nazi policy of expansion in 1930s. Geopolitics was collapsed at the end of the Second World War.

After 1945, it was argued that political geography was above all an idiographic subject focusing on the unique sovereign state as the core of its raw material (Hartshorne, 1950, 1954, 1960). Political geography retreated into the safer realm of study at the scale of the individual state and the focus of study moved to political regions, although attention continued to focus upon traditional macro-scale issues, state and inter-sate system. A number of important theoretical innovations appeared. Four important papers of the period (Hartshorne, 1950; Gottmann, 1951, 1952; Jones, 1954) attempted to provide a new rigorous framework for analysing the geography of political areas and the modern state in particular. Hartshorne (1950) suggested a view of political area differentiation in terms of functional organization in what he termed "The Functional Approach". The focus of research became the spatial consequences of political process. Hartshorne (1950) felt that the major initial questions to be asked about the political geography of any region should be concerned with its raison d'etre (in the case of a state, known as the state-idea), and with the viability of the region, i.e., its ability to function successfully as politically organized space. The principal component of this analysis is the balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces, the former set of forces being those that trend to integrate a political region, whereas the later set provide disruptive elements.

Gottmann (1952) emphasized that the political partitioning of the world could be viewed as the results of interaction between two primary forces. One was circulation, the movement across terrestrial space of people, goods, ideas, and capital. This, it was argued, was the dynamic element in the world situation, making for instability and change. But there was second factor, iconography, the deep-rooted values, attitudes and dispositions of a people, a

force which usually resists change and makes for stability and continuity. The interaction of these two forces created the political partitioning of space.

Stephen Jones (1954), in his analysis of political regions, suggested a "unified field theory". This theory is concerned with the evolution of politically organized space and is built upon the ideas of Whittlesey (1939) and Hartshorne (1940), on several intervening conceptual statements by Jean Gottmann (1952) concerning the evolution of political partitioning based on accessibility, and by Karl Deutsch (1953). Here, the appearance of a politically organised area is seen as the product of a series of interconnected stages; an initial idea is developed to produce a political decision, which in turn precipitates movement affecting an area or field within which a political area ultimately materialises. An essential difference, as Jones points out, from the state-idea is that any political idea having an impact at any level in the political hierarchy can be included. Implicit then is the notion that a political system and a political process do not necessarily cover the same geographical area.

In the past decade, although the state is still the central concept, research at scales other than that of state has been developed (Agnew, 1987; Taylor, 1989; Dalby, 1990). Attempts were made to devise frameworks that provide a coherence to analysis across scales. Reynolds and Knight (1989) identify a "new " political geography in which " there now is a concern for social theory and readiness to examine afresh such central concepts as state, society, nationalism, place and space " (p.102).

Partition and Political Anomalies

Obviously, the majority of political geography work focuses on the state, which is the basic unit of social and political organization. There are, however, a few significant exceptions to this state rule, areas where people and territory are not united under a clear-cut system of sovereign government but where sovereignty is divided, disputed or vested in an international organization, or where extraterritorial arrangements complicate the pattern of control. Glassner and de Blij (1989) argued that:

" Although the European State system has spread around the world during the past several hundred years, resulting in the creation of over 170 states, by no means has all the earth's land area been organized in such a neat and seemingly definitive manner... Here we concerned with types of territorial organization that fall between these two extremes-or outside them altogether. Some of these anomalies are remnants of the period before the organization of nation-states; some are simply ad hoc arrangements resulting from war or decolonization" (p.117).

According to the relationship of sovereignty and territory, Glassner and de Blij (1989) classify these broad non-state entities into six categories:

(1) Military occupation. It is defined as a territory that is controlled by a state other than the sovereign.

(2) Territories of intermediate status. This include a broad variety: The remnants of partitioned states without clear status; a number of colonies, protectorates and other units of present or former colonial empires that have been or have recently become autonomous, or semi-independent; and 'partitioned states'.

(3) Territories of uncertain status. This groups includes the Gaza Strip, Western Sahara, and Antarctica.

(4) Insurgent states and nonstate nations. A nonstate nation is a people living as a minority in one or more states who want a state of their own in territory currently included in one or more states. An insurgent state might develop within a country if the rebellious group is actually able to win and retain control of a territorial base of operations. Within this territory, the insurgents operate a state-within-sate in which only they, and not the regularly constituted authorities, perform all governmental functions.

(5) Binational territories. Binational territories are administered by two states, neither of which has exclusive sovereignty over them.

(6) International territories. These are territories which have been placed under international (United Nations) supervision and/or control.

Muir (1981) provided an alternative classification which include 5 types: divided states (Germany, Korea, Vietnam), condominia (New Hebrides), free cities, ports and zones (Danzig, Hong Kong), extraterritoriality, and neutral zones and demilitarised areas.

With an emphasis on the dynamics of partition, Henderson and Lebow (1974) initiated comprehensive research on the mechanism of the partition of states. Considering both the nature and characteristics of population and territory, a distinction between divided nations and partitioned countries has been drawn in their research. According to their theory, Germany, Korea, Mongolia, China, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were divided nations; whereas partitioned countries included Austria-Hungary, India, Indochina, Palestine, Cyprus, Ireland, and even Holland and Belgium. Later Waterman (1984, 1987) developed a conceptual framework for partition and established an explanatory model for the partition process.

However, the mainstream of research has emphasized the specific partition process and individual anomalies, such as Northern Ireland (Lebow, 1974; Boal, 1980; Pringle, 1980; Douglas, 1982), Germany and Berlin (Pounds, 1962; Hertz, 1974; Beatty, 1979), Korea (McCune, 1949; Henderson, 1974; Matray, 1981), Vietnam (Pitts, 1956; Tuyet, 1974), India-Pakistan-Bangladesh (Mayfield, 1955; Baxter, 1974; Jahan, 1974), Cyprus (Melamid, 1960; King and Ladbury, 1982); and China-Taiwan (Copper, 1990; Tucker, 1994). These works provide diverse perspectives on each individual partition event and process.

Tourism Geography and Tourism Movement Patterns

The development of scholarship on tourism is intertwined with the long history of tourism itself. The early literature on tourism is mainly descriptive and humanistic, which tells of the art and psychology of travel, location of resorts, attractions, local resident's manners, languages, religion, and hospitality (Mitchell and Smith, 1989). With the development of science and social science, more analytical works on tourism appeared and a cohesive body of knowledge on tourism which might be thought of as a specialized sub-discipline has slowly emerged in social science. Geographers have made important contribution in the progress of tourism research. To many geographers who treat tourism as a component of geography, other disciplines fail to concentrate on the questions pertaining to the location of tourism phenomena. The "where" questions tend to be ignored or assumed away by most other disciplines, and thus geographers make unique contributions to the research frontier (Mitchell and Smith, 1989; Mitchell and Murphy, 1991).

McMurry's article "The Use of Land for Recreation" (1930) was the first to recognize tourism and recreation as a distinct form of land use. As a geographer, Christaller (1955) considered tourism as a geographical phenomenon and the geography of tourism as a part of economic geography which studies a segment of the economy that avoids central places and urban agglomerations, and is located at the periphery of settlements.

Travel between places of demand or origins, and places of supply or destinations, has long been a significant research theme. Patterns of tourism travel are probably the single topic in tourism most researched by geographers (Mitchell and Smith, 1989). Wolfe (1964) initiated an examination of both demand and supply aspects of tourism, and identified that spatial imbalance was a key factor in determining the link between supply and demand: "movement of people from places where they live to the places where recreational facilities are" (Wolf, 1964, p. 216). Furthermore mass tourism has been described as a migratory adjustment to the stress of life (Wolfe, 1966).

International travel patterns have been studied only relatively lately. One of the most comprehensive reviews of the various components of the international tourist flow and pattern has been made by Williams and Zelinsky (1970). They examined international tourist flows among the 14 countries having the largest number of tourists, using unique graphic flow-assignment models. These models illustrated the existence of certain stable flows over a period of years. The authors suggested 8 basic factors which resulted these patterns. They include (1) spatial distance, (2) presence or absence of international connectivity including business, political, military and other ties; (3)reciprocity of tourist flows; (4) general tourist attractiveness

of one country for another; (5) cost of a visit to a given country; (6) influence of intervening opportunity; (7) the national character of the source country, and (8) the mental image of the target area as perceived by potential visitors (p.562-66).

Thurot (1980) attempted to formulate a comprehensive multiple origin-destination model to elucidate the relationship between the demand-supply aspect of tourism and tourist flows within developed-developing countries system in general. Bailie (1980) conducted a study on international tourism, with Canada as the focus. Based on analysis of tourism movement in 11 European countries, Husband (1983) concluded that distance plays a less important role in tourism travel than in day-to-day behaviour. Using the centre/periphery model of Christaller and the definition of attraction, he found that the greater was a country's attraction, the further was its location from the centre. He strongly suggested that the core/periphery relationship was a relationship of exploitation. Later Smith (1985) replicated the statistical analysis of Husbands' research, but came to some different conclusions. Smith argued that Husbands' inference was flawed, because Christaller's model was based on the location of tourist facilities, and not destination countries. He further found that, when corrections was made for population and distance between origins and destinations, difference between centre and periphery countries were greatly diminished. This finding also tended to invalidate Huasbands' conclusion on the distance role.

Investigation of patterns of domestic tourism generated a significant proportion of the travel literature and presentations in the past two decades (VanDoren and Gustke, 1982; Purdue and Gustke, 1985; Smith, 1985). Canadian geographers have made substantial

contribution to researches on domestic travel patterns and directional bias. Murphy and Rosenblood (1974) focused on the first-time travellers to Victoria, British Columbia. They discovered that search patterns were related primarily to prior mental images of destination, and to personal motivations. With analysis the travel pattern at provincial level, Smith and Brown (1981) found a definite east-to-west orientation of tourist travel pattern in Canada from 1968 to 1978. Later Smale and Butler (1985) discovered above-average number of person-trips to the Quebec City-Windsor corridor. They concluded that such directional bias was attributed to the density of population and concentration of attractions in the corridor.

To geographers, the environment is the totality of tourism activity, incorporating natural elements and society's modifications of the landscape and resources. Leiper (1981) suggested that tourism is an open system of five elements interacting with broader environments: (1) a dynamic human element, (2) a generating region, (3) a transit region, (4) a destination, and (5) the tourist industry. Mathieson and Wall (1982) see tourism as comprised of three basic elements: (i) a dynamic element, which involves travel to a selected destination, (ii) a static element, which involves a stay at the destination, (iii) a consequential element, resulting from the above two, which is concerned with the effects on the economic, social, and physical subsystem with which the tourist is directly or indirectly in contact.

Nash (1981) has pointed out that tourism can be seen as a complex process that includes not only a host situation where tourists and their hosts come together, but also a home situation where visitors are generated and drawn to particular destinations. Mill and Morrison (1985) define tourism as a system of interrelated parts including market (reaching the market

place), Travel (the purchase of travel products), destination (the shape of travel demand) and marketing (the selling of travel). Recently Morley (1990) establishes a framework to match tourist, tour, and "other" factors against demand, supply, and impacts.

Maintaining that the geographical literature on tourism has not explicitly examined the movement of tourists from the source area to destination, Pearce (1987, 1989) analyzed, in a systematic manner, the geographical dimensions of tourism with the aim of identifying general patterns and process. His research covers international tourist flows, domestic flows, intra-national travel and gateways.

Tourism and Political Anomalies

It is evident that the majority of research has focused on the tourism phenomenon either within a country (domestic travel), or between countries (international travel). However, a few researchers have noticed that tourism movement between partitioned states is a distinct type of tourism. One of the most important studies was conducted by Richter (1989) in her extensive examination of political factors and international tourism development in Southeast Asia. She identified difference of motivation and patterns between Indian and non-India arrivals in Pakistan, and between Hong Kong/Taiwan travellers and foreigners in China. International Tourist Reports, published quarterly by the Economist Intelligent Unit, also recognized the significant difference between regular international travel and travel between partitioned states. However, often such identification and acknowledgement are used to support the exclusion of tourist movement between partitioned states, rather than to further analyze them in the research reports. When Edward (1990) attempted to forecast the future demand pattern of

tourism in Far East Asia, he distinguished tourists between partitioned states as a unique group - "Quasi-domestic Tourist", which included the traveller between Malaysia and Singapore, and among the partitioned China (PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong). However, he did not elaborate on this concept, or analyze the patterns in a systematic manner.

In the past few years, several regional studies specifically involved the travellers among the partitioned countries. Chow (1988) initiated research on tourism between Hong Kong and China, in which he found "The majority of China's tourists have always come from Hong Kong, the tiny British Colony with a population of 5.5 million on the coast of Guangdong. These travellers must be identified as tourists according to the terminology of the World Tourism Organization" (p.206). Obviously in that study such special travel was classified as international travel, though the difference between them and other foreign tourists was identified. More recently, Lew (1995) and Hall (1994) also undertook the research on the travel patterns of Taiwan and Hong Kong visitors to China. Kim and Crompton (1990) reviewed the political environment surrounding the initiative for travel between the two Koreas, and perceived that the potential tourism movement between the two Koreas could be a primary vehicle for facilitating the unification of Korea.

Generally, it is not difficulty to conclude that, to date tourism movement between paired partitioned states has not been systematically studied, or even included in research. Not only is this reflected in the official tourism statistics, in which this type of travel has been often recorded inconsistently, if at all, but it also has resulted in a lack of general information and

theory concerning this unique travel movement. There is, therefore, a need to develop research and theory in this neglected area.

1.5.3 Rationale and Significance of the Research

It is appropriate to conduct research on this topic because: (1) tourism between partitioned states appears to be considerable in size and can not continue to be ignored. There are 15 countries which have been involved in partition since the Second World War. In 1990, over 40 million visits took place between these paired partitioned sections. In fact, East Asia recorded more tourist moving between partitioned states than total arrivals from foreign countries (WTO, 1992). It is unwise to continue to study the tourism movement without including tourism between the paired partitioned states, as did many publications previously. This study will improve the understanding of the overall travel pattern in Asia, and in particular, in China.

(2) current theory does not provide a framework for this special tourism. To date there is not only little recognition of this unique type of tourism, but also an absence of a theoretical framework for incorporating them. This study creates such a theoretical framework in better understanding of this special tourism phenomena. In addition, one of the underlying objectives of the proposed research is to contribute towards the creation of a more comprehensive theory of tourism flows, and thus improve the research methodology from a geographical approach.

1.6 DATA SOURCES

Because of the nature and scope of the research problem, the second-hand data has to be the basic data source and this includes official statistical reports, tourism surveys, and previous research papers. At the international level, sources includes World Tourism Organization's **International Tourism** and **Consortium of International Tourism** (published annually), The United Nations' **Statistical Yearbook** (annually), The Economist Intelligence Units' **International Tourist Report**. At the national level, the major sources are the national statistical yearbooks, tourism yearbooks, tourism bulletin, and tourism surveys. This includes **Statistisches Jahrbuch(FRG), Statistisches Yahrbuch (GDR), India Statistical Abstract, Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, China Statistical Abstract, Taiwan (ROC) Statistical Yearbook, Macao Statistical Yearbook, and Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics.** In addition, a variety of survey reports and previous research papers are also included and are listed in the bibliography.

1.7 APPROACH AND ORGANIZATION

The study is an attempt to identify, measure and explain a special type of tourism and therefore is descriptive and exploratory in nature. To achieve this goal, multiple methods are employed to interpreter and explain the patterns and processes of tourism between paired partitioned states. Both qualitative and quantitative investigative approaches are adopted to define and measure the phenomena. This dissertation is structured in a way that address each subproblem in sequential order. Figure 1 provides an overview of the study framework and the structure of the dissertation.

Figure 1.1 Study Framework

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│   Geographical Context of   │
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│   State and Partitioned State │
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              │
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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│      Ρ  Framework of        │
│                             │
│   Partitioned State Tourism │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│        Study Area:          │
│                             │
│     Partitioned China       │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│   Partitioned State Tourism │
│                             │
│  in China: Patterns and Process │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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│  Conclusions and Implications │
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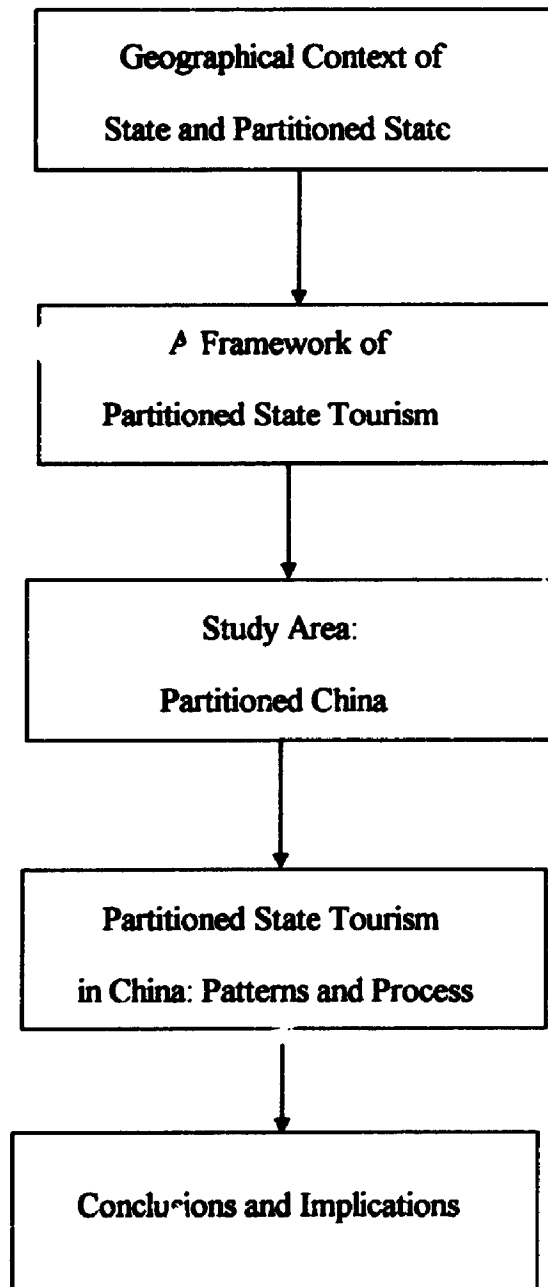
Chapter two provides, first, the geographical context of modern state and its nature and characteristics, followed by the partition of the modern state with the focus on the process and status quo. In this context the concept and issues of the partitioned state are addressed.

Chapter three discusses the aspects of the tourism phenomena between paired partitioned state: the nature, motivation patterns, accessibility and typology, which provides a theoretical framework for partitioned state tourism.

Chapter four first provides a historical and geographical background of the study area: partitioned China. In this context, the political status and relationships among these divisions are discussed. Finally the data sources and collection procedures are discussed.

Chapters five is invested to analysis of the partitioned state tourism flows among the elements of partitioned China, with an emphasis on motivation, characteristics of trip and temporal and spatial patterns.

The next two chapters are devoted on partitioned state tourism in People's Republic of China.

Chapter eight is a summary of the findings and implications for further research.

Chapter 2

PROBLEMS OF PARTITIONED STATES

Tourism involves population movement, which has a strong spatial dimension. Such a spatial dimension is not only directly involved in the tourist decision-making process, with a series of "where" question: where to travel, where to stay, and where to see; but it is also reflected in business development planning and government policies, e.g. where a facility is to be developed, what area is allowed to develop tourism, and in which direction such movement is permitted. At the international level, this spatial dimension has been reinforced by the state border controls, tourist selection procedures, and international political arrangements (Edgell, 1990; Ritchter, 1988). Because of these functions, a state is not only the basic unit by which to measure the dimension of international tourism, but it is also the central force determining the fundamental patterns of international tourism. Consequently, the nature and characteristics of the state and its relationships with other states are fundamental elements in the forming of spatial patterns of international tourism. Indeed, tourism research has already developed travel

theories based on certain aspects of state development, such as the Developed and Developing Country Model (Thurot, 1980) and Developing State Model (Van Doom, 1979).

Other aspects of the state which also influence tourism movements and patterns are less studied in the tourism literature, and include the evolution and change of state organization and structure, partition of states, political systems, the status of a territory, international recognition, international migration and control, and until recently, the Cold War. To a certain degree, they have had significant impacts on the establishment of international tourism patterns (Matthews, 1978; Edgell, 1988; Ritchter,1988; Pearce, 1989). It would be impossible to explain certain international patterns without consideration of these dynamic factors. However, they cover a broad range of political and social concepts and it is not feasible for them to be studied in one research thesis. This research focuses on one aspect of the state development: the partition of the state, and its impact on tourist movement.

Partition has been a basic event in the development of modern states. It is a geo-political process which involves a spatial division of the territory and population of the former STATE. Therefore, the study of the partition of the state must start from addressing the fundamental concept of the state and its evolution. After all, a partitioned state is built upon a concept of the state. To achieve this goal in this chapter, first, the geographical context of state and state concept in a general evolution process is addressed. In this context, the mechanism and process of the partition of states is then systematically investigated. Finally, the concept and characteristics of the partitioned state is addressed.

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF A STATE

Probably the most familiar map of all is the one showing the territories of the states across the world. This world political map is the simple geographical expression of the inter-state system. It is sometimes very hard to imagine a political world that is not organized through states. However, state and inter-state systems only evolved to their present shape in the past three centuries (Taylor, 1994). It would be impossible to understand the present world political map without investigating the process of emergence of the modern state and the nature of the state concept.

2.1.1 Geographical Development of A State

The state is historical in one sense. It changes through time and space and in relationship to specific conditions and circumstance. The state can refer to political entities as different in times, place, and quality as the ancient Greek "city-state", the early modern "dynastic state" and contemporary "nation-state". To Claessen and Skalnik (1978) there are three main types of sovereign organization before modern state: (i) pre-state; (ii) early state; (iii) capitalist state. Later Mellor (1989) identified seven types of states in the state development process: the city-state, the feudal state, the absolute state, the liberal state, the welfare state,the totalitarian state, and the nation-state. However, it is generally agreed that the state evolved through three stages: pre-state stage, early state stage, and modern state stage.

The pre-state stage -- city state

The state apparatus seems to have emerged as sedentary farming produced a surplus for exchange, allowing for trade, occupational specialization, and an increasing stratification of

society. During the first millennium BC, the Greeks created what in many respects is the foundation of European civilization (Bergman, 1975; Poggi, 1978). The Hellenic people occupied much of Southeast Europe. Out of the clans and tribes the early Greek civilization emerged as a surprisingly 'advanced' form of state - the city-state or polis. The city-state appears to be the earliest form. The period of the Hellenic city-states lasted roughly from 800 BC to 500 BC. The early 'tyrants' broke the hold of the landed nobility over the government of the cities, and eventually the whole of the free citizenry, including the small and middle-sized farmers, were enfranchised. In the polis, all citizens belonged to the Assembly and could vote and participate directly in government: a "direct democracy", sometimes consisting of 5000 - 6000 citizens, with little intervening administration or bureaucracy (Glassner and de Bliji, 1989). However, the great slave population on which Athenian democracy rested had neither rights nor status of citizenship.

In later times some of the more powerful city states built empires by absorbing weaker members through territorial conquest, as in the Athenian empire which encompass about 150 other cities. This expansion greatly tested Greek democracy. It proved difficulty to extend the locality-based concept of citizenship to 150 other cities which the Athenian Empire engulfed. Though local democracy survived, the states themselves became ever more centralized and, after the time of Alexander the Great, rule by a single head, with a royal line of succession and often divine attributes, emerged (Anderson, 1974).

Rome as a powerful city-state first conquered Italy and then spread into vast provinces around the Mediterranean and beyond, but unlike its Greek counterpart it was never

"democratized". The Roman republic was based on the Senate, dominated by aristocratic power. The key to the Roman state was citizenship, defined by law rather than by territoriality: civis romanus sum - a Roman citizen enjoyed the status everywhere (Mellor, 1989, pp.44). Because it was not a "direct democracy" it was easier to extend Roman citizenship to include the ruling classes of other cities and territories which fell to Roman conquest. In the fields of land communication, military organization, law, and public administration, the Romans made unprecedented progress (Mellor, 1989).

The early state stage — feudal state and absolute state

The early state was not a homogeneous form, but the most important type is feudalism. During the period from about the middle of the eighth century to the end of the twelfth, Europe was dominated by feudal institutions which was an attempt to recreate the imperial system of Rome under the patronage of the Catholic Church, and thereby to unify and centralize the fragmented states of Western Christendom in a new Holy Roman Empire (Robertson, 1912; Glassner and de Blij, 1989). Feudalism was, in effect, a system of protection in return for service or tribute. The upper levels of society gave military service to their lord or king; the lower strata paid mostly in labour and sometimes in military service. The ruler gave his most trusted subordinates grants of land and special privileges in return for loyalty and homage as vassals. Feudalism favoured territorial fragmentation, with power local and personal, but its often overlapping claims and powers aggravated conflict and friction. The feudal monarch was never "sovereign", only a suzerain: a particularly limited type of secular authority (Anderson, 1974; Glassner and de Blij, 1989).

Within the loosely-knit fabric of feudalism emerged rival centres of power, with a very distinctive system of rule. The towns and cities fell outside the classical feudal system because they were dominated by trade and manufacture, and became centres of financial activity. Medieval towns were "islands in the sea of feudalism" (Pirenne, 1969), with a large and wealthy merchant class, skilled craftsmen, artisans and wage-earning labourers. The larger among them evolved an autonomous system of rule based on an oath of loyalty between a "community" of equal citizens. Within the towns, a system of representation by estates thus grew up, with each major status group having rights of representation. Out of this evolved the variety of estate-based assemblies, parliaments, diets, and town councils which became associated with the ruler of the city and its surrounding territory.

Between the crisis of feudalism in the fourteenth century and the sixteenth century, there emerged, from the wreckage of medieval institutions, a new form of state: Absolutism (Anderson, 1974). This involved the strengthening of a unified territorial rule; the absorbtion of weaker and smaller territories into stronger and larger ones; the tightening of law, order and security throughout the kingdom; the application of a more "unitary, continuous, calculable and effective" rule, with its power gathered under a single, sovereign head (Poggi, 1978, p. 61). The Absolutist state is the transition between the many varieties of feudal state and the "bourgeois" constitutional state which emerged - first in England - in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within Absolutism, the movements of trade, commerce and capital undermined the dense local structures of feudalism, creating more unified, state-wide, national economies. The territorial boundaries increasingly coincided with the limits with which the state

could effectively impose a uniform system of law, order and administration. Through "mercantilism", the dominant economic doctrine under Absolutism, state and crown assumed a directive role in commercial enterprises. These states therefore increasingly acquired a "national" character. Relations between states increasingly became " a formalized system of inter-state relations" (Anderson, 1974, p.39), sustained through formal diplomacy and dynastic marriage alliances. Partnership-in-rule between monarch and people, inscribed on the Estates system in late feudalism, withered under Absolutism. Precisely because it fused and concentrated every element of rule within one secular centre, and laid claim to an absolute sovereignty which was secular and national, Absolutism helped to carve a path or prepare the way through which the constitutional "bourgeois" state emerged (Berman, 1975).

The modern state stage —capitalist state

The modern state system finally developed in Europe in the period from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. The old pattern of overlapping political jurisdictions and multiple competence, acceptable so long as states were small and shifting in extent and monarchs relatively weak, was replaced. A land mark in the evolution of the state was the Treaty of Westphalia, which in 1648 brought to an end the bloody Thirty Years War between Protestant and Catholic powers (Anderson, 1974). By reducing the power of the Holy Roman Empire and strengthening the emerging states, the Treaty of Westphalia brought together of territory and sovereignty which provides the legal basis of the modern inter-state system. The decentralized political arrangement characteristic of feudal society has thus given way to the Westphalia state system, that is a system of territorially bounded sovereign states, each equipped with its own

centralized administration and possessing a virtual monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. It made the territorial state, rather than the individual sovereign, the cornerstone of the modern political system. It recognized that each state was sovereign in its own territory: that is, interference in the internal affairs of a country was the first offence of international law. This began a radical reduction in the number of states in Europe. The result was a formal recognition of a Europe parcelled up into some three hundred sovereign units. This was the original territorial basis of modern inter-state system - the first political map (Glassner and de Blij, 1989).

2.1.2 Nature and Attributes of A State

The appearance of the modern state system marks a radical break in the history of the society, from the point of view of spatial organization, the internal differentiation of society, and the control of economic and social relations (Anderson, 1974; Berman, 1975; Scroton, 1984). The state, as a modern geopolitical entity, has never ceased to evolve. The history of the state has been one of continuous expansion, spatially and functionally. This has largely resulted in a lack of a universally accepted definition of state, as noted in Chapter one. However, the research cited below provided insights into the nature and fundamental patterns of the modern state.

Lasswell and Kaplan (1950, p. 181) suggest that a state is a "sovereign territorial group". Their definition selects four elements- people, territory, government, and independence - as criteria for distinguishing the state from other political entities. A more broad concept is

that "the modern state is a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign" (Sills, 1968, p. 151).

As political geographers, Glassner and de Blij (1989) argued that a state must possess to a reasonable degree certain fundamental attributes and characteristics. Indeed, these attributes and characteristics provided a geographical framework to distinguish state and non-state. According to Glassner and de Blij (1989), a state must have a territory, a permanent population, a legitimate government, an organized economy, sovereignty, and international recognition.

These six elements virtually provide a practical measurement to identify state. However, it is wise to keep in mind that a state is complicated modern geo-political phenomena. Though the European state system has been adopted as a fundamental geo-political form by which to organize the human society, this by no means suggests that the modern state is a homogeneous phenomena. Rather, state structures and forms vary substantially with the different cultural, economic, and political contexts.

2.2 PARTITION OF STATES: MECHANISM AND PROCESS

It is evident that a state is not static, but is constantly changing. Spatially, such changes can be indicated by territory and population size, level of economic development, and social and political organization. There have been two spatial processes which can cause substantial changes to these attributes of a state: the union of states and the partition of a state. The two processes, in fact, have been an inseparable part of the states evolution, though their occurrences varies from time to time and from place to place. Since the Second World War,

partition has tended to dominate the process with nine partitions around the world, to which should be added the recent break up of the former USSR and Yugoslavia.

The creation of new states through the geographical and political partition of older ones is neither novel nor restricted to the 20th century. However, the partitions which have occurred after World War II are not entirely relevant to the old empires' "breakup" or "collapse", because of the completely different political environment and social-economic contexts, in particular the emergence of superpowers and the establishment of the United Nations. The mechanism and process of partition tends to be more complicated with more involvement from broader external factors. This tendency is clearly indicated by multiple separation forces, foreign power-dominated mechanisms, and diverse recognitions.

2.2.1 Multiple Separation Forces and Mechanism

The previous literature cited identified the fact that recent partition of states has resulted from multiple separation forces, such as ethnic heterogeneity, religious conflict, language difference, ideological confrontation, economical development differentiation within a country, decolonization, foreign invasion and occupation, and the superpowers' arrangements. These factors can be grouped as either internal forces or external forces according to their generating areas (Bain, 1967; Vanezis, 1977; Polyviou, 1980; Bhuiyan, 1982; Strivastava, 1982; Baxter, 1984; Kihl, 1984; O'donnell, 1984; Clutterbuck, 1985; Turner, 1987; Larrabee, 1989; Turnbull, 1989; Williams, 1992). In general, the state partition process could not be completed unless both internal and external forces are involved, because the nature of a state is

such that it has both internal and external dimensions. Indeed, it is rare that a partition can endure without involvement by both types of forces (Henderson and Lebow, 1974).

However, the patterns of these multiple separation forces vary from country to country, as well as changing in the different partition stages. The initiation of partition can be either internal-force oriented, such as India-Pakistan-Bangladesh, Malaysia-Singapore and China-Taiwan, or foreign-force oriented, such as Vietnam, Germany, and Korea. Furthermore, at a specific stage, one force (either internal or external) may dominate the partition process, while the other is subordinated. More importantly, the internal and external forces are not independent of each other, but interdependent (Henderson and Lebow, 1974; Johnston, 1976; Kihl, 1984). There is usually an intensive interaction between these factors in the partition process. Indeed, in an internal-force initiated partition, the weak protagonist generally needs external forces to support, recognize, and even maintain the status quo of partition. For example, Bangladesh would not have been easily separated from Pakistan without India's military involvement (Jahan, 1974). This is also true in the partition of China-Taiwan and Cyprus. Meanwhile, external-force initiated partition also generally needs internal involvement to consolidate and justify such a division. In some cases, internal conflict can be created even if it did not exist before partition. For example, after the temporary division of Vietnam, Germany, and Korea by the Allies, it was these Allies who fostered separated indigenous governments which made such partition more permanent. Indeed, most of the partitions which occurred in the past five decades have been foreign forces dominated in nature.

These partition factors and patterns have been summarized by Henderson and Lebow

(1971) when they classified the partitions into two types:

"Divided nations are countries with marked ethnic homogeneity, a common historical tradition and experience of successful political unity, that have been subsequently divided into two separate political units. The division is artificial in the sense that it was imposed from the outside, usually by great powers at the close of a war, or, in the case of China, has endured only by reason of great-power involvement. Germany, Korea, China, and Vietnam belong to this category of division... Partitioned countries are divisions resulting from internal causes; by reason of ethnic, linguistic, or religious conflict between or among groups formerly residing within one political unit" (p. 434).

This study creates a simple model to illustrate the multiple separation forces and the

interdependent relationship and interaction between internal forces and external forces in the

partition process (Figure 2.1). Two types of partitions are identified and compared: External

force initiated partition (Germany, Korea, Vietnam); Internal force initiated partition

(India/Pakistan, Pakistan/ Bangladesh, Malaysia/Singapore, China/Taiwan, Cyprus). Four

dynamic stages are also recognized in this model. (1) Initiated stage. Each partition is initiated

by either internal or external conflicts It is this initiation which creates the primitive temporary

division. (2) Involvement stage. When the initial division appears, another force (already

existing or created) penetrates into the division process. (3) Interaction stage. At this stage

external and internal forces in both sections actively interact and the primitive division is often

modified and justified.(4) Integration stage. After the intensive interaction, the external and

internal forces are integrated into the separated units. Separate parallel governments are

established and accepted by different international political blocs. The partition tends to be

more permanent. Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 summarize the structure of partition forces at initial and integration stage for major partitions which occurred in the past five decades.

2.2.2 The Process of Partition

Partition is " the political division of a territory into autonomous sections, with or without migration of the peoples resident there, in order to establish two governments" (Scruton, 1984:345). Although there exist variations in the partition forces and conflicts in each case, the division processes showed a general pattern, which was identified and discussed by Henderson and Lebow (1974), Minghi (1976), and Waterman (1987). In particular, Henderson and Lebow (1974) provide a paradigm of division into four stages for understanding the relationships between states that have undergone partition. According to them, a general division process can be characterized by four distinct stage (Henderson and Lebow, 1974, P:439-441):

STAGE I Initial Division

Defining characteristic: intense hostility between units. This hostility is marked by: 1. mutual nonrecognition; 2. sole claim to successor status by at least one of the units; 3. intense ideological conflict; 4. attempts to fortify and close the border by at least one unit; 5. attempts to subvert the opponent regime through both propaganda and fifth

column activity; 6. possible militarization of the conflict.

STAGE II middle-term stage

Defining characteristic:declining hostility between units. This is marked by: 1. tacit or formal acceptance of coexistence and a corresponding dilution of claims to sole-successor status; 2.

decline in the intensity of ideological confrontation; 3. decline in the salience of the border

permitting a wider exchange of persons and ideas; 4.decline in both overt and covert attempts

to subvert the opponent regime; 5. decline in mutual perceptions of the likelihood of military

confrontation. Symbolic acts often associated with Stage II

include: exchange of visits between leaders; public statements renouncing military solutions to

division and/or in favour of unification by common consent; agreements with respect to border

questions, visitation, and repatriation of families; public recognition of the partition line as an

"inviolable" boundary; common entrance into international organization.

STAGE III: rapprochement

This is marked by: 1.close economic cooperation with respect to tourism, trade, and

development leading to the creation of limited but joint administrative apparatus which can

expand gradually; political cooperation with respect to common external questions and later,

with respect to security vis-avis both internal and external threats; 3. a further decline in the

salience of the border and a corresponding increase in the mobility of persons and ideas; 4. the

creation of intergovernmental linkages at all levels from traffic control to security, and with it,

the establishment of formal consultative machinery.

STAGE IV unification

In this stage, the partitioned states are reunited with the dismantle the border control, free

population movement, political and economic integration, and single international recognition.

Later Minghi (1976) suggests another model to represent the partition process with

three stages. The first is the **pre-partition** stage in which primary importance is placed on the

length of time the territory was under pre-existing sovereignty and on centrifugal forces acting in the past. The following stage is the that of **active partitioning**, in which the period between the decision to partition and the actual partitioning is examined. Finally, the **post-partition** is reached. Most recently Waterman (1987) proposed a more sophisticated model (Table 2.3). In this model, two different paths for the relationships between states, leading up to and following partition, and their different routes are presented.

Figure 2.1 A Model of Dynamics of Partition of State
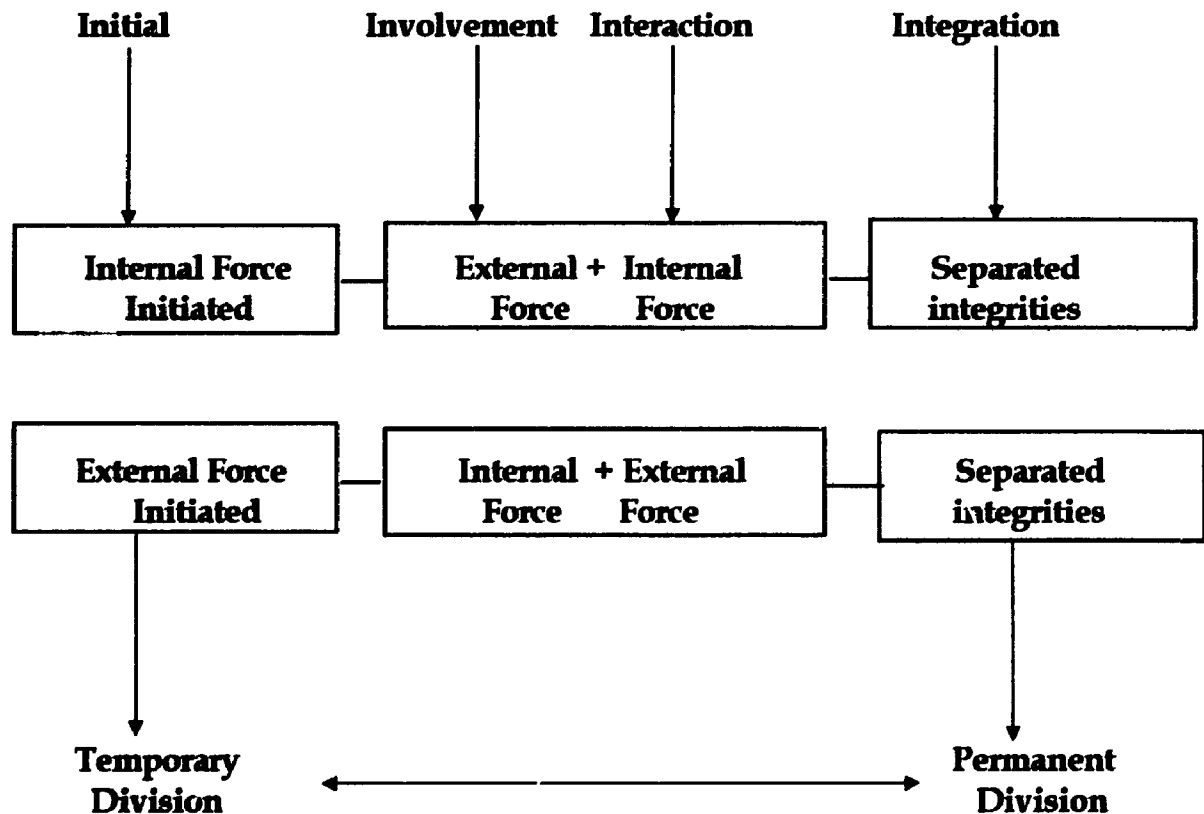
Table 2.1 Internal and External Forces in the Initial Stage

	Internal conflicts				External conflicts	
	religion	ethnic	ideology	economic	regional	world
W.Germany/ E.Germany	n	n	y	n	n	y
S.Korea/ N.Korea	n	n	y	n	n	y
S.Vietnam/ N.Vietnam	n	n	y	n	n	y
S.Cyprus/ N.Cyprus	y	y	n	n	y	n
China/ Taiwan	n	n	y	n	n	y
India/ Pakistan	y	y	n	n	n	n
Pakistan/ Bangladesh	n	y	n	y	y	n
Malaysia/ Singapore	y	y	n	n	n	n

Table 2.2 Internal and External Forces at the Integration Stage

Internal conflicts					External conflicts	
	religion	ethnic	ideology	economic	regional	world
W.Germany/ E.Germany	y	n	y	y	n	y
S.Korea/ N.Korea	y	n	y	y	n	y
S.Vietnam/ N.Vietnam	y	n	y	n	n	y
S.Cyprus/ N.Cyprus	y	y	n	y	y	n
China/ Taiwan	y	n	y	y	n	y
India/ Pakistan	y	y	n	n	y	n
Pakistan/ Bangladesh	n	y	n	y	y	n
Malaysia/ Singapore	y	y	n	n	n	n

With these models, the division process and evolution of division forces for each of the partitioned countries on the current world political map are summarized in Table 2.4 and Table 2.5. Both Vietnam and Germany have reached Unification: the former through military

conquest, and the later through a peace agreement. India/Pakistan, Pakistan/Bangladesh, and Malaysia /Singapore went through the whole division process, but evolved into completely independent states. China/Taiwan, Cyprus, and the Koreas are still in the middle stages of the partition. Recently the USSR and Yugoslavia also underwent a partition process and add another dozen independent states on the world maps. One may argue both of the original states are still undergoing partition with hostilities in Chechen and Bosnia.

2.3 CONCEPTS

One of the questions for people and government within divided countries, as well as for third states and international organizations, is what status these partitioned entities are entitled to, particularly if the partition process is not fully completed. This question is further complicated by the often conflicting claims of the competing governments within the divided country, by the problem of effective de facto control, and by the issues of recognition from international community (Waterman, 1987; Glassner and de Blij, 1989). Consequently, with the concept of the state, there has been a lack of a universal accepted perspective on this issue, even to date.

2.3.1 Status Quo of Partitioned States

When a country is divided, the first question to be dealt with is the identity and status of the divided sections, and the relationship between them. Almost all new political units have their own standpoint on such issues. In general three perspective are commonly adopted among partitioned states (Henderson and Lebow, 1974; Waterman, 1987; Kinderman, 1994)

Table 2.3 Waterman's model of partition

Path A	Path B
Ethnic pluralism /self-determination (partition resulting from internal forces)	Colonialism/imperialism (partition resulting from external forces)

<div align="center">Stage I</div>

Ethnically plural society with geographical concentration of linguistic, religious or national groups	A unitary, uniform state is occupied during a war or becomes part of a colonial empire

<div align="center">Stage II</div>

Separate raisons d'etre develop in political and economic matters, one group is either discriminated against or perceived such discrimination in economic social, and political matters	During occupation or colonial control,separate identities evolve or are imposed upon the occupied or colonized territory; different economic and social development may be observed in the colonized/ occupied territory

<div align="center">Stage III</div>

Conflict(overt or covert); separation and disintegration beyond repair	Conflict resulting from occupation or colonization is resolved de facto and de jure

<div align="center">State Disintegration: Stage IV</div>

Route 1:Federation	Route 2:Partition	Route 3: Complete
e.g. Nigeria	e.g. Ireland	separation is reached
Malaysia	India/Pakistan	The two units develop
Indonesia	Cyprus	separately, e.g. Germany, Yemen, Korea

<div align="center">Stage V

Separate development of partitioned units

Stage VI

Normalization between the partitioned units
(Trading and cultural relations)

Stage VII</div>

Unification/Reintegration: 1.partial (e.g. membership of regional and political organizations); 2.Total(e.g.Vietnam)

Table 2.4 Evolution of the Structure of Partition Forces

	Initial division	Division	Rapproach	Independent Reunification
Germany	external	external i nternal	external/ external	internal external
Korea	external	external/ internal		
China	internal	external/ internal	internal	
Vietnam	external	external/ internal		internal
India/ pakistan	internal external			internal
Pakistan/ Bangladesh	internal/ external	external/ internal	external/ internal	external/ internal
Cyprus	internal/ external	external/ internal	external internal	

Table 2.5 Partition Process and Stages

	Stage of Partition Process			
	initial stage	middle term	Rapprochement	unification/ independence
Germany	1945-49	1949-72	1972-89	1989-91
Vietnam	1945-75			1976
India/ Pakistan	1947			1947
Pakistan/ Bangladesh	1971			1976
Singapore Malaysia	1965			1965
China/ Taiwan	1949	1978	1988-present	
Korea	1945-85	1985-present		
Cyprus	1974	1975-present		

(1) Both Claiming Sole Representation and Mutual Nonrecognition

Both Chinas and both Koreas claim to be the sole legitimate successor of the former state. They have asserted legal identity over the previous national entity and have refused to recognize the de jure existence of the other side. There are, then, two mutually exclusive claims

to the legitimate government of the whole country in a situation in which one side does not have any control over the other side. This approach is often reinforced by variations in international recognition, which was particularly common during the period of Cold war.

(2) Only One Side Claiming the Sole Representation and the Other Side Claiming Only Independence

Germany, Vietnam, Pakistan/Bangladesh, and Cyprus illustrate to this approach. West Germany, North Vietnam, Pakistan (in the early years of division), and Greek Cyprus insisted that they held sovereignty and sole representation of the whole territory and citizens. They also denied the judicial existence of the other side. In contrast to this position, East Germany, South Vietnam, East Pakistan (Bangladesh), and the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus stressed independence for their controlled areas rather than claiming representation of the whole former country. They defined the opposite part as "foreign country". Recently this perspective moved to a more practical mode by recognizing the judicial existence of each other on condition of the "one nation" claim (the Koreas).

(3) Mutual Acceptance

This perspective was common when a large colony was split into two independent states in the decolonization process, because of frequently tremendous social, cultural, and economic differences between the parts. Since this division is prearranged in nature, each party tends to accept other's claim of sovereignty by agreement. This was the case with the partitions of India-Pakistan and Malaysia-Singapore.

Although all partitioned states claim sovereignty over their controlled area, their actual status quo may not have always been settled in the way they claim. These conflict claims, in fact, have caused several military "solutions" to change the status quo in these situations, such as the Vietnam War, the Korea War, and the Pakistan/Bangladesh War, which saw the eventual reunification of Vietnam and Bangladesh's independence. However, in other case, the status quo has still not reached consensus by both sides, for example Korea (Henderson and Lebow, 1974).

Except where mutual acceptance has laid the foundation for the partitioned elements to develop a complete statehood after the partition, the other two approaches have tended to not only cause the confrontation between these partitioned pairs, but also create political division and dilemma in the international community and organizations. The most common practice by claimers of the sole representation is the Hallstein Doctrine, that is, to sever political and diplomatic relations with any country that recognizes the other side as an independent state (Turner, 1987; Landauer, 1969). This has been the major cause of variations in the world community on recognition of these elements.

2.3.2 Status

The fundamental question of what status of these partitioned states are have to be addressed from a broad geo-political context and based on the fact that partition is both an attribute and a process (Waterman, 1987). Some political geographers have already identified that some of these partitioned state are not conventional states (Waterman, 1987; Glassner and

de Blij, 1989; Taylor, 1992;). For example, Glassner and de Blij (1989) classified Taiwan as a "quasi state".

To clarify the issue of status, the focus should be on the characteristics of the entity and its dynamic natures. As discussed previously, a state must possess certain attributes, such as territory, population, government, organized economy, circulation system, sovereignty, and recognition. Without these fundamental attributes, a political unit cannot be granted a full state authority, and therefore function as a state, especially in international affairs (Glassner and de Blij, 1989). It can be argued that most partitioned states lack of some these attributes, at least at some point of time in their partition process. Some have problems to establish normal diplomatic relationships, and others may not receive recognitions from the United Nations; and they may even have problems in establishing trade or other economic relationships, such as tourism.

In addition, the temporal dimension is also a factor in the clarification because of the dynamic nature of the partitioned state. Unlike the conventional state, the internal organizations and external relations of these partitioned elements are often fragile, because there is often a lack of framework to sustain the current status quo. It is generally agreed that there are only three possible ends to process: reunification, complete independence, and peaceful coexistence within the status quo (Henderson and Lebow, 1974, p.437-438). However, it is less certain when the end of the process actually happens.

At this time, China/Taiwan, North Korea/South Korea, Greek Cyprus/Turkish Cyprus fit this pattern. The two Germanies and Vietnam met the criteria before their reunification, as did India/Pakistan/ Bangladesh and Singapore/Malaysia before their completed independence.

2.3.3 Geographical Characteristics of Partitioned State

Due to the partitioned state's unique evolutionary process, it develops some common geo-political characteristics:

(1) Adjacent Location. Most of them are located adjacent to one another, reflecting the fact that, in many cases they were once part of the same larger political unit, for example, Ireland and Northern Ireland, South and North Korea.

(2) Shared Culture and Language. Political and military separation does not automatically remove a shared cultural and linguistic history. Most partitioned states share either or both of these features, especially when they are adjacent and have a common "parent" unit, for example East and West Germany before unification.

(3) Kinships. Family relationships often transcend the boundaries of partitioned states, and indeed, may be a major factor in the development or continuation of travel and tourism between units, for example, China and Taiwan.

(4) Recency. Many of the present partitioned states are relatively recent creations, the majority appearing after the end of the Second World War, and as noted earlier, many of them are the direct results of that conflict, for example Germany before unification.

(5) Different Political Systems. Related partitioned states frequently have differing political systems, and this difference may account for the creation of the individual units. It may also be

the cause of continued non-recognition or hostility between units, for example, South and North Korea.

(6) Different Economic Development Levels. This aspect is normally a result of other differences rather than a cause of establishment of one or more partitioned states, although severe inequality in regional development may make the case for separation stronger.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Over the past centuries, the modern political state system has spread all over the world and become the predominant geo-political organization. However, the partition of states, which has resulted from both external forces (war, decolonization, and recognition) and internal forces (conflicts in religion, ideology, culture, language, and economy), has generated a group of abnormal political entities. One form of these anomalies is the partitioned state - one of a number of political units currently separated from what used to be one country in the recent past. China/Taiwan, Greek Cyprus/Turkish Cyprus, and North Korea/South Korea are current partitioned states. Germany, Vietnam, India/Pakistan/Bangladesh, and Singapore/Malaysia used to be partitioned states in the past.

Such partitioning has clear implications for tourism. Tourism has a strong spatial dimension, which is not only directly involved in the tourist decision-making process, but it is also reflected in business development planning and government policies. This spatial dimension has been reinforced by state border control, tourist selection procedures, and international political arrangements (Richter, 1988; Edgell, 1990). Consequently, the nature and characteristics of relations with other political units are fundamental factors in the

formation of patterns of international tourism. It would be impossible to explain certain international patterns without consideration of these dynamic political factors. This laid the fundamental premise for this research. The next chapter will investigate a general tourism movement between partitioned states.

Chapter 3

TOURIST MOVEMENT AND PATTERNS BETWEEN

PARTITIONED STATES: A Theoretical Framework

The partitioning of a country, a frequent and major international event in the past five decades, has generated a group of unique political units. Although some units, such as Germany and Vietnam, eventually complete their partition process by reunification through different processes, these uncertain entities seems likely to continue to appear in the future, and some may exist for considerable periods of time.

Despite the uncertainty created by political strife and subdivision, many people continue to travel between partitioned states (Table 3.1). Economic necessity, religious obligations, family ties, political negotiations, and pleasure are all relevant motivations driving the movement of people between these political units. In 1990, over 30 million visitors travelled between China/Taiwan/Hong Kong/ Macao, a further 2.5 million between Singapore and Malaysia, and fifty thousand within Pakistan/India /Bangladesh (the NTA's, 1990; EIU, 1989;1990). Even the two Koreas have made attempts to initiate tourism movement across the

38th parallel and succeeded in arranging a symbolic hometown tour in 1985 (Kim and Crompton, 1990). Tourist movement, in fact, has often been integrated as part of partitioned state development. Cross-border travel has always been a subject of negotiation between both sides. One typical example was partitioned Germany. From 1949 to 1978, the bilateral negotiations generated a total 73 formal joint agreements between West and East Germany, of which 26 are directly concerning travel between them (Whetten, 1980, p.78). One of the most important issues in the Basic Agreement of 1972 was on the inter-Germany travel. The same kind of negotiation is also underway between two the Koreas and among partitioned elements of China. Consequently, the amount and type of travel between partitioned states c̲ e a sensitive parameter by which to measure the process of partitioned state development, and such travel can also greatly influence the development of the partitioned states. The tourist flow between Taiwan and Mainland China has had positive effects on the Taiwan Straits (Zhang, 1993). Thus Kim and Crompton (1990) have suggested that in Korea, "Tourism initially may serve as a dimension of the conflicts which can be used to reduce the level of the tension, gradually replacing it with mutual understanding and trust" (pp.362-363).

However, despite the level of significance and the political importance of such travel, there is a substantial lack of systematic research on tourist movement between partitioned states. Most studies are case specific, if tourism between partitioned states is included at all. Consequently, the nature and patterns of this unique tourism movement have not been analyzed and presented. Indeed, there is even a conceptual problem in defining such tourism movement (Butler and Baodi, 1994).

The objective of this chapter is to provide a general framework for tourism movement between partitioned states. The issue of definition is first presented by reviewing various perspectives which have prevailed in previous statistical and research studies. This definition is followed by a macro-analysis of factors and patterns of such tourism movement with comparisons made to conventional tourism movements. Finally, a typology is discussed in the context of partitioned state tourism.

Table 3.1 Significance of Partitioned State Tourism Movement(1986)

Total million		International million %		Partitioned State million %	
China	22.82	1.48	6.48	21.34	93.52
Taiwan	1.42	1.20	84.50	0.22	15.50
Hong Kong	3.43	3.18	92.71	0.25	7.29
Macao	5.10	0.91	17.84	4.19	82.16
India	1.45	1.08	74.48	0.37	25.52
Pakistan	0.43	0.21	48.83	0.22	51.17
Bangladesh	0.13	0.06	46.15	0.07	53.85
Malaysia	2.91	0.86	29.55	2.05	70.45
Singapore	3.04	2.52	82.89	0.52	17.11

Sources: WTO Yearbook, EIU, and governments statistical yearbooks

3.1 TOURISM BETWEEN PARTITIONED STATES: ISSUES OF DEFINITION

There are two basic types of tourists: international tourists and domestic tourists. An international tourist is a visitor who travels to a country other than his country of residence for more than 24 hours (WTO, 1963). A domestic tourist is a person travelling within his own country. The political boundary between countries becomes a spatial dimension by which to identify these two types of travellers. The underlying assumption is that the COUNTRY is a sovereign and internationally recognized state. However, such a classification fails to address

satisfactorily travel between the partitioned states as noted above. Consequently, there is confusion in the tourism literature and statistics on how to handle travel between partitioned states, a third type of travel, and to incorporate it into this two-type system.

3.1.1 UN's Approach

Since the Second World War, a number of international organizations have been established to coordinate global affairs, such as The United Nations, the International Monetary Foundation, the World Bank, and World Tourism Organization. One of their functions is to establish a standard system for collecting international social and economic statistics. The most comprehensive data set resulting from these efforts is the United Nations' Statistics Yearbook (UN, 1990), and by reviewing this it is possible to trace how international organizations approach the problem of classifying and recording tourism between partitioned states. Through reviewing the United Nations' Statistical Yearbook, one is able to trace how international organizations approach partitioned state tourism.

The Statistical Yearbook has been published by the United Nations since shortly after Second World War (1948). Not surprisingly, the sovereign country is chosen as the base geographical unit by which to record data. Occasionally, however, other types of political units, such as dependent territories, colonies, and partitioned states, are also recorded. Although there is a lack of consistency regarding the use of these political entities, the UN's Yearbook has generally maintained two approaches to partitioned states:

(1) "As a general rule, the data in the Yearbook relate to the country specified within its present de facto boundary" (UN 1959, p.13). Under this approach, the partitioned states

are recorded as one country, but the data only represent one section within the de facto boundary. The other partitioned section is treated as a supplementary entry, if it is included, but in some cases it is not listed at all. For example, in the Yearbook of 1948-1952, Germany was recorded as one country, but the tourist data only represent western zones. The eastern zone was not recorded at all. After 1953, Germany was replaced by the title of Federal Republic of Germany to indicate the western zones. The eastern zone, either reported as Germany, Eastern or as the Democratic Republic of Germany, was either shown separately indented under FRG, or else included in the data for FRG with a footnote to that effect (UN, 1953). In the case of Vietnam and Korea, only the data for South Vietnam and South Korea were included. Since the 1970s such an approach has tended to treat both divided sections as separated units. However, the travel between such partitioned states has not been systematically recorded because first, such travel has often been restricted, and second, partitioned states themselves often do not record it.

(2) The second approach is to exclude the 'non-recognized' section from the record. Only data for the internationally recognized section of a partitioned country are recorded. For example, the Yearbook only recorded Taiwan's tourism under the title of "Republic of China" (without Mainland) from 1948 to 1973. After 1973, however, only data for Mainland China have been recorded. For Cyprus, only data for Greek Cyprus (1971-present) have been recorded. It can be argued that this approach is an attempt to deny the legitimacy of certain sections of partitioned countries.

3.1.2 Approaches used by individual partitioned states

Because each partitioned state has a unique perspective on its own status and its political relationship after the separated sections, there are even more diverse definitions used in recording travel between them. A review of appropriate government documents indicates that a variety of approaches have been adopted by partitioned states, and these are summarised in Table 3.2. They may be grouped into three categories for presentation.

Table 3.2. Tourist Flow and Its Definition in Partitioned Countries

Tourist Flow	Definition by Destination	Tourist Flow	Definition by Destination
China to Taiwan	not allowed except VFR	Taiwan to China	special
S. Korea to N. Korea	not allowed	N. Korea to S. Korea	not allowed
S. Vietnam to N. Vietnam	not allowed	N. Vietnam to S. Vietnam	not allowed
India to Pakistan	special international	Pakistan to India	special international
Pakistan to Bangladesh	special international	Bangladesh to Pakistan	special international
W.Germany to E.Germany	special international	E.Germany to W.Germany	Domestic
N. Cyprus to S. Cyprus	not allowed	S. Cyprus to N. Cyprus	not allowed
Malaysia to Singapore	special international	Singapore to Malaysia	special international

(1) Domestic Travel

Western Germany was the only unit which defined and recorded the East German travellers as domestic tourists (German Statistical Yearbook, 1979). This approach originated from the 1949 Basic Law (constitution) of the Federal Republic of Germany. This Basic Law claimed in its preamble that one of the main purpose of the new state, and of its constitutional order, was to maintain Germany's unity as a nation and as a state, and that the legislators having adopted this constitution "for a transitional period" were also acting on behalf of the unfree citizens in East Germany (Whetten, 1980; Kindermann, 1994). By this concept, the travel between East and West was viewed as within the boundary of the state and should be domestic in nature. Even after the two German governments concluded a new treaty on their mutual relations in 1972, West Germany still argued that the Inter-German East-West Treaty on the Basis of Relations had legally institutionalized the coexistence of **two states within the German nation**, states which, therefore, could not be "foreign countries" (Kindermann, 1994, p. 220). West Germany historically refused to accept German Democratic Republic as a legitimate state and claimed representation of the whole of German. Under this doctrine, it treated the population resident in East Germany as German Citizens with no difference to west German residents (Epstein, 1973; McAdams, 1993). As a result, the travel between west and east was recorded as domestic travel.

(2) International Travel with Special Status.

The partitioning of India/Pakistan and Singapore/ Malaysia, was settled with consensus from both sides and recognized by the world community in a short period. The partition

process was completed in short period and mutual acceptance relationships were established. Theoretically, therefore, all agreed that the travel between these partitioned pairs are international in nature (Osborne, 1964; Baxter, 1984). However, statistically such travel has, in fact, been treated in a different manner to travel to and from other countries (WTO, 1988). Travel to and from the partitioned sections is either recorded as a special tourist flow, or not recorded at all. This may directly resulted from the fact that the border crossing procedures between these countries tended to be simplified for each other's tourists and, in some case such travel was not recorded. For example, the trips between Malaysia and Singapore by land have rarely been recorded (EIU, 1987). More importantly, differences between such travellers and those from other foreign countries in terms of motivation, length of trip, travel behaviour, and expenditure were also identified by these divided states. Therefore, the tourism movement between these pairs was, in fact, not documented in the same way as the conventional international tourism. This is typified in survey reports: Indian International Tourism (Indian Institute of public opinion, 1969). This surveys classified the tourists between India and Pakistan as international ones, but identified many distinct characteristics of that these traveller had. The Indian Institute sampled both foreigners (5,247) and nationals from Pakistan (105) by a comprehensive questionnaire. However, the response from the Pakistan travellers "have not been included in the analysis because their characteristics, as also levels of expenditure, were observed to be significantly different from tourists of other nationalities " (India Institute of Public Opinion, 1969, Introduction).

China is a unique case in using this category. Officially China claims that Taiwan is a province, Hong Kong and Macao a region, and implies that such tourists are domestic in nature. However, it records tourists from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as Compatriots, which tends to be international in nature (NTA, 1990). This category is characterized by the PRC's accommodation and currency regulations. Chinese government regulation stipulated that international tourists can only stay in "grade A" accommodation and exchange Foreign Exchange Certificate s(to be discussed in detail in Chapter six).

(3) No definition

This type of categorisation generally exists where there are mutual restrictions on travel between the partitioned sections. As of 1995, Taiwan, both North Korea and South Korea, as well as both sections of Cyprus continue to restrict travel between their partitioned sections (Bair and Hubbard, 1990). No clear definition is given to any emergency or political travel, nor to potential tourism travel.

In summary, there have been a variety of perspectives and approaches to categorise and describe the travel between partitioned states, and thus there is a lack of a consistent framework to record travel between partitioned states appropriately. This situation results in several problems. First, these tourists are ignored in most tourism statistics, and, therefore, the true tourism pattern is misrepresented, particularly in cases, e.g. East Asia, where such travel is of considerable magnitude. Second, an arbitrary grouping of such travel either as international or domestic cannot be justified, and creates problems for tourists, which may significantly affect their motivations, their propensity to travel and their travel behaviour. For example,

Western Germany classified East German visitors as domestic tourists, but this did not change the fact that East German visitors had to go through formal procedures to apply exit visas, cross a physical boundary, exchange and use another currency, and face an ever changing social and cultural environments. Third, all these approaches are static in nature and fail to recognize the dynamic nature of many of the partitioned states. An evolutionary relationship between this type of tourism and conventional tourism can be postulated but has not been investigated. In order to resolve some of these issues, a new approach has to be developed.

3.1.3 Defining Partitioned State Tourism: A New Perspective

Though each of the approaches mentioned above are different, they share one common feature: they all attempt to fit the travel between partitioned states into a basic classification of either international or domestic tourism. However, this approach is inappropriate on conceptual and theoretical grounds and confusing and inaccurate in a practical sense (Butler and Mao, 1994). The political boundaries and territorial integrity of partitioned states, which are fundamental criteria for the international/domestic classification, are not clearly defined in the first place. Partitioned states are often not recognized as countries by the other side or by the international community. 'Boundaries' between partitioned states may not be regular international boundaries, but in fact may be cease-fire lines, demilitarized zones, or lines of control, such as the "borders" between South Vietnam and North Vietnam, South Korea and North Korea, the South Cyprus and North Cyprus, and even the Taiwan Strait. In general, such "lines" possess very few of the attributes of a permanent boundary. They are often military in their conception and may have been drawn on the basis of positions held by combatants at

the time of cessation of hostilities. In some cases, Vietnam, Korea and Germany, they were clearly designed for temporary rather than permanent use. Over most of their length, they may follow few natural geographic barriers or traditional political boundaries. They are often viewed officially by both sides as a temporary line, limited in function, and in principle, subject at some future date to a more permanent settlement.

Due to these unique attributes, crossing such a 'line ' is different from crossing a true international boundary in many aspects, even where such travel is allowed. East Germany only allowed certain citizens, such as pensioners, under certain conditions, such as emergency family matter, to visit West Germany. Taiwan does not allow travellers from mainland China entry except in special cases. Even when Taiwan does permit its citizens to visit China, they can not travel directly to Mainland but stopover in a third country. In fact, there are no agreements on transport, customs, taxation, or even general diplomatic relations between China and Taiwan. To date, the tourists are still not allowed to travel between the two Koreas and between the partitioned Cyprus.

On the other hand, the relationship between these partitioned states is clearly not a domestic one either. When residents cross a "boundary" between partitioned states, they are generally required to go through similar procedures to foreign tourists, such as showing entry/exit visas, passport, exchange currency, and even encountering an increasingly strange environment. Furthermore, their shared past political, territorial, social, and cultural experiences provide a unique perspective for them when they visit the other partitioned section. It is clear, therefore, that to attempt to categorise the travel between partitioned states as either

international or domestic has inherent theoretical weaknesses. To overcome these weaknesses it is necessary to introduce a new perspective on such travel and on the classification system itself.

A political boundary is both a set of complicated attributes and a process of culture, economy and politics. It is dynamic in nature. Physically the boundary is a line on the map. Spatially there are only two situations, the presence of a boundary or no boundary. However, politically, socially and economically the dynamic elements of a boundary system in fact create a boundary continuum:

Boundary ——— semi/quasi boundary ——— non-boundary

Between the two extremes there may exist the often temporary boundary denoting partitioned countries, particularly partitioned states. This boundary may evolve in either direction, it may become a permanent international boundary (as much as these are ever permanent), or it may disappear if and when such partitioned countries become reunited. Given this reality, it is not difficult to argue that a comprehensive and dynamic tourism classification should contain a new category of tourist, that is, a tourist crossing a semi/partitioned boundary. Figure 2 illustrates the dynamic political nature of tourism involving parti tates, and a third type of tourist is suggested, namely the partitioned state tourist. This term would be applied to a visitor who travels between the paired parts of a partitioned country, or partitioned stat s, for purposes of leisure, business, visiting friends and relatives, and other non-employment activity.

The partitioned state tourist is a unique type of tourist, different from a domestic tourist because the individual has to cross a border and probably use another currency. This category

is not the same as the international tourist because the border(s) being crossed may not be generally recognised, and the political controls may not be the same for the partitioned state tourist as for tourists from other countries. The category of partitioned state tourist may be a temporary one for residents of any particular partitioned section of a country, and could evolve to either international or domestic, depending on the political process, that is, whether the partitioned parts achieve global recognition and stability as true political states or reunite as one state.

Figure 3.1 A new classification of tourism

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┌─────────────┐       ┌─────────────┐       ┌─────────────┐
│    State    │───────│ Partitioned │───────│   Areas in  │
│             │       │   States    │       │   a State   │
└─────────────┘       └─────────────┘       └─────────────┘
       │                     │                     │
       ▼                     ▼                     ▼
  International         Partitioned State       Regional
  Boundary             Boundary                 Boundary
       │                     │                     │
       ▼                     ▼                     ▼
┌─────────────┐       ┌─────────────┐       ┌─────────────┐
│ International│───────│Partitioned  │───────│   Domestic  │
│   Tourist   │       │State Tourist│       │   Tourist   │
└─────────────┘       └─────────────┘       └─────────────┘
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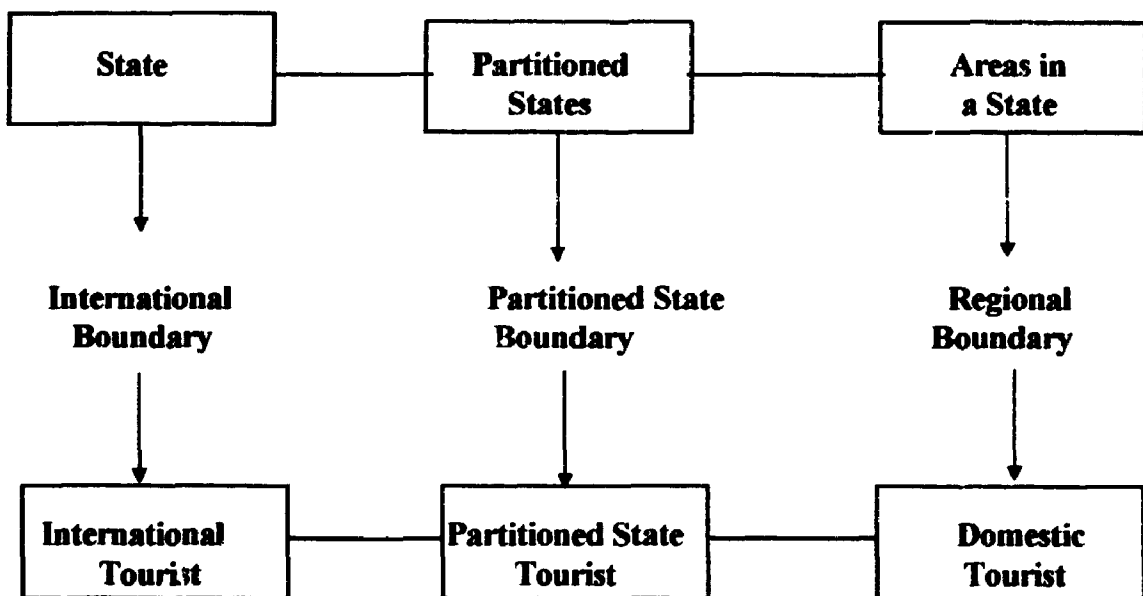
The rationale and benefit of this new classification of tourism include the fact that all tourist flows will fit into this system and could be recorded accordingly, that it removes the

inconsistency between international organizations and partitioned states, and finally it also illustrates the dynamic nature and interrelationship between these three types of tourism.

3.2 PARTITIONED STATE TOURIST MOVEMENT AND PATTERN

Following this new approach, it is logical to hypotheses that there may exist differences between partitioned state tourism and conventional tourism . terms of motivation, accessibility, typology, and even impacts. In order to test such a hypothesis, a comparison of certain aspects between partitioned state tourism and conventional tourism is made in the following sections.

3.2.1 Motivation Patterns and Processes

(1) Patterns

Motivation is "that set of needs and attitudes which predisposes a person to act in a specific touristic goal-directed way, Motivation is thus an inner state which energizes channels and sustains human behaviour to achieve goals" (Pizam, Neumann and Reichel, 1979, p. 195). Murphy (1985) suggested that motivation to travel could be broken into physical, cultural, social, or fantasy needs. Plog (1974, 1987) revealed the close relationship between motivation and travel patterns. These theories implies that the unique physical, cultural and political relationships between the source area and the destination greatly influence the motivation pattern. Such relations can be measured by the travel distance, cost, relative physical attributes, cultural relations, and social characteristics, which have profound impacts on the motivation to travel and the process of selection of destinations (Gartner 1993). In the context of tourism between partitioned states and other partitioned states or conventional countries, therefore, it is

necessary to see if there are differences in motivations of travellers compared to travel between conventional states.

In reality there are three situations to compare, tourism between partitioned states, tourism from a partitioned state to a conventional state, and tourism from a conventional state to a partitioned state. Some of the parameters and characteristics of such travel are noted in the table below.

Table 3.3. Comparison of Three Type of Tourism

Partitioned Partitioned To State State	shared recent history mi^or or no communication barrier wide kinship relationships some- times shared cultural inheritance unique social-political relations informal information network
Partitioned Foreign To State State	different historical background possible communication barrier limited kinship different cultural inheritance regular international relations formal information network different historical background
Foreign Partitioned To State State	possible communication barrier limited kinship different cultural inheritance regular international rela.'ons regular information network

To a tourist, a foreign country implies a different environment, often both culturally and physically. A foreign country usually not only has different culture, traditions, religion,

customs, and social activities, but it may also use a different language and have a unique lifestyle. When a tourist decides to visit a foreign country, the expectation is normally that the destination will be significantly different from the home country. Not only will there be exposure to a different culture and tradition, but also the experience of a distinct and different pattern of behaviour. There may be a communication barrier because of different languages. Tourist knowledge about foreign countries comes from a variety of sources, including books, television and other media (Butler 1986, Gartner 1993). It would seem reasonable to assume that for many, if not all tourists visiting a foreign country, at least a part of the motivation is to seek a different experience, adventure, and fantasy. In Plog's (1974) model of tourist types, such individuals are classified as midpsychocentrics to allocentrics.

Between partitioned states, on the other hand, there are frequently many features in common. They may share not only common cultural history and traditions, but they may also have developed similar social patterns of behaviour. Although, in some case, they may have been part of a plural society—with different cultures, religions and language groups, they at least used to share some common cultural links as well as administrative arrangements and perhaps official language(s). In some cases, partitioned states may still retain a common official language, religion, custom, and lifestyle, even if they claim the status of independent countries. More importantly, close social fabric and family relationships are likely to have developed between residents of partitioned states before partition, as for example between residents of what are now South and North Korea. Such relationships play a key role in subsequent tourism development. Travellers between partitioned states will have acquired their knowledge not only

from the media, travel agencies, and other conventional forms of information dissemination, but more importantly they will also have obtained information from their friends and relatives residing in the partitioned state destinations, and possibly even from living in the partitioned section before separation. In many cases it is the kinship ties as well as the shared common culture and sense of belonging that motivate partitioned tourists to visit other partitioned states. In this sense they are not seeking the different, the exotic or the challenging as much as are conventional tourists visiting foreign states. In many cases they will be seeking the familiar, the traditional and an environment very similar to their current one. Such motivations would place these travellers in the psychocentrics to midpsychocentrics in Plog's (1974) classification.

While the foregoing discussion is conjectural, there are data which support the conclusions drawn, and these are shown in Table 7. This table reveals that visiting friends and relatives (VFR) is the primary motivation for travel between the partitioned states examined here, while leisure is the primary motivation for travel between conventional foreign states. This pattern may be explained by the following factors:

(1) Kinship ties between residents of partitioned states are generally stronger than those between regular states for a variety of reasons, including the general recency of separation, and the division of families. In general, the probability of having a family network within one's state boundary is much higher than outside the boundary. When a new boundary is superimposed and one country is partitioned into two or more sections, such family networks are often physically divided by the partition. The presence of these pre-partition family and kinship ties is

a major factor in the motivation of residents of partitioned states to travel between them, often

with high revisitation (Chow, 1988; Kim and Crompton, 1990).

Table 3.4 Motivation Pattern between Selected Partitioned States (1985)

Tourist Flows	Motivation		
	1st	**2nd**	**3rd**
China-Taiwan	(not permitted)		
Foreigner-Taiwan	Leisure	Business	Other
Taiwan-China	VFR	Business	L eisure
Foreigner-China	Leisure	Business	Other
Pakistan/Bangladesh-India	VFR	Leisure	Business
Foreigner-India	Leisure	Business	VFR
India-Pakistan	VFR	Leisure	Business
Foreigner-Pakistan	Leisure	Business	VFR
Malaysia-Singapore	Leisure	Business	VFR
Foreigner-Singapore	Leisure	Business	Transit
W.Germany-E.Germany	Leisure	VFR	Other
Foreigner-E.Germany	Leisure	Business	Other
E.Germany-W.Germany	VFR	Leisure	Other
Foreigner-W.Germany	Leisure	Business	Other

Sources: EIU, 1987-1990 ; WTO, 1986-1992

(2) During the partitioning of states, large-scale population dislocation often occurs, which may

result in family redistribution, which in turn may create separation of families. This has been

very common in war-related partitions, such as Germany, Vietnam, Korea, China, Cyprus, and

Pakistan/Bangladesh. For example, according to the figures compiled by the office of Five

Northern Provinces in Seoul (Kim and Crompton, 1990), there are a total of 5,144,000 displaced persons from North Korea now living in South Korea. It is estimated that 10 million family members have been separated since the Korea division (Korea Herald, 1982). A similar pattern is also true for China, where more than two million Mainlanders moved to Taiwan when the civil war ended. Most of these people were military personnel who moved without their families (Tregear, 1980). This is the major reason why so many Taiwanese still have relatives in Mainland China. In Germany, the initial population dislocation after the War was reinforced by continuing refugee movement from East to West (Moreton, 1987; McAdams, 1993). This certainly contributed to the later VFR movement.

(3) The desire to visit friends and relatives also has strong political ramifications, and this desire may even be the trigger to develop exchanges between divided partitioned states. There often remains hostility between partitioned sections, especially in the early period of partition. One of the direct results of such hostility frequently is to restrict the traffic between the partitioned sections, as happened in Vietnam, Germany, China/Taiwan, Pakistan/Bangladesh, Koreas, and Cyprus. In general, visiting family members is often deemed as a basic human right and such a right can not presumably be denounced by a state's government. Consequently, partitioned state governments may often use this demand as an initiative to develop contact and exchange, or are forced to respond such an initiative. Therefore, visiting friends and relatives is often allowed between partitioned states, even if other official relationships have not been formally established. During the 1960-1970s, West Germany not only succeeded in negotiating to remove the ban on the travel from West to East, imposed by East Germany, but this movement

also pressured the East Germany to allow its citizens to visit the West for family matters (Epstein, 1973; Whetten, 1980; Moreton, 1987). Since 1978, China has promoted free travel cross the Taiwan Strait to coerce Taiwan to negotiate reunification. Although Taiwan has refused to allow such direct 'free travel', it did finally (1987) allow its citizens to visit China for purpose of VFR (Zhang, 1993).

(4) Visiting friends and relatives is relatively low cost travel, and may even be financially supported by the hosts. Compared to conventional tourists, VFR often costs less because of the fact that there is little or no charge for accommodation as visitors use guest rooms provided by relatives or friends; most of the eating is done in the host's house rather than dining out; and probably relatives or friends' transportation will be used rather than commercial transportation (EIU Reports, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992; Indian Institute of Public Opinion, 1969; Chow, 1988; Zhang, 1990).

(2) Evolution Process

Unlike conventional tourists, the motivations of travellers between partitioned states may often show significant changes in a relative short of period, in part because of the frequently changing nature of political relations (Chow, 1988; Zhang, 1990; Kinderman, 1994). The nature of the evolution of this form of tourism can be conceptually presented in a model with four distinct stages (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 A Conceptual Model of Evolution Process of Motivation Pattern of Partitioned State Tourism

VFR%

| Zero Stage | VFR Stage | Middle Stage | Mature Stage |

Total Arrivals
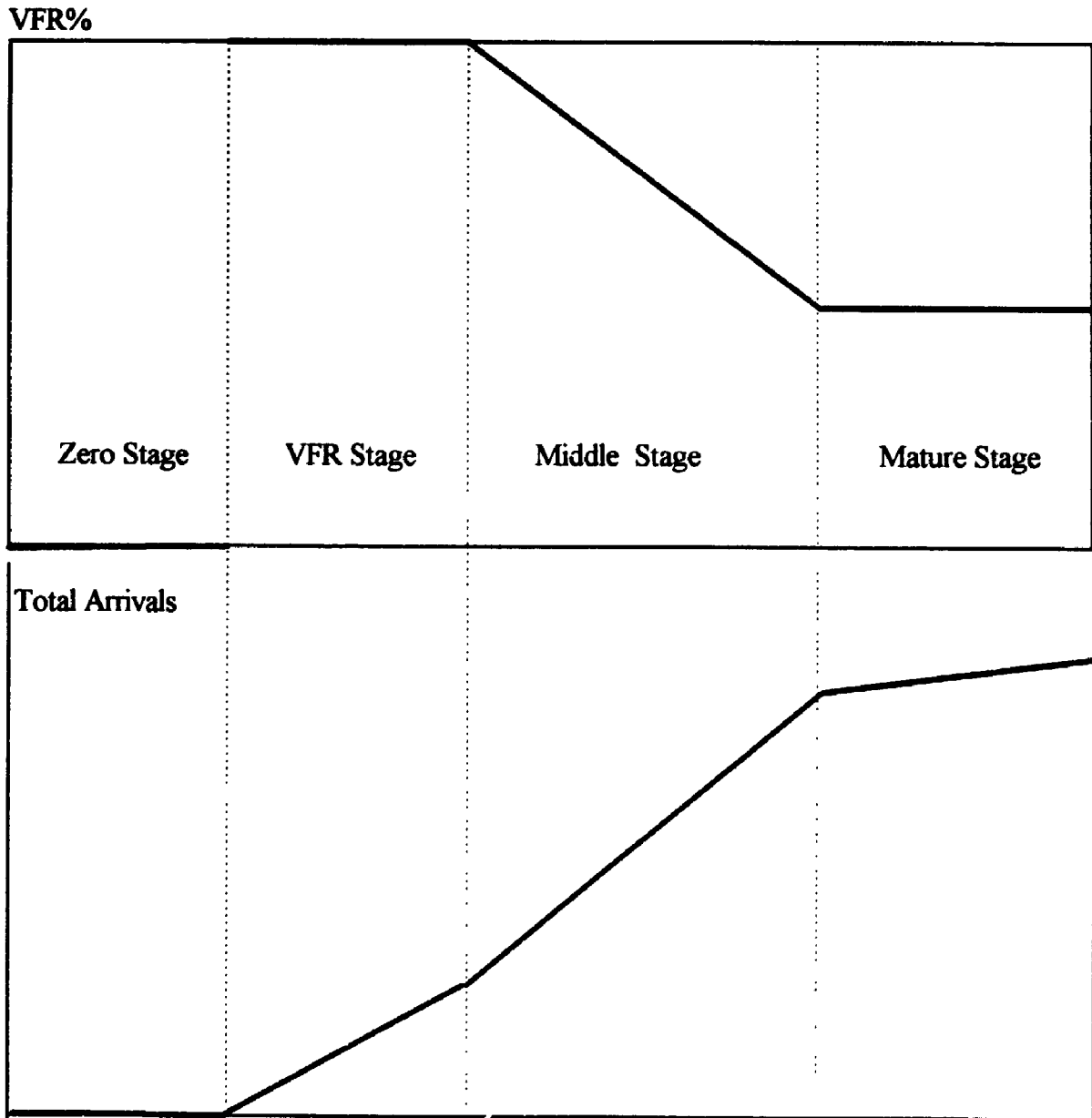
(1) Zero-tourism stage. In the early years of partition, political hostility and sovereignty disputes almost inevitably result in confrontation between the sides. The border is often a military front line and no diplomatic relationship exists. Therefore, there is a lack of any

political or diplomatic instrument to facilitate travel between two sections. The tourist flow between partitioned states at this point virtually does not exit.

(2) VFR tourist stage. Although the confrontation is still in place, bilateral relations are improved. With pressure from one or both sides, VFR issues are negotiated and often permitted. Most of these travellers move on an individual basis and group packages rarely exist. Furthermore, in this stage such travel may be uni-directional, that is, from only one of the partitioned states to another, for financial, logistic or political reasons.

(3) Middle stage. With the development of bilateral political, economical, and cultural relationships over time, and, in particular, the likely growth of VFR tourism, other types of travel can be expected. These (business and leisure travel in particular) are often developed by the business community, but initially may still be done in the guise of VFR to meet political or other requirements. Package tours are organized and governments gradually loose control of the situation as old regulations become circumvented. Finally, all types of tourists are officially permitted and travel tends to be two-way trips. However, VFR probably remains the primary motivation, although proportionally it may decline.

(4) Mature stage. In this stage, partitioned states either evolve into independent states (or at least start to treat each other in that way) or they reunite. The political constraints on the travel between them are removed, and the tourist market is completely open. Business and leisure travel may outweigh VFR, and the travel is reciprocal in nature.

Former West and East Germany went through all stages before reunification. China/Taiwan are currently in the early part of the middle stage. The two Vietnams jumped

from the zero tourist stage to the mature stage because of the bloody reunification process. Greek and Turkish Cyprus, and North and South Korea are still in the zero tourist stage. India/Pakistan/ Bangladesh and Malaysia/Singapore have been in the mature stage for a considerable period of time, although even here, as noted earlier, the recording of visitors from the other partitioned states indicates a remnant of the previous situation.

Table 3.5 Motivation Stages of the Selected Partitioned Countries

	Zero Stage	VFR Stage	Middle Stage	Mature Stage
China/ Taiwan	———————————————→			
S.Korea/ N.Korea	—→			
S.Vietnam/ N.Vietnam	—→ ··· ———→			
India/Pak./ Bangladesh	—————————————————————————→			
Malaysia/ Singapore	··· ······················· ——→			
W.Germany/ E.Germany	—————————————————————————→			
N.Cyprus/ S.Cyprus	—→			

3.2.2. Accessibility Patterns

Previously most researchers have studied accessibility within a physical and marketing context, such as the location of access of routes, the proximity of airports, and the proximity to market (Pearce, 1989). Few studies have involved other aspects of accessibility, such as political constraints (Edgell, 1990; Hall, 1991; Hall; 1994). In a broad sense, accessibility for tourism is a multi-faceted phenomenon. It is an outcome of the interaction of physical-social-political factors between the generating areas and hosting regions. These dimensions of accessibility substantially influence, if not control, the spatial pattern of tourist flows. As a result, a comparison of accessibility between partitioned states and conventional state is essential to explain the spatial pattern of partitioned state tourism.

(1) Physical Dimension of Accessibility

Physically accessibility is a measure of the existing infrastructure between home country and host country, including 'hard' infrastructure, such as road, highways, railways, and airports, and 'soft' infrastructure, such as communications, information nets, and tourist services (Pearce, 1989). In comparing the physical accessibility of partitioned state to that of conventional one, the most important difference may be the development process and the patterns of this infrastructure. In general, the infrastructure links between regular countries are not developed until a set of bilateral agreements and investment plans are signed by both governments. Usually only a limited number of entry/departure ports and gateway for international travel are established for such purposes, and an intraregional transport system within the border are often developed to connect such entry/departure ports (international

hubs) (Pearce, 1987). For partitioned states, the infrastructure between them, which probably was constructed before the partition occurred, was generally not initially developed specifically for international traffic, but as a part of an integrated national system. It can be argued that, at that time, national security, border controls, and custom services were not factors concerned in building the original system, and therefore, the connection network between these two parts tend to be more intensive than that between two regular countries. For example, there were five autobahns,fifteen highways and seventeen railways connecting the two Germanies before partition, significantly more than linkages to other countries (The Map of Western Europe, The National Geographic Magazine, 1966). This is also true in Korea, where an intensive transportation system with five railways and eleven highways was also built between the Koreas before its division (The Map of Korea, The National Geographic Magazine, 1945). Although sometimes the infrastructure system between partitioned states is disconnect and disabled for a period of time because of division, few are completed destroyed. Therefore, neighbour partitioned states tend to have more physical access to each other than to neighbouring foreign countries.

(2) Political dimension of accessibility

Accessibility has very dynamic political dimensions (Mao, 1993). When he studied the international relations and tourism, Edgell noted "Travel bans are imposed from time to time for political reasons. To even admit foreign visitors and to facilitate their travel within a nation's borders is a political action " (Edgell, 1990:38-39). Because of the unique political relations between partitioned states, the accessibility pattern is different from that of conventional one.

Matthews' (1978) international relationship model provides a framework to identify and explain the political dimension of accessibility pattern.

According to Metthews (1978), five types of political relations exist and influence tourism movement: government-government, government-private group between countries, government-private group within a country, private groups between countries, and private groups within a country. It is these relations between countries that directly influence the accessibility of international tourists. For conventional states, they usually have normal inter-government relations and a set of treaties, such as transportation agreements, immigration and custom procedures, currency regulations, and double taxation treaties, are signed. Under this framework, other types of relationships can also be developed extensively. These lay the foundation for reciprocal tourist movement. However, because of the partition process and results, the relationships between partitioned states have not always been established neatly, and in fact such uncertain relationships often results in a unique set of accessibility patterns. Three types of partitioned state relationships are identified:

(1) Normalized inter-government relations. This situation develops when partitioned states evolve into conventional states quickly and a conventional tourism relationship has been established. Travel between such former partitioned states is completely free of abnormal restrictions, although it may not be treated as conventional tourism. Malaysia/Singapore, and India/ Pakistan/Bangladesh belong to this category.

(2) Unofficial relations. Some other partitioned states (at least one section) lack the political base and will to establish conventional inter-government diplomatic relations, however, they

tolerate the government-private group or private-private relationships. These unofficial relations allow travel to occur between partitioned states under certain conditions. As a result, the traffic may not be reciprocal. The former Germanies, and China/Taiwan are examples of this arrangement.

(3) No relations. Here, partitioned states are often in the initial stage and tension still exists between them. The diplomatic framework between them has not been developed and there is a lack of both government and private relationships. Thus the travel between them is completely prohibited or extremely restricted, such as the partitioned Korea and Cyprus.

3.3 A TYPOLOGY OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM

Tourists are not homogeneous, and neither are partitioned state tourists. There are various classification schemes attempting to characterize difference among tourists in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, motivations, activities, travel experience, lifestyle and value. Such schemes enable researchers to further categorize travellers and explain their travel patterns and impacts (Dan, Nash and Pearce, 1988).

Among these pertinent tourist typologies, Cohen's (1972, 1979), Smith's (1977, 1989), and Plog's (1974) are the most important ones. However such classifications do not fit partitioned state tourism well, because of an absence of political dimension of tourism. Hall (1994) has noted, "Tourism trends are determined by three interrelated factors: economic, political and social" (p.48). In particular, partitioned states have a very dynamic political process which influence every aspect of tourism in, to, and from. For example, the former East Germany only allowed two types of travels to West Germany: pensioners-recreation and non-

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTCGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

1.0

28   25

32   2.2

36

40   2.0

1.1

1.8

1.25   1.4   1.6
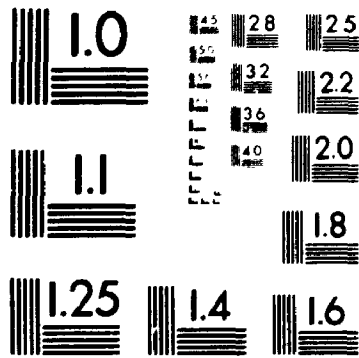
pensioner-VFR. This determined the fundamental characteristics of partitioned state tourism in Western Germany. Such characteristics resulted from political actions, rather than the tourists' motivational/behavioral orientation. Consequently, not considering of political elements in seeking a typology of partitioned state tourism is not appropriate and make it impossible to explain the patterns, activities and impact of each "type", even if a typology is established. Therefore, in this study, a political dimension is incorporated to establish a typology of partitioned state tourism.

The analysis in the previous section showed that the fundamental causes of partitioned state tourism phenomena are the partition and the relevant political context between divided units. Thus such political relationships between partitioned states can be used as a fundamei.'al fact, and three types of travel are identified: travel without restriction from both host and home, travel with restriction from one side, and travel with restriction from both sides (Table 3.6).

3.3.1 Travel without Restriction from Both Host and Home

This type of tourism usually occurs when the partitioned states have already completed the rapproachment stage and have entered a post-partitioned state era. Formal diplomatic relationships between the partitioned states have been established and both sides have entered into major international organizations and agreements. Both sides have placed no restriction on travel between them, and sometimes they even do not have border controls. Examples are Pakistan/Bangladesh, and Malaysia/Singapore. Although VFR will be one of most important reasons for such travel, recreation (including shopping) is the primary purpose. Travel form can be both group and individual-based.

3.3.2 Travel with Restriction Imposed by One Side

China/Taiwan and the former Germanies belong in this category. Usually the restrictions are not only directed to arrivals of the residents from the other units, but also directed to the units's own citizens. Due to such restrictions, travel is often primarily for VFR, at least officially. For example, East Germany only permitted its citizens to travel to West Germany for the purpose of family matters unless they were pensioners. The travel was predominantly individually based and no package travel allowed. Although East Germany did not directly restrict tourists from the West Germany, it did require forced currency exchanges. Taiwan officially only allows VFRs to travel to mainland China and generally does not permit mainland Chinese to visit Taiwan. Most Taiwanese visit China as individual travellers. In recent years Taiwan travel agencies have been able to organize travel to mainland China, but they have to arrange the VFR documents for such travel.

3.3.3 Travel Restricted by Both Host and Home

This often happens in the early stage of partitioned state establishment, such as China/Taiwan 1949-1979, and Pakistan/Bangladesh 1971-1973. Currently Korea and Cyprus belong to this category. As both sides prohibit travel to each other, the partitioned state tourist is only a potential tourist.

Table 3.6 A Typology of Partitioned State Tourism

Typology	Accessibility	Motivation	Organization
Malaysia/ Singapore I	Absence of restriction	Leisure/VFR	Individual & group
India/ Pakistan/ Bangladesh	Absence of restriction in general except a restriction between Pak. and Bangladesh from 1971-1976	VFR/Leisure	Individual
China/ Taiwan II	Taiwan has restriction on both exit and entry of partitioned state tourist	VFR/Business	Individual and group
W.Germany/ E.Germany	E.Germany has restriction on outbound	VFR dominate the travel from East to West Leisure & VFR are for West to East	East to West is completely individual based West to East are grouped or individual
S.Korea/ N.Korea III	completely prohibit	First exchange travel was VFR	First exchange was grouped
S.Cyprus/ N.Cyprus	completely prohibit	N/A	N/A

3.4 CONCLUSION

Despite the conflict and uncertainty created by division and political strife between partitioned states, there is a substantial tourism movement between many of them. However, the travel between partitioned states in general, has long been neglected in the literature. In fact, both international organizations and individual countries have failed to develop a consistent framework to define such 'abnormal' travel. As a result, travel between partitioned states has been either excluded or arbitrarily categorised in many cases. Having identified the basic problems which resulted from previous approaches, this study approaches this issue by defining travel between partitioned states as a unique type of tourism which parallels traditional international and domestic tourism. Further conceptual analysis finds that the predominant motivation behind partitioned state tourism is often VFR rather than leisure. This pattern results from the fact that there often exist extensive kinship links between partitioned states because of a large scale population displacement during partition, as well as the fact that VFR plays a political function in partitioned state politics. Because of the political nature of such travel, the motivation pattern of partitioned state tourism constantly changes and displays a four-stage evolution process. The analysis has also shown that the accessibility pattern of partitioned state tourism differs from that of conventional tourism in terms of the availability of physical facilities and control of population movements. Reflecting this such accessibility pattern, a typology of partitioned state tourism has been established, which includes three types: travel without restriction from both host and home, travel with restriction imposed by one side, and travel with restriction from both sides.

This chapter has provided a general framework of partitioned state tourism, covering perspectives, definition, patterns and typology. The unique nature and characteristics of partitioned state tourism imply that its economic and social impacts may also differ from those of conventional tourism. In fact, some previous researchers have identified this difference (Indian Institute of Public Opinion, 1969; Whetten, 1980; Chow, 1988). The EIU's report on international tourism in Pakistan provided a vivid picture:

"It has already been noted that the Indian visitors differs greatly from his fellow travellers. The 1982 survey showed that three quarters of Indian visitors spent less the PRs200 a day, under half that spent by the other nationalities combined, while less than 10 per cent spent more than PRs800 a day (other nationalities:25 per cent). The lower spending is explained by the fact that 96 per cent of the visits were for family reasons, as well as by the fact that disposable incomes in India tend to be extremely low The pattern of spending was very different with only 0.8 per cent going on accommodation, 9.9 per cent on food, a high 27 per cent on local transport, 8.7 per cent on entertainment, 29 per cent on shopping and 24.4 per cent on miscellaneous items. Over half of shopping expenditure was for cotton garments. The majority stayed for more than 31 days (54 per cent), with less than 2 per cent using hotel accommodation and 97 percent arriving by land" (EIU, 1987, No.1:35).

Given of the broad context and, despite of the lack systematic documented data, it is argued that the variance of impacts exists among many partitioned states.

Although a general analysis at the global level provides a "big picture" for identifying and understanding the basic nature and pattern of partitioned state tourism, further analysis at international level is crippled by the diverse geographical settings of these partitioned states and a lack of a systematic data base. To overcome this problem, this study will examine one example in detail and present further research in the context of the general framework discussed earlier. Taking into consideration the nature, size, evolutionary stage, and availability of data, partitioned China is selected as the study area. This includes People's Republic of China

(mainland China, PRC), Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC), Hong Kong, and Macao. Although Hong Kong and Macao are not true partitioned states, they are included in the study because of their unique relations to PRC and Taiwan. The chapter following provides the basic context and background of this area and the data sources.

Chapter 4

STUDY AREA AND DATA: PARTITIONED CHINA

A comparison of partitioned state tourism with conventional tourism has allowed the

generation of a theoretical framework of partitioned state tourism from a global perspective.

However, it is extremely difficult to conduct detailed analysis on the topic due to a lack of

systematically documented data. To overcome this, the partitioned state of China has been

selected as the study area in which to conduct detailed analysis of the problem. The reasons for

choosing partitioned China as the research region are: (1) it is divided into dynamic partitioned

states, especially China-Taiwan, which include most aspects of the evolutionary process of

partitioned states; (2) within this area there exist significant tourism movement (in excess of 30

million travels 1994); (3) it is relatively easy for this author to obtain the official records and

data; and (4) the researcher's personal background and connections facilitates the study.

It would likely be useful to briefly address the geographical and historical background

of partitioned China, because the current partition is, indeed, an integrated part of China's

continued division and reunion cycle. This also provides a context for the understanding of the inherent political and cultural linkage among the partitioned elements. Within this context, the mechanism and process of partitions are systematically discussed from a geographical perspective. This discussion provides a foundation to address the status and perspective of these partitioned elements.

4.1 STATE DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

China is one of the world's oldest continuous civilizations, with historical records that date back nearly 3,500 years.The origin of China is prehistoric according to archaeological evidence (Chang, 1977). Chinese agrarian civilization first developed in the region known as Zhongyuan (Central Plain) in the middle of Huang He Basin. It was from this region that the first recorded dynasties sprang and grew, the Shang (1450-1054 B.C.), and the Zhou (1054-256 B.C.). Although successive dynasties developed a unique system of bureaucratic control that gave the agrarian-based Chinese an advantage over neighbouring nomadic and hill cultures, disunity and unity have always been a part of state development. There are three unity-disunity cycles (Tregear, 1980).

(1) Qin (221 B.C.) - Sui (589 A.D.) In 221 B.C., China's first political revolution established the first unitary state of China, which lasted for over twenty-one centuries. This period involved an eight-century rise and decline of two dynasties, followed by a long era of division. Though short-lived, the Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.) founded the imperial structures by introducing many kinds of rules for governing China which included a civil administration and the division of the country into a number of spatial units of administration (Hsiao, 1960). The Qin was

followed by the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), a long dynasty of two branches, separated briefly by

an interregnum of non-Han rule, 8-23 A.D. The Han consolidated the gains of Qin dynasty

and expanded Chinese rule into Eastern and Central Asian. However, subsequent to the

downfall of the dynasty, the fall of Han marked the beginning of a 400-year period of the

division of China. This division was further deepened by the invasion from the north of nomad

barbarian tribes (Pannell and Ma, 1983).

(2) Sui (589 A.D.) - Yan (1280 A.D.) In the course of the next seven centuries Imperial China

experienced a political pattern similar to that of the previous cycle (Eberhard, 1977). In 589

A.D., China was reunified by the Sui (589-618 A.D.), a short-lived dynasty, followed by the

long, glorious Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) which ushered another era of territorial expansion

(Rodzinski, 1979). After the collapse of the Tang there once again ensued a period of political

and territorial division.

(3) Yuan (1280)- Republic (1911) The third cycle consisted of alternating foreign and native

dynasties (Huang, 1988). In 1279, China was reunified when it was conquered and ruled by the

Mongols under the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). Within a century this overextended empire

collapsed, and the Chinese threw off the alien yoke and founded the Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

(Tregear, 1980). China was conquered again in its entirety by the Manchu, invaders from the

northeast, who established the last imperial dynasty, the Qing (1644-1911). Under Qing

dynasty, Chinese territories included Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Taiwan, Korea, Vietnam and

the Central Asian regions of Turkestan, an empire of over 300 million people (Tregear, 1980;

Huang, 1988). However, as a result of the interacting factors of cumulative dynastic decay and Western powers' invasion, Qing underwent a series of division again.

By the close of 18th century, only one port, Gungzhou (Canton), was open to merchants from abroad, and trade was greatly restricted. Demands by the British for increased trade, coupled with Chinese opposition to opium imports from British India, led to the Opium war (1839-42), which China lost. Unuer the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), Britan and other Western powers gained special privileges in five designated "treaty ports", and Hong Kong was ceded to Britain. A second Opium War (1856-60) with Britan and France, resulted in the opening of Tianjing to foreign trade. Thereafter, China lost large territories to the Western powers (Eberhard, 1977; Rodzinski, 1979; Tregear, 1980). In 1895, Japan obtained Taiwan and Korea (which Japan subsequently annexed) gained independence. In 1898 Britan, France, and Germany leased Waihai, Guangzhou, and Jianxian respectively. In 1912 Outer Mongolia became an autonomous state under Russian protection and proclaimed independence in 1924 (Huang, 1988). Finally the Qing was overthrown by Nationalists (Koumingtang) in 1911 and the Republic of China was established by Nationalists. However, China was never reunified, and it is this continued division that provides a dynamic subject to investigate partitioned state tourism movement. This research concertrates on tourism between contemporary existing partition element: Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and what is now the People's Republic of China. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly discuss the mechanism and process of each partition from a geographical perspective.

4.2 THE PARTITION OF CHINA

4.2.1 Cause and Process of the Partition of China

Macao/China

Macao lies at the most southwest tip of the Pearl River estuary in southern China. It is

about 45 miles west of Hong Kong and 90 miles to southwest of Guangzhou. It consists of a

peninsula of 2.1 square miles together with two islands of Taipa (1.2 square miles) and

Coloane (2.6 square miles). The peninsula is separated from mainland China by a narrow sandy

isthmus (Tregear, 1980).

During the 15th century, Portugal began her sea expedition in search of new trade

routes to the East (Roberts, 1992). The Portuguese landed in 1514 on Lintin Island, located in

the mouth of the river leading to Canton. In 1517, the first official Portuguese mission, headed

by Tomas Pires, arrived in Canton to try to establish an "enduring" official Sino-Portuguese

trading relationship. Although he was granted permission to proceed to Peking, but no sooner

had Pires arrived at the northern capital than he was hustled back to Canton and imprisoned

because of his haughty demeanor and impossible demands for trade (James, 1989). At this

time, the profitable trade between China and Japan had further lured the Portuguese to seek a

coastal stronghold. Although driven out of Canton, Portuguese reached Lampacao in

1535,and, by offering bribes to the local officials, were allowed to moor in Macao

(Haochingol). On the pretext of drying out soaked cargo the Portuguese set up trading depots

ashore in 1553 (James, 1989; Roberts, 1992). Four years later in 1557, the Portuguese,

through paying tribute, succeeded in settling in Macao. Hence, many consider 1557 to be the

foundation year of Macao as a Portuguese settlement (Bair and Hubbard, 1990; Roberts, 1992). In 1582, a lease was finally signed between the two countries, and the Portuguese agreed to pay an annual ground rent of 500 taels of silver in exchange for the Macao leasehold. After the first Opium War, the Portuguese seized the opportunity to expand the territory under their control and occupied Taipa Island and Coloane Island in 1851 and 1864 respectively. In 1887, a treaty was signed between Portugal and China whereby Macao and the two adjacent islands of Coloane and Taipa were ceded to Portuguese rule. Under the terms of the treaty, Portugal agreed not to alienate the territory without China's consent (Roberts, 1992).

Though the territory of Macao is only composed of about 16 square kilometres, the official statistics gave Macao a population of 443,500, 96% of whom are Chinese (in 1988). Tourism plays a very important role in Macao's economy. One of the major attractions is gambling. In 1990 Macao received 1,126,053 international visitors (exclude visitors from Hong Kong) with tourist earnings of 139 million US$.

Hong Kong/China

Hong Kong is situated at the mouth of the Pearl River in the southern part of China, 90 miles south of the great trading city of Guangzhou. It can be divided into three parts: Hong Kong Island, Kowloon island; and the New Territories. These three parts make up the current Crown Colony of Hong Kong (Tregear, 1980; Kirkup, 1970).

Hong Kong was under the administration of Xin'an county (now called Shenzhen) until 1842. The opening of the sea routes by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century lured other western countries to explore China. For centuries the West, especially Great Britan, had tried

to open China to foreign commerce, but until the nineteenth century such trade as existed was confined to Canton and then only in certain well-defined seasons and under severe restiictions (Lo, 1992; Scott, 1990). At that time, there was little that Europe could export to China and little that China wished to import, but Europe wanted to import large amounts of tea and silk. During the eighteenth century the commerce between China and West had largely passed into British hands, partially because the British had became a nation of tea-drinkers. The imbalance of this trade caused great discontent among both merchants and poliiicians. Although Britan governments initiated several missions to acquire the privilege of free trade and failed to achieve it, British merchants, especially the English East India Company found a product to export: Opium (Kelley, 1986, Roberts, 1992).

As early as 1800, the Qing government passed edicts against the use of opium and completely prohibited its importation. However, the profit from the opium trade was so large that such regulation was widely ignored, and Qing government has no mechanism to enforce this regulation. The opium trade not only subrtantially drained the trade surplus, it also created wide social and political problems in China. Finally, in 1839, the Qing government, under domestic pressure, launched a suppression on the opium trade. This action not only outraged British merchants, but it also provided British politicians with a pretext for military engagement (Kirkup, 1970; James, 1989; Scott, 1990; Lo, 1992).

Under the pretext of protecting British merchants' lives and national economic interests, Britain launched the First Opium War (1840-1842). Hostilities alternated with negotiations until agreement was reached: Hong Kong Island was ceded to Britain (Treaty of

Nanking) (Roberts, 1992). This was enough to "protect British merchants lives" but obviously not enough for national interests (James, 1989). Soon the Second Anglo-Chinese War (1856-1858) arose out of disputes over the interpretation of the earlier treaties. The Convention of Peking was signed in 1860, under which China ceded to Britain an area (11.1 square kilometres) south of Boundary Street at the southern tip of the Kowloon peninsular. In 1898, Britain claimed that "proper defence and protection of the colony" (Tregear, 1980:340) demanded control of the land around it and compelled the Qing government to sign the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong, according to which, the New Territories, comprising the area north of Kowloon up to the Shenzhen river, and 235 islands were leased for 99 years (James, 1989; Scott, 1990).

Hong Kong is now one of the world's leading commercial centres and an important hub for traffic to and from the Asia Pacific region (Tregear, 1980; Bair and Hubbard, 1990). Tourism is one of the major industries in Hong Kong. According to WTO's Yearbook (1991), Hong Kong received 5,928,188 tourist arrivals in 1990 and tourism receipts totalled 5032 million US$, accounting for about 5% of Hong Kong's GDP.

Taiwr .1 (Republic of China)/China

Geographically, Taiwan lies 100 kilometres east of the mainland of China, with an area of about 36,000 square kilometres. Taiwan has been controlled by China for many centuries (Chiu,1979, Copper, 1990). As early as the 9th century A.D., historical records indicates that Chinese were migrating to the Pescadores, the stepping stone to Taiwan. All these islands were to some extent shared territory and sometimes contested by Chinese immigrants, Japanese

pirates, and Taiwanese natives (Davidson, 1903; Kuo, 1973). However, permanent Chinese residency was very limited until the late 16th century when Chinese entrepreneurs became involved in Taiwan's development (Gordon, 1970; Sih, 1973).

Europeans also started to explore Taiwan (Tregear, 1980). Early in the seventeenth century the Portuguese landed and made their settlements there. It is from them that the island got its name Formosa. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch and the Spaniards, who strove to drive the Portuguese and each other out. The Dutch won and controlled Taiwan from 1624 to 1661 (Lee, 1990; Bair and Hubbard, 1990).

During this period the Manchus were invading Mainland China and ousting the Ming dynasty. After fighting a losing battle against the Manchus, a Chinese Ming loyalist, Cheng Cheng-Kung, shipped his army to Taiwan and drove out the Dutch (1661). Taiwan became a refuge for Ming loyalists. It was estimated over 2 million Chinese immigrated to Taiwan (Tregear, 1980, p.334). The Ming loyalists held out for two decades, but in 1683 the island was incorporated into China as a prefecture of Fukien Province.

Western and Japanese interests in Taiwan again revived in the second half of the nineteenth century as realization of its strategic Pacific location and the existence of raw materials lead to the creation of an international. With the increasing threat of foreign intervention and the establishment of Treaty ports, Taiwan's special importance and vulnerability had become obvious to the Qing government. Consequently, in 1888, Taiwan was upgraded to a separate province. This precaution was, however, fruitless in 1895 Japan claimed

the island after winning the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), and for the next fifty years it was ruled by Japan (Lee, 1990; Kuo, 1972; Tregear, 1980).

Following the Japanese defeat in World War II, Taiwan was restored to Chinese control as part of the Potsdam Proclamation (Tregear, 1980; Copper, 1990). Meantime, mainland China a split developed between the Nationalists and Communists, and eventually a civil war began. Although supported by the US, the Nationalists steadily lost ground through 1948 and 1949, and were expelled from the mainland in early 1949 (James, 1989; Bair and Hubbard, 1990). Taiwan again become a refuge this time for Nationalists. The Nationalist government, with a large portion of the army, retreated to Taiwan and established an exile government in Taipei. Since then Taiwan has been ruled by Nationalists in the name of the Republic of China. The Nationalist government has controlled Taiwan, although it continues to claim authority over the whole of China. In 1972 the Republic of China (Taiwan) was expelled from the United Nations following recognition of mainland of China, and subsequently suffered the loss of diplomatic ties with most nations (Bair and Hubbard, 1990).

Mongolia/China

The Mongolian feudal state was formed from the nomadic tribal groupings under the leadership of Chinggis Khan, who forcibly united these tribes before embarking on a process of aggrandizement (Bair and Hubbard, 1990). Through this process, Mongolia not only succeeded in expanding to Central Asia and Europe, but it also eventually defeated the Song Dynasty in 1279. A Mongolian empire, named the Yuan Dynasty, was established over a broad territory (Worden and Savada, 1989). However, it was short-lived and collapsed in 1368 when

the Chinese expelled the Mongols and established the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Since then most of Mongolia has been incorporated within the empire of China (Tregear, 1980; Bair and Hubbard, 1990).

In the later nineteenth century, the Chinese empire declined substantially because of poor relations with Western countries, the Japanese invasion, and internal chaos. In 1911, the Qing Dynasty was overthrown by revolutionary forces and the Republic of China was established. During this political transition period, an independence movement was fostered in Mongolia with the involvement of Russia and Japanese (Askiner, 1991; Haining, 1991). At the end of 1911, supported by Russia, Outer Mongolia proclaimed its independence on the basis that its allegiance had been to the Manchus Empire, not to the Republic of China. A theocratic monarchy was established in Outer Mongolia. Though the Republic of China refused to recognize Mongolian independence, it was too preoccupied with internal discord to enforce its sovereignty over Outer Mongolia (Tregear, 1980; Haining, 1991).

Meanwhile, Russia was moving rapidly to take advantage of the situation. In 1913 and 1915, the Russian government forced the new Chinese Republican government to accept Mongolian autonomy under continued Chinese sovereignty, presumably to discourage other foreign powers from approaching Mongolia. From 1912 to 1919, Outer Mongolia was, in fact, an autonomous state under Russian protection (Bair and Hubbard, 1990; Askiner, 1991).

Russian revolution and civil war afforded the Chinese an opportunity to re-establish rule over Outer Mongolia. In 1919, the new Soviet Union repudiated all treaties regarding Mongolia signed by Imperial Russia. A proclamation by the president of the Republic of China,

re-incorporating Outer Mongolia into China, declared that the 1913 and 1915 Kiakhta Agreements with Russia, which had established Mongolian autonomy "become automatically null and void" (Bair and Hubbard, 1990). Mongolia thus fell under Chinese suzerainty again .

However, the effects of the upheaval in Russia began to reach Mongolia, when Russian White Guard troops invaded from Siberia. The White Russians occupied the capital and organized a provisional government. In 1921, the Soviet Union Red Army joined by Mongolian forces, entered Mongolia and drove out the White Russians (Haining, 1991). Instead of withdrawing from Mongolia after defeating the White Russians, the Soviets assisted in forming a new provisional Mongolian government. In December 1921, the independence of Mongolia was proclaimed. The Soviet Union, on the one hand, signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of May, 1924, which had acknowledged that Outer Mongolia was an integral part of the Republic of China. On the other hand, a bilateral Agreement on Mutual Recognition and Friendly Relations was signed by the Soviet Union and Mongolia, in which Moscow explicitly recognized Mongolia's independence (Haining, 1991). However, no other country except Soviet had formal diplomatic relations with Outer Mongolia and the world powers still regarded .dongolia as subject to Chinese suzerainty in the years following. During this period, Mongolia, despite its eloquent Declaration of Independence, was in limbo; de jure it remained subject to Chinese Suzerainty, while de facto it gradually came increasingly under Russian control (Haining, 1991, p.27-33.)

Outer Mongolia retained such status quo until 1945. After the War, at the Yalta conference, the Soviet Union eventually obtained from Britan and the USA a promise to

support Mongolian independence (Bair and Hubbard, 1990). The leaders stated the "status quo in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved" (Askiner, 1991, xxxi). Such an arrangement was later grudgingly confirmed by the Republic of China. Mongolia, de jure, was an independent state from 1946, and was accepted by the United Nations in 1961.

4.2.2 A Dynamic Model of The Partition of China

The theoretical framework for the partition of countries established in Chapter 2 suggests that the partition of a country usually results from both foreign forces and internal conflicts, although only one of them may be the major cause. Two types of partition can be identified: internally initiated and externally initiated. In the context of China, both types of partition occurred.

1. The External force-initiated partition

The separation of Hong Kong and Macao from China was a result of a broad process of colonization which saw the "establishment and maintenance, for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate from and subordinate to the ruling power" (Silis, 1968, Vol 3. P.1). Such partitions are completely foreign force-initiated. Unlike the partition of Korea and Germany, both of these separations had a lack of involvement of indigenous people in the partition process. This lack of internal involvement determined the dependent and temporary nature of such partitions. The end of such partitions tend to be reunification rather than independence. Chamberlain (1985) argued that China could escape being wholly colonized and partitioned by a group of foreign powers such as, British, France, Russia, Germany, US, and

Japan partially because "The Chinese confidence in the virtues of their own civilization and their suspicion of, and contempt for, foreigners means that there were very few "collaborators" among Chinese" (p. 10-11).

2. The internal force-initiated partition

Taiwan and Mongolia are examples of internal forces-initiated partition, but their survival largely depended on the involvement of external forces, that is, US for Taiwan and Russia for Mongolia. With the interaction of both internal and external forces, the partition tended to be permanent and independent. Mongolia, in fact, gained its independence status in 1946 as noted above. Taiwan remains a unique case, because, although de facto, it has been an independent administrative region since 1949, Taiwan has not claimed such status. Instead, it claims its sovereignty over the whole of China and anticipates reunification with China (Tregear, 1980; Copper, 1990; Kindermann, 1994).

4.2.3 Current Status and Perspective

(1) Mongolia has clearly evolved into a completely independent country and been recognized by international community (including PRC), though Taiwan as the Republic of China still insists its sovereignty over Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia has already completed the whole partition process and gained full independent status. It is very unlikely such status will change, despite Taiwan's claim of sovereignty. A close cooperative relationship has been established between Mongolia and PRC, and it is evident China will influence its northern neighbour (Askiner, 1991).

(2) The de facto status of Hong Kong and Macao remains a matter of disputation (Kelley, 1986; James, 1989). Although most nations, especially the ruling countries, support the sovereignty of these units by defining them as dependent territory or colonies, China insists that they are Chinese territories under foreign administration and has maintained its sovereignty (James, 1989). For example, the Portuguese declared Macao to be their own territory, and in 1951 Macao was made an overseas province of Portugal (Roberts, 1992). China, however, claims Macao is a Chinese Territory under Portuguese administration (James, 1989). Consequently, in 1974, Portugal re-defined Macao as Chinese territory under Portuguese administration, with an elected minority on the local legislative assembly. Moreover, the administrations of Hong Kong and Macao are highly autonomous. Harris (1976) argued that Hong Kong is "an administrative no-party state" (Harris, 1976, p.157), although the situation has changed somewhat over the last two decades.

For Macao and Hong Kong, the issues of reunification with China have been negotiated in the past decade. In 1979, China and Portugal entered into formal diplomatic relations and jointly accepted "Macao as a Chinese territory under Portuguese Administration" with her future status to be solved through negotiation at an appropriate time. In 1987, the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration was finally signed. China will resume the exercise of sovereignty of Macao on December 20, 1999 (James, 1989; Roberts, 1992). An extensive diplomatic engagement between China and Britan in the 1980s also resulted in a Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong, which gave China the authority to resume its sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1, 1997 (James, 1989; Roberts, 1992).

(3) Taiwan's status is problematic. It reflects two issues. First, both Mainland China and Taiwan have a consensus that there is only one China, even though they use different names: the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC). Although both treat the partition as a temporary one, and each insists it is the sole representative of this "one China", neither, de facto, administers the other part. Second, the international community has different perspectives. Before 1970s most countries, except the Soviet bloc, recognised Taiwan (ROC) as the sole representative of China. After 1970, many countries switched to recognised the PRC, and the UN eventually expelled Taiwan as a member. Now Taiwan has diplomatic relations with only a small number of countries. Most countries appear to tacitly accept the PRC's viewpoint: Taiwan is part of China, but Taiwan is considered an independent administrative region, with which various non-official economic and cultural relationships have been established. According to the definition in Chapter 2, Taiwan is a typical partitioned state.

The future perspective of Taiwan is not certain at the moment. It depends on both external and internal factors. Full independence is very unlikely, but reunification is not imminent either. Although both sides have begun reconciliation, the gap between them is still significant. Furthermore, concern over the outcome of the unification of China, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan into "Greater China" has increased among the world powers, and the idea of keeping the partition in place has been revived (Far Eastern Economic Reviews, June 1, 1995).

4.3 DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION

The lack of readily available quality information is a continuing concern in the search for better understanding of recreation and tourism processes and patterns (Mitchell and Smith, 1989). It is particularly true in the context of partitioned state research. The existence of various perspectives or definitions of partitioned state tourists has resulted in wide confusion in statistics and research in general. Because of the nature of this study, official statistical records have to be the major source, but with supplementary sampled data where possible.

4.3.1 Official Records

There are three major data sources available for this study. (1) International Tourist Yearbooks. These are published by the World Tourist Organization, and provide general data on total arrivals, length of stay, accommodation, purpose of visiting, seasonality, and expenditure.

(2) State statistical yearbooks. These yearbooks record tourist data in a more detailed and complete manner. Hong Kong's tourism is well documented by the Hong Kong Tourist Association (HKTA), which produces comprehensive data annually. Its annual reports not only contain distinct records for visitors from China, Taiwan, and Macao, but also record how many Hong Kong residents departure to visit the above areas. Macao's yearbooks contain less detail than Hong Kong's and provide only basic tourism information. China (PRC) does not have systematic tourist data going back before 1980. The National Tourism Committee (formerly State Administration for Travel and Tourism) now publishes annually a comprehensive tourism

yearbook. However, it groups tourists from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao under one category, named 'compatriots'. The Taiwan Tourism Bureau also has annual reports. It treats tourists from Hong Kong and Macao as "Overseas Chinese".

(3) Research Reports. The International Tourist Report is a comprehensive international tourism report. It is published quarterly by the Economist Intelligence Units (EIU). Each issue has a regional focus which often includes four to five countries. Based on its close relationships with the National Tourism Administrations (NTAs) in many countries, EIU obtains detailed data from these NTA's. Consequently, these reports cover broad subjects, from total arrivals to travel development problems. Moreover, these reports occasionally provide the information associated with partitioned state tourists and also address their nature and characteristics

4.3.2 Data from Survey and Sampling

Because of the nature of partitioned state tourism, the regular official records are not in sufficient detail to allow the comparative analysis and detailed discussion of patterns and impacts. Thus this study has had to use data from other sources. One is The Fourth International Tourist Survey organized by the National Tourism Administration of China in 1990. In this survey, a comprehensive questionnaire was designed by NTA's Survey Team, and included 11 broad subjects and 83 specific issues (NTA, 1990). This questionnaire was first distributed directly to visitors in seven major port cities during the period of August 10 to September 10 in 1990. Following that (September 11 - October 30), the major provincial travel agencies were required to distribute the questionnaire to their customers. Consequently, 10,000 questionnaires were distributed and over 8,000 were returned. After careful checking by the

NTA's Survey Team, 5162 were verified as qualified samples. In the qualified samples, 80.1% were from port cities and 19.9% from provinces. The basic characteristics and representative of this 5162 samples are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 The Fourth International Tourist Survey (PRC)

	Total Arrivals	Sampling No.
Total	27,461,821	5162
Foreigners	1,747,315	3,337
Overseas Chinese	91,090	68
Visitors from H.K.and Macao	24,675,416	798
Visitors from Taiwan	948,000	959

Source: The NTA's Yearbook (1991)

The another source is an independent sampling, which was ·'esigned by this author and a colleague, Mr.J. Chen, and conducted by Mr.Chen in China in 1994. The fundamental objective was to obtain information not included in the official records and the NTA's Fourth International Tourist Survey. The eight-page questionnaire covered the following element: multiple motivation, accommodation, transportation, travel forms, and expenditure. To meet language requirements, the questionnaire was produced in both a Chinese version and an English version. The constraint of financial resources precluded this author from being personally involved in the sampling process. However, the survey was successfully coordinated

by Mr. Chen in Beijing and Guangzhou from August 1 to 31, 1994. With the help of local travel agencies (2 in each city) and hotels (3 in each city), a total of 310 questionnaires were distributed of which 258 were returned (83.2 %). In the process of compiling these returned samples, it was found that 11 were incomplete or invalid. Removing these, the final effective sample is 247, of whom 55 are foreigners, 69 Taiwanese, and 123 from Hong Kong and Macao.

Both surveys provided detailed information about the partitioned state tourist, including motivation, accommodation, length of travel, itinerary, and expenditure, which is rarely recorded in any official records.

4.4 CONCLUSION

China is an old country with thousands of years of civilization. Its development has undergone three cycles of unity-disunity. In the last cycle, China was separated into People's Republic of China (PRC), Outer Mongolia (MPR), Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC)), Hong Kong, and Macao. PRC has been officially recognized as the representative of China by most members of the international community. Outer Mongolia has evolved into a completely independent state. The other units have remained in a controversial status. Although they function as independent political areas, they have an important dependent component, in particular being increasingly regarded as integral parts of China in recent years. Hong Kong and Macao are remnants of old colonies and will be reunified with China before the end of century. Taiwan is clearly a partitioned state. However, the relationship between China (PRC) and Taiwan, and relationship between China and Hong Kong and Macao share many aspects.

China (PRC) groups them as one category in recording tourism statistics. Consequently, this research treats Hong Kong and Macao as partitioned states, even though Hong Kong and Macao are really variants of a true partitioned state. The Chapters following are developed in this context.

Chapter 5

PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM IN PARTITIONED CHINA

DEVELOPMENT, PATTERNS AND PERSPECTIVES

Research on tourism in the study area has attracted attention since 1980 (Chow, 1988; Richer, 1989; Zhang, 1990, Hall, 1994, Lew, 1995). Most of these studies focus on PRC, and few involve Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, although tourism developed and matured earlier there than in the PRC. Furthermore, except for Chow (1988), the researchers have focused on tourist arrival from outside the region, with little attention being paid to internal movements, if they were considered at all. However, travel among these partitioned units, in fact, has been the dominant element in arrivals in the area. Therefore, a systematical research study on the inter-regional tourism, or partitioned state tourism, will not only help to explain the fundamental patterns of the regional tourism system, but also, in turn, will contribute to the development of a partitioned state tourism theory. A general hypothesis is that the characteristics, patterns, and processes of partitioned state tourism among the partitioned elements of China are different

from those of conventional international tourism. To explore such a hypothesis, a systematic examination of tourism is made, using both quantitative and qualitative methods to describe the patterns and processes discovered. This chapter has three sections: the development process, partitioned state tourism patterns, and a geographical analysis.

5.1 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Although travel by the elite in this area has a long history, tourism as an industry was not developed until after Second World War. In the 1950s, the tourism industry was first developed in Macao and Hong Kong, and then in Taiwan and China. With the fast growth of the region's economy in the 1970s and 1980s, tourism began to take off. Today, with a total 41.27 million arrivals (1990) in the region, tourism has become one of the most important industries in the area. In 1985, 49% of Macao's total government tax revenue was generated from tourism (Shen, 1989). In Hong Kong, tourism is the third largest earner of foreign exchange (after garments and electronics), contributing HK$ 39 billion in 1990 (Hong Kong Review, 1990). Even in Taiwan and China, tourism is also an important source of foreign exchange (Zhang, 1990).

Tourism development in the area may be identified as having three development stages:

1950-1960

After the Second World War, China as an Allied country unfortunately did not share the victory and peace. Not only was it not allowed to take over Hong Kong after the Japanese occupation, but itself went into a full-scale civil war. Consequently, a new partition emerged with the establishment of PRC in 1949. In the early 1950s, the military actions in the Taiwan

Strait and later the Korean War prohibited tourism development in both China and Taiwan. In addition, the transportation systems were very primitive, and were not incorporated into the international network. From 1949-1953, the major population flows in this area were refuge, as about two million mainlanders moved to Taiwan and one million to Hong Kong (Tregear, 1980; Bair and Hubbard, 1990).

Hong Kong and Macao were the first units which developed relatively stable political environment after 1945. Their linkage to outside economies was also re-established quickly. Moreover, business experience, information, and even capital were imported from both Shanghai and Europe (Roberts, 1992). These factors fostered their early economic development and, in turn, helped to initiate the tourism industry. Despite limited resources and accessibility, Hong Kong and Macao began tourism industries, and in 1953, total arrivals in Hong Kong were 43,453 (Sheng, 1991).

The Korean War saw large foreign military forces moved into Taiwan and other Asia countries, but after 1953, the situation around the Taiwan Strait was stabilized. It was these foreign troops, mainly from the US, that generated a recreation market, which promoted Taiwan's tourism industry (Shen, 1991). Both the government and the private sector started to invest in accommodation and transportation facilities. A variety of tourist activities were fostered and promoted, one of which was prostitution. " The American presence in Taiwan from the Korea War through to the end of the Vietnam War provided a major stimulus for tourism prostitution centred on Shuang Cheng Street in Taipei." (Hall, 1994, p. 151). In 1956, Taiwan had recorded 18 thousand visitors from foreign countries. Most of these were US

citizens and overseas Chinese. Taiwan's first airline company, China Airline, was created in 1959.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) officially established its first state-owned tourist agency, China Travel Service, in 1949, however at that time it was hardly a business but more a political tool. "It typically centred around "people-to-people diplomacy", seeking no economic benefits for the country in any way." (Zhang, 1995, p.9). This agency served mainly the objective of the "United Front", through arranging overseas Chinese home visiting. At that time, the major western countries refused to recognize PRC and imposed international trade and economic sanctions. Travel to the PRC was forbidden for United States residents and many other western governments enforced similar restrictions (Richter, 1989). China reciprocated by generally denying entry to most foreign   ntil 1953, when technical personnel (many accompanied by families) from the USSR and Eastern European countries reached PRC to assist in the implementation of First Five-Year Plan. This influx of foreigners resulted in the establishment of the China International Travel Service (CITS), created to arrange the recreation activites for these "foreign friends" (Bian, 1992). A true tourism industry was not developed until 1956, when CITS signed agreements with the tourist agencies of the USSR, Mongolia, and other Eastern block countries, approving the mutual reception of tourists from these countries. In 1960, it received 5,439 visitors, of whom 95% came from the USSR and East Europe (Bian, 1992, Zhang, 1995).

1960-1980

Though the Cold War continued, this area entered an overdue peaceful environment. The region's economy started to develop rapidly and overall growth began. Except for PRC, which experienced the disaster of the "Cultural Revolution", Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan maintained a high rate of economic development in these two decades (Bair and Hubbard, 1990). Consequently, Hong Kong and Taiwan became economic "small dragons". In this development process, tourism had two facets. First, it was an integral part of growth. Tourism generated the needed foreign exchange and investment, and created employment opportunities. Second, the growth of the economy created a local recreation market, which stimulated the overall tourism development.

During this period, Macao developed tourism focused on gambling, which attracted large numbers of tourists. In 1965, Macao received about one million visitors a year, but this number had increased to three million by 1979 (Shen, 1991). Hong Kong developed a comprehensive urban tourism product, because of its strategic location As a transportation hub, free trade port, and financial and export center, it attracted holiday-makers, business travellers, and shoppers from all over the world. Total arrivals reached one million in 1972, and two million in 1978. At the same time, Hong Kong started to generate mass outbound travel (Shen, 1991).

Tourism to Taiwan also grew strongly in the 1960s, especially after Japan removed its restriction on outbound travels in 1964 (Shen, 1991). In 1970, it received over half a million visitors. During 1970s, its development continued to grow, but was slowed down by political

and economical factors, such as losing its UN seat and competition from neighbouring countries. In 1980, total arrivals were 1.39 million (ROC's Statistical Yearbook, 1981).

Since 1960, tourism in the PRC has shifted its focus from the Eastern bloc to Western countries, especially after PRC normalized its diplomatic relations with France and established its first international airline link (with Pakistan). In 1965, the number of foreign tourists amounted to 12,877 (Richter, 1989; Bian, 1992). However, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) paralysed this primitive tourism industry (Zhang, 1985). All programs of CITS and CTS ceased to function during this period. Consequently, in the first four years of the Cultural Revolution(1966-1970), CITS received a total of only 4,000 foreign tourists. In 1972, after President Nixon's visit, Americans began to travel to PRC, although the US did not formally recognize the PRC until 1978. The number of tourists from foreign countries continued to increase, reaching 229,646 in 1978. In addition, arrivals from Hong Kong and Macao started to increase rapidly. Individual Taiwanese started to visit PRC as well, although the Taiwanese government restricted such trips and they had to be made in secret (Li, 1987).

1980-present

Since 1978, a number of major political and social events have occurred, which have influenced greatly the overall pattern of tourism in this area. First, China largely abandoned its xenophobic closed-door policy and formalized diplomatic relations with many countries, including the USA. Travel and tourism, with an apparent ability to earn hard currency, and, more ideologically, to promote understanding between nations, has been an integral part of this "open-door" policy (Richter, 1989; Zhang, 1989). Individual travels for foreigner were

approved and the entry and exit procedures were simplified. Second, Taiwan eased its restrictions on outbound travel in 1979. Taiwan gradually switched from merely a destination, to being both a destination and a strong generating source. In 1987, Taiwan permitted its citizens to visit PRC through a third country in order to visit friends and relatives. Hong Kong became the major gateway. Third, the issues of Hong Kong's and Macao's political future were settled in the early 1980's. Fourth, the tourism infrastructure and accessibility were greatly improved because of the regional economic boom and the increased larger volume of direct foreign investment in the tourism industry. As a result, overall arrivals to this region increased substantially (Hall, 1994). In 1980, total arrivals was 12.75 million, and this number increased to 41.27 million in 1990. Today this area became a most important travel destination, as well as a tourist-generating area in Asia.

5.2 PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM: REGIONAL CONTEXT AND RSPECTIVES

After four decades of development, tourism has become one of most important industries since 1980. In 1990, partitioned China received a total 41.27 million arrivals, which is around 10% of global international tourist arrivals (WTO, 1992). These arrivals originated from over one hundred countries, however, a breakdown shows that only 22.6% are actually from outside of the four elements of the original China. 77.4% of travel in the region is in fact among these partitioned sections (Table 5.1). In 1990, China received the most partitioned state tourists, accounting for 93.31% of its total arrivals. Macao attracted 4.80 million partitioned state tourists, ten times of the size of its population. Hong Kong and Taiwan received relatively small, but still significant, numbers of partitioned state tourists. These

patterns eventually attracted attention among the tourism research community (Gormsen, 1995; Lew, 1995; Richter, 1989; Choy & Gee, 1983; Hall, 1994), however, comprehensive analysis and theory generation are still lacking. It is impossible to understand the fundamental patterns and processes of tourism in this area without specific consideration of partitioned state tourism.

The conceptual framework for this inter-regional tourist movement is controversial. Various perspectives have existed among governments and academic communities (Chow, 1988; Zhang, 1990; Bian, 1992). Some argued that the visitors were international in nature, others treated them as type of domestic tourist (Chow, 1988, Zhang, 1995, Gormsen, 1995). Furthermore, these different perspectives have resulted in inconsistencies in both statistical records and tourism reports. Therefore, it is essential to address these perspectives before the official tourist data are analyzed. This section reviews three typical approaches which provide a context for analysing the statistical data and comparing previous research findings.

Table 5.1 Structure of Tourist Arrivals in Partitioned China   (1990)

	Total		Foreigners		Partitioned State	
	million	%	million	%	million	%
Total	41.270	100	9.329	22.60	31.943	77.40
PRC	27.461	100	1.838	6.69	25.623	93.31
Taiwan	1.934	100	1.767	91.36	0.167	8.64
Hong Kong	5.932	100	4.588	77.34	1.344	22.66
Macao	5.942	100	1.136	19.12	4.806	80.88

Sources: WTO Yearbook (1992) Government Statistical Yearbooks(1991)

People's Republic of China (PRC)

From PRC's perspective, it has sovereignty over Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, though it has never administered them (James, 1989). In this context, tourists from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao have never been classified and recorded as international tourists by the PRC. However, such tourists have not been considered as domestic tourists either. The PRC created an independent category: Compatriots. This is an ill-defined tourism concept, which reflects the political dilemma of the PRC. PRC, on the one hand, has claimed its sovereignty over Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and thus considered, or at least wished, the residents of these three areas to be a special class of citizen. For example, there have been Hong Kong and Macao representatives, and even sub-committees in The National People's Congress (James, 1989). On the other hand, PRC did not want to grant tourists from these areas the normal citizen rights of free travel and access. Therefore, "Compatriot" was a compromise term to serve both purposes by indicating that residents in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan are not foreigners, but are not PRC's regular citizens either. This is clearly supported in government statistical records (Statistical Bureau of PRC, 1990). All arrivals have been classified into three categories:

. Foreign Visitors - visitors who reside in other countries,

. Compatriots - Chinese from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, which are considered integral parts of China,

. Overseas Chinese - PRC passport holders who are residing outside China.

In the academic community, Compatriots sometimes are considered as part of China's international tourism component (Richter, 1989; Hall, 1994; Zhang, 1995), and sometimes are excluded from research (Bian, 1992; Gormsen, 1995).

Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC)

Officially, Taiwan also claims sole authority over the whole of China, including Hong Kong and Macao. Under similar political considerations as the PRC, Taiwan insists that the residents on Hong Kong, Macao, and PRC are not foreigners, but Overseas Chinese, who are officially defined as ROC's citizens. This concept originated from the first Chinese Nationality Law promulgated by the Qing government in 1909, which stipulated that despite the locality in which children were born, children of a Chinese father were Chinese; so also were children of a Chinese mother if the father's nationality was unknown. According to this law, therefore, when a Chinese person left China, he remained a Chinese citizen in the eyes of Chinese Law; even if he became naturalized in his new country of residence (Chutung, 1910). The second Nationality Law passed by the Nationalist Government in 1929 also held to the same rule of jus sanguinis in determining nationality.

For statistical purposes, Taiwan has divided inbound tourists into two categories: Foreign visitors and Overseas Chinese. Arrivals from Hong Kong and Macao are recorded as Overseas Chinese, whether they are ROC's Passport holders or not (the majority of Hong Kongese are not). This may reveal Taiwan's intention to inflate its number of Overseas Chinese visitors, because Taiwan has competed politically with PRC in Overseas Chinese communities around the world. In addition, recently a limited number of the residents in PRC, or PRC

passport holders, have been allowed to visit Taiwan through special procedures. No clear definition or terminology has been given yet by Taiwan to this type of travel.

This has created confusion similar to that in PRC. Moreover, there is no justification for classifying two segments of tourists with very different characteristics into one category (Overseas Chinese who hoid an ROC's passport in a foreign country and residents in Hong Kong Macao, who hold British or Portugal passports).

Hong Kong and Macao

Partly because of their dependent status, and partly because of their less-ideological perspective, both Hong Kong and Macao have considered all inbound arrivals as international tourists, including inter-regional travellers, and those from Britain and Portugal. Therefore the tourists from PRC, Taiwan, Macao (Portugal), and Hong Kong (Britain) are recorded as international tourists. This approach has been adopted by researchers using these units' statistics (EIU, 1991).

In summary, there have existed three perspectives on inter-regional tourist movements among the elements of partitioned China, Compatriots (PRC), Overseas Chinese (Taiwan), and International Tourists (Hong Kong and Macao). Consequently, inconsistency and confusion have been created in both the statistical records and tourism research. It is common practice to exclude this unique type of tourist flow in research and world tourism statistics. To analyze the inter-regional tourism movement, one has to define and explain the boundary conditions and political situation with respect to the collection of data.

As stated earlier, it seems certain that to fit this unique type of travel into the traditional classification system will cause more confusion and controversy. Therefore, this study creates a new tourism classification system under the concept of the partitioned state. Travellers among these four partitioned sections are defined as partitioned states tourists. Not only can this be justified theoretically, but it also provides a practical way to coordinate tourism records in the different sections. Following this logic, partitioned state tourism in partitioned China consists of three parts: Compatriots in PRC's arrival records, Hong Kong and Macao residents as Overseas Chinese in Taiwan's records, and China, Taiwan, Macao (Hong Kong) residents in Hong Kong's and Macao's international tourism records. The Chinese who hold PRC (ROC) passports and reside in foreign counties—usually recorded as Overseas Chinese, are treated as international tourists. The following analysis is based on this framework in order to organize and analyze the data from the different sources.

5.3 PATTERNS AND MEASUREMENT OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM IN PARTITIONED CHINA

"Progress in the scientific understanding of tourism begins with descriptive procedures such as naming, classifying, measuring, comparing, and summarizing.... The challenge for a tourism analysis is similar: to provide the most accurate description possible" (Smith, 1989, p.193-194). This statement still holds true, though many methods of quantitative analysis have been developed in tourism research in the past decades. This section describes the patterns and elements of partitioned state tourism in partitioned China, including the significance of

partitioned state tourism in each section (significance index), tourist movements (directional bias index), seasonality, length of stay, motivation, transportation mode, and expenditure.

5.3.1 Significance of Partitioned State Tourism

It is agreed that partitioned state tourism is important in this area (Chow, 1989, Lew, 1995). However, few researchers have quantitatively measured the significance of partitioned state tourism and its spatial variance. This study uses a modified Defert's Tf (Tourist Function) to quantitatively measure the significance of partitioned state tourism for each section.

Defert's Tf (tourist function) was developed by Defert in 1967 (Smith, 1989). It is defined as the ratio between the tourist accommodation capacity and the resident population:

Tf= 100(N)/P   N— Counts of the nightly capacity of accommodation

P— local population

Tf provides a measurement of the importance of tourism within a regional economy. However, this original definition can not measure the relative significance of different tourist flows, such as domestic, international, and partitioned state. Therefore, it is necessary modify the original Tf to meet this need. In this study, the equation is modified by replacing the number of tourist beds (N) with number of arrivals of a specific tourist flow (Nf), such as partitioned state tourist. The new Tf essentially is the ratio between the arrivals (a special tourist flow) and the resident population. This provides a yardstick to be used to measure the significance between different flows, as well as between regions (Table 5.2).

First, the average overall Tf for the area and the world are also calculated. The average of overall Tf in this area is 3.3, which is lower than 8.38, the World average Tf (1990). The

significance and impacts of tourism in the whole area, therefore, are still likely to be low. However, the Tf varies greatly among these four sections, from 2.31 (PRC) to 1227.68 (Macao). In fact only PRC's Tf is below the world average, all others

Table 5.2 Modified Defert's Tf (1990)

	PRC	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Macao
Total Arrivals	2.31	9.08	106.92	1227.68
Foreign Tourists	0.15	8.30	82.70	234.71
Partitioned State	2.15	0.78	24.22	992.97

Sources: WTO Yearbook (1992),government statistical yearbooks

are higher than 8.38. This indicates that tourism actually has a very important role in Macao, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Second, the average Tf for Foreign tourists is 81.46, only a third of that for partitioned state tourist (Tf=255.03). In general, inbound tourists from foreign countries are less significant than these from partitioned states. However, there is a substantial difference between the four sections. Partitioned state tourism is more important than international tourism in PRC (2 15/0.15) and Macao (992.97/234.71), but it is insignificant in Taiwan (0.78/8.30) and less significant in Hong Kong (24.22/82.70). Third, the average importance of inbound tourism varies greatly among these four regions. The Tf ranges from 2.31 (PRC) to 1227.68 (Macao). This also reveals an important fact, namely, that the total

arrivals represent only one aspect of significance, not the whole measurement of significance. Though the PRC receives more inbound tourists than others, tourism for the PRC actually is less significant than for other elements in comparison to its population base. Tourism is extremely important in relative terms in Macao.

5.3.2 Partitioned State Tourist Flow Patterns

According to origin and destination relationships, eleven inter-regional tourist flows have been identified among partitioned China (Figure 5.2). Each partitioned section, except for Taiwan, receives three partitioned state flows. Because of its restrictions on travel to and from the PRC, Taiwan has two flows. Each unit generates three flows. However, the strength of these partitioned state tourist movements vary substantially, ranging from 2,266 (PRC to Macao) to 20,562,600 (Hong Kong to PRC). As a destination, Taiwan receives the fewest partitioned state tourists, and the PRC receives the most. As an origin, Hong Kong, with a population of 5.5 million, generated 25.6 million partitioned state tourists, which comprises 80% of all partitioned state tourists in the region. PRC, the largest section, generated only 108.6 thousand such tourists.

To quantitatively measure and compare these tourist movements, a flow matrix and directional index (DI) are constructed. The flow matrix is created by crosstabling the origins over destinations. Thus each flow in the matrix represents an origin and each column a destination. Based on this flow matrix, a DI can be calculated for each cell and eventually a DI matrix can be developed. In partitioned China, each partitioned section, as a source, could generate three partitioned state tourism flows, one international flow and one domestic flow.

As a destination, each section should also receive three partitioned state tourism flows and one international and one domestic flow. Each origin is represented by a row and each destination by a column. Thus a 7x7 Flow Matrix can be created (Table 5.3). The individual cells contain the number of trips for a pair. Based on this flow matrix, DIs are calculated using the following equation, and a DI matrix is created (Table 5.4).

DI matrix values range from 0 to infinity. For each row (source), a 0 indicates there is no departure from i (source) to j (destination); a score of 0-100 means the departures from i to j are less than the arrival from j to i; 100 indicates a balanced flow; a score of over 100 means the departures from row i to column j are more than the arrivals from j to i, and a score of infinity indicates zero arrivals from j.

DI= Tij/Tji X 100   **Tij— each cell value ;   i, j - 1... 5**

Figure 5.2 Tourist Movements among the Partitioned China
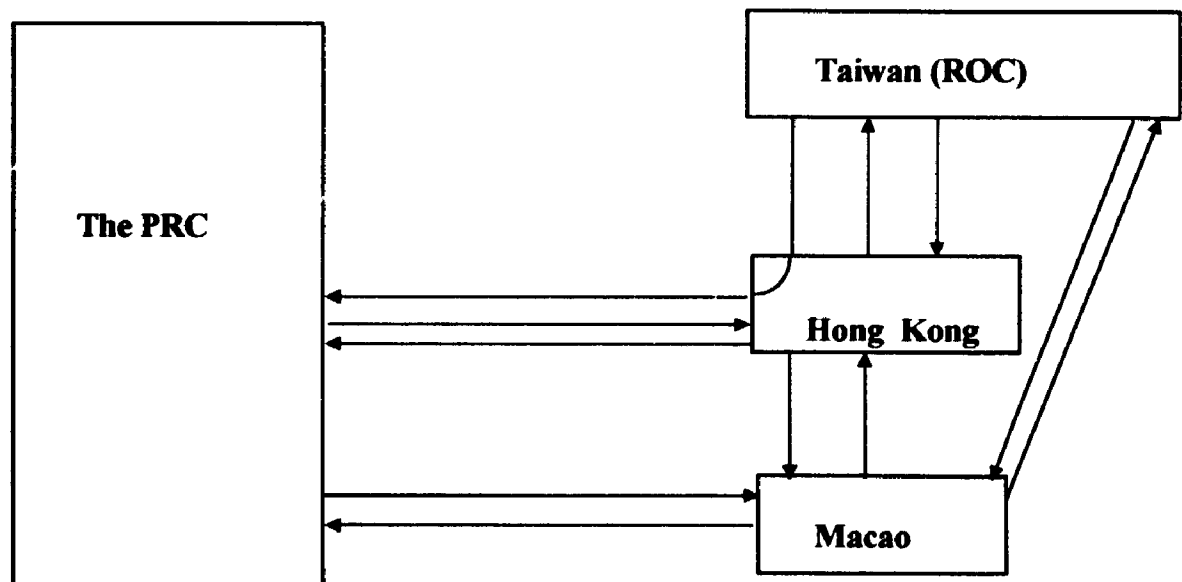
Table 5.3 Matrix of Tourist Flows (,000) in Partitioned China (1990)

	PRC	Taiwan	H. K	Macao	Foreign	Total
PRC	D	0	106.4	2.2	400.0*	508.6
Taiwan	947.6	D	1344.6	78.8	1696.5	4067.5
H.K.	20562.6	166.7	D	4803.7	1790.6	27323.6
Macao	4113.2	34.1	36.3	D	739.3	4922.9
Foreign	1838.4	1768.5	4445.7	1057.4	D	9110.0
Total	27461.8	1969.3	5932.9	5942.2	4626.4	45932.6

Sources: WTO Yearbook, Government Statistics

Note: It is found that sometimes the data from the origin does not match that from receivers, in such case the receiving data are used.
* PRC do not have records for outbound tourists. This is an estimation made by National Tourism Administration of PRC

Table 5.4 Directional Index Matrix

	PRC	Taiwan	H.K.	Macao	Foreign
PRC	100.00	0.00	0.52	0.05	21.75
Taiwan	N.A	100.00	806.60	231.08	95.92
H.K.	19325.75	12.39	100.00	13233.33	40.27
Macao	186963.64	43.27	0.75	100.00	69.91
Foreign	459.6	104.24	248.27	143.02	100.00

The flow matrix is not symmetric. This indicates that partitioned state tourists are distributed unevenly among these four partitioned parts. Macao and PRC have much high percentages of partitioned state tourists than Hong Kong and Taiwan have. The DI matrix

provide more detail on this uneven distribution of partitioned state tourism. By examining the DI row by row, the following patterns are identified:

(1) All the values in the last row are more than 100, which indicates that this area receives more tourists from foreign countries than that are generated to foreign countries. Taiwan is almost balanced. PRC has the greater surplus.

(2) For PRC, the DIs are extremely small, which reflect the fact that PRC does not generate a mass exodus of tourists, but receives a large number of travellers from outside, in particular from Hong Kong and Macao.

(3) Taiwan's DIs are all above 100 except for Foreign Countries which is close to 100. Taiwan has a balanced international tourist movement, but has a deficit in partitioned state tourism.

(4) Hong Kong and Macao have extremely high DIs for PRC but low DIs for Taiwan and Foreign Countries. This means that their arrivals are primarily from Taiwan and Foreign countries, but their departures are mostly to PRC. In addition, there is a severe imbalance between Hong Kong and Macao, in favour of Macao.

5.3.3 Transportation Modes

The transportation mode not only indicates the accessibility and connectivity between areas, but also implies travel cost. Because of their unique location, physical settings, and political relations, the transportation linkages among these four sections have been restricted to

one or two modes. To describe such a linkage system, a transportation mode matrix has been constructed based on official statistics (Table 5.5).

(1) In Hong Kong, air travel is the primary transportation mode for foreign tourist arrivals. 84.5% of foreigners came by air. The rest, mainly from Southeast Asian countries, come by boat or transit from PRC by train. Partitioned state tourists use diverse transportation means depending on the direction they travel. Taiwanese us. ''·' fly from Taiwan to Hong Kong, but 50% who come back from PRC, generally take the train to Hong Kong, and then fly to Taiwan. Residents of PRC mainly arrived by train, but some by air (mainly from Beijing and other northern cities). Most residents of Macao arrive in Hong Kong by sea, the primary direct linkage.

(2) In PRC, 90% of the international tourists enter by air, though there are an increasing number of cross-border travels by land (from Russian, central Asian countries, and Vietnam) (Gormsen, 1995). Travel from Hong Kong to PRC is primarily by train. Two types of train services operate between Hong Kong and Canton: a through train and a stopping train. According to the PRC and Hong Kong railway data (Statistical Bureau of PRC, 1990), the railway carried 2.3 million passages on its through train to and from Guangdong, and 28 million on its stopping train service that requires passengers to go through immigration formalities at Low on the Hong Kong-Shenzhen border in 1990. In addition, Hong Kong's maritime department recorded that 3.5 million people travelled in or out of the PRC by sea in 1990 (EIU, 1989).

Macao and PRC are connected by both road and ferry. Most tourists from Macao arrive in the PRC by land. There is a lack of direct transportation linkage between the PRC and Taiwan because of their political relations. Therefore, the Taiwanese who visit the PRC usually organize their trips into two parts, with mixed transportation modes. The first part is from Taiwan to a third country, usually Hong Kong, and air travel is the dominant transportation mode. The second part is from the third country to the PRC, and on this part, the Taiwanese may take a train or airline.

(3) Taiwan is an island without a land connection and therefore, air travel has been the primary transportation mode for both international tourists and partitioned state tourists. It also records a few thousand travellers from Hong Kong by sea.

(4) In Macao, sea travel has been the major transportation connection to Hong Kong, the major gateway to Macao, consequently, the majority of foreign and partitioned state tourists arrived by sea. In recent years, there has been a helicopter service developed between Hong Kong and Macao, but the capacity of this service is limited. Both road and ferry services exist between Macao and PRC, but most arrivals from PRC are by road. There is no direct transportation link between Taiwan and Macao, tourists between these units usually stop over Hong Kong, and then take a ferry to enter Macao.

Table 5.5 Primary Transportation Arriving At Destination (1990)

	PRC	Taiwan	H. K	Macao	Foreign
PRC		air	land	land	air
Taiwan	land *		air	sea *	air
H.K.	land	air		sea	air
Macao	land	air *	sea		air
Foreign	air	air	air	sea *	

Sources: WTO Yearbook 1992, government transportation reports
Note: * indicates there is no direct transportation linkage

5.3.4 Duration of Trip

Although much tourism research involves an analysis of duration of trips (EIU, 1990), few studies incorporate a time dimension into spatial analysis. Usually spatial analysis focuses on the direction and magnitude of tourist flows, which is a two dimension system (William and Zelinsky, 1970; Pearce, 1989). Without considering the average length of a trip, such analysis does not provide sufficient information to fully measure the volume of tourism flow. Therefore, this study adds the third dimension, length of trip, into the spatial analysis, to better indicate the distribution of the volume of tourism flows.

Through combining data from WTO Yearbook (1992), EIU Reports (1988-1991), and government statistical yearbooks in these four areas, the average length of trip for both international tourists and partitioned state tourist are represented in Table 5.8. With the length

of trip as a new dimension, the volume of tourist activities for each flow can be recalculated and presented as figure 5.2 .

(1) In general, foreign tourists stayed longer than partitioned state tourists.

(2) PRC kept both international and partitioned state tourists for longer periods than other sections.

(3) Visits to Hong Kong and Macao are generally short. Moreover, partitioned state tourists, especially Taiwanese, stay much shorter periods than foreign visitors.

(4) Taiwan is second to PRC with a higher than average length of stay. But the length of trip of partitioned state tourists is only half that of foreign tourists.

Table 5.6 Average duration of trip

	PRC	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Macao	Average
Interna-tional	11.5	6.9	3.86	2.02	4.5
Partitioned state	8.65	3.5	2.21	2.54	3.9

Sources: WTO Yearbook,EIU, government statistical yearbooks

5.3.5 Seasonality

Seasonality, the temporal variation of tourism phenomena, is another aspect of time dimension which provide information about the intensity of tourist visits(Butler and Mao, 1995). A measure that summarizes a substantial amount of data on temporal use levels into a

single value is a seasonal concentration index (SCI). It is a ratio of tourism activities in the peak season compared to those in the off-season (Butler and Mao, 1995). SCI is an open-ended scale with a minimum value of 1 which means there is no seasonal fluctuation. The greater the degree of concentration, the greater the value of the SCI. This simple index can be used not only to quantitatively measure seasonal patterns, but it also provides a yardstick by which to compare different flows. The SCI can be calculated by the following equation:

SCI= Arrivals in Peak Season/Arrivals in Off-season

Table 5.7 Seasonal Concentration Index

	PRC	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Macao
Interna-tional	2.10	1.25	1.40	1.57
Partitioned state	1.55	1.21	1.31	1.70

Sources: Government Statistics, EIU

From a comparison of these SCIs, it is found that the seasonal pattern of partitioned state tourists in general is less marked than that of international tourists, the average SCI for international tourists is 1.58, higher than the average of partitioned state tourists (1.44). In addition, partitioned state tourists arriving at PRC and Macao display a more distinct seasonality than those at Hong Kong and Taiwan, the SCI is 1.55 in PRC and 1.70 in Macao, while those for Hong Kong and Taiwan are only 1.31 and 1.21 respectively.

5.3.6 Motivation

It is appropriate to question what has motivated such huge tourist movements among the elements of partitioned China and whether there are any differences between these flows. To answer these questions, official data were ranked by the percentage of each type of motivation recorded for both partitioned state and international tourists in each region. This is represented in Table 5.8. Compared to international tourists, who always rank leisure as the primary purpose of trip, a large number of partitioned state tourists list VFR as a major motivation, and for PRC, VFR is the primary motivation. Taiwan and Hong Kong ranked VFR as the second motivation for visiting a section. Only in Macao, is VFR not in the top three motivations.

Table 5.8 Rank of Motivation of Partitioned State Tourists and International Tourists in Four Areas (1990)

		1st	2nd	3rd
PRC	Partitioned	VFR	Leisure	Business
	International	Leisure	Business	Other
TAIWAN	Partitioned	Leisure	Business	VFR
	International	Leisure	Business	Other
H.K.	Partitioned	Transit	Leisure	Business
	International	Leisure	Business	Transit
MACAO	Partitioned	Leisure	Business	Transit
	International	Leisure	Business	Other

Source: WTO, Government Statistics, EIU

5.4 A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

After identifying "what" the patterns are, the next problem is to explain the patterns. Though a general framework of partitioned state tourism has been de.eloped in Chapter 3, it is unable to explain specific movement and patterns without additional consideration of the regional context in which they occur. Partitioned state tourism in partitioned China shows a variety of characteristics: a large volume of travel, severe directional bias, relative low seasonality, and high proportion of VFRs. Some of these are shared with other partitioned states, but some are unique. A systematic analysis of location, cultural linkages, economic development processes, and political relationships provides additional insights into these patterns. This section discusses three broad aspects of these factors and their interaction in the creation of travel patterns.

5.4.1 Physical Factors: Location, Size, and Physical Seasonality

Pearce (1989) argued that the physical attributes of both source areas and destination areas have impacts on the resulting tourism development and patterns. Physical location and characteristics are not only a integral part of destination attraction, but they also lay the foundation for transportation and non-inherent activities. They influence partitioned state tourism patterns in the study area because of the unique relative location and the size of partitioned sections.

As stated in Chapter 2, partitioned states in general are located adjacent to each other, and their paired territories are often of the same magnitude of size. The elements of partitioned China are adjacent and do share common boundaries. Hong Kong and Macao are located in

the south of the mainland China with a land boundary. Taiwan is in the east and shares a maritime boundary, the 160 km wide of Taiwan Strait, with the mainland. However, unlike other partitioned sates in which each part has similar areas of territory, the size of the sections of partitioned China vary greatly. Mainland China is 9,600,00 sq. km in extent and is the world's third largest political area. It stretches from latitude 54 N to 18 N and from longitude 74 E to 135 E, providing a diverse climate and seasonal pattern. Taiwan has an area of about 36,000 sq. km. The egg-shaped island lies on the northeast margin of the tropics and in the path of prevailing East Asian monsoon-influenced air circulation patterns, and therefore, the climate does not fluctuate significantly. Hong Kong and Macao, lie on the southern coast of mainland, and are tiny city units. Hong Kong has a total area of 1,025 sq.km with a 50 km land boundary with mainland. Macao is a cluster of tiny islands with a total area of 16 sq.km, located just south of the Tropic of Cancer with a climate which is characteristically monsoonal.

These physical attributes have an impact on the tourism patterns. First, they influence physical accessibility. The Taiwan Strait is a natural boundary between Taiwan and other territories, and prevents access by 'and. The small size of Macao has precluded space for air transport, although Macao is currently building its first airport, hoping to replace or supplement Hong Kong as a gateway to PRC. This partially explains the transportation pattern of partitioned state tourism in the region. For example, the majority of arrivals in Taiwan are by air which is much more efficient that boat. Travel between Hong Kong and Macao is almost completely by ferry and hydrofoil because this is the only choice except for helicopters. However, land transport (trains and bus) dominates traffic between mainland and Hong Kong

and Macao. Second, the location and size of the units also influence the physical attributes of tourism seasonality. For example, mainland China has significant seasonal variance of temperature and rainfall, while Hong Kong and Macao have minimum variance.

5.4.2 Economic Factors

Tourism is essentially a non-basic-need activitiy. Its demand is closely related to economic development and, in particular, income level (Pearce, 1989). The significant difference in levels of economic development among the units of partitioned China has contributed greatly to the spatial distribution of tourism. According to the UN's annual reports, in 1990 Hong Kong's GNP per capita was 11,540 US dollars, while PRC's was only 370 US dollars. Taiwan and Macao were 6,911 and 4,117 US dollars respectively. Hong Kong generated 27.32 million trips in 1990, which accounted for 59.5% of the total departures in the area. PRC, with the largest population region in the world, generated only half million outbound travellers. Relative affluence can be expected to explain a great deal of this variation.

The second economic aspect resulting from location is travel distance. In a time-monetary budget, both the temporal and financial costs increase with increases in distance. This, in turn, can cause decline of propensity to travel between units. This certainly true for partitioned state tourism in this region. Because of the relative large travel distance, exacerbated by the fact that direct access is not permitted yet, travel between PRC and Taiwan is extremely expensive both in money and time. This has resulted in a relative low level of travel between Taiwan and PRC. In contrast, the proximity of PRC, Hong Kong and Macao contributes to the large volume of travel between them.

5.4.3 Cultural and Political Factors

Tourism has obvious cultural and social dimensions. The national characteristics of populations of the source and destination areas, as well as their cultural and social relations can be expected to have effects on the travel behaviour. In fact, when interpreting the pattern of tourist movement, Williams and Zelinsky (1970) argued that " However, distance hardly accounts for all, or even most, of the deviations noted.... more specifically, we have in mind the existence or non-existence of significant commercial and other business dealings, extensive labour commutation, membership in a common cultural ream, a history of recent permanent migration between pairs of countries, present or pat political linkages, and the presence of country A's military forces on the territory of country B." (p.564-565) These factors are more significant among partitioned countries. In partitioned China, the inter-region migration, cultural traits, national characteristics, and political relations have contributed informing the contemporary partitioned state tourism patterns noted in previous sections.

(1) Population Movements

Wolfe (1966) linked tourism with migration by arguing that recreation travel is a new characteristic migration in the contemporary world, different from the conventional migration from country (region) to country (region). However, he did not address the close relationship between these international and inter-regional migrations and recreation travel, spatially and temporally. In fact, both emigration and immigration may cause tourist movements, in particular VFR tourism (Szoba, 1990). This phenomenon is particularly significant in

partitioned states because of frequent large scale population dislocation during the partition process and special policies often directed to VFR tourists.

Like other partitioned countries, China had mass migration in its partition process, caused by war, social disturbances, and economic opportunities. There were three major migration flows between the partitioned sections: PRC-Taiwan PRC-Hong Kong, and PRC and Hong Kong-Macao (Roberts, 1992; Tregear, 1980).

PRC-Taiwan.

There are two periods of large migration from the mainland to Taiwan. The first migration started at the fall of the Ming dynasty (1644) when 25,000 Ming loyalists sailed from Liao-lo for Taiwan, after their defeat by Manchu. Since then mainlanders have continued to migrate to Taiwan, in particular after the Qing dynasty relaxed its emigration policy in 1790 (Chiu, 1979, p.13). It was estimated that over 2 million Chinese immigrated to Taiwan during this period (Tregear, 1980, p.334). This group now is called "Ben Shen Ren" (Chinese of Taiwan Province, or Taiwan Chinese). The second wave of immigration happened at the end of 1940s. With the Japanese defeat, Taiwan was returned to China in 1945. The Nationalist government sent an army and officials to accept the Japanese surrender and to establish local government. This "military migration" was intensified as the Nationalist government gradually lost ground on the mainland. Finally it was forced to evacuate all of its government agencies, assets, and armies to Taiwan. From 1946 to 1950, around two million mainlanders moved into Taiwan (Tregear, 1980, p. 335). Unlike the first wave, many of these immigrants left their families behind because they were told and believed, that they would return to the mainland soon. They

now are called "Wai Shen Ren" (Outside Province People, or Mainlander Chinese). The Taiwanese Chinese (Ben Sheng Ren) account for 84% of Taiwan's population, mainlander Chinese (Wai Sheng Ren) account for 14% , and the rest (2%) are the aboriginal population.

PRC-Hong Kong

After Hong Kong was ceded to Britain, it enjoyed a relatively stable political climate and rapid economic growth, which led to an increase in demand for labour, which was the cause of an early population influx from the mainland. The population of Hong Kong, only 7,450 in 1841, increased to 24,000 in 1848 (Roberts, et al, 1992, pp. 170). Many farmers from Guangdong moved into Hong Kong as harbour workers. In the late 1850s, the Tai Ping Rebellion movement on the mainland resulted in a large influx of immigrants, with the population reaching 122,000 in 1861. With the acquisition of Kowloon and New Territory, Hong Kong expanded substantially. Immigration continued to be the major cause of population growth. In 1931, the population reached 500,000, and another large influx from the mainland occurred when Japan invaded China in 1936. This increased Hong Kong's population to 1,600,000 (November, 1941). However, in December 1941, Japan occupied Hong Kong which created emigration. By 1944, the population had declined to 600,000. With the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, the Hong Kong population grew again with the return of former residents and accelerated when China's Civil War broke out. Hong Kong' population increased to 2,070,000 in 1951 (Roberts, at el. 1992, 274), most of these were borne in China. Since 1952, the rate of immigration has declined substantially, though immigration still continues. In 1990, the

population was over 5.5 million, of whom 38.7% were Mainland-born Chinese, 59.3% Hong Kong-born Chinese, and 2% foreigners (Roberts, 1992; Bair and Hubbard, 1989).

PRC-Macao.

The early settlers in Macao were seafarers. By 1555, the population was estimated to be about 400, rising to about 20,000 by 1750 (Rcberts, at el. 1992, p.313, 350). The economic development attracted immigration from China from the early 1900s. In 1910 Macao recorded 74,866 residents, of whom 94.8% were from Mainland. This number went up to 164,528 in 1937 (Roberts, 1992). Like Hong Kong, Macao was also a refuge for Chinese during the years of Japanese occupation. The immigration increased its population to 245,194 in 1939 With the end of World War II, many refugees returned to China, and Macao's population declined to 150,000. In the following years, immigration from China occurred again but at a low level. In 1990, the total population of Macao was 443,500, of whom 95% were Chinese (CIA, 1990).

These three migration movements established close cultural and social linkages among the units of partitioned China. The high proportion of Chinese-born immigrants in the population of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao is the major factor in fostering many VFR tourists.

(2) Attachment to Locality in Chinese Society

It may be due to its long history of civilization and its experience of unity and disunity that has seen the Chinese develop a very strong sense of attachment to locality (nostalgia). This has contributed to the centrifugal tendencies present within China over the centuries (Lew, 1995). Chinese families traditionally not only tend to have many members, but also to keep

their members in their ancestral origin land. Obviously such a pattern of spatial congregation has many advantages in an agrarian society, including providing the labour and support network. Such a family structure laid the foundation for the organization of society. For example, most of the villages in southern China were patriarchal, clan communities, with everyone in the village related by male lineage and marriage (Pan, 1990). Consequently, their attachment to place provides them with an identity. Southern Chinese, in particular, identify themselves to one another in terms of the village or group of villages from which they originate.

The strength of the attachment to one's home place is also illustrated by the desire among people who have permanently left their homes to be buried in their native soil, as stated in a Chinese proverb " The fallen leaves come back to the root ". If a person moved away from home, it was taken for granted that he would sooner or later return to his native place. "The normative pattern was clear: a young man who left to seek his fortune elsewhere was expected to return home for marriage, to spend there an extended period of mourning on the death of either parents, and eventually to retire in the locality where his ancestors were buried "(Smith, 1899,p.162).

In life, the strength of the attachment to home was equally strong. It is also common for Chinese to initiate social relationships based on home places (Lew, 1995) Two people meeting for the first time would introduce themselves by ascertaining each other's native place, which was usually more important than their surname. A unique term "Laoshang" (persons who are from the same home place) has been widely used as a title to indicate a close

relationship. Such home places can be presented on different spatial measurement scales. The large scale, such as a province, provides a broader base to develop a social network; while the smaller scale, such as village or city, implies closer relationships. For example, Shiba (1977) found that among the businessmen from Ninbo who moved to Shanghai in the nineteenth century and experienced great financial success, hiring practices were based predominately on spatial relations. The first to be hired would be kinsmen from Ninbo, next would be the people from the same city; then the same county, then the same region (prefecture), and then the same province. The same principles are also practised in other business and personal relations.

(3) Group Pressure

In China, the traditional motivation for leaving home was to seek opportunities to increase one's wealth and status at home and, more recently, to escape wars and civil turmoil. This was the major cause of the large population in Canton moving into Hong Kong and Macao, and from Mainland to Taiwan. A dominant Confucian philosophy fosters a strong sense of filial piety, which means to care for both aged parents and backward kinsman (Lew, 1995). Not only would the family expect the member who is working away from home to visit or return home; but the villagers would also hope such a wealthy member would contribute to the community. "Successful emigrants were expected to expand their family estate back home, to endow their linkages, and to invest in community property." (Zhang and Sang, 1987, p.124). This pressure is reinforced, as a neighbour was highly honoured because of a member's visitation. This group pressure eventually generated a wide commitment from emigrants to visit their home (Lew, 1995).

Once they did visit or return to their home, these emigrants achieved high prestige and enjoyed wide privilege. Not only did they became a symbol of wealth and prestige, but they also represented intellectual ability and openness. The family attempted to provide the best accommodation and food. More importantly, the community, even the local government, warmly welcomed and honoured the visiting guests and their whole family.

These emigrants received not only prestige in their home, but also gained respect among fellow emigrants based upon the same values. " The more trips home one could make before retirement increases one's prestige. So did the amount of money sent home to relatives, and the amount donated for public works projects for the villages (e.g. schools, roads, and bridges) " (Lew, 1995, p. 159).

(4) Political Conflicts and Restrictions

The partition itself is the seed and sometimes the cause of political conflict in a region, although the causes of specific events may be different. After the partition, each section may develop, or have had, different political systems and ideologies, and may join different international political blocs. As a result, certain political conflicts may exist between the elements of partitioned states, and often generate restrictions on tourist movements. For example, the political conflict between PRC and Taiwan still prevents direct tourist movement (Zhang, 1992).

The factors discussed above have a profound influence on contemporary partitioned state tourism movement between elements of partitioned China, and the patterns discovered in previous sections are the outcome of these factors and their interactions.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the tourism development process in the study area and identified that there exist three distinct stages. The different perspectives on the status of the elements of partitioned China and partitioned state tourist movement were discussed. In this context, patterns and characteristics of partitioned state tourism in the study area were investigated by both qualitative and quantitative methods. Finally, a comprehensive explanation is explored and concluded that the unique patterns and characteristics of partitioned state tourism resulted from physical, economic, and cultural settings of partitioned China. The chapter following will use PRC as a destination to measure and analyze the characteristics and patterns of partitioned state tourism.

Chapter 6

A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM IN
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The multifaceted approach adopted in this research has revealed that, in general, a systematic difference exists between partitioned state and conventional tourists in terms of tourist characteristics and travel behaviour patterns. In the context of partitioned China, the research also identified the unique patterns of partitioned state tourist movement between the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. It is logical to explore behaviour, itinerary pattern, organization forms, and impacts of these partitioned state tourists. However, a lack of systematic data makes such a broad approach impossible. Consequently, the People's Republic of China was selected as a destination for further research into the various relationships and impacts of partitioned state tourism. The major portion of partitioned China, PRC, received a high proportion (80.2 per cent) of total partitioned state tourist arrivals among the elements of partitioned China in 1990. Moreover, PRC's partitioned state tourism is in the middle of an

evolutionary process, and, therefore, reveals more information about partitioned state tourism. PRC has also kept relatively complete tourism records and surveys on partitioned state tourism since 1978. In particular, China's National Tourism Administration conducted several surveys on inbound tourists, which provides detailed information on travel behaviour and characteristics. This is also reinforced by the fact that there has been more tourism research conducted on PRC than on any other part of partitioned China. Finally, this author has extensive research experience in PRC.

To achieve the objective of this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in comparison. This chapter has four sections: data sources and base year; geographical context of partitioned state tourism in PRC, general patterns, and typology.

6.1 DATA SOURCE AND BASE YEAR

This study is based on the principle of maximizing the reliability and availability of PRC's tourism data. Four different data sources are used: WTO's **International Tourism Yearbook**, the NTA's **Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics** and NTA's **Fourth International Tourist Surveys (1990)**, and an independent sampling. The WTO's Yearbook (1988, 1992) provides general information on foreign tourism in China at the national level, with limited details and has few subjects. It excludes partitioned state tourism. The NTA's **Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics** (1990, 1991, 1992) is an annual publication which provides broad information about China's tourism covering nine subjects. In most subjects, it distinguishes between foreign tourism and partitioned state tourism. However, there are some limitations to these statistics, and the reliability may not be high. Gormsen (1995) considered

the figures inflated because they may include both overnight and day visitors (Gormsen, 1995, p.64). Bailey and Hunt (1986) found that "China's arrival statistics are occasionally contradictory and often puzzling" (p.5). This may possibly be caused by the non-integrated recording process used. In PRC, most inbound tourism data have been provided by the Ministry of Public Security, which recorded entry by entry border cards. Inbound tourism data were also collected by the National Tourism Administration through its travel agencies and hotels from accommodation and organization documents. Furthermore, each provincial (city) government also independently record the foreign and partitioned state tourists who visit that province (city). Unfortunately, there is no framework to coordinate these independent recording processes, and, as a result, they are not consistent each other. Bailey and Hunt (1986) suggested, however, that " The arrivals figures, taken together with other information now available on the accommodation sector, aviation developments, internal travel administration and so on, allow some credible continuing measurements and analysis of China's tourism industry to be made" (p.5-6).

The NTA's **Fourth International Tourism Survey (1990)** may be the most valuable source for this research, because it provides detailed information on tourist behaviour patterns and expenditures, distinguishing partitioned state from international tourists. The major drawback is that it only included a limited number of subjects. Therefore, an independent sampling was felt necessary to supplement this data set.

It should kept in mind that, statistically, the data from these two surveys are different from those of the yearbooks. Statistically, the data in the yearbooks dealt with a population,

while the surveys use a sample (a subset of a population). When the sample data are used, a statistical test is normally required to ensure the statistical significance under certain statistical assumptions. There is no such necessity when dealing with population data.

1990 was selected as the base year for comparative and data analysis, because the NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey was conducted in 1990. However, the individual sampling was completed in 1994. Whenever these data are used in the analysis, it is footnoted.

6.2 THE CONTEXT OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM IN PRC

PRC's partitioned state tourism, as well as its international tourism, has experienced a unique development process, because it has involved in a particular political, economic and social context. It is impossible to analysis its patterns without considering this context, which influenced every aspects of partitioned state tourism in PRC. However, little information about this context has been presented in publication and research papers. Consequently, this study, based on extensive research of PRC's government documents, official travel guides, business travel handbooks, and other relevant publications, devote one section to providing a background for understanding PRC's tourism.

6.2.1 Tourism Organization in PRC

"In taking a holiday, tourists, knowingly or unconsciously, are likely to come in contact with organizations and organizational activities at each stage of their trip. The decision to take a holiday and select a particular destination may have been influenced by the marketing activities of some destination organization. The travel conditions of travel to, from and within the destination are likely to have been determined in some degree by various organizations. International travel by air, for example, is subject to agreements and regulations reached and imposed by intergovernmental and other organizations affecting factors such as routes, schedules, prices and safety.... Whatever the form, there can be no doubt, however, that tourism too is much part of today's organizational activities." (Pearce, 1992, p.1).

Such observation illustrate precisely the importance of organization and organization activities in tourism. There exist numerous tourism organizations, both public and private. At the international level, there are the World Tourism Organization (WTO), International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); the Pacific and Asia Travel Association (PATA), the European Travel Commission (ETC), and the Caribbean Tourism Association (CTA). In addition, other general international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Community (EC), and the Association of South East Asian Nations(ASEAN) also deal with tourism movements and development issues. At the national level, virtually every country has some type of national agency responsible for tourism. WTO (1979) reported that national tourist administrations (NTAs) were the normal authorities in the central state in charge of tourism development at the national level. The WTO's survey (WTO, 1979) of 100 NTAs showed two-thirds of these took the form of ministries or constituted part of a government department. The remainder had their own legal personality, for example, government corporations, but were linked to or were under the supervision of the central administration. Consequently, it is not surprising that these NTAs have very significant influence on international travel.

PRC has had a complicated and constantly changing NTA system, and tourism evolutionary process. The Overseas Chinese Travel Service was established in 1953 as a government department to handle Chinese from overseas and Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao visiting their families. In the following year, the China International Travel Service was

established to host foreign guests from the former USSR and Eastern European countries. After the establishment of head office in Beijing, it established 14 branches at the provincial level (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1989). PRC'r tourism was growing, but slowly. In general, international travel activities were treated as foreign affairs. In 1964, the first Bureau of Travel and Tourism was created under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry. Paralleling that, the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs, under the State Council, was put in charge of the travel arrangements of the overseas Chinese and Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao (at that time there were no visitors from Taiwan). The Bureau of Travel and Tourism, whose headquarters has been in Beijing, with branches in provinces, directly controlled the planning and operation of travel agencies. In 1974, the China Travel Service (CTS) replaced the Overseas Chinese Travel Service to meet the demand of the increasing numbers of visits by overseas Chinese and Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao.

In 1978, China began its dramatic economic reforms and adopted the " open-door" policy which profoundly influenced the organization and development of tourism in PRC. First, a third state-owned travel agency was created in 1979, the China Youth Travel Service (CYTS). This eventually formed an organization system which has been called "Three Magnates" of PRC's travel services. In 1981, the National Tourism Administration (NTA) was set up to replace the Bureau of Travel and Tourism. The NTA became PRC's principal national tourism organization, under the direct jurisdiction of the country's State Council. As such, it became entirely independent from the Foreign Ministry. The NTA not only controls the "Three Magnates" agencies, but is also involved in the formulation of rules and regulations governing tourism. (Zhang, 1995). The branches of the "Three Magnates" agencies in each province were administered by both NTA (vertical administration) and provincial governments (horizontal administration). Only head office of CITS were granted authority to negotiate directly with foreign producers, issue visas, and receive payment in hard currency. This organizational system was characterized by absolute central government control, and by minimum competition among travel agencies.(Figure 6.1)

Figure 6.1 Pre-1984 Model of Tourism Organization System of China *
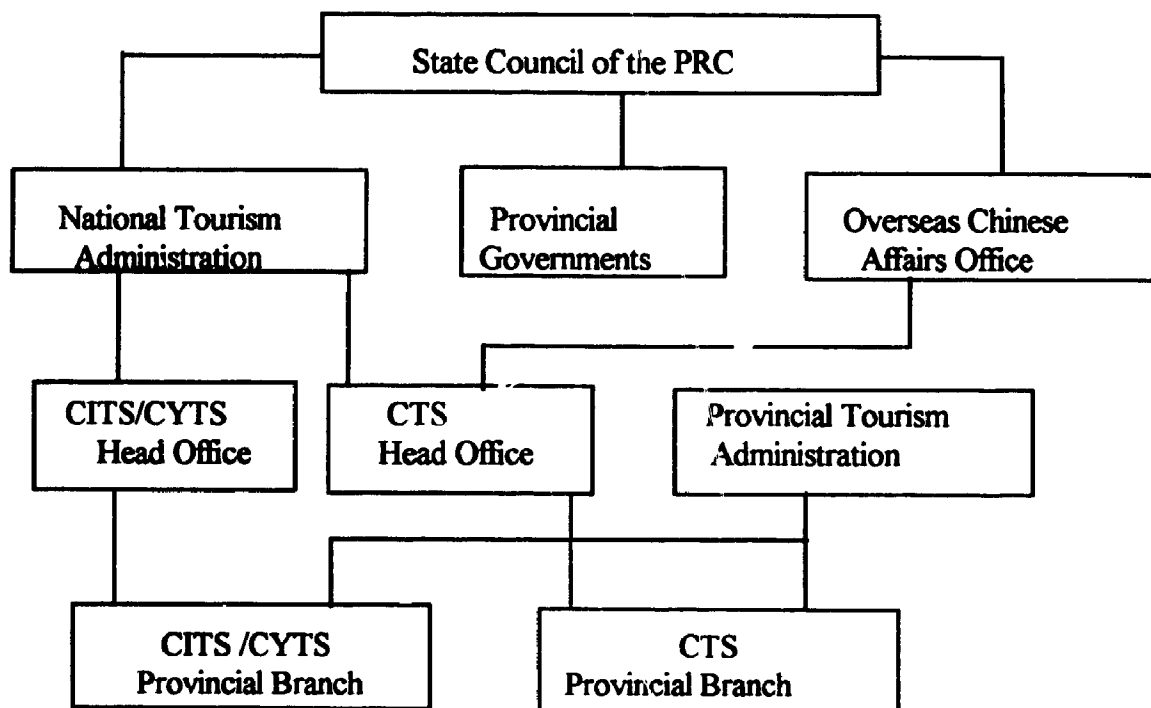
(Modified from Richter, 1989)

In 1983, separate travel permit requirement were eliminated for 30 cities, and more international tourists arrived. Two fundamental trends which have emerged in the following years are those of decentralization and liberalization, breaking the hold of CITS, CTS, and CYTS. It was not uncommon for large numbers of international tourists to be prevented from visiting China simply because the travel agencies did not have enough capability and efficiency to accept them (Richter, 1989). The bottleneck was the centralization of management. In the old system all sales programs and itineraries were set by head offices in Beijing, and branches did not have the authority to involve themselves in contacts with foreign travel agencies, but

could only handle tourist according to the central plan. All profits went to CITS, CTS, and CYTS head offices. This caused a significant problem: local agencies did not have any incentive to attract as many tourists as they might find on order to make a profit. However, with the gap between demand and supply increasing since 1980, various unauthorized organizations, and certain provincial branches of CITS, have attempted to offer visas and tours to overseas visitors through various channels. In 1982 a State Council order tried to stop this practice, but the order was largely ignored (Choy and Dong, 1986).

In 1984 the central government decided to "deregulate" the industry, encouraging competition to CITS, CTS and CYTS by allowing other state sponsored agencies to be established with the same status as the head office of CITS (i.e. to issue visas and to contract with foreign operators). Eight agencies were approved by NA₁ in 1985, among which are the head offices of CTS and CYTS, the China Civii International Tourist Corporation (CCITC) and the China Swan International Tours (CSITC). Through this deregulation, more travel agencies now have the authority to receive international tourists directly. As a result, there has been a surge of new tour operators throughout China, able and willing to compete with CITS, CTS and CYTS.

Of equal significance is a trend towards independence of the CITS branches from head office. To enhance the local travel agencies' incentive and efficiency, extensive decentralization of tour sales also was introduced since 1984. Some major CITS branches were permitted to issue their own visas, deal directly with foreign producers and run their own tours. Though they were not supposed to run nation-wide tours in peak months, this ruling has not been

rigidly followed. Decentralization has continued, so that by the end of 1985 CITS head office estimated that around 50 per cent of tour groups in China had been initiated by its branch offices (Bailey and Hunt, 1986, p. 14). Competition between some large CITS branches and head office, and even between the branches themselves, has intensified.

The National Tourism Administration has always fluctuated between policies of centralization and decentralization of tour sales. A policy of centralization (always advocated by the head office of CITS) resulted in bottlenecks in the head office located in Beijing. Decentralization (advocated by branch agencies and local government) produced impressive sales, but also generated internal competition. Consequently, NTA made a compromise, by which annual sales plans are submitted to the head office of CITS in Beijing; the head office approves quotas for each area, but local officials are permitted to establish contracts directly with overseas tour operators (Richter, 1989; Choy et al, 1986, Zhang, 1989). To further encourage initiative at the local levels, a major policy change has been that travel agencies can now be owned collectively as well as privately.

In the period 1986-1988 the central government began to restructure the travel agency system (Choy et al, 1986). This restructuring programme involved three major changes :

1. All travel agencies were now classified into three categories:

.Type I agencies which could receive all tourists, both international and domestic.

.Type II agencies which could handle overseas Chinese, visitors from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and domestic tourists.

.Type III agencies which could only receive domestic tourists.

2. The NTA allowed a total of 44 new state-owned "Type I" travel agencies to be set up, one in each province and autonomous region, and in 14 major tourism cities. A major part of the authority of international tourism thus moved to provincial government and major cities. This move further eroded the near-monopoly that the "Three Magnates" (CITS, CTS, and CYTS) had on handling organized travel from overseas. For instance, in 1980 alone, CITS handled 41% of all foreigners coming to China, but by 1985 this had been reduced to 33%, in 1988 to 29 % and in 1989 to only 18% (Choy et al, 1986; Zhang, 1990).

3. The branches of CITS became part of a restructured CITS group in which only head office had "Type I" status. CITS provincial branc   were downgraded and only allowed "Type II" status.

The new model differed from the old one in three respects. First, the head offices of CITS, CTS, and CYTS are now under NTA's direct administration. All travel agencies involved in either international tourists or overseas Chinese, including Chinese from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan (Type I,Type II), are administered by both NTA and provincial governments Type III agencies are administrated only by provincial governments. Second, each province has at least one Type I and one Type II travel agency to share the operational authority with head offices of CITS, CTS and CYTS in Beijing. Third, travel agencies may now be owned and operated by private individual and collectives, but are limited to Type III status. Fourth, the new travel organization system ensured NTA authority to direct the whole national tourist industry, while at the same time it provided more flexibility for provincial governments to promote and market their sales. With wide support, this new organizational

Figure 6.2. Post 1984 Reformed Tourism Organization in China

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                    │    State Council of the PRC  │
                    └─────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│ National Tourism │   │    Provincial    │   │ Overseas Chinese │
│  Administration  │   │   Governments    │   │   Affairs Office │
└──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘

    ┌──────────┐         ┌──────────┐           ┌──────────┐
    │ Type I   │         │ Type II  │           │ Type III │
    │ Agency   │         │ Agency   │           │ Agency   │
    └──────────┘         └──────────┘           └──────────┘

  CITS, CTS, CYTS       CITS, CTS, CYTS           New State,
  Head Office           Provincial               Private, Collective
  44 New State          Branches                 Owned agencies
  Owned Agencies
```
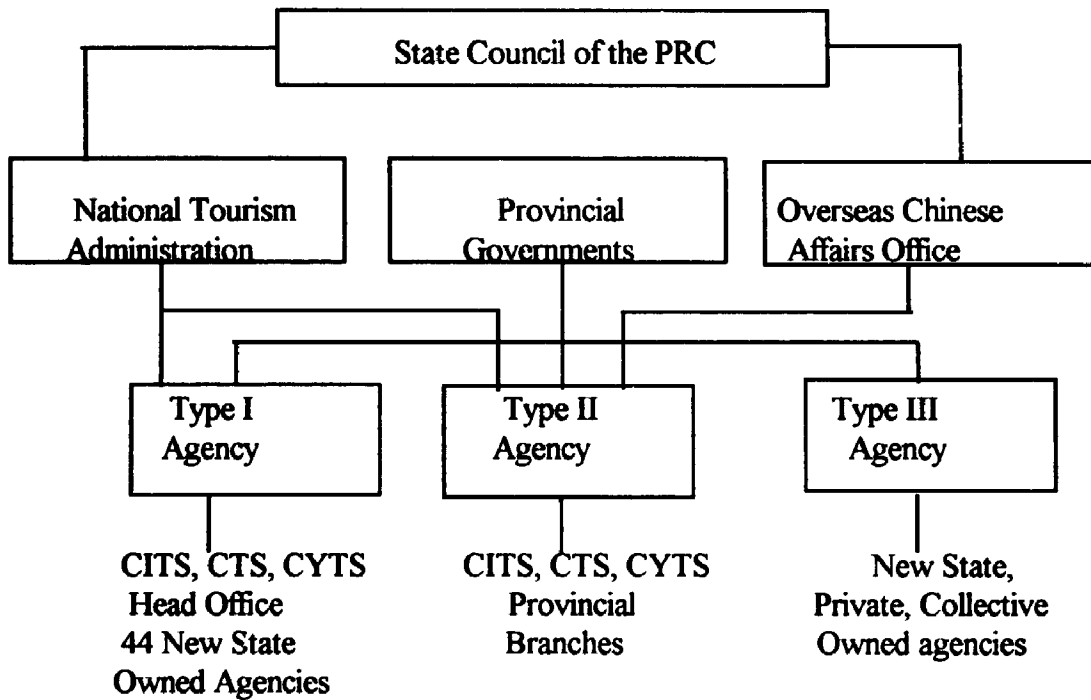
system was consolidated, and at the end of 1990, the NTA listed 1,603 travel agencies. Of these, 68 were, as noted, Type I, 834 were Type II, and 701 were Type III. Currently, organized partitioned state tourists are handled exclusively by Type I and II agencies.

6.2.2 Tourism Regulations in PRC

Almost all countries have unique regulations for inbound tourists, such as custom procedures and requirements, visa or other travel permits, health documentation, and currency exchange. However, there exists a considerable variation among countries in terms of these regulations. It stretches from very relaxed regulation and simplified procedures, such as among the European Community countries, to complex and restricted regulations, such as those which

existed in most of communist and some muslim countries. One extreme example is Saudi Arabia, which does not issue tourist visas (Richter, 1989, p.14).

PRC had developed a set of complicated regulations regarding inbound tourists. Such a regulation system originated from "a basic principle proclaimed by the late Premier Zhou Enlai: nothing is minor in the handling of foreign affairs, and everything done requires asking for instruction. " (Zhang, 1995, p.10). Despite sporadic reports on these regulations, little detailed information was published because of frequent changes, as well as government restrictions. Indeed, Richter observed that "Chinese tourism policy is in a considerable state of flux, making it difficulty for researchers and politically unnerving for those in Chinese tourism administration to say with great certainty what directions the policy will take" (1989:p.23). Through an extensive review of PRC's government publications, official travel guides, and handbooks, certain fundamental aspects of these regulations could be identified, such as tourism territory zoning, travel agency classification and market segmentation (discussed in the previous section), accommodation grading, "tourism currency", and a double standard of prices.

6.2.2.1 Territorial Zoning and Travel Permits

Territory zoning is identified as a national level zoning system which divides the national territory into subregions of different levels of openness for inbound tourists. This system has existed widely in communist countries, such as the former USSR, North Korea, and China. In China, the territory zoning system, established under administrative laws governing the entry and exit of foreign persons, permits foreign tourists (including partitioned state tourists) to visit only selected tourist sites. The initial desire of this regulation was to show

visitors the "communism superiority to capitalism" and keep "national secrets" from leaking to foreigners (Mao, 1993). During the 1960s and 1970s all tour programs in China were inclusively organized by CITS and CTS with limited itineraries, which often included visiting "model" communes, schools, and housing estates. Many real attractions were not on the itinerary and foreigners were rarely permitted to visit them (Zhang, 1995).

A travel permit (Tong Xing Zhen), in addition to a valid visa, was required by all overseas tourists for travel within China until 1983. In that year, China officially opened 30 cities which overseas travellers were allowed to visit without travel permits (Richter, 1989). A travel permit continued to be required for visiting other areas (China Travel and Tourism Press, 1985; Chinese Academy of Social Science, 1989). Since then PRC was officially divided into two areas in terms of access for overseas tourists: open areas and closed areas. In theory, closed areas can be visited upon applications (China Travel and Tourism Press, 1985), In reality, however, it is not uncommon for applications to visit closed areas to be refused without clear explanation. According to the author's personal observations (Mao,1993), the closed areas were classified into three subregions with respect of the issuance of travel permits. Consequently, PRC can be divided into four tourism zones (Mao, 1993).

Completely Free Travel Zone--foreigners holding valid visas or residence permits could visit these areas without applying for travel permits. There was no such open zone until 1983, when the additional travel permit was waived in 30 cities, and since then the number of these zones has expanded quickly. **Generally Free Travel Zone**--Foreigners touring these areas must apply for travel permits in addition to their visa, but the permits are always granted. **Generally**

Restricted Travel Zone-- These areas in general are not open to foreign visitors. Foreigners wishing to tour these areas must apply for travel permits, but only limited, special foreigners (in particular technical, academic, medical, sport, and educational professionals) are likely to get permission to visit these areas, usually through a Chinese counterpart. **Travel Not Permitted Zone**--No foreigner is ever allowed to visit these areas.

A total of 2086 county-level units were classified into these open and closed zones by the Ministry of Public Security of China (Chinese Academy of Social Science, 1989). However, only Completely Free Travel Zones are listed. The other three types were not identified explicitly. Table 6.1 provides information on the open and closed areas at provincial level. Open area tends to expand and the open cities/counties increased from 30 in 1983 to 732 in 1990, though this still represented only 35.09 percent of total cities/counties in PRC.

In the context of the zoning system, partitioned state tourists in general have been considered as "foreigners". For example, they have to apply for a travel permit to visit close areas. However, this ,in fact, is not enforced strictly because, first, partitioned state tourists are defined as "compatriots", who are not even required to have a visa for visiting China. Second, a large proportion of partitioned state tourists are VFRs and their relatives and friends often reside in a city/county defined as a closed area, particularly in the early 1980s. It was practically impossible to restrict partitioned state tourists from visiting these closed areas. As a result, "while visiting their friends and relatives on the mainland, Hong Kong tourists could enjoy a degree of freedom unavailable to foreign tourists" (Chow, 1988:208).

Table 6.1   Distribution of Open Cities/Counties in China   1983 and 1990

	Total city/county	Open city/county			
		1983	%	1990	%
Total	**2086**	**30**	**1.44**	**732**	**35.09**
Beijing	1	1	100.00	1	100.00
Tianjin	1	1	100.00	1	100.00
Shanghai	1	1	100.00	1	100.00
Hebei	137	1	0.73	24	17.52
Shanxi	96	1	1.04	10	10.42
Inner Mongolia	73	0	0.00	18	24.63
Liaoning	44	1	2.27	13	29.55
Jilin	38	1	2.63	17	44.73
Heilongjiang	62	1	1.61	25	40.32
Jiangsu	62	3	4.84	11	17.74
Zhejiang	67	1	1.49	19	28.35
Anhui	67	0	0.00	39	58.20
Fujian	59	0	0.00	30	50.85
Jiangxi	79	0	0.00	48	60.76
Shandon	95	2	2.11	57	60.00
Henan	110	3	2.73	37	33.64
Hubei	65	1	1.54	54	83.07
Hunan	86	1	1.16	44	51.16
Guangdong	93	3	3.23	46	47.92
Guangxi	76	2	2.63	21	27.63
Sichuan	179	2	1.14	38	21.22
Guizhou	77	0	0.00	23	29.87
Yunnan	116	2	1.72	35	30.17
Tibet	77	0	0.00	5	6.49
Shaanxi	89	2	2.25	39	43.82
Gansu	72	0	0.00	25	34.72
Qinghai	37	0	0.00	14	37.84
Ningxia	15	0	0.00	13	86.66
Xinjiang	73	0	0.00	24	32.87

Sources: The Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics (1990) , Information China (1989)

6.2.2.2 Accommodation Grading

"Lodging facilities in China have generally been divided into two major categories for accommodating overseas and domestic tourists, based on the amount of amenities and level of services. The high-level lodging facilities, known as binguan or fandian (guest house or hotel), are the hotels for overseas tourists. This type of lodging facility is equipped with amenities and luxuries that meet international hotel standards. The lower level lodging facilities, called ludian, accommodate only domestic tourists and offer very simple amenities and services, including having more than three beds in a room, and a shared bathroom, television, and telephone" (Yu, 1995, p. 89).

The above observation reveals a basic aspect of PRC's accommodation grading system. PRC started to classify its accommodations in the early 1950s, but not for tourism purposes (Richter, 1989; Bian, 1992). At that time, the majority of foreigners travelling in China were technical personnels from the former USSR and other east European countries. To provide high standard accommodation services for these foreign experts and delegations, a number of Russian style hotels, such as the Friendship Hotel, were built in several major cities. They were operated as non-profit organizations and everything was arranged by government. It was not uncommon for services to be free of charge for these foreign professionals, according to government agreements. It is because these accommodations were inclusively for foreigners that they were called Binguan (Guest Hotel) in Chinese, and Chinese citizens in general were not permitted to stay in such accommodation.

With the growth of international tourism, this classification was formalized and institutionalized through the country but for different purpose: to limit foreigners to certain accommodations and to effectively collect the foreign exchange. Subsequently, accommodations have been graded into two categories in terms of qualification to receive

inbound tourists: Grade A and Grade B. Grade A hotels can host foreigners, overseas Chinese, and visitors from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and sometimes domestic travellers, often called Shewai Luyou Fandian, or hotels involved in overseas (NTA's Yearbook, 1990). Grade B hotels can only host domestic tourists. Although the NTA claimed that such accommodation grading is purely to provide the qualified accommodation services and to ensure tourists' personal security, the political consideration is always important (Mao, 1993).

This classification and its characteristics have been discussed in previous researches. For example, Tisdell and Wen (1991) noted that "In China, hotels for foreigners, Bin-guan, are markedly differentiated from those for Chinese citizens, Lu-guan " with the latter being of "a much lower standard." (Tisdell and Wen, 1991, p.59). Gormsen (1995) also observed that "Inexpensive hotels and hostels exist throughout China for domestic travellers, and foreign visitors are generally not allowed to stay in them" (p. 81).

In recent years accommodations with Grade A status have increased substantially in numbers because of large direct foreign investment. In 1990, there were a total of 94,950 accommodation facilities, of which 1,987 (2.09%) were hotels graded as A and 92,963 (97.91%) as Grade B. Partitioned state tourists are required to use the same grade hotels (A) as foreigners.

6.2.2.3 Tourism Currency and Differential Fees

PRC was virtually the only country which had a specific currency for overseas travellers. In 1980, with the rapid increase in tourists, PRC introduced a new system of Foreign Exchange Certificates (FECs), also called "tourism currency", for use by foreign visitors. The

new FECs were initially intended to eliminate the direct use of foreign currencies in China for purchases of imported items. Later, FEC were used to gain control over foreign exchange losses to the black market. The PRC official definition on FEC is:

" FEC, equal to Reminbi in face value, are issued by the Bank of China for foreign visitors, ov:rseas Chinese and Chinese compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao on short visits to China, diplomatic corps and foreign representative offices with their permanent staff. They may be used make payments in place of foreign currencies, or to make purchases in the designated stores where only FEC are accepted" (James, 1989, p.718).

According to the government currency regulations, overseas travellers could legally make purchases or pay for most travel services (accommodation and transport) only with FEC, and FEC was the only currency that could be exchanged back for an original currency. Exchanging foreign currency for China's regular currency, Renminbi (RMB), is not officially permitted by foreign tourists. However, because of the deflated value and privilege of FEC in purchasing certain goods and services, a thriving black market has developed to exchange FEC and RMB. As China has moved toward a more free market economy, FEC is scheduled to be terminated to used in 1995 (People's Daily, Jan. 6, 1995).

Like many other communist countries, PRC institutionalized a second set of prices for travel services for overseas travellers. "Part of the point-not an unreasonable one- is that tourists should not be allowed to avail themselves unduly of China's low consumer prices, many of which are kept low through government subsidy and control" (Kaplan and Keijzer, 1984, p.46). The objective of this policy was to raise prices for international levels of service and facilities to the point where they were comparable to price levels elsewhere in the world.

Consequently, overseas travellers are charged special fares, in most cases double, for their accommodations, domestic transportation, and other services.

Partitioned state tourists were treated the same as regular foreign travellers for currency exchange purpose. They are supposed to exchange their currency for FECs and purchase goods and services with FECs. However, "China Travel Service provides hotel accommodation to overseas Chinese and foreign nationals of Chinese originate at reasonably cheap prices. For plan and train tickets, they pay no more than Chinese citizens in China" (James, 1989:1378).

6.2.3 Summary

Partitioned state tourism in PRC has developed in a unique context in terms of travel organizations, entry formalities and procedures, accommodation requirements, and currency and price issues. Partitioned state tourists are not only defined as a unique group, compatriots, but they are also treated differently in a practical sense. Although partitioned state tourists can not travel freely like domestic tourists, they are not restricted to the same extent as foreigners. In reality, they can access a much broader spatial area. Partitioned state tourists often can chose their own itineraries and travel by themselves, or have trips arranged by their kin, unlike foreigners, who are often allowed to travel only in an organized form. In addition, partitioned state tourists often can stay with their relatives, although a specific defined travel organization (CTS) and accommodation facilities are allocated to host them. Furthermore, partitioned state tourists are required to exchange and use FEC, as are foreigners, but are charged much lower prices than foreigners, while enjoying similar privileges to access imported goods and travel

services. These controls and regulations have created varied forms of partitioned state tourists, and have had tremendous influence on the establishing the patterns of partitioned state tourism in PRC. These patterns are investigated in the next section.

6.3 FUNDAMENTAL PATTERNS OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM IN PRC

Chapter three addressed the general nature and characteristics of partitioned state tourism. This section examines and measures the characteristics and patterns of partitioned state tourism movement in a selected destination: People's Republic of China, and, in keeping with the objectives of the study, identifies similarities and differences between partitioned state and international tourists. Due to the nature of the data, non-parametric statistics, such as Chi square statistics and Spearman's Ranking Correlation are employed to test the significance of the results (Ott, et al, 1992; Mann, 1995). All statistical calculations were done with SPSS/PC.

6.3.1 Socio-Demographic Patterns

Information regarding characteristics of each group was extracted from both the Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics and the NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey. The NTA's survey records the personal profiles for both international and partitioned states visitors. In   this study maintains the classification system by which data was recorded, and three basic socio-demographic attributes are included (Table 6.2).

6.3.1.1 Patterns and Comparison

The pattern of age groupings differs slightly between foreign and partitioned state tourist groups. Though the predominant age category for both groups was the 31-50 years cohort, the partitioned state tourists tend to be older. The age cohort greater than 50 accounted

for 34.1 percent of partitioned state tourists, higher than that of international arrivals (23.4%). This was also reflected in the population group under the age of 30. This young age group accounted for 34.4 percent of international tourists, but only 22.6 percent of partitioned state tourists. This can be explained by the fact that people who were born in China and then relocated to Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao would all be over 50 in 1990. They are more likely to visit the PRC than younger generations living in the partitioned sections and who were born outside of the mainland, because this older generation often have direct linkages to PRC and in general they are at the appropriate stage of the family cycle with more disposal money and time for travel.

There is a gender imbalance in both groups, but the difference among partitioned state tourists tends to be smaller. Males comprised 64.7 percent of total international arrivals, but only 59.8 percent of partitioned state travellers. Occupation is an important element in gauging tourist group difference. Table 6.2 reveals several difference in occupation composition between international and partitioned state tourists. The category with the highest representation among international tourists is professional, while this is second for partitioned state tourist. Businessman is the top category for partitioned state tourists. Farmers and workers accounted for 18.8 per cent of the international group, but only 2.1 per cent of the partitioned state group. The category of others, mainly including retirees and student, was higher in the partitioned state group (15.6%) In addition, partitioned state tourists include fewer government employees than international tourists. This has resulted from the fact that the

Table 6.2

Socio-Demographics by Tourist Group

Characteristics	International % (pop.)	% (sample)	Partitioned State %(sample)
AGE GROUP(years)			
<20	8.5	8.3	5.5
21-30	26.0	26.1	17.1
31-50	42.0	42.2	43.3
>50	23.5	23.4	34.1
SEX			
male	64.2	64.7	59.8
female	35.8	35.3	40.2
OCCUPATION			
government officials	3.2	3.1	0.5
businessman	21.2	21.5	38.6
farmer&worker	19.1	18.8	2.1
professionals	35.5	35.7	36.7
housewife	10.9	11.0	6.5
others	10.1	9.9	15.6

Sources:The Yearbook of Chinese Tourism Statistics (1990)
The Fourth International Tourism Survey (1990)

Taiwan government restricts its government staff from visiting PRC, and the Hong Kong

government also traditionally discourages its employees from crossing the border (Chow,

1988).

6.3.1.2 Statistical Tests

Because the above comparison is drawn from sample data, three statistical test were

designed to test if the observed differences are statistically significant. Given the nature of the

data, three Chi-square tests were conducted after the percentage data was transformed into

counts. The null hypotheses are:

Ho: there is no difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of the
age distribution.
Ho: there is no difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of the
occupation distribution
Ho: there is no difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of sex
composition

The calculations and the test statistics are summarised in table 6.3. At the 95 percent

confidence level, all three null hypothesis are rejected. In conclusion, there does indeed exist a

significant difference between partitioned state and international tourists regarding their socio-

demographic characteristics

Table 6.3 Chi-square Statistics For Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Age Group	Foreign	Partitioned State	Row Total
<20	283	97	380 (7.4)
21-30	889	300	1189 (23.0)
31-50	1437	761	2198 (42.6)
>51	796	599	1395 (27.0)
Column Total	3405 (66.0)	1757 (34.0)	5162 (100.0)
Chi-square Pearson	Value 102.89661	DF 3	Significance 0.00000
Sex	Foreign	Partitioned State	Row Total
Male	2203	1051	3254 (63.0)
Female	1202	706	1908 (37.0)
Column Total	3405 (66.0)	1757 (34.0)	5162 (100.0)
Chi-square Pearson	Value 11.85076	DF 1	S gnificance 0.00058
Occupation	Foreign	Partitioned State	Row Total
Government	105	9	114 (2.2)
Businessman	732	678	1410 (27.3)
Farmer&Worker	640	37	677 (13.1)
Professional	1216	645	1861 (36.1)
Housewife	375	114	489 (9.5)
Others	337	274	611 (11.8)
Column Total	3405 (66.0)	1757 (34.0)	5162 (100.0)
Chi-square Pearson	Value 461.94790	DF 5	Significance 0.00000

6.3.2 Reasons for Visiting China

Previous researchers have argued that motivation may contribute to an explanation of

tourist behaviour and patterns (William and Zelinsky, 1970; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce,

1989; MacIntosh and Goeldner, 1990). However, the complex nature of motivations and

incomplete information associated with travel motivation generally prohibit a comprehensive

analysis. This is also true in China, where motivation information was scarcely recorded in

officiai statistics and estimations sometimes were the only choice. Bailey and Hunt argued

(1986) that

"It is a matter of guesswork how many "genuine" tourists there are visiting China year b,
year... The Public Security Bureau says there were 460,000 visitors on business trips in 1985,
up 15 per cent over 1984, and 170,000 scientists and technicians (up 12 per cent). But there is
no indication how these numbers were determined. On empirical evidence, the authors
estimated that of the foreign arrivals, about 50 per cent are on business and 50 per cent are
leisure. Of arrivals from Hong Kong and Macao, the authors estimate 50 per cent of the
movement is VFR, 35 per cent business and 15 per cent leisure, although many of these would
be mixed between two or even three categories".(1986, p.27-28)

Fortunately, this situation has changed, since the NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey

sampled the motivations of different groups. This provided the necessary data to study the

motivation pattern of partitioned state tourism. In addition, the independent sampling also

included multiple-purpose information. In this context, purpose of trip is taken to be

representative of travel motivation.

6.3.2.1 Patterns and Comparison

In the Fourth survey, the purpose of trip was classified into six categories: sightseeing,

holiday, business, cultural exchange, visiting friends and relatives, and others. Each respondent

was asked to select only one of these categories. The results are presented in Table 6.4. The motivation patterns are slightly different between two groups. Sightseeing is the predominant purpose of travel for both groups. Half of the international and one third of the partitioned state tourists indicated sightseeing as the primary reason for travel to the PRC. Business is the next category for both. Holiday is the third category for international, but VFR is third for partitioned state tourists.

Table 6.4 Purpose of Trip by Tourist Groups (1990)

	International		Partitioned State	
sightseeing	1706	50.1	606	34.5
holiday	524	15.4	146	8.3
business	725	21.3	469	26.7
cultural exchange	191	5.6	4	0.2
VFR	109	3.2	339	19.3
other	150	4.4	193	11.0
total	3405	100.0	1757	100.0

Sources: NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey (1990)

However, this survey did not consider the common multiple motivations of partitioned state tourists, nor that all Taiwanese travellers (959 in the survey, 54.58 % of the total sample of partitioned state tourists) claimed to be travelling for VFR reasons and provided appropriate documents for this purpose before leaving Taiwan. Considering these factors, in the independent sampling, respondents were allowed to select up to three reasons if they had more than one purpose for travel. It was found that 37.5 percent of international and 83.2 percent of

partitioned state tourists had more than one purpose for travel. The distribution is presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 The Mixed Purpose of Travel By Groups (1994)

	International		Partitioned State	
	%	**rank**	**%**	**rank**
sightseeing	91.3	1	23.4	4
holiday	40.7	3	69.3	2
business	57.6	2	44.9	3
cultural exchange	4.5	5	1.7	6
VFR	2.3	6	87.5	1
Other	15.3	4	17.3	5

Sources: The independent sampling (1994)

The rank is based on the frequency with which each category was selected, and clearly indicated the difference between these two groups. The top three travel purpose for international tourists were sightseeing (91.3%), business (57.6%), and holiday (40.7%). However, for the partitioned state group the most frequent purposes were VFR (87.5 %), holiday (69.3 %) and business (44.9%).

6.3.2.2 Statistical Tests

First the pattern was tested without consideration of multiple-purposes (table 6.3). Second the pattern was tested with this consideration. Both research hypotheses are that partitioned state tourists differ from international tourists in their motivational pattern. The statistics are summarized in table 6.6 and table 6.7.

Ho: there is no significant difference between international and partitioned state tourists in term of purpose of travel.

Table 6.6 Crosstable of Motivations and Tourist Groups

	International	Partitioned State	Row Total
sightseeing	1706	606	2312 (44.8)
holiday	524	146	670 (13.0)
business	725	469	1194 (23.1)
cultural	191	4	195 (3.8)
VFR	109	339	44 (8.7)
others	150	193	343 (6.6)
Column Total	3405 (66.0)	1757 (34.0)	5162 (100.00)
Chi-square Pearson	**Value** 632.66172	**DF** 5	**Significance** 0.00000

Table 6.7 Spearman's Rank Correlation Test

	International rank	Partitioned State rank	d	d^2
sightseeing	1	4	-3	9
holiday	3	2	1	1
business	2	3	-1	1
cultural exchange	5	6	-1	1
VFR	6	1	5	25
Others	4	5	-1	1
SUM d				38

Calculations: $Rs = 1 - 6 \text{ SUM } (d^2)/n(n^2-1)$

$= 1-6*38/6*(36-1) = -0.0857$

H_0: $Rs=0$ $R_c(n=6, a=0.05, \text{two-tail})=-0.886$

Because $Rs>Rc$, failed to reject H_0. Therefore $Rs=0$

At the 95 percent confidence level, the null hypothesis for table 6.5 is rejected. There is a significant difference between these two groups in terms of the composition of travel purpose. The Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient is -0.0857, which indicates that there is little correlation between international and partitioned state tourists in terms of their multiple motivations. Furthermore, a two-tailed test concluded that the Spearman's Correlation Coefficient is not different from zero at the 95 percent confidence level. Therefore, it is concluded that the multiple-purpose patterns of these two groups are also significant different.

6.3.3 Forms of Travel

The form of travel has important implications on tourist behaviour and activities (Cohen, 1972; Macintosh, 1989; Pearce, 1990). Cohen (1972) identified two basic forms of travel: Institutionalized and Non-institutionalized travel. The former includes individual mass tourists and organized mass tourists, and the latter includes drifters and explorers. Because PRC in general has restricted non-institutionalized travel through the zoning system and accommodation grading system, the basic travel forms are limited to individual and organized travels. For foreigners, organized travel had been the practical way to arrange PRC tour because of the complicated visa and travel permit requirements, as well as language and other communication barriers (Kaplan and de Keijzer, 1984). Consequently, few international tourists were on an individual basis, even though the restrictions have been gradually removed. In contrast, most partitioned state tourists travel individually in PRC.

To quantitatively illustrate the forms of travel of both groups, the data from the NTA's yearbook (1990) is presented in table 6.8. The NTA statistics classified the travel into four types:

Organized by Travel Agency This type of travel is arranged by three large state tourist agencies (CITS, CTS, and CYTS).

Organized by Other Organization These travels are coordinated by government institutions, scientific and cultural organizations, and economic enterprises.

Crews This includes airline and shipping crews.

Individual Visits These trips are typically conducted without the involvement of the travel agencies or other organizations.

From this table, several points can be drawn. First, the majority of partitioned state tourists (90.6%) were travelling on an individual basis, which was related to the adjacent location, the waiver of the entry visa, and freedom from the language barrier. Second, "all"[1] foreigners (including overseas Chinese) were organized tourists, because " Most foreign tourists come under this category (travel agency) as this is practically the only way for them to receive a visa" (Gormsen, 1995, p.66) Third, the organized partitioned state tourists are mainly handed by travel agencies (86.0%), and few (14.0%) by others. However, the majority of international travellers (61.8 percent of foreigners and 47.4 percent of overseas Chinese) were

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[1] It is doubtful that all foreigners and overseas Chinese were organized and that there were no individual tours.

handled by other organizations. Fourth, though only 9.4 percent of total partitioned state tourists are organized tourists, their absolute number is far larger than the total of foreign arrivals. In particular, travel agencies received more than twice as many partitioned state tourists (2,076,000) as international tourists (667,000).

Table 6.8 Organization Forms for Two Tourist Groups (1990)

	Total (000) %	Foreigners (000) %	Overseas Chinese (000) %	Partitioned state (0G0) %
TOTAL	27461.8 100	1747.3 100	91.0 100	25623.4 100
Organized 1. by travel	4251.9 15.5	1747.3 100	91.0 100	2413.5 9.4
agencies	2791.8	667.3 38.2	47.9 52.6	2076.5 8.1
. CITS	277.3	171.3	0.0	106,0
. CTS	1064.6	210.6	28.6	ь25.3
. CYTS	135.2	57.1	1.0	77.0
. others	1314.7	228.2	18.2	1068.2
2. by others *	1460.1	1080.0 61.8	43.1 47.4	336.9 1.3
.Crew	544.5	207.4	0.2	336.9
.Others	915.6	872.6	42.9	0.0
Indivi- dual	23209.9 84.5	0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0	23209.9 90.6

Sources: The Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics (19ᵇᵘ)
* others includes government agencies, professional organizations, and crews.

6.3.4 Temporal Pattern(I): Average Length of Trip

Carlstein (1982) suggested that human time is a resources because all activities require it as an input, and it is scarce in nature for each human being. Only a limited of number of

activities can be accommodated within a population's time-budget. From the perspective of tourism, time, as well as space, essentially defines the total volume of activities to be accomplished by tourists over time and space. In a temporal sense, tourists interact as a function of a distinct period, namely, the length of the trip, for example one week or two weeks of vacation time. Therefore, the length of the trip is a fundamental factor in the time-space budget and has great influence on expenditure patterns and social and cultural impacts.

Information regarding the average length of the trip was one of subjects in the NTA's survey (1990). The trip was classified into four inclusive categories: 1-3 days; 4-7 days; 8-14 days, and 15 or more days. Inbound tourists are classified into four groups: Foreigners, Overseas Chinese, Tourists from Hong Kong and Macao, and Tourists from Taiwan. In the context of this study, the first two are international tourists, and the last two are partitioned state tourists (Table 6.9).

6.3.4 1 Patterns and Comparison

Table 6.9 reveals that the international tourists tend to stay longer than partitioned state tourists. Forty-seven percent of partitioned state tourists stayed more than one week, compared to the fifty-two percent of international tourists who spent that time in China. Meanwhile, a quarter of partitioned state tourists spent less than half a week, and this only represented 16.4 per cent of international tourist visits. The most popular travel length for both groups was 4-14 days.

Table 6.9 The Average Length of the Trip (1990)

	1-3 days (%)	4-7 days (%)	8-14 days (%)	>15 days (%)
Total	19.3	30.1	29.9	20.7
International	16.4	31.2	30.3	22.1
.Foreigner	16.3	31.5	30.6	21.6
.Overseas				
Chinese	22.1	17.6	16.2	44.1
Partitioned State	24.9	28.0	29.0	18.1
.H.K.& Macao	46.1	38.7	9.4	5.8
.Taiwan	7.3	19.1	45.4	28.2

Sources; The NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey (1990)

The average length of travel varies greatly between subgroups. In the partitioned state group, the tourists from Hong Kong and Macao, by far the largest group, stayed much shorter periods than the average. Slightly less than of half (46 1%) stayed less than half a week and only 15.2 per cent stayed more than one week. The trip made by Taiwanese were significantly longer, as 73.6 percent of Taiwanese stayed more than one week and only 7.3 percent spent less than half a week. In the international tourist group, the overseas Chinese were unique: both short time traveller (less than 3 days) and long time travellers (more than 15 days) accounted for high proportions, while relatively few travel for the middle range (half a week to two weeks).

6.3.4.2 Statistical Test

Because the comparison is based on survey data, a statistical test-Chi-square test, was designed to check if such observations are statistically significant. The research hypothesis is

that the trip pattern of partitioned state tourists differs from that of international tourists. The Chi-square statistics is summarized in table 6.10.

Ho: the trip pattern of these two groups are the same, the observed difference being attributed to the random sampling process.

Table 6.10 Chi-square Test for Average Length of the Trip

Length of Trip	International	Partitioned State	Row Total
1-3 days	559	438	997 (19.3)
4-7 days	1063	492	1555 (30.1)
8-14 days	1032	510	1542 (29.9)
>15 days	751	317	1068 (20.7)
Column Total	3405 (66.0)	1757 (34.0)	5162 (100.0)
Chi-square Pearson	Value 57.11672	DF 3	Significance 0.00000

At the 95 percent confidence level, the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, it is concluded that the trip patterns of partitioned state tourists are different from those of international ones.

6.3.5 Temporal Pattern (II): Seasonality

In addition to the length of the trip, the characteristics of the temporal distribution of travel is also an important aspect of tourist behaviour. The tourism phenomenon is characterized by seasonal variation, which is caused by diverse factors and has tremendous impacts on the business and environments (Butler and Mao, 1995). Seasonality can be measured at three temporal scales: long range (over years), middle range (within a year), and short range (within a month, week, or day). This study focuses on the middle range.

The data associated with the seasonal changes of inbound tourists has been reported in NTA's yearbook. The yearbook distinguished foreign tourists from partitioned states tourists. In addition, Overseas Chinese are also listed independently (Table 6.11).

Table 6.11 The Comparison of Seasonal Patterns (1990)

	Total (000) %	Foreigners (000) %	Overseas Chinese (000) %	Partitioned state (000) %
TOTAL	27461.8 100	1747.3 100	91.1 100	25623.4 100
Jan.	2554.0 9.3	95.2 5.4	8.6 9.4	2450.2 9.6
Feb.	1686.4 6.1	95.7 5.5	5.3 5.8	1585.4 6.2
March	2219.8 8.1	126.6 7.2	6.9 7.6	2086.2 8.1
April	2477.8 9.0	138.3 7.9	8.8 9.6	2330.6 9.1
May	2292.4 8.3	144.0 8.2	7.5 8.2	2141.0 8.3
June	2003.2 7.3	132.9 7.6	7.0 7.7	1863.3 7.3
July	2367.9 8.6	157.0 9.0	7.5 8.2	2203.3 8.6
Aug.	2517.1 9.2	173.6 9.9	6.7 7.3	2336.8 9.1
Sept.	2109.3 7.7	175.5 10.0	7.7 8.5	1926.2 7.5
Oct.	2502.2 9.1	203.5 11.6	10.1 11.1	2288.7 8.9
Nov.	2327.6 8.5	165.1 9.4	7.8 8.6	2154.6 8.4
Dec.	2403.8 8.7	139.9 8.0	7.2 7.9	2256.6 8.8

Sources: The Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics (1990)

Overall the seasonal variation of partitioned state tourism is less peaked than that of international tourists. The seasonal concentration index (SCI), which is defined in previous chapter as a ratio of tourist arrivals in peak season compared to the arrivals in off-season, for partitioned state tourists is 1.54, and for international tourists it is 2.15. The shape of the distribution is also different. International tourists demonstrate a "one- mode" shape with only

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT
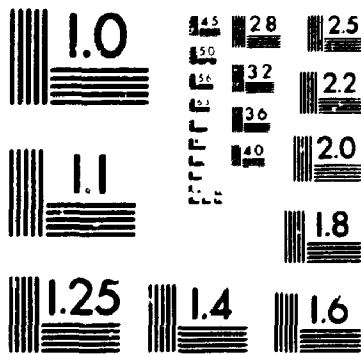
one peak season, which located in the traditional travel season: Summer. Partitioned state tourists show a "two-mode" shape with two peaks: the first one is in January, and the second one in August. This seems to confirm Zhang's observation (1989) that " Seasonality does not seem to be a problem for China as a whole, due to the size of the country... To avoid the weather extremes, foreign tourists prefer to visit China between May and October, with reduced demand between November and January. By contrast, more people from HK-M-T visit the mainland during the period from December to January in order to meet their relatives and friends during the New Year and the Spring Festival (normally early February) holidays" (p.51-52). In addition, the overseas Chinese showed a similar pattern to the partitioned state tourists. This suggests the importance of the ethnic and kinship relationships in PRC' tourism.

6.3.6 Spatial Distribution Patterns

Space is another element of the tourist phenomena. Indeed the time-space-money budget is involved in every travel decision and generates a relative stable spatial pattern over a long period of time (Pearce, 1987; Williams and Zelinsky, 1979). The spatial analysis of tourism movement provides a means by which to compare and evaluate the nature and characteristics of different tourist groups.

Data on spatial pattern is extracted from NTA's Yearbook of 1991 and the NTA's Fourth Survey (1990), because the 1990 NTA's yearbook only reported tourist hotel arrivals at major cities, and 5 provinces were excluded. In 1991, inbound tourist arrivals at all hotels in each of China's provinces were reported in the Yearbook. This number totalled 13.38 million

for the entire country, and includes foreigners and overseas Chinese, and the tourists from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, who were registered in accommodation Grade A. Travellers who were not registered in the designated accommodation were not included. Most of these are individual travellers for VFR purposes and they usually stay with relatives. Most of these individual tours occurred in Guandong (Chow, 1988). Furthermore, the NTA's survey sampled the itinerary pattern, which also provide a information on individual tourists from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. This study examines the spatial pattern of organized tourists, first, and then the itinerary patterns which included both organized and individual tourists.

6.3.6.1 Spatial Distribution of Partitioned State Tourists

Information on the spatial distribution of both international and partitioned state tourists is presented in table 6.12 (NTA's Yearbook, 1991). The first column is the name of the twenty-seven provinces and three cities under central government administration (Appendix II). The percentages in the second and third columns are the row percentages, while the percentage in the fourth column is the column percentage.

First, the inbound tourists are distributed unevenly. They are highly concentrated in the coast area, in particular, in Guangdong (46.16%), Beijing (9.87%), Shanghai (7.34%), and Fujian (5.12%). In contrast, the inland area received very limited numbers of tourists. Qinghai, Tibet, and Ningxia together only received 27,500 hotel arrivals in 1991, which only accounted for 0.2 percent of total PRC hotel arrivals. Second, international tourists are distributed spatially more evenly than partitioned state tourists. The spatial concentration index, the ratio between the province with highest hotel arrivals and the province with lowest hotel arrivals of

Table 6.12 Inbound Arrivals at Hotels by Province (1991)

Locality	Foreigner (10000)	%	Partitioned State (10000)	%	Total (10000)	% (col)
Beijing	91.39	69.16	40.76	30.84	132.15	9.87
Tianjin	3.84	61.34	2.43	38.76	6.27	0.47
Hebei	3.58	65.10	1.92	34.90	5.50	0.41
Shanxi	3.78	66.90	1.87	33.10	5.65	0.42
Inner Mongolia	1.54	66.96	0.76	33.04	2.30	0.17
Liaoning	9.79	66.37	4.96	33.63	14.75	1.10
Jilin	3.63	58.64	2.56	41.36	6.19	0.46
Heilongjiang	5.09	61.03	3.25	38.97	8.34	0.62
Shanghai	61.27	62.41	36.91	37.59	98.18	7.34
Jiangsu	30.05	47.77	32.86	52.23	62.91	4.70
Zhejiang	17.66	31.87	37.75	68.13	55.41	4.14
Anhui	3.34	22.57	11.46	77.43	14.80	1.10
Fujian	12.22	17.81	56.38	82.19	68.60	5.12
Jiangxi	1.06	17.49	5.00	82.51	6.06	0.45
Shangdong	9.95	57.85	7.25	42.15	17.20	1.28
Henan	6.06	50.17	6.02	49.83	12.08	0.90
Hubei	5.22	30.69	11.79	69.31	17.01	1.27
Hunan	1.86	18.20	8.36	81.80	10.22	0.76
Guangdong	70.31	11.38	547.56	88.62	617.87	46.16
Guangxi	20.97	42.39	28.50	57.61	49.47	3.70
Hainan	3.28	11.83	24.44	88.17	27.72	2.07
Sichuan	8.12	37.30	13.65	62.70	21.77	1.63
Guizhou	1.04	27.73	2.71	72.27	3.75	0.28
Yunnan	8.79	41.76	12.26	58.24	21.05	1.57
Tibet	1.42	93.42	0.10	6.58	1.52	0.11
Shaanxi	24.58	76.72	7.46	23.28	32.04	2.39
Gansu	3.65	72.56	1.38	27.44	5.03	0.38
Qinghai	0.73	73.00	0.27	27.00	1.00	0.07
Ningxia	0.15	65.22	0.08	34.78	0.23	0.02
Xinjiang	11.44	85.31	1.97	14.61	13.41	1.00
Total	425.81		912.67		1338.48	100

Sources: The Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics (1991)

international tourists, is 609, but 6,844.5 for partitioned state tourist arrivals. In fact, sixty percent of artitioned state tourists arrivals were recorded in Guandong. Third, partitioned state tourists outweighed international tourists in the coastal areas, such as Guangdong, Fujian, and Hainan. Partitioned state tourists accounted for more than eighty percent of total arrivals in these provinces. However, in the inland areas, especially in remote western China, which is inhabited by minority ethnic groups, foreign tourists are the predominant visitors and few partitioned state tourists were recorded. In Tibet and Xinjiang, foreigners accounted for 93.4 and 85.3 percent respectively of arrivals, and partitioned state tourists only accounted for 6.6 and 14.6 percent respectively.

6.3.6.2 Itinerary Pattern

The spatial pattern identified above is from a destination perspective. Such patterns can also be analyzed from the tourist perspective in terms of the itinerary patterns of tourists. Each itinerary essentially results from a time-space budget. It has a time dimension, such as how many days, and a space dimension, such as location and routes of the trips. A spatial aggregation of the total itineraries over an area (destination) in a period of time generates the destination spatial pattern. However, complete itinerary information is rarely available. This study use the NTA's survey, which provides part of the itinerary information. The NTA's survey recorded the number of cities in each trip by requesting each respondent to select one from 10 categories. The result is summarized in table 6.10.

Table 6.13 The Itinerary Pattern for Both Tourist Groups

N.of Cities Visited	1	2	3	4	5	> 6
Total	22.5	20.8	14.9	10.2	9.4	22.2
International	20.6	19.6	16.6	11.1	9.6	22.5
Partitioned State	26.3	23.2	11.8	8.6	9.2	20.9
H.K & Macao	37.7	35.3	11.0	6.8	5.9	3.3
Taiwan	16.8	13.1	12.4	10.1	11.9	35.7

Sources: the NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey (1990)

Table 6.10 illustrated that the partitioned state tourists tend to visit fewer cities, as 49.5 percent of partitioned state tourists' itineraries included only one or two cities, compared to 43.4 percent of international tourists. In particular, the majority of residents of Hong Kong and Macao (73 %) only visited one to two cities in each trip. Tourists from Taiwan tend to travel to more cities, and over a third of Taiwanese (35.7%) had six or more cities in their itineraries.

These characteristics could be attributed the fact that most residents of partitioned state had origins in the coastal zone of China, in particular Guangdong and Fujian. Kinships are widely linked between these areas. "Hong Kong residents are largely natives of the Guangdong Province or trace their ancestry from counties in the Province. Because of this ethnic affinity, these Hong Kong tourists have been drawn largely over the years to the adjacent areas of Guangdong Province to visit their relatives and families" (Chow, 1988:207). In addition, economic connections and adjacent location also contribute to such short haul trips.

6.3.6.3 Statistical Test

A Chi-square test was run to test if the difference observed is statistically significant. The null hypothesis is that the itinerary patterns for both partitioned state and international tourists are the same, and the observed difference results from the sampling process. The test statistics is presented in table 6.11. At 95 percent confidence level, the null hypothesis is rejected, and it is concluded that there is a significant difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of their itinerary pattern.

Table 6.14 Chi-square Statistics for Itinerary Pattern

No. of Cities	International	Partitioned State	Row Total
One	701	462	1163 (22.5)
Two	669	408	1077 (20.9)
Three	564	207	771 (14.9)
Four	379	151	530 (10.3)
Five	326	161	487 (9.4)
Six and More	766	368	1134 (22.0)
Column Total	3405 (66.0)	1757 (34.0)	5162 (100.0)
Chi-square Pearson	Value 50.33867	DF 5	Significance 0.00000

6.3.7 Other Aspects: Repeat Visitation and Information Sources

Of considerable importance to the national tourism administration and tourism marketing business is the characteristic of repeat visitation, and the manner by which tourists

gain information about the destinations and their itineraries. However, to date, little information is available in publications on these characteristics of partitioned state tourists.

In PRC, the fact that the total number of tourists arriving from Hong Kong and Macao is much greater than these origins' actual population size strongly suggests that a high proportion of repeat visitation exist among partitioned state tourists. Moreover, the low proportion of partitioned state travels arranged through travel agencies indicate that their information sources may differ from those of international tourists, whose trips were predominantly organized by travel agencies. Unfortunately, there is no official data or previous research on these aspects. As a result, the independent sampling data is employed in this research to highlight the basic patterns.

6.3.7.1 Repeat Visitation

Table 6.12 provides data that pertain to the characteristics of repeat visitation. Most foreigners are first time visitors, only 21.7 percent are repeat visitors. In contrast, 92.5 percent of travellers from Hong Kong and Macao, and 32.2 percent of Taiwanese are repeat visitors. Furthermore, 46 percent of tourists from Hong Kong and Macao had made four or more trips to the PRC at the time of sampling. This finding supports the South China Morning Post's report (1993, June 22:8), which claimed the nearly six million residents of Hong Kong made 21.5 million visits to PRC in 199⁷ This may also be attribute to the nature of VFR tourism, which often generates high repeat visitation.

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Table 6.15 Characteristics of Repeat Visitation By Respondents (1994)

Visitation	International	H.K. & Macao	Taiwan
1st Time	78.3	7.5	67.8
2nd Time	15.7	16.4	21.3
3rd Time	2.9	30.1	6.5
4th or More	3.1	46.0	4.4

Sources: The Independent Sampling(1994)

6.3.7.2 Information Sources

Travel involves a complicated decision-making process, and thus information about the potential destination influences such decisions. To identify where tourists gained their information, the questionnaire of the independent sample listed four general types of sources for each respondents: media (newspaper, magazine, books, television), tourism business (travel agent, tour brochure, and other marketing materials), family members and friends, and others. Respondents were allowed to select more than one source if applicable. The results is summarized in table 6.13.

Table 6.16 Information Sources by Respondents (1994)

Sources	International %	Partitioned State %
Media	83.4	20.7
Tourist Business	58.7	63.2
Family & Friend	2.9	79.1
Others	11.5	8.8

Sources: the Independent Sampling (1994)

A different pattern appeared between partitioned state and international tourists. "Media" seems the most important source for international tourists, as 83.4 percent of the respondents listed it as their information source. "Tourist Business" was listed as the second. The other two seem insignificant to international travellers. For partitioned state tourists, their primary source is "Family and Friend", and followed by "Tourist Business". "Media" is less important for partitioned state tourists, as only 20.7% listed it.

6.4 A Typology of Partitioned State Tourism of PRC

In the previous section, the partitioned state tourism phenomena in PRC was measured and examined through a series of independent analyses, which illustrated a number of interesting and different characteristics and patterns of partitioned state tourists. It is necessary to determine whether these factors and patterns are related to each other or are independent. It is also appropriate to investigate what mechanism generates such relationships or independence, and what factors are fundamental ones in influencing tourist activities and patterns. Finally, can a typology of partitioned state tourists in PRC be appropriately determined?

In general it is unlikely that a fixed or causal relationship exists among these factors and patterns - motivation, forms of travel, length of trip, spatial distribution, itinerary pattern, repeat visitation, and information sources. However, China's unique political and social process has generated an abnormal boundary condition for tourism, and in particular for partitioned state tourism. Indeed, previous research on PRC's partitioned state tourism (Chow, 1988; Zhang,

1989; Bian, 1992; Hall, 1994; Gormsen, 1995; Lew, 1995) suggested that some of these patterns, in fact, closely correlate in PRC's tourism. For example, when he studied the motivation pattern of inbound tourists in PRC, Gormsen suggested that "it is possible to estimate motivations based on the type of travel agency that handles the travel arrangements of visitors." (p.66) because of the close relationship between form of trip and the motivation pattern.

An analysis of the unique boundary conditions developed in the PRC seems to support Gormsen's theory. The detailed boundary conditions and context were discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The main points are summarized as follows:
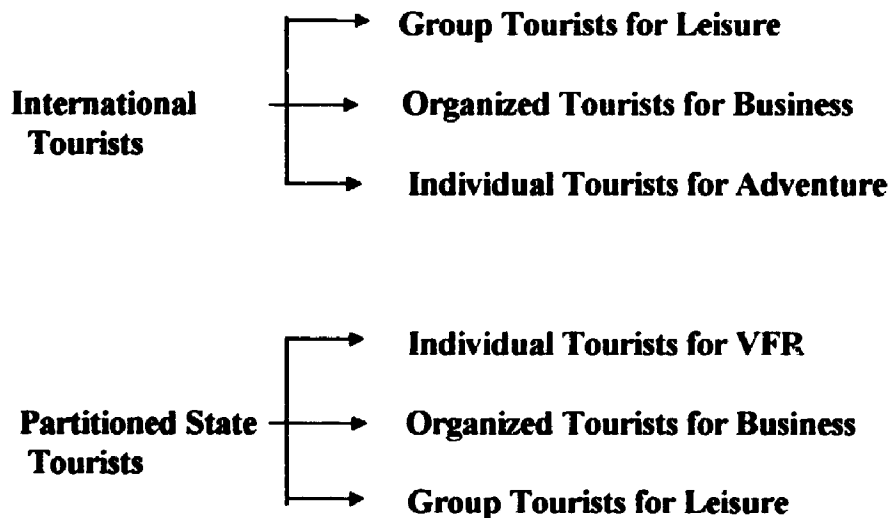
. PRC's inbound tourism was restricted until 1978;
. both international and partitioned state tourists are hosted only by state-owned travel agencies;
. Foreigner's travel has to be arranged by CITS or othe organizations;
. PRC has a tourist zoning system which includes open and close areas. Travel to closed areas must be specifically approved.
. PRC has divided accommodation into two categories: one for inbound tourists and one for domestic.
. PRC institutionalized a double set of prices in travel services for domestic and international travellers.
. Partitioned state tourists are legally Chinese from PRC government viewpoint, thus they are not required to have a visa, but do need a travel identification;
. Taiwan government officially stipulated that travel to the PRC would be for visit relatives only.
. There are close ethnic and kinship linkages between PRC and the other partitioned sections.

Such conditions systematically fostered a close relationship between the organizational form of trip and other aspects of the trip. They not only generated the fundamental difference between foreign and partitioned state travellers, but they also created a mechanism to develop a unique

tourism typology. Consequently, Hall (1994) and Zhang (1989) suggested that overseas visitors to China can be broadly categorised into either "visiting friend and relatives" (VFR) or organised tourists who are handled by travel services and other organizations. While this reflects an important aspect of inbound tourism, as a typology, it over-simplifies the reality of PRC's tourism.

From the above pattern of analysis, it has already been found that form of travel and motivation patterns are major elements in PRC's tourism politics. To some extent, these two factors define the other patterns and tourists' behaviour. Therefore, the following typology is proposed for PRC's inbound tourism.

Figure 6.1   A typology of PRC's Tourism

International
Tourists
- Group Tourists for Leisure
- Organized Tourists for Business
- Individual Tourists for Adventure

Partitioned State
Tourists
- Individual Tourists for VFR
- Organized Tourists for Business
- Group Tourists for Leisure

For foreigners, the organized tour used to be the only way to arrange PRC travel. In general, foreigners were required to have CITS or other organizations' approval before they could receive an entry visa (James, 1989). Consequently, foreigners often participated in organized tours either arranged by CITS if primarily for leisure and recreation purpose, or by other organizations if for business and special interest purpose (Kaplan and de Keijzer,1984; China Travel and Tourism Press, 1985; Gormsen, 1995). In recent years it has become feasible for individual foreign tourists to travel in PRC, however, the continuing existence of tourist zoning and accommodation grading still discourages individual arrivals. This is reinforced further by the communication barrier, in particular language, and poor transportation facilities. As a result, the organized tour is still the primary form of travel for international tourists, and only few foreign tourists travel to PRC individually.

In contrast, partitioned state tourists are considered as "Compatriots" by PRC, and are not required to have a visa, only an identity travel document to cross the border (Chow, 1988). They do not have to involve the PRC's travel agencies in arranging their trips. Moreover, many partitioned state travellers are native or second generation Chinese, and maintain close kinship relations in PRC. Thus VFR is the most frequent travel for partitioned state tourists. They often travel individually and are hosted by their families and friends (Chow, 1988; Zhang, 1989;). At the same time, a certain number of partitioned state tourists also join group tours, primarily for leisure and recreation purpose (Chow, 1988). In addition, with increasing economic intercourse between PRC and the other sections, business travel is steadily growing. Most business travel is arranged by government organizations and entrepreneurs.

It is not only the motivation which is different among these "types" of partitioned state tourists, but also the travel patterns and behaviour. Table 6.13 provides information on the length of trip for both group and individual tours The average group tour is shorter than the individual tour. Taiwanese (VFR oriented) stayed longer than residents of Hong Kong and Macao. Table 6.14 illustrates that group partitioned state tourists visit more cities than individual tourists. The seasonal pattern of partitioned state tourists is also different between group and individual travels. The peak season for individual travellers was January, but for groups tourists it was August (Table 6.15). This mirrors the diff·.nce in motivation pattern. Most individual tourist are VFR, and therefore many of such trips were made in the New Year and Spring Festival (Chow, 1988). While group tourists are travelling primarily for leisure purpose, and thus they tend to concentrate to the summer.

Table 6.17 The Average Length of the Trip

	Group	Individual	Total
Foreigners	10.0	12.6	10.9
Overseas Chinese	11.1	16.8	14.4
H. K. & Macao	4.9	7.1	5.9
Taiwan	11.1	12.5	11.4
Total	9.7	11.5	10.3

Sources: NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey (1990)

Table 6.18   The Itinerary Pattern for Group and Individual Tour

	1	2	3	4	5	> 6
Total	2⁻.5	20.8	14.9	10.2	9.4	22.2
grouped	13.2	19.7	15.1	11.0	11.6	29.4
individual	39.5	22.9	14.6	8.8	5.5	8.7
Foreigner	20.4	19.6	16.7	11.1	9.6	22.6
grouped	13.6	17.7	17.6	12.0	11.5	27.6
individual	34.7	23.5	14.7	9.0	5.6	12.5
Overseas Chinese	29.4	22.1	10.3	11.8	8.8	17.6
grouped	18.5	14.8	3.7	7.4	14.9	40.7
individual	36.6	26.8	14.6	14.7	4.9	2.4
Partitioned State						
1.H.K.	37.7	35.3	11.0	6.8	5.9	3.3
& Macao	21.8	45.2	12.9	7.8	7.9	4.4
grouped	60.9	20.9	8.3	5.2	3.1	1.6
individual						
	16.8	13.1	12.4	10.1	11.9	35.7
2.Taiwan	4.4	6.8	7.5	10.0	15.0	56.3
grouped	35.1	22.5	19.6	10.3	7.2	5.3
individual						

Sources: NTA'S International Tourism Survey (1991)

Table 6.19 Seasonal Pattern for Group and Individual Tour(1990)

	Group N	%	Individual N	%
January	195236	8.1	2254983	9.7
February	152532	6.3	1432877	6.2
March	187545	7.8	1898730	8.2
April	234221	9.7	2096459	9.0
May	227218	9.4	1913810	8.2
June	180477	7.4	1682841	7.2
July	231991	9.6	1971375	8.5
August	272054	11.3	2064790	8.9
September	176821	7.3	1749390	7.5
October	211694	8.8	2077070	8.9
November	155750	6.4	1998901	8.6
December	187997	7.8	2068654	8.9

Sources: The Yearbook of China Tourism Statistics

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has first discussed the context in which PRC's inbound tourism developed. It addressed the PRC's travel organization system, tourism zoning, accommodation grading, "tourism currency", and two-set of pricing system. In this context, the patterns of partitioned state tourism were systematically compared and analyzed through both qualitative and quantitative methods. It was found that partitioned state tourist in PRC differs from

international tourists in many aspects, such as socio-demographic profile, motivations, temporal and spatial patterns. Finally, a typology was proposed to typify the PRCs tourism. The next chapter will address the economic impacts of partitioned state tourism in PRC.

Chapter 7

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF PARTITIONED STATE TOURISM IN THE

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Tourism impacts have been the subject for a great deal of research in the past decade,

and consequently, there is a large body of literature devoted to the elements, causes, and types

of tourism impacts (Pizam, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Getz, 1983; Murphy,1985;

Smith, 1990; Ryan, 1991; Shapley, 1994). Over time general theoretical frameworks and

conceptual models on the dynamics of tourism impacts have been developed. Mathieson and

Wall (1982) suggested that

"Tourism is composed of three basic elements:
1. A dynamic element which involves travel to a selected destination or destinations;
2. A static element which involves the stay in the destination; 3. A consequential element, resulting from the two preceding elements, which is concerned with effects on the economic, physical and social subsystems with which the tourists is directly or indirectly in contact." (1982:14).

This consequential element was later defined by Smith (1990) as any verifiable change in the well-being of humans, or the ecosystem on which human survival depends, resulting from human action.

The impacts of tourism are conventionally grouped into three major categories: economic, environmental and social. "The focus in the 1960s was largely on economic matters, with social/ cultural and environmental concerns being voiced increasingly throughout the 1970s... By the early 1980s there was a general recognition in the impact literature that all three subsets of impacts should be taken into account (even if this was rarely done) and that both positive and negative impacts could be attributed to tourism" (Pearce, 1989:184). Though a general methodology for impact analysis was developed gradually (Potter, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Ryan, 1991), there have been persistent problems and constraints on the measurement of impacts, the selection of indicators and the integration of the assessment of economic, social and environmental impacts (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). These problems and constraints can be partially attributed to the complexity of tourism phenomena, and partially attributed to the lack of systematically documented data bases. The two most comprehensive measures in use are carrying capacity (environmental and social) and the economic multiplier. Both were introduced from other disciplines (ecology and economics) and have been quite useful in conceptual modelling. However, they are not very easily used to gauge the quantitative aspects of impacts, despite the general acceptance and utility of these two measurements by researchers.

The impacts of tourism on PRC have been observed and studied by other researchers, though not in a comprehensive manner (Chow, 1988; Zhang, 1989; Bian, 1992; Hall, 1994; Gormsen, 1995). Most of them have focused on the overall economic benefits and certain selected socio-political influences of tourism development in PRC. Gormsen (1995) found "because of the recent increase in tourism to China, the number of employees in the international tourism trade grew from 64,736 (1982) to 708,263 (1990) " (p.85). With respect to the social aspects of tourism, Zhang (1995) argued: " Because of some of its negative social impacts, the tourist industry is often used as a scapegoat in China for larger social problems. Prostitution, drug trafficking, airport con-artists, illegal street money-changers, and even the commercialization of traditional folkways would probably be less problem in China without the flood of overseas tourists" (p.15). Chow (1988) was the first to focus specifically on impacts generated from partitioned state tourism. He observed that travellers from Hong Kong brought many gifts to their relatives while visiting the mainland, and he also noted that Hong Kong tourists could enjoy a degree of freedom unavailable to foreign tourists. " Although Hong Kong tourists staying with their kin are required to register with the local authorities, they have always been able to interact freely with the local people "(p.208). Later, Hall (1994) suggested that "compatriots have accounted for approximately 90 per cent of total inbound travellers since 1978 and they have had a substantial impact on cross-border tourism although their effect on the broader national economy is fairly limited because of their relatively low spending levels "(p.119). More recently, Lew (1995) summarized that " the economic impacts of the other

China on tourism and travel in PRC are twofold. The first is in terms of visitations to China. The second is in the area of foreign investments in tourism" (1995:161-162).

These studies notwithstanding, the impact of partitioned state tourism on the PRC has not been systematically measured and analyzed to date, because of a lack of comparable data. In addition, there are still virtually no official statistics or documentation regarding the social and environmental changes which have resulted from tourism, and no survey or sampling has been undertaken on these issues. Currently, only limited economic aspects of the impacts of tourism are documented by government agencies in PRC which are made available for researchers. The most common sources are China's statistical yearbook (State Statistics Bureau, 1990, 1991), and the NTA's the Yearbook of China's Tourism Statistics (NTA, 1990, 1991). However, the economic impacts of individual travellers, the major component of partitioned state tourists, were either not recorded by government standard data collection or were omitted for convenience. Furthermore, the widely existing black market in foreign exchange has also created an unknown element in total tourism revenue. It is a dilemma for any researcher investigating the impacts of tourism on PRC.

To solve these problems is clearly beyond the scope and capacity of this study. Rather, the focus of this research is to use available information sources and indicators to provide a "big picture" about the consequences of the development of partitioned state tourism, in the light of comparisons with the results of international tourism. Environmental and social impacts could not be included in this research because of the lack of comparable data. Consequently, the economic impact is the focus of the following analysis, which is based on tourist

expenditure data reported in the NTA's yearbook, the NTA's Fourth Survey, and the author's independent survey. By analysing the expenditure data, not only can the differences between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of economic impacts be identified, but an estimation can be made of the economic contribution of partitioned state tourism in PRC.

7.1 MEASUREMENT AND APPROACH

The economic impacts of tourism have been identified by many studies at international, national, and regional levels (Peters, 1969, Gray, 1970, Henderson, 1975; Wall and Knapper, 1981; Ryan, 1991). These impacts have often included broad aspects, such as income generation, increased employment, the contribution of tourism to foreign exchange and the balance of payments, and improvement of economic structure However, the accurate measurement of economic impacts continues to be a problem despite extensive research (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). In the light of this, the current study approaches the economic impacts of partitioned state tourism from two inter-related perspectives. First, from the micro-economic perspective, the expenditure pattern of individual tourists is analyzed comparison with international tourist expenditure. The basic measurements involved are: spending per tourist (trip), daily expenditure, and the structure of spending. Second, from the macro-economic perspective, the overall economic contribution from partitioned state tourism is estimated, including the direct economic contribution and the indirect economic contribution. A combination of both approaches provides a general pattern of the economic impact generated by partitioned state tourism. In the following analysis, the unit of measurement is the US dollar.

7.2 EXPENDITURE PER TOURIST (TRIP)

Expenditure per tourist (trip) is defined as the total spending on one visit to PRC, which does not include the international transportation fares and other related travel costs (NTA, 1990a). It measures how much money an average tourist actually inputs into the PRC's economy by direct expenditure. The information was collected in the NTA's Survey by questionnaire, in which respondents were specifically asked to provide their total expenditure during their stay in China. For tourists on a package tour, figure was calculated by subtracting the international travel cost from the total package price. In the NTA's survey, a tourist was identified as one of four categories: Foreigner, Overseas Chinese, Tourists from Hong Kong and Macao, and Taiwanese. Within the context of this study, the Foreigner and overseas Chinese are classified as international tourists, and travellers from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as partitioned state tourists. The results are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Average Expenditure Per Tourist For different Groups

	Overall	Organized	Individual
Overall	961.4	958.7	971.3
International	1058.5	1054.7	1072.4
Foreigner	1063.6	1059.1	1078.6
Overseas Chinese	808.6	838.0	767.5
Partitioned State	757.8	722.6	860.0
H.K. and Macao	345.8	280.3	507.5
Taiwan	1100.7	1090.6	1153.5

Sources: the NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey

7.2.1 Patterns and Comparison

Table 7.1 revealed that international tourists spent on average more than partitioned state tourists. A partitioned state tourist spent an average of 757.8 dollars in PRC, 28 per cent less than the average international tourists spent (1058.5 dollars). This finding supports previous observations (Chow, 1988; Hall, 1994; Gormsen, 1995). This pattern may be partially explained by the fact that an average trip made by partitioned state tourist was short in duration, and the itinerary included fewer cities than trips by international tourists (Chapter Six). This difference could also be attributed to PRC's two-set pricing system, in which overseas Chinese and partitioned state tourists are not required to pay the extra fees for services which their foreigner counterparts do.

Furthermore, it reveals that individual tourists spent more than organized tourists in both groups. For partitioned state tourists, an individual tourist spent on average 860.0 dollars in PRC, much higher than did an average organized tourist (722.6). A similar pattern exists for international tourism. This finding does not match previous research observations which claimed that individuals spent less than organized tourists (Gormsen, 1995). The reason why such differences exist is not clear, because other research did not include detailed information. It is this author's viewpoint that this difference probably results from the mis-presentation of observation in earlier studies. A low daily expenditure does not necessarily result in a low total expenditure on a trip because total spending is also related to the length of the trip. Therefore, observations on daily expenditure may not provide sufficient information to make inferences about the total expenditure of the whole trip.

Table 7.1 also reveals that there exist substantial variations within each group. In the partitioned state tourist group, a Taiwanese visitor on average spent much more than a resident of Hong Kong or Macao, partly because a Taiwanese visitor's trip was generally longer than a trip made by a resident of Hong Kong or Macao (Chapter Six). Within the international tourist group, an average overseas Chinese trip cost less than an international visitor's trip (but more than that of a partitioned state tourist). This could be attributed to the fact that, like partitioned state tourists, many overseas Chinese were VFRs and stayed with their relatives, thus the expenditure on accommodation and food was relatively low compared to that of international tourists. Meanwhile, trips by overseas Chinese tend to be longer than those of the average partitioned state tourist (Chapter six), and consequently, the average expenditure on one trip was more than that of partitioned state tourists.

7.2.2 Statistical Test

It is reasonable to assume that the sample in the NTA's Survey was randomly drawn from a normally distributed population and meets the basic requirement of parametric test. A Student t-test was conducted to test if the difference in average expenditures per tourist (trip) by partitioned state and international tourists is significant. The Student t-test statistics is summarized in table 7.2. At 95 percent confidence level, it is concluded that there is a significant difference between partitioned state tourists and international tourists in terms of average spending per tourist (trip).

Table 7.2 A Student t-test on Average Expenditure Per Tourist

H₀: There is no significant difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of the average expenditures per tourist (trip)

X1=1058.5   X2=757.8
S1=46.3   S2=40.3
n1=3405   n2=1757

$T=(X_1-X_2)/\text{Square root } (S_p(1/n_1 +1/n_2)$

= 230.82

Df= 5160   a=0.05   Tc=1.96

Reject H0

Conclusion: the average expenditures per tourist (trip) are significantly different between partitioned state international tourists

7.3 EXPENDITURE PER DAY

The expenditure per tourist (trip) provides important information on the per capita economic contribution from a partitioned state tourist. However, it does not measure the intensity of consumption levels within a period of time, such as per day, or per week. In fact, any tourism consumption contains a strong temporal dimension, and a measurement of tourism expenditure in a unit of time often reveals information about the tourist's behaviour and activities (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1989). One common indicator is expenditure per day. Expenditure per day here is defined as average daily spending during a trip in PRC, excluding international travel fares and other related costs (NTA, 1990a). The information on

daily expenditure was collected and calculated by the NTA's survey team. The results were presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Average Expenditure Per Day For different Groups

Tourist Groups	Overall	Organized	Individual
Overall	93.3	98.8	84.5
International	96.7	105.2	84.9
Foreigner	97.6	105.9	85.7
Overseas Chinese	56.2	75.5	45.7
Partitioned State	79.3	79.6	82.8
H.K. and Macao	58.6	57.2	71.5
Taiwan	96.6	98.3	92.3

Sources: the NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey

7.3.1 Patterns and Comparison

Overall daily spending of an average partitioned state tourist is much lower than that of an international tourist. This pattern has been observed or implied by most previous researches (Chow, 1988; Hall, 1994; Gormsen, 1995). One explanation may be that many partitioned state tourists stay with their relatives, and, therefore, they share the relative or friend's rooms, often dine in rather than out, and may also use non-tourist transportation. Thus their daily costs are reduced substantially. Another cause, not recognized in previous research, is the PRC's two-set pricing system, which means that partitioned state tourists paid domestic travel prices, while foreigners have to pay extra fees for various services.

For both partitioned state and international tourists, the organized tourists spent more per day than did individual tourists. This is the same pattern which previous research documented. Such a pattern may be attributed partly to the different services received by individuals and groups. In PRC, exclusive tours usually enjoy certain services, such as attending local cultural activities, dining in special restaurants, and being assisted by a professional tour guide, which are not available to individuals (Richter, 1989; Zhang, 1990). It is also partly because the individual tourist has more alternatives available in accommodation and dining service. For example, a huge price difference exists between dining in a hotel (as most group tourists do) and dining in a regular restaurant along the street (as individuals do) for the same type of food and service (Kaplan and de Keijzer, 1984).

A resident of Hong Kong or Macao on average spent 58.6 dollars per day, which is 38 dollars (40%) less than the daily spending of a Taiwanese visitor. This may result from two causes. First, Taiwanese travel to PRC are much less frequently than do residents of Hong Kong and Macao, and therefore, from a micro-economic perspective, the Taiwanese visitors tend to spend more on a trip as it occurs less often. Second, the Taiwanese visitors have higher travel costs in PRC. Unlike residents of Hong Kong and Macao who mainly travel to Guangdong, most Taiwanese are linked to other provinces across the country(PRC). They mostly travel beyond Guangdong (Hong Kong-Guangdong is the major gateway for Taiwanese because of Taiwan government regulations). The travel in Guangdong and to other provincial capitals costs much more than their staying with the relatives, and thus increases their overall average daily cost.

7.3.2 Statistical Test

On the assumption that the sample in the NTA's survey is randomly drawn from a normally distributed population, a Student t-test was conducted to test if the average daily expenditure of partitioned state tourists and international tourists is significantly different. The Student t-test statistics is summarized in table 7.4. At the 95 percent confidence level, it is concluded that the difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of daily expenditure is significant.

Table 7.4 A Student t-test Statistics for Daily Expenditure

H_0: There is no significant difference between partitioned state and international tourists in terms of the average daily expenditure

X1=96.7   X2=79.3
S1=6.1   S2=5.7
n1=3405   n2=1757

T=(X$_1$-X$_2$)/Square r.ot (S$_p$(1/n$_1$ +1/n$_2$))

= 99.26

Df= 5160   a=0.05   Tc=1.96

Reject H0

Conclusion: The average daily expenditure is significantly different between partitioned state and international tourists

7.4 THE STRUCTURE OF EXPENDITURE

The total expenditure per day or per tourist (trip) provides information on the amount of money changing hands, but does not indicate specifically on what the money was spent. Therefore a third measurement--the structure of expenditure, is used to indicate the distribution of the expenditure amᴑₙ᳁ different activities. The NTA's Survey classified spending activities into six categories: accommodation, food, entertainment, shopping, transportation, and other, and each respondent was asked to provide his/her expending in these categories. The result is summarized in table 7.5.

Table 7.5 The Spending Structure for Both Groups (%)

	Partitioned State Over-all H.K. Macao Taiwan	International Over-all Foreigner Overseas Chinese
Total	100.0 100.0 100.0	100.0 100.0 100.0
Accommodation	19.8 21.0 18.8	21.4 21.5 18.1
Food	12.7 15.0 10.9	10.6 10.5 17.5
Entertainment	5.8 6.6 5.1	4.6 4.5 7.8
Shopping	22.6 22.1 23.1	28.1 28.3 16.4
Transport	24.1 22.2 25.7	21.6 21.6 22.5
Other	14.9 13.1 16.4	13.7 13.6 17.7

Sources: The NTA's Fourth International Tourism Survey

7.4.1 Patterns and Comparison

The spending structure is slightly different between partitioned state and international tourists. The top three items are the same for both partitioned state and international tourists, although the order is not completely identical. The top item for partitioned state tourists is domestic transportation, which accounted for 24.1 percent of total spending. Shopping and accommodation are next, accounting for 22.6 and 19.8 percent respectively. For international tourists, shopping was the primary item and accounted for 28.1 percent, much higher than in the case of partitioned state tourists. The expenditures on accommodation and transportation are identical at 21.6 percent. Partitioned state tourists spent relatively more on food and entertainment than international tourists.

This pattern provides certain interesting and surprising information on partitioned state tourism. First, it reveals that accommodation is an important item (19.8%) for partitioned state tourists, although lower than for international tourists. This does not strongly support the pattern of low spending on accommodation assumed by other researchers (Chow, 1988; Gormsen, 1995). This may indicate that many partitioned state tourists still stay in tourist accommodations in certain locations, perhaps because of government regulation (Chow, 1988, p.208). In addition, accommodation while in transit may also be a reason. Most partitioned state tourists enter PRC at the port of Guangzhou, mostly via the railway. As a result, many spent a night in Guangzhou before they travel to their hometown (Independent Sampling, 1994).

Second, shopping is a major item for both groups. Several factors may increase the incentive to shop in PRC. First, the PRC maintains an economic system with very low prices through government subsidy, although this system is being reformed. Most goods are low in price in comparison with other countries, especially developed countries and regions. As a rule of economics, a low price stimulates consumption and thus increases the incentive to purchase goods. Second, the PRC granted Foreign Exchange Certificate (FEC) certain "special" buying privileges. Third, a special type of store (Qiao Hui Shang Dian) has been established by government for partitioned state tourists and overseas Chinese. According to PRC's government regulations, each Compatriot was allowed to buy a certain amount of imported goods, mainly electronic applicants, at duty-free prices. This also increases the shopping expense of partitioned state tourists.

Third, it also shows that spending on food and entertainment was very low for both groups, in particular for international tourists. The low spending on food may be attributed to the low price of food and dining services. Except for imported food stuff and beverages, domestic food stuff is the item most heavily subsidized by the PRC government. PRC's entertainment industry was little developed until very recently and has been under strict censorship. As a result, there is little a tourist can spend on entertainment (Kaplan and de Keijzer, 1984).

7.4.2 Statistical Test

To test if the expenditure structure of partitioned state tourists differ from that of international tourists, a non-parametric statistical test (Spearman's Rank Correlation) was

conducted in view of the nature of the data. The research hypothesis was that the expenditure structure of partitioned state tourists differs significantly from that of international tourists. The testing includes two steps. First, a Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient was calculated, and second, a significance test was conducted and the results summarized in Table 7.6. It was concluded that the expenditure patterns in terms of percentage, are statistically different at the 95 percent confidence level, although very slightly.

Table 7.6 Spearman's Rank Correlation Statistics

	Partitioned State % rank	International % rank	d d^2
Accommodation	19.8 3	21.4 3	0 0
Food	12.7 5	10.6 5	0 0
Entertainment	5.8 6	4.6 6	0 0
Shopping	22.6 2	28.1 1	1 1
Transport	24.1 1	21.6 2	-1 1
Other	14.9 4	13.7 4	0 0
Sum			2

Rs = 1-6*SUM(d^2)/n(n^2-1) = 1-6*2/6(6-1) = 0.6

H$_0$: R = 0   R$_c$(a=0.05, df=6)=0.886

Failed to Reject H$_0$

Conclusion: the correlation of expenditure structure between partitioned state and international tourists is not statistically significant

7.5 Economic Contribution from Partitioned State Tourism

The above discussions were developed from a micro-economic perspective. This section focuses on the macro-economic aspects of tourism impacts, such as the generation of total revenue. There is a general data restriction on the evaluation of the macro-economic impact of tourism because of the complexity of the tourism system and the nature of the data. In the PRC, the macro-economic data do not distinguish partitioned state tourism from international tourism, where such data are recorded at all. Consequently, this section uses the information available from the NTA's yearbook, the NTA's survey, and the author's independent survey to indirectly measure and evaluate the overall economic impact of partitioned state tourism.

7.5.1 Direct Economic Contribution From Partitioned State Tourism

The direct economic contribution here is the total tourism revenue generated by the tourist movement in the PRC. This is a very important indicator of the development of tourism, and many countries have provided accurate measurement of this phenomenon (WTO, 1992). In PRC, the Statistics Bureau and the National Tourism Administration also publish this type of data (the Statistical Yearbook of China, 1990, 1991; the Yearbook of China's Tourism Statistics, 1990, 1991). Both these publications reported that PRC's tourism receipts were 2.2 million dollars in 1990. However, many observers believe that this figure is not accurate because of several following factors (Gormsen, 1995; the NTA's Survey Team, 1990). First, the yearbooks essentially result from a compilation of local government records, from bottom level to top. In this process, only spending which occurred in state-owned tourism facilities and

services, such as accommodation, flight and railways, and tourist stores (Friendship Stores), were recorded. Other spending, such as local transportation, dining in private restaurants, shopping in regular stores, and other non-tourism oriented activities or services were usually not available or unable to be recorded. Second, because of the co-existence of two currencies, there is a significant amount of foreign currency traded in the black market, which was not recorded in the central government statistics.

As a result, the government figures were estimated to be lower than the true direct economic contribution from tourism. The real economic contribution can only be estimated. Two estimates were made, one by Ming Pao (Ming Newspaper) in Hong Kong, and one by the NTA's Fourth International Survey Team. Ming Pao's estimation (Jan.11, 1993) was based on interviews with officials and travellers in Hong Kong, and concluded that the total foreign exchange earnings from tourism in PRC was US$ 3.7 billion in 1990. This is significantly higher than the official statistics, but the methodology used in the estimation is unknown. The NTA's Fourth Survey Team created its own methodology to estimate the direct economic input from inbound tourists, which involved average per capita spending, total arrivals by group, and sampling of individual visitors. Its calculation concluded that PRC received a total of 3.19 billion dollars from tourism in 1990 (NTA, 1990a). Not surprisingly, this figure is also higher than that in the yearbooks, but is lower thatnMing Pao's. The reliability of the NTA's Survey Team's estimation is high because of its larger samples, and as a result, this study uses 3.19 billion dollars as the best estimate of the total direct economic input from inbound tourists in 1990.

However, it is still not clear what the contribution of partitioned state tourism is, because both the official records and the two estimates provide only overall tourism receipts, without distinguishing between partitioned state tourism and international tourism. To estimate the direct economic contribution from partitioned state tourism, and keep this consistent with the NTA's estimation of total direct contribution, the NTA's Survey Team's data and methodology were adopted in this study, and the procedure used is as follows.

(1) The number of organized and individual partitioned state tourists were extracted from the NTA's yearbook (1990). In 1990, there were 2,413,536 organized partitioned state tourists and 23,209,880 individual tourists.

(2) The total direct expenditure per partitioned state tourist[1] was sampled and calculated by NTA's Survey Team. According to NTA's typical sampling, the direct spending of the average organized tourist was 673.1 dollars. For the average individual tourist, it was only 10 dollars.

(3) From the above two parameters, the total direct expenditure for both organized and individual partitioned state tourists are calculated. The total direct spending by organized partitioned state tourists was 1,624.69 million dollars and the total direct spending by individual partitioned state tourists was 232.10 million.

(4) The sum of these two contributions gives the total direct economic contribution from partitioned state tourism: 1,856.79 million dollars in 1990.

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[1] This is not the same as the total spending per tourist discussed in 7.2 which included indirect spending.

It is concluded that partitioned state tourists directly consumed 1.86 billion dollars of PRC's tourism services and products. This indicates the 58.2 percent of the total direct economic contribution from tourism to PRC was from partitioned state tourism, and proves that not only the total number of partitioned state tourists in PRC is extremely large but that their direct economic impact is also substantial.

7.5.2 Indirect Contribution of Partitioned State Tourism in PRC

As stated in the previous sections, many partitioned state tourists, in particular the individual travellers, are often VFR's and stay extensively with their relatives or friends, especially because of the unique linkage between PRC and Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. It was also found by other researchers that when they visited their kin and former hometowns, partitioned state tourists generated significant economic input to the PRC's economic development (Lew, 1995; Chow, 1988). The most important forms of such an input were monetary gifts and financial support to the family and community

It has been a Chinese tradition to give gifts to one's family, and even one's community, when one visits one's family (Lew, 1995). Because of this tradition, partitioned state tourists, in particular, individual travellers, make significant economic contributions to their families and communities, when they pay a home visit. Chow (1988) observed that " The lunar new year has been an important occasion to renew and reaffirm kinship ties. Many Hong Kong residents travel to the mainland for such purpose. Hence arises the exodus at festival times of families going to visit in Guangdong, bring with them (as gifts) bicycles, sewing machines, television sets, radios, and other consumer goods more available in Hong Kong" (p.207). Such a gift is

deemed a significant economic contribution, because in PRC a colour TV, or a VCR generally costs more than one year's average income of an urban resident. This also means that the largest item of expenditure (after international travel cost) for many partitioned state tourists may be gifts. Lew (1995) also found a similar pattern " When China became more open to tourism, returning overseas Chinese found their status was greatly enhanced. They were, however, expected to bring monetary gifts for all villagers on their visits" (Lew, 1995:160).

Although there is no official statistic or documentations to measure this special type of economic input, the author's independent sampling and the NTA's Survey did provided certain quantitative indicators. According to the independent sampling '1994), over three quarter (76.7%) of partitioned state tourists presented monetary gifts (sometimes simply cash) to their relatives or friends during their hometown visit. The economic value of the gifts varied tremendously, ranging from 10 dollars to 2,000 dollars, and the average was 350 dollars. Indeed, a comparison of average per capita expenditure (Table.7.1) and average per capita direct spending from the NTA's typical sampling suggests the same pattern. The NTA's Survey Team (1990) claimed that the direct spending by an average individual partitioned state tourist was only 10 dollars through its typical sampling. However, its survey showed that the average per capita total spending of an individual partitioned state tourist was $ 757.8. This gives a discrepancy of 747.8 dollars, and monetary gifts certainly are an important part of it.

With these basic data, it is possible to estimate the approximate economic input along with these "gift flows", by estimating the number of VFR's in the partitioned state tourist total and average value of gifts given on one trip. In Chapter Six, it was shown that 19.3 percent of

partitioned state tourists claimed VFR as their primary travel purpose in 1990. It is reasonable to assume that these tourists were genuine VFRs. This represented 4.95 million trips or tourists. The independent sampling (1994) reported that the average VFR tourist gave their relatives or friends 350 dollars of gifts. After applying an inflation factor, the average value of gifts was estimated to be equal to 300 dollars in 1990. Consequently, it is estimated that the total value of this unique "gift flow" was around 1,485 million dollars in 1990, which is slightly lower than the direct spending total. This amount of tourism contribution has tremendous economic implications, especially as it is highly concentrated in specific geographical areas, particularly Guangdong and Fujian.

7.6 CONCLUSION

Partitioned state tourism not only has a unique travel pattern, but also presents a different expenditure patterns from those of conventional tourism. The per capita spending is significantly lower than that of international tourists, which confirms researchers' observations (Chow, 1988; Hall, 1994; Gormsen, 1995). This is because trips made by partitioned state tourists are short and their itineraries tend to include fewer cities than those of international tourists, and because the PRC's two-set pricing system, by which overseas Chinese and partitioned state tourists are not required to pay extra fees for services (as their foreign counterparts do). Daily expenditures of an average partitioned state tourist are much lower than those of international tourist. This may be attributed to the fact ' many partitioned state tourists stayed with their relatives at little cost, and to the PRC's two-set pricing system. Furthermore, the structure of the expenditure of partitioned state tourists is slightly, but

significantly different from that of international tourists. The top spending item for partitioned state tourists are domestic transportation, shopping and accommodation.

Partitioned state tourism contributes substantially to PRC's economy. It is estimated in this study that the total direct economic contribution to PRC from partitioned state tourism was 1.86 billion dollars in 1990. In addition, it has been estimated that around 1.49 billion dollars financial aid was contributed by partitioned state tourists in the form of monetary gifts to their relatives and friends in PRC. It is concluded that not only is the total number of partitioned state tourists in PRC extremely large, but their direct economic input is also substantial in comparison to that of international tourists.

In addition to these tangible economic impacts, the social and cultural impacts are also important, although as noted above, they could not be dealt with in this study. Partitioned state tourists do not have language or communication barriers which may limit interaction with local residents, and they enjoy a higher level of accessibility not available to foreign tourists, such as visiting close areas, staying with relatives, and becoming involved in community activities (Chow, 1988; Mao, 1993). The social and cultural impacts generated from these unique interactions provide an interesting and important subject for scholars to research in the future.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

In the past few centuries, modern state system has been spread throughout the world and has become the predominant geopolitical form of organization. However, the spate of recent partitions of states, which has resulted from war, decolonization, religionous and ideology conflicts, has generated a group of unusual political entities. One form of these is the partitioned states, which is defined as a political unit currently separated from what used to be one country in the recent past. These units are characterized by incomplete international recognition and unequal relationships. This study has reviewed the pattern of global political changes and the evolution of partitioned states, and concludes that many divided partitioned states share certain common geographical characteristics, such as adjacent location, inherent cultural linkage, close kinships, and different economic and political systems.

Despite the uncertainty created by political strife and subdivision large number of people continue to travel between partitioned states. Economic necessity, religious obligations,

family ties, political negotiations, and pleasure are all specific motivations driving the movement of people between these political units (Chow, 1988; Butler and Mao, 1994; Gormsen, 1995). However, in spite of the level of significance and the political and economic importance of such travel, there is a marked lack of research on tourist movements between partitioned states. Consequently, the nature and patterns of this unique tourist movement have not been analyzed and presented in a systematic manner. This is confirmed by the fact that both international organizations and individual countries have failed to develop a consistent framework to define such 'abnormal' travel. The unique boundary conditions of tourism between partitioned states posed a challenge to conventional tourism theories and models, and reveals a significant gap in current tourism theory.

This study represents a first step towards understanding the nature, characteristics and patterns of partitioned state tourism. It can be argued that the partitioned state tourist movement is too large to be neglected. The exclusion of partitioned state tourist movement in fact results in a major mispresentation of tourism patterns in certain geographical areas (Chow, 1988; Butler and Mao, 1994). A further examination of the political and social boundary condition surrounding partitioned states suggests that the tourist movement between partitioned states does not easily fit into traditional tourism classification systems of international and domestic tourism. This is re-affirmed by the definition problem addressed in previous research and tourism statistical reports (Chow, 1988; WTO, 1988; Edwards, 1990; Lew, 1995). Therefore, a new classification system has been proposed in this study, which classifies tourists into three categories: international, domestic, and partitioned state.

In compaiison with conventional tourism, a conceptualization of partitioned state tourism components reveals that this form of tourism is significantly different from conventional tourism in many aspects. First, the status of partitioned state tourism has never been universally defined, and different views often exist on tourist movements between partitioned states. As a result, such travels may be treated in one section as international tourists, and domestic in the other section, and different entry-exit procedures may operate (Chow, 1988). Second, the dynamic nature of partitioned states determines the evolutionary pattern of partitioned state tourism, which is characterized by a four-stage motivation pattern. Third, a strong political dimension is involved in partitioned state tourism and is best revealed by the nature and level of accessibility. Three types of access patterns of partitioned state tourism were identified, and a unique typology created: travel without restriction from both host and home; travel with restrictions from either host or home, and travel with restrictions from both host and home. Finally, it can also be argued that the impacts which arise from partitioned state tourism are different from those of conventional tourism.

An investigation of partitioned China not only showed the importance of partitioned state tourism in this area, but also provided a foundation by which to measure and test various patterns of partitioned state tourism. It was found that partitioned state tourism is the most important type of tourism in partitioned China. There are eleven partitioned state tourist flows between the elements of partitioned China with a clear directional bias. The PRC and Macao are the main destinations, and Hong Kong and Taiwan are sources. The motivation patterns of the partitioned state tourist in the area also generally support a four-stage model. This study

further revealed that the trips made by partitioned state tourists tended to be short and had less seasonal variation than those of conventional tourists. A geographical analysis emphasized that these patterns are attributable to the unique physical, economic, and more importantly, cultural settings and political relations of partitioned China.

The detailed examination of partitioned state tourism in the PRC used the existing data sets and the author's independent sample of visitors to further test a series of research hypotheses. It was found that:

(1) partitioned state tourists tend to be older, have a more-balanced gender composition, and be dominated by professionals and businessmen.

(2) sightseeing, business, and VFR are the top primary travel purposes. Multiple motivations are common, and generally include VFR.

(3) the majority of partitioned state tourists travel on an individual basis, but a number take group tours if travelling for recreation purposes.

(4) partitioned state tourists travel shorter and visit fewer cities than conventional tourists.

(5) partitioned state tourism is less seasonal and has two less distinct peak seasons: January and August.

(6) partitioned state tourists are spatially concentrated in coastal provinces, in particular, Guangdong and Fujian. Few travel to inland or frontier provinces.

(7) partitioned state tourists tend to have repeat visitation patterns and gain information about destinations mainly from family & friends and tourist businesses.

(8) partitioned state tourists tend to have low direct spending with transportation as the major item. However, indirect spending in the form of monetary gifts is substantial. As a result, the actual economic contribution to PRC from partitioned state tourism is quite significant.

These findings not only confirm certain observations made in previous research (Chow, 1988; Bian, 1992; Zhang, 1992; Hall, 1994; Gormsen, 1995; Lew, 1995), but also identify and test many aspects of partitioned state tourism which had not been studied before. It is concluded that partitioned state tourism is a unique tourism phenomenon which differs from conventional tourism in many aspects. The large size and significant impacts strongly suggest that it is not appropriate to exclude this element from both statistics, and research in general.

Notwithstanding the limitation of data and the need for further research, this dissertation represents a contribution to the understanding of the tourist movement in general, and the understanding of partitioned state tourism in particular. It provides a framework by which to include elements of partitioned state development into tourism research, and creates a typology to identify the spectrum of partitioned state tourist movements. Furthermore, through its focus on partitioned China, this study also contributes to the understanding of current and future issues relating to China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao.

Given the fact that partitioned states are highly unlikely to disappear in the near future, and the partition of states is very likely to continue, it is clear from the nature of the findings and contributions that have been articulated, that further research on partitioned state tourism is needed. At a broad level, theory and models must continue to be investigated and developed. Special attention must be given to the mechanism of the development of partitioned state

tourism and its impacts on the improvement of bilateral relationships. It is also suggested that

systematic data collection may be essential to aid this understanding.
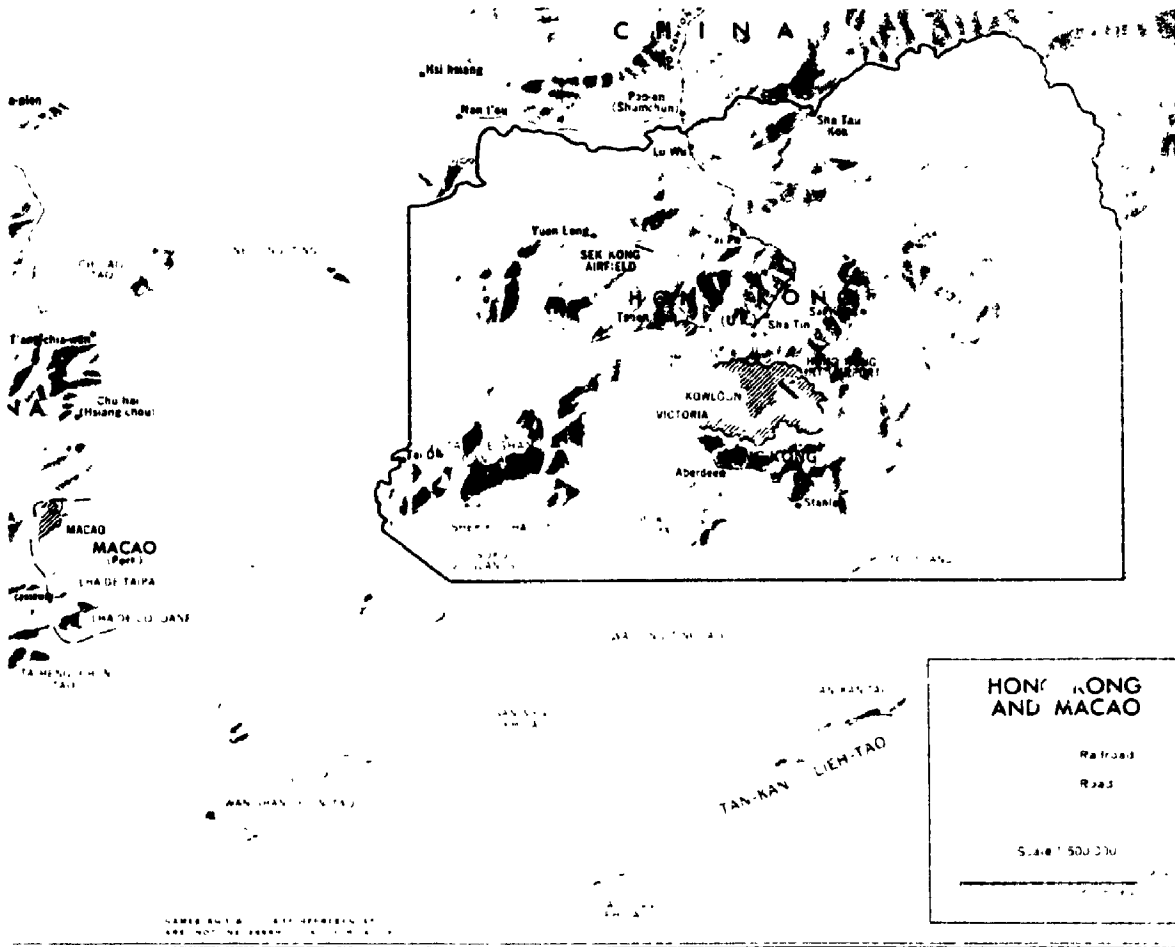
APPENDIX I

A POLITICAL MAP OF CHINA

APPENDIX II

A MAP OF HONG KONG AND MACAO

APPENDIX III

A POLITICAL MAP OF TAIWAN STRAIT AREA

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