UNIVERSITY OF DERBY

Spatial-existential Authenticity and the Production of Heterotopia:

The Case of Second Homes in China

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Abbreviations

BEP	Bureau of Environmental Protection
BHM	Bureau of Housing Management
BLR	Bureau of Land and Resources
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CITIC	China International Trust and Investment Corporation
CPA	City Planning Administration
DLCG	Department of Communities and Local Government
EDZ	Economic Development Zone
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FYP	Five Year Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	Human Resource
MITI	Ministry of International Trade and Industry
NHS	National Health Service
SG	Scottish Government
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SPC	State Planning Commission
TPA	Tourism Planning Administration
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation

Declaration

The author confirms no portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Preface

The research and writing are the candidate's own. The copyright of this thesis and the ownership of intellectual property rights are regulated according to the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) regulations which set out the University's position.

The conduct of this research has been ethically approved and confirmed by the University of Derby.

Abstract

China has achieved extraordinary economic growth since its profound social, political and economic reformation in 1978. Housing and tourism are two manifestations of such growth. However, problems related to the development of housing and tourism have become increasingly severe: environmentally sound rural areas are now the battlefield for the ostensible economic advancement of both sectors; the supposedly beneficial local communities in such areas end up as the sufferers of worsened living conditions; the policymakers, who are self-claimed leaders of the development in benefits of the local communities, are *de facto* heavily dependent upon the sales of land for tax generation.

Under such circumstances, second homes - the intersection between tourism and housing - have emerged as a hot topic for industry participants, researchers and policymakers. The existing body of knowledge, in what is largely Western dominated second homes research, suggests that the key theories, assumptions and conclusions cannot be adapted to explain the development model in China. This is because of China's unique scale, patterns, and dynamics of economic and socio-political linkages.

This research therefore theorises second homes in China based on key space and tourism concepts. This thesis conceptualises second homes on an actual site in China named The Aqua, which is a tourism cluster intentionally constructed around the idea of second homes. The thesis examines the actor groups that are involved in the making of The Aqua, as well as their practice, representation and experience with it. Also, in order to uncover the potential impacts of the Aqua, this research investigates how justice is recognised and practiced between different actor groups.

The outcomes of this research include: 1) a new model that visualises the power relations between different actor groups that are involved in the making of the Aqua, 2) a new theory building on Foucault's *heterotopia* to help explain why the Aqua was produced as the representation of the imagined Western township, 3) new terms of *apotopia* and *limbotopia* as dismissive narratives to unwanted circumstances of tourism place-making, 4) a fresh perspective to examine the potential impacts of second homes through the lens of justice, instead of the traditional dualistic thinking of second homes as the curse or the blessing.

Key Words: Space; Authenticity; Justice; Second Homes; China.

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I owe my deepest gratitude to my mother, who has dedicated her life to provide me an opportunity that she has never had. From the bottom of my heart, I thank her for the unconditional love and support.

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Yanxi, Sei la mia anima gemella. Da quando ti conosco la mia vita è un paradiso.

Tim, thank you for giving me the patience and the rooms for me to make the mistakes. I will try to remember all the brilliant conversations happened in your office, where this thesis is developed into today's shape. Your lectures will live in me through my life.

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The Author

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Current Issues

Urban-rural disparity: urban sprawl and uncertainty

China has been under the world's spotlight for its prodigious and sustained economic growth in the past decades. However, the attention is also accompanied by doubts and criticisms. Among other issues, urban-rural disparity is particularly interesting to me not only in the sense of the distribution of economic achievements but also the apartheid of social capital. While urban areas have enjoyed significant growth, small towns and rural areas are lagging behind. The gap between urban and rural residents are increasingly extended in terms of income (Sicular et al., 2007), living conditions and public services such as education and healthcare (Liu et al., 1999, Tang et al., 2008). More importantly, since the majority of state investment in China has been made to the urban areas, most jobs have been urban-based (Tao Yang and Zhou, 1999).

As a result of these issues, a large flow of migrant workers have moved from their rural communities to the urban areas for employability and better income (Knight et al., 2009). As such, urban-rural disparity has led to rapid urbanisation of relocated rural populations (Ong, 2014). Nonetheless, the state-led urbanisation process failed to solve the urban-rural disparity issue. Due to the heavily reinforced population management system called *hukou*1, rural migrants have been discriminated from social welfare that is provided to the urbanites[2] (Wong et al., 2007). While the state has been pro-actively promoting urbanisation through infrastructure construction, the establishment of development zones and administrative

[1] 户口: household registration system

[2] The term 'urbanites' applied in this thesis to city-dwellers who have no rural connections, and nor do their parents.

adjustments, the inflation of urban population and expansion of urban areas did not lead to the urbanisation of landscape or economy (Yew, 2012). As such, China's urbanisation is often criticised as 'pseudo-urbanisation' or 'urban sprawl' (Yew, 2012).

Pseudo-urbanisation leads to serious urban and rural issues. In the urban areas, the emergence of severe poverty, over-crowdedness, resources, flood, and pollution (Shi et al., 2000, Hao and Wang, 2005, Hussain, 2003, Cheng et al., 2002). In the rural areas, land rights, labour shortages, poverty and pollution (Brandt et al., 2002, Du et al., 2005). Therefore, the urban-rural disparity deserves serious attention.

Housing Issues: risks, inequality and contradiction

Another issue related to the market transition in China is the significant social inequality, especially housing inequality (Huang and Jiang, 2009). The privatisation of housing has led to the dramatic increase of housing prices, especially within the urban areas. In the recent years, the state has been increasingly concerned over the monetary policies in order to stabilise the market (Crowe et al., 2013). Meanwhile, in the past decade rural land usage has become a sensitive topic, given the fact that rural housing land accounted for 67.3% of China's total construction land in 2000 (Long et al., 2009).

Another interesting aspect of housing issues in China is the emergence of 'ghost cities'. Despite being located in the world's most populous country, new cities are built without allocation of citizens (Yu, 2014). The traditional representation of a ghost town is that the areas have enjoyed a period of vigour before being abandoned due to natural, social or economic reasons. This is not the case in China. Shepard (2015) observes many types of Chinese ghost cities. Some are abandoned because they lose capital investment partway through. Other cities, like Zhengdong[3], were built as the less crowded and better facilitated

[3] 郑东，a new town area that is attached to Zhengzhou city, Henan Province

new areas in addition to the old cities so that wealth can be re-distributed across the urban areas. The reality is that skyscraper-stuffed new areas lie empty while the old cities remain congested. But what is the most interesting to me is the British replica known as the Thames Town near Shanghai.

Whilst the state control and manipulation of market over land and housing provision remain strong and pervasive, master-planned communities and urban enclaves are encouraged and promoted (Shen and Wu, 2012a). Thames Town is one of the best examples of such development. Promoted as an exclusive residence for the new rich[4], Thames Town was constructed using excessive cultural and entertainment elements to represent an 'English Town' (Bosker, 2015). While the development has attracted considerable amount of investments as well as property buyers, it has failed to attract many residents. The outcome of the Thames Town is no more than a wedding photography arena (Shen and Wu, 2012a).

Therefore, the housing issue in China consists of complex elements. On one hand, the state-led growth has played a dominant role in the process of urban sprawl(Tian et al., 2016). On the other hand, the state faces challenges to stabilise the real estate price. More importantly, whilst the use of the rural land becomes a sensitive topic, many developments in the rural areas ended up as ghost cities. While the rural-out migrants suffer from housing inequalities, many of the purposely developed enclaves are left unoccupied. The irony of these housing issues deserve much attention.

Tourism Development: growth, challenges and uncertainty

As well as urbanisation, the economic significance of tourism is increasingly highlighted. This trend will be examined in the forthcoming chapter. In general, domestic tourism has been growing at a substantial rate in China (Ghimire, 2013). However, the growth has been

[4] The term 'new rich' adapted to this research as those whose wealth has been acquired within their own generation, rather than by familial inheritance.

unevenly distributed across the country. While popular destinations are increasingly forced to expand their carrying capacities due to rapidly growing tourist volume, many parts of the country – especially in the rural areas – have been isolated from the benefits of tourism growth (Pine et al., 2013).

Over the past decades, we have witnessed the emergence of tourism induced cities such as Sanya, where the majority of population was attracted by tourism (Wang and Liu, 2013). Nonetheless, we have also witnessed cities and rural areas that struggle to attract tourists. While urban-rural dualism is the key ideological mechanism which is responsible for urban-rural disparity (Yining, 2008), the institution has supported tourism development in the rural areas. Nonetheless, rural tourism as an integration between ecotourism and agro-tourism has faced significant challenges in terms of investment and operation scales, repeat project constructions, and disorders in market competition (ZHOU and HUANG, 2004).

The three issues became united in a unique moment of my personal experience, which has led to the commencement of this research.

1.2 The Origin of the Research

This section reveals the anecdote about how I found the topic of the thesis appealing to me both personally and academically.

'We bought a house!'

18 May 2013, a chilling morning, England. I took a bus from Buxton to Rochester, where I would hike for a day in one of the trails at the Peak District National Park. I leaned my head against the window, staring at the dramatic and yet gentle scenery that was filled with grass and occasional stone cottages. The landscape was neither particularly high nor particularly taxing, and the easy waves of hills were accompanied by relaxed sheep and cows.

This picture brought some fascinating nostalgia. I was born in a small town not so far away from the border between the Northern region of Vietnam and Yunnan province in China. I was born to a family of an architect father and a doctor mother, at the time when China's economy was about to take off. Every few years since I was born, my family would move to a new place to call 'home' before I left China for higher education at the age of 17.

I firstly went to Singapore where I finished high school, then to Ireland where I studied business and worked for a couple of years in the hospitality industry. After that, I moved to London where I obtained my Master's degree in Tourism Geography and after that I moved to the Peak District to embark on this PhD study. 'I have lived in 5 countries, 10 places, and was educated in 10 schools. And yet I haven't seen anything like this', I thought with a smile on my face, 'Ireland had something similar but different for some reason- Ireland was greener somehow. But why?' Just before I continued my imagination, I got a text message:

> *'We bought a new house! We are so excited! When you come back to China for vacation in a few months, we will pick you up from the airport and go straight to this house for a few days before we finally go home! Mom.'*

This was a surprise for me in many ways. I remembered a recent conversation with my father about the potential housing crisis that China had to face as more and more newly built 'ghost towns' were increasingly exposed in the media (Shepard, 2015). As an architect and urban planner, my father had gained considerable knowledge about the market. Having witnessed hundreds of new cities and urban districts mushrooming out of the blue, and having designed and been involved in a couple of them, he has sensed highly instability in the housing sector which resulted from the state's overly ambitious urbanisation plan. A more detailed (and less objective) expansion on this will be provided in the next chapter, however, all I felt then was that my father would never purchase another house before gaining more confidence in the housing market.

This message seemed even strange considering the number of dwellings the family already owned. Because the nature of my father's occupation as a designer who had to work in three towns simultaneously, and the fact that a few developers had paid him in physical housing from the projects rather than in currency, the family own a few dwellings – although none of them are luxurious or used for leisure purposes.

More importantly, I perceived my parents as humble, hard-working professionals who have celebrated austerity as a family tradition for over half a century. This message, then, did not make sense because it did not seem like a decision that the parents would make financially or rationally. Having thought about these, I replied: 'Wow. This is a surprise. What kind of house is this? And why?' Curiously, they simply told me that I would find out when I got back home for holidays, without further details.

In the following months, I had almost forgotten about the strange conversation, as its topic had not been mentioned again. However, this then imagined house flashed back as I realised that I was about to land at Kunming's new airport. And this house proved to be nothing like I had ever imagined.

<u>Gazing The Aqua</u>

It is on the way from the airport to the so-called 'new house' that I received some additional information from my parents. Yet the only thing they would tell me was that there was going be a newly built motorway linking the airport and the site and it would be a mere 15-minute drive. Clearly, my parents enjoyed keeping it a surprise for the curious me. So I no longer attempted to gain more information and began to observe the road.

The first part of the road indicated the state's ambition of developing this newly appointed region (Image 1.1). However, five minutes later the motorway turned into an extremely bumpy country road with its surface still under construction. A supposed 15-mnute drive ended up consuming 45 minutes. Eventually, the car found its way to a lane that was much narrower than the motorway and yet much smoother than the country road (Image 1.2). '*Welcome to The Aqua!*' my mother said warmly.

Image 1.1 Kunming - Aqua Expressway (Author's Photograph)

Image 1.2 Entrance to The Aqua (Author's Photograph)

The Aqua's official Chinese name was directly translated as 'the CITIC Shining Star Watertown Cultural Tourism Industry Aggregation Area'[5]. The name contained some interesting information. CITIC, formerly known as the *China International Trust and Investment Corporation*[6], is a state-owned investment company of China which now owns 44 subsidiaries including *China CITIC Bank*, *CITIC Holdings*, *CITIC Trust Co.* and *CITIC Merchant Co., Ltd* (CITIC, 2015). *Shining Star*[7] is a large multi-national developer while Watertown is translated as The Aqua. The term 'cultural tourism industry' is strangely placed before 'aggregation area'. The terminologies such as industry, aggregation and area are commonly applied to entitle state-

[5] 中信星耀水乡文化旅游产业区: the name was later changed due to the transformation of the organisation. The Shining Star was forced to exit and hence The Aqua was then officially known as the CITIC Jialize. This change will be analysed in Chapter 6.
[6] 中国中信集团公司
[7] 星耀集团

led urban sprawls in China (Deng et al., 2008). For this reason, it was unusual to see a privately invested project to be entitled as such. Perhaps, the state was involved largely in the development.

The confusing title of The Aqua reflected on its complex visual landscape. It occupies 20 square kilometres of rural land with much of it being the conservative wetland area. On a huge noticeboard it showed that The Aqua complex consists of seven major parks; namely, the Cultural Tourism Resort, Conference and Exhibition Area, International Healthcare Industrial Area, Business Shopping Area, International Theme Park, Children's Science Amusement Park & Mansion Resort Area, and the Liveable Villas.

The first site that appeared is the Cultural Tourism Resort and the Conference and Exhibition Area, which had been completed and is currently in operation. The Cultural Tourism Resort offers a wide range of tourism activities and attractions including a sport-centre, A Golf Club with three 18-hole professional golf courses, an equestrian club which offers Irish horse-training facilities, a fishing club, Lanmao Wetland Park and Lotus Lake. The Conference and Exhibition area is constructed alongside two five star international hotels. The facility was capable of handling conferences, events, weddings and exhibitions for up to 1,000 people (Image 1.3).

At a glance it was similar to a usual golf course or an exhibition centre, however, it was the building in the background that distinguishes this picture. A closer look (Image 1.4) raised the question of why a castle would appear at such a site with a gate for protection. My mother mysteriously said that this castle was bought by an entrepreneur who would later use it as his *second home*. For the first time, the term *second home* comes into my spotlight.

Image 1.3 Conference centre and golf course (Author's Photograph)

Image 1.4 The Privately Owned Castel (Author's Photograph)

Since we arrived and parked, we had been getting around in electronic transits with a uniformed driver. Soon the driver led us into a hotel lobby where we would check in and obtain a key for a villa. Every single staff member greeted us warmly. While we were waiting for the checking process, a service staff came to us and offered refreshments, tea and biscuits. 'Please take a seat and your keys shall be ready shortly', she said professionally. She had a large name tag printed ‘Fiona’ attached to her uniform, but she had a strong local accent. I was not sure if she would recognise it if someone suddenly called her by the name ‘Fiona’. But I found the whole atmosphere fascinating and service standard astonishing, especially in comparison to other so-called five star hotels in Kunming. In addition, the decorations and interior design of the lobby was bizarre. The seats that Fiona offered us looked like they had been moved out of the Cinderella film (Image 1.5).

Image 1.5 Cinderella Seats at the Lobby (Author’s Photograph)

After checking in, we took the electronic Golf Cart to the housing areas. The five-minute drive cut through the natural landscape and I sensed the freshness of the air and the pleasant temperature, although in the winter it was relatively cold (Image 1.6).

Image 1.6 The Means of Transportation: a Golf Cart (Author's Photograph)

As soon as we entered the housing areas, I immediately observed the secured gates and walls, as well as the guards who were dressed in uniforms with a pompous and impractical design (Image 1.7). The guards would simplistically salute and open the gate without checking the house number. Then, for the first time, I had the opportunity of seeing the somewhat mysterious house that my parents had just acquired (Image 1.8).

Image 1.7 The Uniformed Security Guard (Author's Photograph)

Image 1.8 The Second Home - Villas (Author's Photograph)

<u>Experiencing The Aqua</u>

In the next few days, I had the opportunity to wander around and try out different facilities for free, which was a privilege to The Aqua *home-owners*. At 6 a.m., we woke up and called the electronic transit service to come and collect us. Moments later we went for a swim at the Olympic-standard swimming pool. After the session we enjoyed a sumptuous breakfast at the hotel restaurant. Then, we went for a walk passing the lavender fields where we could see an undefined church, and the organic fruit farm where we could pick some berries, apples and fresh vegetables. We learnt about horse riding before entering the fish farm where we could catch fresh fish from responsibly maintained water zone and let the chefs cook it for us. In the afternoon we returned to the villa where my father and I painted and my mother read.

My parents had signed a contract with the developer at the time of purchase. The developer gave a discounted price to my parents who would have only 60 days of access to the second home in the first five years of their purchase. They are not essentially staying in their own house during the visitation, because the entire operation is similar to the hotels where the room is only available as long as it has not yet been booked. Within this arrangement, whenever they would want to stay at The Aqua, they will have to book in advance and there are no guarantees as to whether they would be able to stay in the house they will own five years later.

This means that about 10 months per year, the house is shared with others who are either home-owners themselves or merely visitors. All the houses are fully furnished and cleaned like hotel rooms, and in the case of damages or missing items, residents have to pay for the maintenance, regardless of their ownership status. The existence of this scheme makes it incredibly similar to the idea of timeshare in the U.S. (Gregory and Weinland, 2016). Yet, it is different in a Chinese context for reasons including the state's involvement in the process of place-making, as well as the complex relationship between different segments of this so-called tourism aggregation. For example, because the agreement is optional and voluntary, there might be the establishment of a permanent community simultaneously with a timesharing community. In addition, the home-owner's rights and liabilities alongside their relationship with the local community is yet to be explored.

The second home scheme is also linkable with the European counterparts such as Spain, Portugal, Sweden and the UK (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004, Williams and Hall, 2002, Gallent et al., 2005). The houses in The Aqua are used in a similar way to the European second homes in the sense that the owners only pay temporary and repeat visitations other than permeant residence. Also, the majority of the owners are urbanites rather than rural populations. They purchased the dwelling for leisure and lifestyle choice other than investment or speculative purposes. However, The Aqua is a purposely developed site that is intertwined with regional growth strategies.

Therefore, after the initial trip to The Aqua I realised that the site is an ideal scenario that links all three issues mentioned in the beginning of the thesis. In terms of urban-rural integration, The Aqua presents an interesting dimension by inserting tourism in the regional development formula. In terms of housing, The Aqua raised questions about the issue of urban enclaves, aesthetics and equality. In terms of tourism, The Aqua represents a new dimension towards state-led, privately-invested and rural-oriented tourism development. For this reason, my personal experience led to the research aims and objectives.

1.3 Research Significance, Aims and Objectives

Significance

I am particularly interested in four questions emerged from the initial trip: what kind of development is this and how can we define a property in the complex? Why is the site designed in such an alienated Western fashion against the local norms? Why is The Aqua popular while Thames Town failed to be attractive? How does The Aqua impact its surroundings?

These questions imply the research significance of this study. In response to the issues related to urban-rural disparity, housing inequality and tourism development, this research investigates second homes, which is a spatial form that intersects these issues. Having discovered The Aqua as an ideal site to fulfil this investigation, the research develops a space-oriented, rural-centred, and process-focused approach towards the production of the space of second homes.

In developing this approach, this research employs a group of theories that are previously unlinked to the phenomenon of second homes; notably, 'the space of otherness', spatial-existential authenticity' and 'spatial justice'. The underlining premise of the study is that we could gain a more substantial understanding on second homes by gaining a layer of spatial knowledge. Since Coppock (1977b) introduced second homes into the research arena, the phenomenon has attracted considerable attentions. However, it seems that the existing research has fallen into a trap of dualism, which was reflected on Coppock's title: second homes as the curse to the rural areas and the blessing of elite urbanites (Müller, 2011). Clearly, the Western-centred second homes research cannot fulfil the complicity of the phenomenon in China, as described above in the case of The Aqua.

'The space of otherness' proposes a new perspective to understand second homes spatially. The spatial characteristics and spatial quality of second homes can be thoroughly investigated. Instead of viewing second homes as the completed objects that invade the rural areas, this thesis traces the process that produced the space of second homes, hence the space-oriented, rural-centred, and process-focused approach.

‘Spatial-existential authenticity’ is a concept proposed in addition to existential authenticity. Designed, developed and constructed in a western township form, and organised, sold and managed in a scale as large as multi-Disneyland combined, The Aqua consists of many unique features and yet, at the same time, represents a trend of new suburban spatial changes across China. Most notably, the outlook of such a site is clearly alienated to the local Chinese built environment and therefore the experience of such a site is logically bound with the question of authenticity. Existential authenticity helps explain the consumption of spaces such as going to theme parks and visiting family and friends. However, the explanatory power is limited in the case of second homes where the gap between ‘home’ and ‘away’ is blurred. Adding a layer of spatial knowledge to existential authenticity, therefore, is novel but logical to explain the phenomenon of second homes in the context of China.

‘Spatial justice’ links the spatial production of second homes and the pursuit of authenticity with the discussion of justice. In this way, this research overcomes the shortages of existing research that tend to blame second homes for the urban-rural disparity and injustice.

Taking advantage of my unique position with accessibility to various stakeholders of the community involved in this research, alongside my background knowledge and field experience in the intended research area, the research topic as well as the following methodology becomes clear. These aspects are important for the decision on an appropriate research topic (Riley and Love, 2000).

Following this approach, we can gain a thorough knowledge of urban-rural linkages via the development of second homes in the context of China. Also, we can obtain a deeper understanding of second homes from the Chinese lessons.

Aim

This research aims to explore the production of spatial characteristics and qualities of second homes and how such production nurtures social relations, authenticity and justice in China. More specifically, this research examines the process of place-making and its impact on urban-rural linkage, housing and tourism development via the lens of second homes.

Objectives and key research questions

1. To review key ideas and theories on second homes with a specific focus on the urban-rural relations, housing conflicts and tourism development related issues;
    - What are the primary theories and methods applied in the second homes research?
    - How do these theories and methods conceptualise second homes?
    - Can we use such conceptualisation to explain the function, pattern, and experience of second homes development in a Chinese context?
2. To examine the context of urban and rural transformations, as well as tourism development in China by investigating the patterns and dynamics of policy frameworks at the institutional level;
    - What are the notable national development strategies and institutional dynamics in terms of land policies since the 1978 reformation in China?
    - How do the policy transformations reflect on housing development and tourism growth?
    - What is the current status of second homes development in China, as the intersection between housing and tourism?
3. To review key theories on space, authenticity and social justice with a particular linkage with the production of social relations through second homes development;
    - How do we obtain a coherent understanding of second homes as a type of space?
    - How can we measure the production of spatial characteristics and qualities in the space of second homes?
    - How does the space of second homes link to authenticity and social justice?
4. To identify the actors participating in the production of the space of second homes in China;
    - Who are the key actors being linked in the production of space of second homes?
    - How do the actors link to each other and to the process of production of second homes?

    - What are the impacts of the linkage of actors in the context of second homes production in China?
    - How do the actors influence the spatial characteristics and spatial quality of second homes through their linkages?
5. To examine characteristics, motivations and perceptions of authenticity and justice from the perspectives of the various participating actors;
    - How do different actors involve in the production of space; i.e. exercise, represent and experience the second homes?
    - How do different actors reflect their existential authenticity to the production of space?
    - What are the relationships between the space of second homes and the existential authenticity of the actors who are involved in the production of such space?
    - What are the relationships between the space of second homes and spatial justice that are influenced by the actors' existential authenticity?
6. To synthesise the research findings and draw out key theoretical and developmental implications with regards to the role of second homes in urban-rural integration, housing and tourism development in China.
    - What are the theoretical implications of this research in second homes?
    - What are the developmental implications of this research in integrated sustainable tourism and housing development in the rural areas?

1.4 The Organisation of the Study

This study is both inductive and deductive in the sense that it explores relevant theories to explain what is happening in the field and yet at the same time interprets the findings to establish a theoretical underpinning to conceptualise second homes in China. Thus, the organisation of the study is influenced by such a design.

Chapter 1 explains the rationality, origin and plans of this research. The initial trip to The Aqua does not count as fieldworks because it was not for research purposes. However, it helped to identify the site for a study where the theoretical construction has emerged as well as the discovery of the site.

Chapter 2 deals with research objectives 1 and 2. It serves as the background exploration of the thesis. Firstly, it examines the concept of second homes and reviews related research paradigms. Having realised that most research tends to view second homes as the intersection between tourism and housing, this chapter explores the backgrounds of tourism and housing development in a Chinese context. This chapter ends with remarks on the definitional problems of the concept of second homes and argues that no existing western based framework can be used to test the case of selection, considering the preconditions of China's housing and tourism.

Chapter 3 deals with research objective 3 by developing the spatial characters and spatial quality of second homes. It explores the new way of conceptualising second homes based on some of the most influential spatial theories. Soja's (1996) Thirdspace is found to be particularly useful as it guides the chapter through two separate but closely linked pathways. The first way is to use Lefebvre (1991) *the Production of Space* to conceptualise second homes as *conceived, perceived* and *lived space*. More specifically, rather than simply arguing about the form of the object, this chapter suggests that it is useful to examine second homes as spatial practice, spatial imaginations and lived spatial relations. Following this, the second part of the chapter reinterprets Foucault (1984) concept of heterotopia to obtain the spatial quality of second homes. That is, a second home can be understood as *a place of otherness* in which it is actors-bound and experience-based.

Chapter 4 also deals with research object 3 in terms of spatially-related authenticity and justice in the context of second homes. It suggests a framework to examine the purpose of built second homes via the lens of spatial-related existential authenticity and justice.

Chapter 5 discusses the philosophy and methodology of the research. This chapter describes the rationality and rigour of the research design, and describes the means of obtaining data and approaches to analyse the data.

Chapter 6 deals with research objective 4. This chapter explains the empirical findings of the research in terms of the spatial characteristics and quality of the chosen case and it unpacks the power relations behind the production of the space in the context of second homes in China. A development model is drawn out to help understand the process.

Chapter 7 deals with research objective 5. It analyses the relationship between the spatiality of second homes and its relationships with existential authenticity and spatial justice. This chapter critically discuss the empirical findings and generates the theories of spatial-existential authenticity and spatial justice through the development model which was drawn in chapter 6.

Chapter 8 discusses the outcome of the thesis and indicates future research avenues.

Chapter 2 Research Background

2.1 Things Have Changed: Chapter Introduction

This chapter identifies gaps in the research on second homes, and reviews the historical contexts of two prerequisites of the emergence of second homes in a Chinese context: tourism development and urban transformation.

Today, it is virtually impossible to read a random international English language newspaper without seeing any coverage on China. Popular media coverage on Chinese tourism often expresses amazement at the prompt growth of the industry and its potential economic value. For example, in May 2015, the Chinese multinational company Tien Group sent 6,400 members of their employees to visit France as a celebration of the organisation's 20th anniversary (Tufft, 2015). The tourists group was the single largest organised tour to date, and they formulated the world's longest human made phrase which spelled 'Tiens' dream is Nice in the Côte d'Azur' (Image 2.1).

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Image 2.1 The employees formed the world's longest human phrase

Source: (Tufft, 2015)

Media coverage of this story emphasised its scale, particularly the economic contributions to the host destination; how many hotel rooms were occupied; how prosperous the local hospitality was; and how much sales that department stores enjoyed during the four-days all-inclusive tour (BBC, 2015). Over the Western media, the attitude towards such an event is typically mixed with an amalgam of celebrating extraordinary economic growth in China and expressing indefatigable concerns over its potential risks and impacts on the local economy.

Tourism has been growing rapidly in China for the past decades. In fact, the significance of tourism has been widely recognised among researchers, scholars and policy makers. For historical reasons, much attention has been paid to China's in/outbound tourism and less on its domestic market (Weaver, 2015). Also, China's national tourism policy has favoured international markets due to prestige and political reasons (Zhang et al., 1999). Nonetheless, data shows that domestic tourism in China is possibly 10 times bigger than international tourism in terms of the number of visitors (Andreu et al., 2010). In addition to the imbalanced focus, what is also less understood is how tourism intersects with other sectors.

In comparison to tourism, recent media representation on China's housing sector is much less complimentary and much more critical over topics including its economic stability, social impacts, political negligence and bizarre design. The Western media is awe-struck and glowing about tourism in China, yet critical and superior when considering the housing bubble. Among other types of developments, the media has ridiculed and dismissed the empty townships designed in a Western fashion. The aesthetics of such townships have been satirised as if they are some sorts of clumsy imitation games. Moreover, many of these outré developments are tangled with the issues of 'ghost towns' – vast housing developments that are left empty as soon as they are built (Shepard, 2015).

In a Chinese context, these issues have been tackled separately by research communities in tourism and housing, and yet the intersection between the two is often neglected (Paris, 2014). In Europe and North America, however, the intersection which is known as second homes has attracted considerable research attention in the past forty years (Paris, 2014).

Despite its long and popular history on the Western versions, research on second homes is scarce in the Chinese context in terms of theoretical building and empirical evidence. While the phenomenon is captured across the country, second homes remain weakly understood.

This chapter follows a three-step systematic approach inspired by Dower's (1977) suggestion that second homes 'are at the point of overlap between housing and tourism – neither squarely one or the other, but having the nature and implications of both' (p.160).

The first step is to critically review the literature on second homes from an international perspective. Following Coppock (1977b) editorial work, the topic has attracted considerable attention among research communities. This chapter aims to grasp the patterns, contributions and gaps in current literature on second homes. Then, this chapter explores the background that is directly linked to the emergence of the phenomenon of second homes. Following the classic thinking of tourism/housing, the second step is to review the historical context he post-1978 socio-economic reformation in China and its implications in tourism and housing. The second step focuses on the post-1978 tourism development and policy making as well as the literature on post-reformation housing policies and urban development in a Chinese context. The third step of this chapter extends its antenna to reach the contemporary research on a group of second homes related topics including gated communities, new town theory, and tourism estates development.

Throughout the chapter, selected song titles are applied in the sub-headings as a metaphor to describe the related contents. In the context of this chapter, music can 'be potent as a reference point, a sign of connection, linking the ordinary and ridiculous to the pit' (Charlesworth, 2003, p. 509).

2.2 Country Road, Take Me Home: issues in second homes

The History of Second Homes

The term 'second homes' lends itself to a fusion of the spatial and the social; 'second' referring an *alternative* spatial form beyond one's primary residency and 'home' seeking to an emotional attachment or senses of temporary belonging of an organised social body of persons. This terminological nature is somehow responsible for raising the confusions at the centre of the debates about the meaning of second homes (Gallent et al., 2005). Before going to the debate about the meaning of second homes, one problem is worth noting. Whilst the term is recently added to scholars' vocabularies, the phenomenon of temporarily living somewhere else than one's original residence has long been documented in different cultures.

In Coppock (1977b) edited collection, second homes are portrayed as 'a fairly recent phenomenon' which was weakly understood 'in its modern manifestation' (xi), and are to be found among the developed world. Based on the observations of the 1930s Scandinavia where urbanites from Stockholm are seeking for alternative cottages at the fringe areas of the city, Coppock (1977a) claims that the emergence of second homes have had tangible negative impacts on the local society. However, few scholars have wondered that if second homes are nothing new, how could we simply link the object of second homes with such social issues?

Coppock's seminal work has remained one of the most influential pieces of research until today, because the origins of second homes as conceptualised by Coppock have been accepted by generations of researchers (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). However, this research tends to avoid this pre-occupied assumption. On the one hand, second homes are not a new phenomenon; even at the point when Coppock's work was published in 1977 it was nothing new. On the other hand, second homes do not solely exist in the developed world, even though the research of second homes has been dominantly focused on the Western cases (Müller et al., 2004). Abundant evidences suggest that the pursuit of a second home has been existing in human societies since the ancient times, both in the West (e.g. the Roman Empire) and China (e.g. the Han Dynasty). Also, the notion of 'rural idyll', which is closely linked to the pursue of second homes, has been observed for centuries (Halfacree, 1996).

Second homes have long existed in historical texts and literature. One of the most evident examples is Honore de Balzac's short story under the title of *Une double famille* (de Balzac, 1984). Directly translated as 'a double family', but in English as *A Second Home*, Balzac personates Comte de Glanville, an aristocrat who lives a double life both happily with a delightful young girl who happened to live in squalid conditions and unhappily with a bigoted woman at his *home*. Of course, the context of 'a second home' here is fundamentally different from the leisure oriented, purposely built, and physically existed form of living that the research targets on. However, a sense of otherness and alternativeness alongside a mixture of emotional desire or escape are the commons between a second home here and there. Similar examples can also be found in a wide range of literature including *Twelfth Night, or What You Will,* and *Jane Eyre*. In contrast to Balzac, the Victorian literature's common description of temporarily living elsewhere for different purposes is probably more relevant to the modern meanings of *second homes.* Perhaps, one of the common features of these entries is that a second home is always attributed to serving its owner's purposes of leisure and the desire to escape their daily environment.

According to the reflection theory and social control theory, literature not only reflects society, but also shapes it (Inglis, 1938). The abundant examples in literature can be used as implications to help understand the origin of second homes in reality. In fact, thanks to the Bank Holiday Act of 1871 and the ease of rail travel emerging from industrialisation, it became an integral part of Victorian lifestyle to go on holidays to different locations. As travelling for leisure became more regular and more frequent than before, the trend of having a small cottage elsewhere became not only possible but also essential to the high class of the society (Urry, 2002).

While the research about second homes have been a Western dominated case, the existence of second homes, however, are widely documented across the world. In the Volume 79 to the *Book of Jin*, the official Chinese historical record for the Jin Dynasty from 265-420 AD, the term *Bie Shu* which can be directly translated as 'another villa/house/place to live' was invented to describe the physical location where Xie An, the Duke Wenjing of Luling, escapes to for relaxation and preparation before the war. In fact, the very existence of recreational second homes is almost identical in classic Chinese literature. Taking *the Story of the Stone* for example, the tale of Bao-yu began with him and his family living a multiple life across different dwellings in *the Golden Days*. Coincidently, second homes and the lifestyle associated with them happen to be the first objects to fade as the result of the storyline changes and the fortunes of the Jia family. Nonetheless, the origins of second homes do not necessarily have to be restricted to the social elites and literature about them; in fact, old and rich evidence can be found in some of the least privileged places and social groups. For instance, in tropical African destinations like Nigeria where, in its southeast regions, farmers spend the majority of the dry season when the minimum working hours are required at the farm for social activities in their town houses, and alternatively much time in their houses on the farms which maybe 100 miles away from the townships (Oluwasanmi, 1967). In this case, it is reversed in the sense that what we call 'first homes' are used for the owners' leisure purposes while their 'second homes' for work related living.

In short, the origins of second homes can be traced back to the dates long before what the early researchers claim to be the birth of second home phenomenon in the 1930s Scandinavia and Anglo-America. Why are second homes of other times and spaces excluded in the scope of second homes research? Is it because they are not often being considered as second homes; or is it because second homes in other times and cultures are less important than those in the post-war scenario? Could we reach a common understanding about second homes across different cultures, histories, and socio-political statuses? To answer these questions, it is worth visiting the vast Western-based second homes literature in order to observe the depth and width of current debates despite the identity issues of the concept.

The Meaning of Second Homes

In general, *second homes* refer to certain types of property which *home owners* use as an alternative destination away from their *primary homes,* primarily used for holiday and leisure purposes (Coppock, 1977b). As a global phenomenon and a cross-disciplinary research topic, there are numerous terms that are relevant to second homes: cottages, summer homes, vacation homes or weekend homes (Hall and Müller, 2004). In order to emphasis different aspects of the topic, researchers have created additional terms such as *lifestyle mobility* (Benson and O'reilly, 2009), *heterolocal lifestyle* (Halfacree, 2012), *multi-local living* (Hilti, 2009), *multiple dwelling* (McIntyre et al., 2006, Stewart et al., 2006), and *residential tourism* (Mazón, 2006). Despite of, or perhaps because of, the definition of second homes still being under debate, different terms have been introduced to the topology of the phenomenon(Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013).

In the earlier studies, researchers from the Scandinavian tradition have debated about what physical forms of property shall be considered as second homes and what shall not (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). However, the attempt of categorising the physical appearance of a second home is not only impossible, but also unnecessary (Paris, 2014). Paris (2009) questions why we need so many terms for the same phenomenon at the first place and provides a short story to describe her stance on the terminology:

> *'Imagine that I buy a house in New Zealand from somebody who had lived there permanently for the previous 30 years, but then use it as my base for occasional weekends and regular summer-long trout fishing holidays (I wish!). It was her permanent home, it becomes my second home; the dwelling is unchanged, only its use has changed' (p.6).*

In recent years, a second home is recognised with a focus on its usage rather than its physical form (Hall and Müller, 2004). However, even if we categorise second homes by the use of it, the result is probably still an endless list without real analytical value (Hoogendoom and Visser, 2014).

Some scholars have made efforts to clarify the typology of second homes according to the mobility, structure and architectural forms of the objects (Hall and Muller, 2004a). The result is shown in table 2.1, which indicates the complicated nature of the term. Certainly, such topology brings more examples under the umbrella of second homes. However, what use we can make out of such a table when the impact of a caravan is certainly different to that of a large, purposely built second home village.

TYPE	Structure	Building/Vehicles
Non-mobile	Houses and apartments	Solitary cottages and houses; Second home villages; Apartment buildings.
Semi-mobile	Camping	Trailers/mobile homes, Recreational Vehicles, Tents, Caravans.
Mobile	Boats	Sailing boats

Table 2.1 Typologies of Second homes

Source: Hall and Müller (2004)

The categorisation above is problematic because it purely focused on the *physical* aspects of second home tourism such as the distance of travel or the forms of residence. By contrast, Harrison (2010) takes an anthropologist approach to question the identity of the second home tourists and they reason why they travel to seek a 'home away from home'. In terms of identity, Harrison (2010) finds that Canadian cottagers do not recognise themselves as tourists who are often associated with "endless string of pejorative and trivialised notions" (p.71). In addition, the common reason why second home owners repeatedly visit their cottages is that they are willing to recover something that was lost. Such nostalgia reveals a fresh perspective that has never been available in conventional second home research. By temporarily staying in their cottages which are at most two or three hours away from their usual residences, tourists are not attracted by the action of mobility per se, but the representation of it (see Harrison, 2003). For instance, the Canadian cottagers favoured the Haliburton region of Ontario not because of its rocky/treed/lake-strewn landscape. Rather, cottagers are driven by their imagined past – the expansionist agenda and the indomitable spirit of industrial capitalism emerged in the post Second World War era. Therefore, the physical side of cottages – the landscape, the forms of the cottages and the repeated visitation – is, in fact, a major means for the cottagers to realise their 'true Canadian' identity and nationalist ideology (Harrison, 2010). Harrison's work deepens the meaning of second homes in an anthropologist direction, which will emerge as a key approach to this thesis.

To complicate the mentioned issues even further, both parts of the term *second homes* are increasingly problematic (Kaltenborn, 1997b, 1997a, 1998). Firstly, the term *second* was employed to describe that a certain property is used as a 'secondary' residence in addition to their 'primary' home (Visser, 2004). In administrative practices, the term also plays a similar role in the registration process (Müller, 2002a). In reality, second home owners often own multiple properties; thus the notion of 'second' might lead to misunderstandings of the topic. Interestingly, in the UK, the number of second home ownerships are coincidently close to the number of homeless people (Gallent, 2014); and such a result might have trapped researchers to ask questions such as 'how can someone owns two homes while others have none' (Gallent, 2006).

Secondly, the nature of home is changing. The existence of second homes research relies on the assumption that the causes and impacts of second home ownership and residency are different from that of a primary home (Müller and Hall, 2003). Here, the academic intention was focused on how we could distinguish tourism from mobility so that we could investigate second homes independently without the distraction of tourism and permanent residence (Williams and Hall, 2000). In reality, however, this ambition might be too difficult to achieve. Abundant evidence shows that the owners' choice to visit their second homes is entirely based on their own interest rather than other factors such as local taxation rates, voting and other residents' civil rights (Müller, 2002b). It is safe to assume that people can be attached to different places at once and can be able to call multiple locations their 'home'; the boundaries between the primary home and a second home might have been blurred across time and space since the emergence of second homes research in the Nordic Europe (Gallent et al., 2005).

Furthermore, despite the remarkable geographical expansion of second home research and the significant changes in research themes, the dominant conceptualisations and definitions of second homes are still based on a set of Euro-centric idyllic values (Gallent, 2014). For instance, a common school of critics often view second homes as an unwanted intrusion to the peaceful countryside and thus might be responsible for forcing local communities out of their homeland (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). This is obviously problematic given the different historical, cultural and political geographies of different regions where second homes are rising as a common nexus of tourism and motilities (Müller, 2011). For instance, the ownership of multiple dwellings has been discussed in China as the state attempts to manipulate the housing prices in an increasingly opened-up market (Huang, 2004). However, these studies assume those properties as a way of investment rather than a new way of living. Therefore, the term *second homes* cannot be directly applied in China and the emerging trend of acquiring an alternative property for leisure purposes is neglected in the current research scope (Wu et al., 2015).

To summarise, the definitional issues attributed to second homes are listed as follows:

- It is not accurate to identify second homes based on the form of the architecture;
- It is important to understand second homes based on the usage rather than the forms of the property, yet the usages are often difficult to anticipate;
- It is not possible to trace official statistics as national statistics vary significantly according to their institutional definition of second homes;
- It is unrealistic to distinguish a second home from a primary home as the usage of property is entirely up to the home owners;
- It is false to assume that second homes are constructed in the same way across the world, especially in the emerging economies where lifestyle motilities are changing rapidly;
- It is dangerous to employ a pre-installed notion of viewing second homes as a negative agent for rural crisis;
- It is problematic to ignore the growth of second homes in emerging economies and to presume that those cases will produce similar research findings as Anglo-America focused studies.

The Significance of Second Homes Research

Statistically, the significance of second homes ownership is often difficult to grasp due to problems typifying living patterns (Gallent et al., 2003). Although second home tourism is covered relatively well in census data and national statistics in comparison to other forms of tourism mobility, such as day trips, different countries might wish to categorise what qualifies as a second home (Keen et al., 2004). For example, Coppock (1977a) and Dijst et al. (2005) both regard caravans as second homes without the concern that they might be non-existing in countries such as China (Salazar and Zhang, 2013). In fact, in some cases, unoccupied houses in the rural areas are excluded from the second homes data unless they are occupied on the census night (Keen et al., 2004). It seems that every government, or even different departments within the same government, has a distinctive definition of second homes. In some countries, such as the UK, the housing survey excludes properties owned elsewhere that are let out as someone else's main residence in its statistics (Table 2.2).

	Location of second home				
	England	other UK	all UK	outside UK	total
					thousands of homes
2009-10	279	u	**314**	**389**	**703**
2010-11	309	u	**343**	**368**	**711**
2012-13	315	53	**368**	**383**	**751**
2013-14	335	40	**375**	**357**	**732**
					percentages
2009-10	39.7	u	**44.7**	**55.3**	**100.0**
2010-11	43.5	u	**48.2**	**51.8**	**100.0**
2012-13	41.9	7.1	**49.0**	**51.0**	**100.0**
2013-14	45.8	5.5	**51.2**	**48.8**	**100.0**

Table 2.2 Second Homes Ownership UK

Source: DCLG (2015)

Notes:

1) u indicates sample size too small for reliable estimate
2) adjusted for a small number of households who did not answer. The definition of second homes excludes properties owned elsewhere that are let out as someone else's main residence.

Source: DCLG English Housing Survey, Full household sample (DCLG, 2015).

Nationally, second homes in the UK merely make up 1% of the total housing stock (Oxley et al., 2008). This would explain why second homes are absent from the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (DCLG, 2015). Most of the second home ownership data is vague and untrustworthy because many of the multiple property owners simply do not claim one of their dwellings for tax saving purposes while other owners lend them to families and friends (Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2001). Moreover, it is generally agreed to use the term *second homes* as a loose umbrella term covering various objects and living patterns ranging from summer cottages in the rural areas all the way to boats and caravans (Paris, 2014).

In addition to the difficulties in terms of the definition, classification and localisation, many official sources tend to monitor the scale and measure the second homes within the national housing structure. Predictably, the statistics of second homes is unevenly distributed geographically. For example, almost one in five households own a second home in Scandinavia (Rye, 2011). Other estimations suggest that second home ownership rates vary between 2 and 14 per cent to the total homeownerships in Europe and the United States (McIntyre et al., 2006, Belsky et al., 2007). Within countries, the true scale of second homes are often hidden within the housing statistics. For instance, Islington Council complains that, in July 2015, 42% of the building units had no registered voters living in them (Islington, 2015). In England, there are 610,123 empty homes despite widespread anxiety about housing shortage (DCLG, 2016). Of these, 33% have been unoccupied for at least half a year, given the official definition of 'long-term' emptiness. In Scotland, 31,884 long-term empty dwellings were documented in 2015 (SG, 2015). In Wales, 23,171 were empty between 2014 and 2015.

Even though second homes might have hosted a weak position of its own in government statistics, they hold stronger interest among the research community. The significance of second homes is reflected in the wide array of research topics. Since the topic appeared in the research community from as early as the 1930s, second homes have been studied from a Western perspective. Second homes as a research agenda has attracted considerable attention since the 1950s and 1960s, when the economically more well-off urbanites in Scandinavia and North America began to build alternative dwellings for leisure purposes in the suburbs at the fringe of major cities (Wolfe, 1951, 1952, 1962, 1965). Significant changes have taken places in the research communities, especially in the Western-based institutions, who attribute the emergence second homes to post-World War II wealth accumulations and increased leisure time (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013).

In order to deal with the rapidly increasing second home ownership and its aftermath, the British Town and Country Planning Association called a one-day conference in 1974 which later lead to the publication of the seminal papers *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* (Coppock, 1977b). This book marked the modern birth of the debate around second homes and it remains one of the most influential works to date (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). Following Coppock's work, researchers from around the world have contributed to the knowledge of second homes from longer-established disciplines such as geography and sociology (Paris, 2010). Researchers have provided empirical evidence dealing with second homes related issues. Since 2000, six books have been published directly influenced by Coppock's work (Gallent et al., 2003, Gallent et al., 2005, Müller et al., 2005, Müller et al., 2004, McIntyre et al., 2006, Stewart et al., 2006). Many of these works take a very broad definition of second homes as if the phenomenon is self-identical (Paris, 2014).

In terms of conventional second homes research, the 'curses' and 'blessings' become more and more complicated as scholars from around the world bring a wide variety of case studies to the table (Paris, 2009). For example, British planning conflicts over dwellings in the countryside lie at one extreme of a continuum of restrictive government regulations and planning authorities, meaning that the regime of second homes has limited impact on the local taxes and voting rights (Paris, 2010). In Scandinavian countries such tension works differently as the government is more sophisticated in dealing with the administrative and alterative aspects of second homes in order to re-balance the homeowner-local community relationships (Rye and Gunnerud Berg, 2011).

Müller and Hoogendoorn (2013) conduct a thorough investigation of second home research based on almost four decades of practice after Coppock's pioneer research. Based on their content analysis of second homes research put against Coppock's original ones some 36 years ago, they separate the vast research evidence and conceptual attempts in the following six themes:

1) Justice and Other Second Home-Induced Problems
2) Invasion of Rural Areas – Rural Conflicts
3) An Environmental Question?
4) Internationalisation Unheard?
5) Economic dimensions
6) The future growth of second homes

<u>The Impacts of Second Homes</u>

The aim of this thesis is not to provide yet another case study from China to be categorised in one of the six categories. Instead, this study seeks for a theoretical conceptualisation of second homes so that the 'why' questions can be answered.

According to Müller and Hoogendoorn (2013), under the same theme, different results are observed in different countries, and sometimes even within the same countries. Similarly, Gallent et al. (2003) suggest that second home induced problems are highly localisable and thus marginal in most places. Take the theme of *invasion of rural areas – rural conflicts* as an example, the empirical evidence suggest distinctive findings. The conventional studies from Coppock (1977a) and Wolfe (1977) place a question mark on second homes by viewing it as a means of rural invasion and a cause of conflict. In the Welsh countryside, second homes have been accused as the source of raising strife between different nationalities and ethnic groups (Wolfe, 1977).

Following this vein, two genres of following research are developed. One group discovers that more issues have been linked to second homes development, including the increase of property prices and the lack of housing accessibility created by second homes desire; the community imbalance; housing shortages; the acceleration of rural out-migration; crime rates growth; aesthetic nature of rural areas; changes of habitat and general upgrading of infrastructure (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). However, another group of researchers have come up with different ideas. Gallent et al. (2005) also provide a more recent portrait of the Welsh countryside and confirms many of the issues stated above, while he insists that the cause of these issues are the product of changing rural economic structure. Later, Gallent (2007) finds that retirement has far greater impact than second homes. Moreover, Marjavaara (2007b), Marjavaara (2007a), Marjavaara (2008) traces the second homes development in Sweden and finds no evidence linking second homes to these issues.

In a temporal manner, many of the conventional theses are dated because when second homes came in the spotlight of the research community, the rural areas had only begun its post-productivist transformation from a production-led economy to a consumption-led one (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). For instance, Clout (1971) claims that second homes disrupt local ways of living by installing seasonality into the local community. However, Girard and Gartner (1993) later proved that the locals prefer seasonality in North America. Then, Clout (1971) blames second homes for limiting farm sizes and farm consolidation without realising that it was a general process of the time underneath the post-productivist reformation which took place around the country (Gallent, 2007). Similarly, Albarre (1977) touches on a very interesting question, which deals with the relationship between second home owners and local farmers, and suggests that there would be a dramatic gap between the two groups. However, the second homes – rural mix did not turn out to be a breakdown; instead, some second-home ownership has often acted as an entrepreneurial opportunity (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2011).

In a geographical manner, the original debate becomes even more interesting. For instance, in the Caribbean islands, little or no conflicts are noted between second home owners and local communities (Henshall, 1977). More recent case studies in South Africa provide similar findings (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2011, Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012). In fact, second homes and second home owners are welcomed by these areas because their existence is very important for the fragile local economy. In Norway, it is reported that local residents support second home dwellers because they are themselves second home owners elsewhere and they understand the contribution of the second home ownership (Farstad, 2011). However, these findings do not justify the social impacts of second homes. France and Spain, for example, have reported racism between local communities and second home dwellers, especially towards their children who go to the nearby school (Benson and O'reilly, 2009). While in other parts of the world second homes are found to have value in bridging social capital with the local residents (Gallent, 2014).

Therefore, it seems that second homes research, after four decades of intensive debates and studies, stayed at its original dilemma which can be spotted on Coppock's (1977) title: second homes are the 'curse' of some and the 'blessing' of others. Interestingly, the research significance of second homes often carries a negative tone as scholars often view the object as a 'curse' rather than a 'blessing' (Coppock, 1977).

One of the most critical debates around the issue is whether or not the demand of second homes has a displacement effect on the local residents (Coppock, 1977; Hall and Müller, 2004). Second homes are often criticised as the author of disruption to local house prices as they push housing prices beyond the reach of local buyers and renters. These authors believe that second homes can lead to displacement of local communities despite the benefits on investment and improvement on rural housing stock. In very broad terms, the 'curse' of second homes is rooted in their distorting effect on housing prices (Bollom, 1978, Shucksmith, 1983). Many of these local communities become even more fragile than before as these rural spaces share an economy based in agriculture or services, which deliver a low income for the permanent residents.

For Müller and Hoogendoorn (2013), the idea of conducting such a content analysis is to test to what extent Coppock's original analysis is reflected in today's world. They found that many of the impacts that Coppock suggested still hold a similar strand today while some issues have been shifted. Indeed, second homes are nothing new. What is new is the scale and capacity of second home ownership in most Western countries in recent decades (Dijst et al., 2005). The true significance of second homes is hidden behind miscalculated statistics, as in many western countries the number of available bed nights in a second home often challenges or even surpasses the formal accommodation sector (Hall and Müller, 2004). Still, most second homes are acknowledged within Europe or North America, especially in the Nordic countries (Jansson and Müller, 2003). Thus, regardless how well researched the topic, it remains a regionally focused issue (Müller, 2007).

While a lot of the themes and knowledge about second homes research continuously flourishes among Anglo-American scholars, some shifts in focus can be identified. For example, there is new evidence to suggest that there has been a change in power relations in terms of second homes development: shifting from self-induced non-commoditised summer cottages, to fully commercially exclusive and expensive dwellings led by developers (Paris, 2014). These cases can be found across western countries such as Norway and Australia. What awaits to be explored both theoretically and empirically, is the Asia Pacific region where second homes are witnessed to grow the fastest (Huang and Yi, 2011). Another shift is observed on the opposite of the displacement hypothesis. It is argued that the displacement of local community and the weak socio-economic development are the combined results of the restructuring of rural economy and a transforming representation of post-productive countryside (Clout, 1971, Müller et al., 2004, Vepsäläinen and Pitkänen, 2010). In this way, this alternative perspective avoids the conventional approach to blaming the second homes as the *singular* factor responsible for the *curses* in the rural area including: the decline in the traditional rural sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, fishing, forestry and manufacturing; and the migration out of the local communities, especially by youngsters (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). This hypothesis follows these two emerging perspectives of second homes research and believes that more knowledge can be gained from studying the emerging region with a fresh perspective.

The Future of Second Homes Research

Second homes research in the past four decades have linked up with many important social issues and certainly have provided interesting implications. Emerged from a conference paper and later expanded with case studies from several other countries, Coppock's (1977) editorial work is considered as a piece that is 'somewhat intentional, aiming at identifying second homes as a problem calling for urgent political action and regulation' (Müller & Hoogendoorn, 2013:365).

To make this issue even more complicated, Müller (2007) suggests that second homes develop differently depending on institutional and political pre-conditions. Paris (2009) confirms this with an investigation of the British planning system and finds that the UK experience can hardly be applicable to other countries because of the extraordinary circumstances in the regime. While second home related mobility is being increasingly realised as a global phenomenon, it is difficult to develop meaningful generalisations (Müller, 2011).

Furthermore, two interconnected issues, namely the lack of reliable statistics and contradictory empirical evidence, have made the prediction of the influence of second homes a daunting task (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). It is almost impossible to predict the nature (scale, location, capacity, and social status of ownerships) and impact (social, economic, political and environmental) of second homes when they are developed in a new place (Müller, 2011).

All of these issues are visible in the case of China, where second homes are growing at a speed and scale that is unprecedented, and yet little is known about it (Wu et al., 2015). For example, it is found that second homes have played a much more significant role in urbanisation, as it has transformed the process of urbanisation from a state-led and productivist-driven approach to a consumption-led one (Wu et al., 2013). In other words, what second homes mean to China must be taken into careful consideration in terms of the historical, social and political pre-conditions of the country. It is possible that the role of second homes in Chinese society and its economic structures might be mapped differently than its Western counterparts. Thus, a detailed investigation of China in terms of the housing reformation, land usage and economic reformation history will be separately discussed in the forthcoming chapter.

Although scholars dispute the definition, typology, causes and impacts of second homes, they agree that second homes mobility is located in between tourism and housing studies (Paris, 2011). This view has been recognised since the early researches in which second homes 'are at the point of overlap between housing and tourism – neither squarely one nor the other, but having the nature and implications of both' (Dower, 1977, p.216). Interestingly, both Tourism researchers such as Müller and Hoogendoorn (2013), and housing scholars like Paris (2009, 2011), have indicated the potential of second homes research.

In the realm of tourism, despite the wide range of interpretations of the topic, some of the key theories (such as authenticity) in tourism have been rarely applied to gain further understanding on the concept of second homes (Huete et al., 2013). In a new introduction to *The Tourist*, MacCannell (2013) insists authenticity is a grand theory through which all tourist activities can be explained and analysed. If this were true, and if second homes are indeed an important element of tourism, neglecting the concept of authenticity in second homes research seems too obvious a gap. In relations to the concept of authenticity, some scholars have been concerned about the impact of second homes on the aesthetics of the rural landscape (in Hall, 2014). Apart from this, authenticity probably has little to do with theorising second homes. Much second home ownerships are used for heterogeneous purposes such as relaxation, illicit affairs, a quite space to write a book, health reasons, etc. These activities might be unrelated to a MacCannell's sense of authenticity.

However, with a broader linkage to authenticity, fellow tourism research has examined second homes through the lens of host-guest relationships (Girard and Gartner, 1993). Some sociologists have looked at second homes from a local identity perspective (Halfacree, 2012). These studies have provided valuable insights and possibilities to apply authenticity in second homes studies. Nonetheless, it is also possible that participants in the second homes sector do not necessarily perceive the 'search for authenticity' (Huete et al., 2013). One thing we need to remember is that the concept of authenticity is as complicated and contradictory as the concept of second homes itself, and therefore using the still developing theory of authenticity to explain the yet-to-be fully defined phenomenon of second homes seems both challenging and fascinating.

In the realm of housing, researchers might have exaggerated the importance and significance of ‘the home’ in the singular (Paris, 2009, p.6). Because many households own multiple dwellings and are emotionally attached to several physical places within which their various dwelling types are located, it is very difficult to use current theories and models to explain or anticipate second home ownership. Later, Paris (2011) suggests that second homes cannot be defined, and that conceptualising it would be more appropriate. Because second homes have different meanings to different scholars and planners, between different countries and within the same countries, it is a daunting task to draw a clear line between primary housing and second homes. For (Paris, 2014), second homes are ‘distinctive leisure goods combining both investment and consumption qualities, with potential for capital growth’ (p.7). Thus according to Paris, second homes, regardless of how we define it, are products based on consumption. In contrast to this, second homes are often automatically assumed to be settlements in the rural area where land remains a vital element of production (Hoggart et al., 2002). This contradiction explains the reason why much of the housing literature on the impacts of second homes ownership on the local communities or places face extreme difficulties to separate the impact of second homes with many other factors during the urban-rural transformation. As such, second homes *cannot* make an impact on environment because it is the usage that makes it a second home, not the classification of the dwellings (Paris, 2010). When second homes are accused of having a damageing impact on sensitive areas, it needs to be remembered that it is not the physical buildings or structures that made such impacts, neither is the usage of the dwellings as second homes; it is because they have been developed in these areas at the first place (Paris, 2014). Furthermore, despite the few attempts to assess the economic dimensions of second homes (e.g. Gallent et al., 2005), it is surprising to see how researchers show little interest in this area (Müller & Hoogendoorn, 2013). Although scholars keep finding new evidence in case studies and keep producing fascinating results, the economics of second homes remain a major gap to be researched. What is missing is a sense of space and place in the understanding of second homes. In order to overcome the issues in housing studies and to establish a more generalisable notion of second homes, it needs to be linked to spatial theories.

Both tourism and housing scholars urge second homes research to acquire a sense of place in the future. This might hint at a useful way to rethink the meaning of second homes. Having reviewed the geo-history of second homes and the research of it in the past four decades, this thesis pays attention to how to conceptualise it so that occurrences in Chinese case studies could be explained and analysed. To do so, this thesis needs to discover the appropriate theory to construct the theoretical framework upon. Following Paris's (2014) call for collaboration between the two research communities, this thesis takes a strategic approach in terms of finding the relevant theory to support the building of the conceptual framework. This strategy approach is shown in Image 2.3.

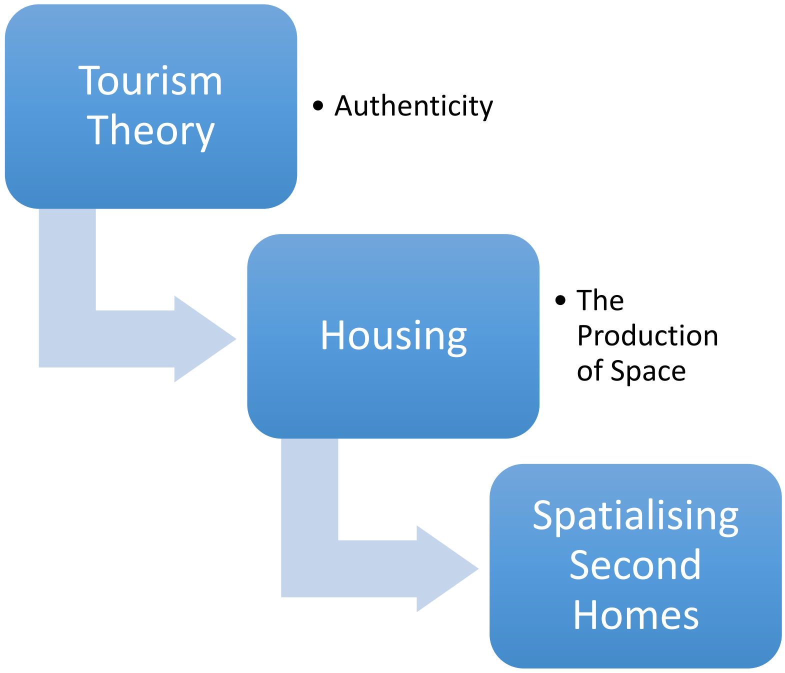

Image 2.2 Literature Review Strategy

Source: author

Tourism and housing share many similarities. Both of them are relatively recent, multi-disciplinary, subject-focused specialisms. Both of them have been challenged for weak institutional construction, theoretical underpinnings and intellectual legitimacy (Paris, 2014). Having conducted thorough research, I have not come across any mature theories that conceptualises second homes in such a way that it can be used in the context of China. What is possible, however, is to begin with one of the fundamental theories in tourism, i.e. authenticity, and explore its relevance towards the spatial side of housing, i.e. the production of (living) space. Before engageing with these theories in such a way, this chapter will briefly review the historical context of tourism and housing development in China.

2.3 Like a Rolling Stone: Tourism Development in China

Overview

In the China Tourism Work Conference which took place on 15th January 2015, China National Tourism Administration announced their '515 Strategy' to boost tourism development (CNTA, 2015). The state's new strategy places tourism close to the centre of the objective of bringing 'civilisation, orderliness, security, convenience and prosperity' to Chinese society (Dai et al., 2016). In fact, the role of tourism as an agent for economic development and a means to attract foreign exchange has always been recognised by China's national development strategy since the economic reformation of 1978. What is new in the '515 Strategy' is the recognition of social and environmental values attributed to tourism.

Over the past decade, China has been, and still is, one of the fastest-growing tourist source markets in the world (UNWTO, 2015). To put in that perspective, China has been leading global outbound travel with a double-digit growth rate since 2004 (WTTC, 2015). In terms of its importance to economics, China's tourism is now ranked 2 by absolute size contributing to 7.5% of GDP and 8.6% of total employment (WTTC, 2015). By 2025, China's tourism is subjected to constitute 10.3% of the GDP with a 6.2% raise pa and 11.7% of employment with a 3.3% raise pa (WTTC, 2015).

The implication of contemporary tourism in China can also be found elsewhere. Thanks to rapid urbanisation, rising disposable incomes and relaxation of restrictions on foreign travel, the volume of international trips by Chinese travellers has grown from 10 million in 2000 to 83 million in 2012 and then 107 million in 2014. Furthermore, the economic dynamics of international tourism in China is widely recognised. China Confidential, a *Financial Times* research institution, estimates that Chinese tourists spent almost $500 billion ($498bn) in 2014. This Image is much higher than the official estimates from the China Tourism Bureau as China Confidential considers costs including transportation, visa and other services (Plowright, 2015).

Regardless of source, the focus on China's tourism has been exclusively on the international expansion of tourism from China. However, this focus has been somewhat problematic as only 6 per cent of the population hold a passport in China (CNTA, 2015). Likewise, inbound tourism is also a popular research topic because as one of the most geographically and culturally diverse countries in the world, China has long been recognised for its enriched tourist resources (Yang et al., 2012).

It is important to consider the fact that both inbound and outbound tourism combined only counts as a fraction of tourism in large. In other words, domestic tourism deserves much more attention from researchers and policymakers as it is by far the largest tourism market in China (Ghimire, 2013). In 2013, China generates 129 million inbound and 98 million outbound tourists, and some 3.2 billion domestic tourists alone (Weaver, 2015).

While tourism enjoys its rapid growth as a result of China's transition from socialism to a hybrid socialist/market-based society, several internal issues have to be faced by researchers (Heberer, 2014). For example, the overly highlighted contemporary focus on materialism needs to be balanced with rejuvenated political, spiritual and aesthetic initiatives (Wang, 2014). Also, the significance of China's domestic tourism and its social and environmental impact seems to be underestimated and under-researched (Xu et al., 2014).

These issues are critical for this research, and thus it is necessary to examine China's development strategies over the past few decades. Focusing on the aspect of China's substantial and rapid development in tourism since the 'reform and opening up' policy instituted in 1978, it is possible to summarise the histories of China's tourism development with a focus on the domestic segment and to establish the backgrounds of this research. Also, in order to pin China down on the world's tourism map, it is necessary to understand what tourism means to China in different times.

China's tourism in the pre-1978 era

In ancient times, travel is closely associated with religious practices such as pilgrimage (Walton, 2009). Very much similar to Haji to Mecca and pilgrimage to Lhasa, China's outbound exploration began with pursuits of religions (Lew, 2003). Alternatively, travel to China for leisure purposes dates back thousands of years with the emperors, scholars and monks being the majority of 'tourists' (ibid). The image of China also spread internationally through

Western visitors such as Marco Polo, one of the most influential forerunners of exploration and travelling (Wen and Tisdell, 2001). Some studies have questioned the legitimacy and trustworthiness of Marco Polo's journey to China (Morgan, 1996). Whether he went to China or not, the message that needs to be emphasised is that China's image as an *exotic* destination has emerged among Western explorers since the 13th century.

The motivations of travelling to China were encouraged by the emperors of old kingdoms of China who were forced to make contact with other parts of the world (central Asia) for religious purposes (Wang, 2014). Consequently, both inbound and outbound tourism in and from China were developed by strong political and religious desires between the 13th and 15th century. The peak of ancient China's outbound tourism was Cheng Ho's expeditionary voyages through Southeast Asia, India, and the Middle East, and finally reaching East Africa, between 1405 and 1433 (Wade, 2005). To provide some perspective, Columbus's first voyage to America was in 1492, almost a century after Cheng Ho's first voyage.

Cheng Ho's voyages would not have been successful without political support from Emperor Yongle of the Ming Dynasty; in fact, political factors have been more crucial in Chinese tourism than on the touristic efforts of many other countries (Lew, 2003). After Cheng Ho's great voyages in the 15th century, China's foreign policy became increasingly isolationist. For instance, Emperor Hongwu released the first *Sea Ban* in China's history to prevent all maritime shipping, and the Qing Dynasty followed a similar foreign policy to isolate China from outside (ibid). Towards the end of the Qing Dynasty, the isolationism was loosened partially because of the invasion of colonists, and partially because of the temptations to flee the country from Chinese elite groups (ibid). Thus, in the 1920s, a group of travel agencies was set up in Shanghai to deal with both inbound and outbound tourism and this development only lived for a short period of time (Su and Wall, 2012). In the 1930s, China's leisure tourism was interrupted by the second Sino-Japan war and the tourism agencies were forced to serve the colonists to move within and to China (Wen and Tisdell, 2001).

The wars period ended as Mao's communist party established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949. In the following three decades, Mao's China was established as an isolationist country which only maintained close diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union (Huang, 2008). Up until the implementation of the 'open door policy' in 1978, China remained silent in terms of tourism development (Lew, 2003). For the domestic population, travelling within China was merely available to government officials and relevant personnel who had to travel to import goods from other regions of China (Yang and Wong, 2013). As such, travelling for leisure purposes was almost non-existent and unavailable to the majority of domestic Chinese people because of tight political control, poor means of transportation, and limited personal finance circumstances (Lew and Yu, 1995).

Similarly, China's inbound tourism was barely recorded except for foreign travellers who travelled to the country for reasons such as diplomacy and sports with special permits (Lew, 2003). Official data in terms of the number of tourists are almost non-existent over this period of time.

Although China's exploration and explorations to China had both begun at a remarkably early stage, tourism was a relatively new item in the post-1978 China due to historical and socio-political reasons. Mao's era, especially the economic policies and its implication to China's urban and rural landscape will be analysed in greater detail in the later chapter. As a background to tourism development, it is important to understand how China and Chinese people have jumped into the arena of world tourism from virtually zero in a matter of thirty years' time.

<u>The 1978 Reform</u>

China's economic reform has been considered as one of the greatest events of the latter half of the twentieth century (Garnaut, 2001). In 1978, in order to regain economic growth, to tackle poverty, and to recover from a decade of social and natural disasters, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) paved the path for national economic reconstruction and social reforms (Naughton, 1995). A programme entitled 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' was installed to reform a new economy based on market principles following Deng Xiaoping's leadership (Garnaut and Song, 1999). Although the programmes seemed a significant diversion from the Maoist approach, it was misguiding to consider China's reformation as an isolated event. Rather, the reformation is the result of predominate ideological framework under a series of profound changes which are still on-going today. Therefore, researchers tend/attempt to avoid a static view when analysing the contemporary China (McMillan and Naughton, 1992).

Prior to 1978, China adopted a Command economic system which was modelled after the Soviet Union's system (Yifu Lin et al., 1996). A Command economic system, often referred as Planned Economies, captures the two most recognised features in Soviet systems (Tsui, 1996). First, the planners take full control of resource allocation despite the market's responses to prices. Second, resources are highly concentrated and centralised to the planners' favour and the distribution of these resources are based on the planners' assumptions (Naughton, 1995). The driving forces of the fundamental economic reform in China are complex and are still a debatable question in socio-economical, geo-political and historical issues (Zhou and Logan, 2002). One of the most common arguments is that the Chinese leaders were forced to advance the much troubled economic centralised system to strengthen the political position of the communist party following Mao's death in 1976 (Hare, 1988, p.68). The failures on the brief attempts to resettle a centralised economy between 1976 and 1978 finally led the party to transform a Command economic system to a market-led socialist economy (Naughton, 1995).

China's economic reform features complex causes and effects during the past thirty years. In this thesis, the course of this reform will be analysed with relevance to the tourism sector specifically and rural modernisation more generally.

<u>Tourism development in the post-1978 era</u>

The two above-mentioned features of China's economic foundation before the reformation can help explain the absence of China's tourism development from 1949 to 1978. In the Maoist period, China's applied socialist ideology and tightly controlled economy allowed little room for leisure-based activities (Bao and Ma, 2010). In some texts, the term 'tourism' was labelled as a pseudo exercise, which was against the very ideology of China's socialism (Ma and Noble, 1979). Lew (2003) argues that this political attitude towards tourism has a deep impact on the Chinese people and their lifestyle. Often driven by hedonic motivations, consumption of tourism products is found closely linked to affective ambivalences (a mixed feeling that is both positive and negative at the same time) which can be termed as 'guilty pleasure' or 'pleasurable guilty' (Bao and Ma, 2010). This raises a further issue: if tourism in China began as the devil, which was not welcomed by the state and which citizens either were not able or not willing to consume, then what is the driving force to make China the biggest tourism market in a matter of less than thirty years? How did the economic reform make an impact on tourism development? What are the premises of tourism growth in the context of China?

The entire spectrum of economic policies has comprised two phases. The first phase took place between 1979 and 1984. Translated as 'the bird in the cage' period, the party's leader Deng began to initiate reformation in agriculture by allowing farmers to keep their land's output after paying a share to the state (Brandt et al., 2008). The central focus of this period was to tackle poverty and to increase productivity in the urban areas (Naughton, 1995). Deng also created a series of Special Economic Zones to attract foreign investment (Lew, 2001). Compared to the significant changes and loosened controls over resources and the market, the service industry was not placed anywhere near the centre in the first phase. At this stage, tourism remained primarily 'an instrument of foreign affairs rather than as a means for economic gain' (Wen and Tisdell, 2001, p.16).

The second phase took place between 1984 and 1993. In this era, Deng's implementation of market-led policies continued beyond the initial reforms. Decentralisation of the political and economic system was the most defining element of this period (Naughton et al., 2008). In 1987inbound tourism was included in the national 5-year plan for social and economic development for the first time, as it was declared to be a desirable economic activity for the purpose of attracting foreign exchange (Zhang, 1995). However, the intention of the 5-year plan between 1981 and 1985 was to 'exploit the economic power of the coastal regions… in order to promote economic development' (Berthélemy and Demurger, 2000, p.14). In this way, the tourism development strategy, which emphasized inbound tourism, was not implemented at the same rate and time across China. Rather, it was only applied to the coastal regions, essentially Fujian and Guangdong (Jackson, 2006). The success in the coastal regions proved that tourism-based development was not only desirable, but also feasible (Berthélemy and Demurger, 2000). In this way, tourism started to play a role in the major strategy for regional and national economic development across China (Lew and Yu, 1995; Xu, 1999; Wen and Tisdell, 2001).

The first two phases have successfully transferred tourism in China from being based on the administrative allocation of resources into a market-based allocation of resources under restrictions of administrative control (Tang et al., 2014). The purposes of tourism have also been reshaped from a tool that serves political and economic purposes into a new driver for economic growth and a pillar industry (ibid).

While the tourism sector showed rapid growth and rapid changes both in its scale and its forms, this was not replicated in Chinese tourism research. The establishment of human geography in China in the academic sense began in 1979, when two institutions - the Peking University and the Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences - gave birth to it (Bao and Ma, 2010). Tourism geography joined the field in the early 1980s for the purpose of assisting tourist sites and regions to be more attractive for tourists and to be more profitable (Bao et al., 2014). Hence, applied research dominated tourism geography for the past three decades of development. While theoretical and conceptual work gained little attention and contributed even less to China's tourism development, Western scholars have failed to connect the existing tourism theories with the contemporary issues in the case of China (Bao, 2002). The imbalance between applied research and construction of theories, along with the disconnection between Chinese and Western scholars, have become one of the major problems for China's tourism research in the past thirty years (Bao and Ma, 2010).

In terms of national policies on tourism development, both the volume and the perspectives covered have undergone significant changes during the past three decades (Image 2). In 2003, when a new basic tourism law was implemented, China's tourism entered a new age (Leung et al., 2014) that brings a two-fold question. On the one hand, the new focus of China's national tourism policy was put on domestic tourism, which is a sector that has been neglected by politics for decades and a sector that outgrows other sectors of tourism combined (Leung et al., 2014). On the other hand, traditionally, tourism is merely understood as an economic activity leaving a large gap in the socio-cultural and environmental aspects of tourism (Lew, 2003). Considering that China's growth on domestic tourism has been intertwined with the rapid urban and rural development, it is safe to assume that the making of tourism spaces has many conflicts and associations with the changing landscape in the urban and rural areas? Second homes, despite the definitional problems, have been placed at the common area between tourism and immigration that has been installed in the rural or the peripherals. In order to define and conceptualise second homes in the context of China, it is needed to review the history of China's housing development in order to build a foundation to understand the emergence of the hybrid form between tourism and living.

2.4 Dream On: Urban Transformation in China (1949-2015)

Inequality in Urban China

Economic growth in the inland region of China has fallen far behind its eastern coastal counterparts and special economic zones since 1978, when the country initiated the market-oriented reformation (Wu et al., 2013). Between 1978 and 2000, China has achieved an average of 10% of annual growth rate (Tisdell and Chai, 1997) and the rate has continued at 8-10% between 2000 and 2010 (Song et al., 2011). However, Images indicate a large imbalance with inter-provincial growth over this period of time. Eastern coastal regions and Special Economic Zones benefit from an average growth rate of 14% per annum while inland and Western Regions had an average growth rate as little as 6.9% (Demurger, 2000, p.15). Intentionally implemented as the initial development strategy by Deng in 1978, the growth pole theory was the prime driving force for China's uneven regional development until the year 2000 (Wen and Tisdell, 2001). Since the new millennium, investments have been refocused on the underdeveloped inland, especially western regions while they continued to serve as origins for resources, raw material, labour resources and national security purposes (Jackson, 2006).

The economic imbalance has a significant reflection in terms of urbanization level and tourism development in China. In general, China's wealth distribution echoes the level of urbanization across the country (Wen and Tisdell, 2001). The relationship between urbanization and regional development will be analysed in greater detail in the following section. In terms of tourism, Demurger (2000) found that the top 12 tourism destinations in China attracted 82.9% of total tourist arrivals in the country, while 9 of the 12 destinations are coastal gateway regions. The researched region, Yunnan Province, was one of the three inland regions that were listed on the top 12 destinations (Jackson, 2006). Since 2000, when China's *ninth five-year-plan* took place, the central state has been remarking the importance of urbanization in the process of economic development in the western regions (Li and Yao, 2009). Both the central and regional governments have been increasingly applying tourism as a core driver to achieve higher rates of urbanization at the provincial level (Zhang, 2001; Jack, 2006).

(Sub)-Urbanisation in China

Under the heavy emphasis on urbanization, China has been through a period of rapid urban development since 1978. The level of urbanization grew from 26.4% in 1990 to 49.9% in 2010, with an average pace of 1% per year (Zhang and Lin, 2012). In 2011, China announced for the first time that over half of the nation's population lives in an urban area (Zhang and Lin, 2012). Urban population has grown from 80 million in 1978 to more than 560 million in 2008, with an average growth rate of 7.5% (World Bank, 2014). China's sustained rapid economic growth has led to a substantial improvement in urban landscape, people's living standards, and massive increase in industrial production and agriculture outputs (Sutherland and Yao, 2011).

In the socialist era, Chinese cities were constructed as more of a state establishment for its political and economic needs rather than a human habitat (Lin, 2006). The ideological and strategic considerations in the urban development process have changed, but not disappeared, since the socio-economic reformation in the 1978 (Wu, 2007). The commodification and privatisation of housing provision on the supply end coupled with the rise of new rich/middle class on the demand side have led to the dramatically change in urban landscapes (Shen & Wu, 2011). One of the most popular ways to describe the change is to highlight Chinese urbanisation as the consequences of domestic market-oriented reformation and the ideological shifting (He and Wu, 2009). The highly concentrated urban landscapes underpinning strictly planned urban resources and largely limited urban sizes in the socialist era have now shifted into the centre locus of economic growth (Lin, 2006). Another popular school draws attention to the impacts of globalisation on China's urban landscape (Wu, 2003). As noted above, Chinese cities have become emerging centres for direct foreign and domestic, public and private investments, as well as the centres for architecture experiments (Phelps and Wu, 2011).

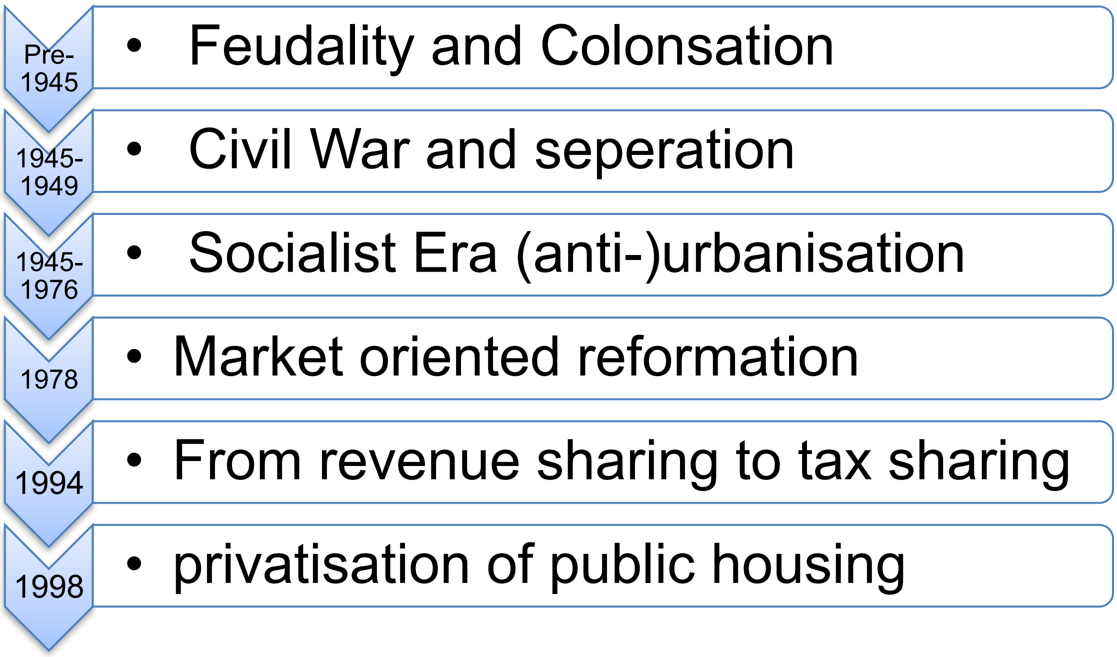

Table 2.3 Privatisation Process of Housing in China

Source: author

In a simplified manner, the urbanisation process in China is concluded in Table 2.3. China's urban development has been examined with linkages to its International counterparts. Researchers have adopted existing Western models in order to understand China's urbanization process. Among other studies, few themes have been widely discussed in the centre of China's urbanisation debate.

<u>Gated communities</u>

As a typical form of Common Interest Housing Development (CID), gated communities have attracted most academic attentions in the past three decades (Blandy, 2011). Many scholars mark planned enclaves, including gated communities, townhouses and condominiums, as the fastest growing form of housing development in the US, Australia and Europe (see McKenzie, 1994; Low, 2003; Grant, 2004). The importance of studying such an area is also because the driving force of the CIDs- the privatisation of governance- 'may be the most extensive and dramatic privatisation of public life in U.S. history' (McKenzie, 1994, p.1).

Existing literature about CIDs tend to focus on three areas. Firstly, sociologically, anthropologically and socio-legally, scholars have paid large attention to the power-relations within such development (Calderia, 2001). Most likely, the central locus of the debate associates with gender (Massey, 2007); gentrification and inequality (Hamnett, 2003); and crime (Calderia, 2001). The second type of literature tends to discuss the economics of such development (Webster and Lai, 2003). And the third type of studies takes extensive concerns into the changing physical fabric of urban life, from the perspective of urban planners/architects/designers (Phelps and Wu, 2011). All of these studies provide useful frameworks to help understand the causes and effects of CIDs.

China shares common features in the development of urban landscape with many other Western societies, namely the rapid gentrification and increasingly liberalised economy (Wu, 2010). However, China represents a unique case with its own identities. First, it is important to understand China as a post-socialist country where the power of the state remains in the master planning of urban development and distribution of resources (Hetherington and ebrary, 1997). Second, under globalisation, the gated-communities in China have been understood in a way of subsequent manifestation and reformulation of the West (Wu and Webster, 2010). It is known that such development represents a certain type of 'good life' by providing mixed-up packages and distinctive images, focusing on the high-end market; however, how such a 'way of life' makes an impact on the overall urbanisation process remains unknown (van Kempen et al., 2012). As many researchers have pointed out, the emergence of CIDs is not much but a representation of 'imagined' globalisation or westernisation (Shen and Wu, 2012b). Some urban geographers argue that studies should focus on broader aspects of social impacts than existing exploration of aesthetic design and amenities (McKenzie, 2003).Third, tracing back to the emergence of CIDs, scholars tend to focus on the Western phenomenon rather than global occurrences (Le Goix, 2005). There is no universal definition of urbanisation because every city carries unique physical environments, socio-politics, economics, history and culture (Knox and McCarthy, 2005). What makes the case of China different and necessary to explore is that its CIDs are more of a government-driven development strategy than a self-interested consuming process, which is common in the Western societies (Phelps and Wu, 2011).

Apart from the few researchers who are capable of analysing China's gated community development from border social perspectives, the majority of current research in China tends to solely focus on the economics of elite built landscapes. Thus a new approach is in need to provide a more compelling framework for analysis. Gwyther (2005) suggests a way of understanding the production of a master-planned community as 'the latest manifestation of utopian place making'. This discourse shows a strong linkage with the 'imagined' globalization in China's enclave urbanization process.

As will be revealed later on in this chapter, there is an emerging type of urban development in China, which consists, but not solely relies on, the construction of CIDs. In such a particular development, none of the existing frameworks are competent to fully understand the factors that built this very landscape. This research hence adopts Zukin's archaeology approach to demonstrate economic, social and political power that constructs The Aqua Complex.

New Urbanisation Theory

The concept of new urbanisation, or new town strategy, which is a common practice in the U.S. and Britain, has been widely adopted across China with much reflection to Ebenezer Howard's framework (Wu et al., 2007). New urbanisation refers to the automobile oriented urban movement, which promotes urban inhabitants to live away from city centres in newly developed housing areas (Latham et al., 2009). Mainly occurring in post-Second-World-War North America, new urbanisation has spread globally and it has generated a particular impact in China (Wu et al., 2007).

A large number of these high-end, well-designed houses are left empty despite the fact that a majority of them are sold immediately after the completion of projects (Coulson & Tang, 2013). In other words, the new urbanisation strategy somewhat fails in the Chinese context because its goals of spreading the crowded urban centres and redeveloping the peri-urban areas cannot be reached without successfully constructing a community (van Kempen et al., 2012). The failure of the production of such communities also enhanced inequality issues that have been intensively discussed among Western scholars (Gwyther, 2005).

With much reflection to Zunkin's work on *Landscape of Power* (Zukin, 1991), one scholar argues that almost all of the attempts of new urbanisation experiments in China have been a failure (Wu, 2005). The consumers of the new urban landscape cannot benefit from them because they do not live there; while the previous suburban inhabitants cannot afford the prices of the newly built houses in their own homeland (Wu, 2005). The problem of the Chinese new urbanisation reflects Pannell's (1992, p.36) notion:

> *'These cities then are at once the progress and hope of the country and at the same time places of anxiety, despair, and misery.'*

The large scale empty cities are often cited as 'the ghost cities' of China by media (e.g. Jackson, 2012, Bloomberg, 2014). However, in the Western context the ghost cities usually refer to the once-flourishing cities that were abandoned over natural, financial or social incidents (DeLyser, 1999). In China (image 2.4), the ghost cities are newly constructed and yet never had the chance to live (Jackson, 2012).

Shepard (2015) attributes the rise of ghost cities in China for many factors. One is the prompt pace of state-led urbanisation; in China 600 new cities have been constructed over a course of 65 years – the fastest pace of development in the world's history. Also, local government's reliance on land sales is pushing the construction further.

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Table 2.4 Modelled after Manhattan, Yujiapu was designed to be a bustling metropolis

Source: (Maanvi, 2015)

New dimensions

In recent years, China has witnessed a series of state-led rural developments based on the immigration of institutions, education, government houses, hospitals and new technology parks. The state's ambition is to attract the flow of human, financial and social capital to shift the former rural areas into prosperous new towns. This process will be further explored in the next chapter. In this introductory section, the author argues that one of the key features of this strategy is combined with the attempts of making new places for tourism purposes. In specifics, new tourism attractions have been constructed and apartments and other services have been planned for the growth of tourism.

2.5 Go Your Own Way: Chapter Summary

The existing Western based research on second homes make valuable contributions to the body of knowledge on the phenomenon. However, the gaps within the existing research are also clear. On one hand, the emergence of second homes has much in common with its Western counterpart. For example, the periodicity of visitation to second homes and the use of it for leisure purposes remain true in the case studies in China (Wu et al., 2015). However, many of the features of Chinese second homes development deserve further exploration. In terms of the scale, Western second homes are often created out of self-interest among the higher-middle class who live in the urban areas (Müller, 2011). Whereas in China, second homes are often developed in the form of a standard formula at a scale as large as a small township (Wu et al., 2015). Also, there is a trend of cases in China where the entire townships are built in a Western fashion. Many of these sites have been left empty as ghost towns, even though all the planning and facilities were made available to the prospect first home residents. Lived or not, these properties have considerable social and spatial meanings in between tourism and housing, rural and urban, and the private and the public. Therefore, instead of bringing a specific Chinese case study as an additional example to add to the existing literature, this thesis seeks to contribute a more theoretical meaning of second homes in China through the exploration of key spatial and tourism theories, which are further developed by interpreting and analysing the selected case study.

Chapter 3 Second Homes as Space

> *'Space' and 'Place' are familiar words denoting common experiences. We live in space. There is no space for another building on the lot. The Great Plains look spacious. Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other. There is no place like home.*
>
> *(Tuan, 1977, p.3)*

3.1 Chapter Introduction

Tuan (1977) sees *place* as the tangible source for security to the Body and *space* as the intangible abstract of thoughts. The physical dwelling (place) of home provides the sense of security through established physical, social or financial attachments. The idea of home (space) is the emotional representation of somewhere to relax, heal or secure. This humanistic view opens up an interesting angle to rethink the meaning of second homes.

Following the critics over second home research, this chapter reviews literature on space and attempts to add a layer of spatial characteristics to the discussion of second homes. Through Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space*, second homes can be understood from three separate but interconnected layers: the *real* space – the built form of physical dwellings that can be mapped and seen; the *imagined* space – the socially constructed perceptions of escaping daily life at home; the *lived* space – the experience of life in second homes that is mediated through practice and imagination. In this way, the emergence of second homes are seen as the production of social relations behind such space, instead of the mere insertion of such places.

Following this model, Foucault's concept of *heterotopia* (1986) is re-interpreted as a potential means to examine the spatial quality of second homes. In this way, this thesis hopes to break the dualism that is deeply embedded in the second homes literature. That is, second homes need to be examined as the production of complicated social-political dynamics rather than the fixed product that is either a 'curse' or 'blessing' (Coppock's term).

3.2 Thirdspace and Second Homes

The Notion of Place and Space

In geography, the question of space and place is not just about *where*, *when*, and *why* matters take place but also *how* it matters (Farinelli, 2003). Space and place are both very complex terms with wide range of interpretations.

Place is a type of object (Tuan, 1977, p.17). The conventional idea of place is often two-fold: one considers the actual address and the other considers living at that address (Agnew and Livingstone, 2011). However, this divide becomes increasingly problematic as many activities now take place in hetero-local addresses (Agnew, 2011). Today, the term is used in a wide range of ways but there are three dimensions in terms of geographical research (Agnew, 2011). The first dimension reads place as a *site* where specific object or activity is located (Ibid). Urban geographers often think city in this way as part of a collection or system of places and discuss the relations or motilities within (Agnew & Livingston, 2011). The second dimension puts place as a series of *locales* where everyday life takes place. The meaning of the *locale* goes beyond the mere address and reaching structures where social interaction and the environment transform (Agnew, 2011). Empirical examples of this dimension include homes, shopping malls, churches, vehicles, etc. The third dimension views place as *sense of place* which deals with perceptions and emotions associated with places (Ibid).

The previous discussion of second homes have been strongly link to the notion of place. At least three common features can be found in the 'semantic war' of varies definition of second homes (Hall and Müller, 2004):

- Privately owned;
- Physically away from ordinary home;
- Sense of temporary destination where owners and users can escape to and return from.

In this fashion, current discussions about second homes embraces the notion of place, which concerns the actual, tangible and physical object and people's use of it. In other words, the term receives an imbalanced attention: the notion of *second* dominated the sense of *home*. This chapter attempts to challenges this view.

Space is more abstract than place. This thesis follows such distinction:

> *'If we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (Tuan, 1977, p.6).*

Hubbard and Kitchin (2010) suggest that space is an on-going production of spatial relations. Similarly, in Harvey's *relational space* objects only exist through power relations. Harvey (2010) suggests that space is neither absolute, relative nor relational, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances. To give an example, the mobility and flow of people, goods, services and information take place in a *relative space* because it takes resources to overcome the friction of distance. On the other hand, the forces of demographic, market and merchandising potential also exist within an urban system to knit the form of relational space into human social practice. Thus, the ontological question of '*what-is-space*' is now replaced by 'how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualisations of space' (p.13-14)? The discussion of space, is therefore to commute between the nature of space and the relationships between social processes and spatial forms.

<u>The Production of Space</u>

For Lefebvre (1991), the space is an extension form of the body. It is safe to conclude that Lefebvre views space as productive consumption (Soja, 1996). Lefebvre (1991) sees the whole of the planet's resources as the material for space production and the entire urban pattern as means of production. He chases the spatial patterns as early as the twelfth century Western Europe, where he finds existence of spatial production both in the central and peripheral areas. The sixteenth century becomes a turning point when the town becomes representative for the fully matured abstract space with its own rationality (p. 263).

The analysis of such space follows an approach of what Lefebvre calls a tripartite-dialectical, or a spatial triad approach (Shields, 1999). This was later re-invented by Soja given the name of 'trialectics of space'. Lefebvre (1991) recognises the complexity and plurality of space by asking: 'how many maps, in the descriptive or geographical sense, might be needed to deal exhaustively with a given space, to code and decode all its meanings and contents?' (p.85).

The *trialectics* of Lefebvre's thesis leads to his renowned classification of spaces following the following interconnected components:

Perceived Space is defined as a spatiality that highlights the *spatial practices*: the process of producing the material for the production and reproduction of the society. Perceived space concerns how space is used in a daily or routine reality. With relations to this study, the physical dwelling of a second home and its associated usage makes it a perceived space.

Conceived Space is used by scientists, planners, technocrats as *representations of space*. For example, the knowledge or signs behind the space which links to ideology. A second home is also conceived because of the ideas and perceptions about it as seasonal, lifestyle mobility, tourism and leisure.

Lived Space is the cultural space that is symbolic, imaginative and *representational space*. Lived space is a subject of ethnologists. In the case of second homes, the experience of such space combines its perceived and conceived nature but such experience is due to be changed according to the trialectics of the space.

Soja (1996) highly appraises this model in his *Thirdspace*. He makes two observations towards the conventional approaches. Firstly, previous scholars tend to overly emphasise on the physical quality of space, especially in the fields such as architecture, urbanism and planning studies. Secondly, the more ideological or idealistic notion of space is popular among those who studies political economics of space. Soja (1996) argues that both thinking is limited to help understand the increasingly complicated spatial characteristics.

Building on these, the *Thirdspace* adds two intertwined dialectics, namely *socio-spatial* and *spatio-temporal*, to the traditional Western thought which emphasised on the relationship between the society and its history (Soja, 1996). *Thirdspace* refers to a particular way of thinking about and interpreting socially produced space rather than an actual form of space (Merrifield, 1999).

It needs to note the concept of *Thirdspace* is full of controversies. Many of the critics have targeted a quote from Soja's original work:

‘*Everything* comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and unconsciousness, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history’ (Soja, 1996, pp. 56-7).

The *Thirdspace* is arguably a writing about everything and, perhaps nothing at all (Price, 1999). In an unsympathetic manner, since the *Thirdspace* has been constructed on such an ontological level that ‘the fact all Soja seems to be saying is that time, space and society are mutually constitutive’ and sarcastically asks ‘is Elvis still alive in *Thirdspace*?’ (Barnett and Soja, 1997, p.528-529). However, many of these critics have been defended, either by Soja himself or others, as a misread of the original text and falling into the trap of asking the same question; ‘does location X or location Y qualify as your Thirdspace?’. In fact, the greatest contribution of the *Thirdspace* is probably not the idea of a postmodern geography *per se*; rather it is how it provides a broadened theoretical and conceptual horizon for fellow studies to interpret and constitute everyday geographies (Mohammad and Sideway, 2004).

For this thesis, the *Thirdspace* is useful because it offers an inspiring linkage between Lefebvre’s *trialectics* and Foucault’s *heterotopia*. With trailectics, the spatial characteristics of second homes can be gathered; with heterotopia, the spatial quality of second homes can be understood. Putting them together, the production of social relations behind the emergence of second homes can be evaluated.

<u>Second homes in *Thirdspace*</u>

The *Thirdspace* offers useful perspectives to help understand the phenomenon of second homes because it overcomes the dualist approach in current research.

Because of transnationalism and globalisation broadly, the meaning of home is now different to its traditional sense (McIntyre et al., 2006). It is increasingly difficult and problematic to assume *home* as rooted in one place (Thulemark et al., 2014). Not only that many second home owners are *de facto* owners of multiple homes (Paris, 2013), the sense of home is changing also because of the global pattern of lifestyle mobility (Cohen et al., 2015). In her research of round-the-world travellers, Molz (2008) suggests the concept of ‘global abode’ in order to describe the cases when people are physically and emotionally attached to the veritable 'home-on-the-move' (338).

Earlier, different terms have been offered as an alternative to second homes, including 'multiple dwelling' (McIntyre et al., 2006) and 'home as sedentary and mobile' (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). However, to a large extent all of these terms are limited to the actual places and the very usage of it. In other words, second-home research has been conducted mostly through Lefebvre's spatial practice instead of conceived space or lived space. What is missing is probably not the entry of a new semantic debate, but the understanding of it in context.

The geographies of home or second homes remains a vital point to discuss belonging and identity within lifestyle mobility. This idea reflects in many literatures in the field of lifestyle mobility. Terranova-Webb (2010) argues that mobility might offer the same sense of stability that a home can supply. Likewise, Butcher (2010) suggests that mobility has changed the very definition of homes as 'the physical place and a metaphor for cultural belonging to a place of origin' (p.34). While home has become multi-sited, at the same time, mobility does not preclude the desire for home (Butcher, 2010). Although some research is not specifically concerned with the intersection between leisure and housing, they have implications about how the transnational knowledge can be useful to understand the meaning of mobility in an era when the notion of home is de-territorialised and national borders receding (Brickell and Datta, 2011).

The conventional research on second homes suggest that rural areas are vulnerable to the growth of such demand without asking why those areas are often left behind at the first place. In fact, the regional disparities between rural and metropolitan regions have long been discussed in terms of economic activities and income (Copus, 2001). Rural areas are more likely to be vulnerable in economic process because of their peripherally (Ibid). Therefore, blaming second homes as a singular source of the 'rural-out' migration or displacement of the locals is a problematic approach (Gallent et al., 2003). Because rural areas hold are geographically distant to crucial resources for economic development, they are often 'lagging behind' (Storper, 1997). With the acceleration of mobility and flows of capital, technology and society, urban-rural distance is now evolved from a pure geographical sense to an organisational dimension (Lagendijk and Lorentzen, 2007). In development theories, regional economic problems are attributed to three generation of discourses: as the lack of access to markets or economic centres (Parr, 1999b), as the lack of cluster effects (Porter, 2000), and most recently as the lack of learning capacities (Malecki, 2004). Therefore, the causes and circumstances of the rural economic problems cannot be simply attributed to second homes.

Following these thoughts, the spatial characteristics of second homes or lifestyle mobility is needed for this research. It is worth noting that the conception of key resources of economic development has also been changing in the past few decades (Gaile, 1992). It has shifted from the conventional sense of of tangible production factors such as land, labour, capital, technologies and infrastructures to more abstract sets of dynamics such as economic linkages, institutional supports and learning capacities (Storper, 1997). This might explain why second homes have been accused in some areas but not in others (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013).

3.3 Second Homes as Heterotopia

In this thesis, **utopia** refers to placeless places that represent something in its perfected form, other than perfect societies. **Heterotopia** is the reflection to utopia in the real world. Nonetheless, there are different qualities in heterotopia embedded within Foucault's principles (Hetherington, 1997). Depending on the spatial quality, I propose two new terms. Whereas *heterotopia* suggests a positive annotation, **Apotopia** is the negative heterotopic space where the actor is absent and social relations are not produced; **Limbotopia** is the intermediate space where its spatial quality is not yet defined. This section provides a detailed explanation to these terminologies and indicates their linkage with the topic of the thesis.

<u>The Notion of Heterotopia</u>

On three separate occasions, Foucault depicts the concept of heterotopia. Firstly, in the preface of *The Order of Things* (1970, 2002), Foucault playfully reads Jorge Borges' sarcastic comment in one of the essays about world literature and language. Borges (1979) assimilates John Wilkins' language with the imaginary Chinese Encyclopaedia on a certain classification of animals including the followings:

> *(a) Belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs,*
>
> *(e) sirens,*

(f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies

(cited in Foucault, 2002, p. xv)

In Borges' enumeration, such textual juxtapositions raise ultimate contradictions so that none of the classification makes any sense in the customary way. One item in the list had virtually nothing to do with another except for its semantic connections. Indeed, Foucault found the idea of such ambiguous textual space facetious because 'such juxtapositions are impossible except in the space of language, contradictory unthinkable space' (xvii).

Then he compares this to the traditional notions of 'utopias' by which Sir Thomas More invented based on a conflation of Greek expressions (*ou*-not; *eu*-good or well; *topos*-place; *ia*-region). From this point of view, a utopia seems like a place that means not only a good place, but an unreachable place (More et al., 1999). Accordingly, Borges invented heterotopia to describe the difference of other (*heteros*) places (Hetherington, 1997). To Foucault, the idea of Utopia represents a perfectly ordered, coherent and logical mass, however ideal it is (Connor, 1997). But heterotopia originates as a medical term to describe a particular tissue which is not necessarily dangerous or harmful but develops at an unusual place (Lax, 1998). Therefore, Foucault was particularly interested in the disturbing textual heterotopia that challenges the established order (Foucault, 2002).

The second entry of heterotopia is a lot less well documented. It comes as a radio talk on 'French culture' to the public over the same year as the publication of *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 2002). This sound record is later published as a CD which only becomes accessible in 2004, while Foucault himself was later requested to deliver another talk as a better recognisable lecture to a group of architects. However, this radio talk does offer some distinctive features and in many ways an interesting perspective to help understand Foucault's *heterotopology*. He opened the talk with narratives regarding to Indian children playing imaginary games in varies environments including the traditional tents, gardens and even under the parents' bed. Children's games were invented mirroring their surrounding environments and yet contesting them. Foucault's intention was to outline the games as different space deviates outside its everyday, ordinary spaces.

The third occasion and as well as the most well-received one was in the lecture that Foucault delivered to a group architects in 1967. The transcripts of this lecture remained unpublished until shortly before his death (Soja, 1995). Eventually the unedited article was published in 1989 and then translated into English under the title *of Other Spaces* in 2007. Having considered the fact that Foucault has never edited the work himself, both Soja (1995) and Hetherington (1997) expressed the same expectation that we have to accept heterotopia as an unfinished theory that needs further interpretations and validations. Furthermore, the first and second occasions mentioned above seem to be divergent although they 'bear a strange consistency' (Genocchio, 1995, p.37).

Despite, or maybe because of, the fact that Foucault has never developed the thumb-nail sketches of heterotopia into a coherent theory, the concept has attracted dozens of interpretations and adaptations in many different fields across the world. For example, as the direct receiving communities of Foucault's original lecture, varies architecture commentaries have used heterotopia as a particular way to describe certain avant-garde architects and their design language (Urbach, 1998).

In a more general way, heterotopia can be defined as space that is discursive to social orders (Soja, 1989, 1996). This idea has considerable influences to the so-called 'spatial turn' in social theory (Crang and Thrift, 2000). Notably, some of the most influential geography texts shed lights on the concept of heterotopia; these include Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991), Jameson's *Postmodernism* or, *The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), and especially Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996).

For research purposes, heterotopia is adapted to help understand a multitude types of sites and space. The cases usually range from physical sites like museums, theme parks, shopping malls, resorts, gated communities, hotels, markets to emotional ones such as poems, language, literature, etc. (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008). To show the scale of the implication, and to be more sensible of the popularity of the idea, a chronicle of heterotopia-oriented studies can be easily put in the form of an incomplete list as follows.

1) The revaluation of Alvar Aalto's architecture (Porphyrios and Papadakēs, 1982)
2) Arab-Islamic Architecture (Tonna, 1990)
3) An environmental Installation (Genocchio, 1995)

4) The Museum of Pacific Island Culture (Kahn, 1995)
5) The Citadel-LA – the civic centre of Los Angeles (Soja, 1995)
6) The Palais Royal, masonic lodges and early factories (Hetherington, 1997)
7) Vancouver's New Public Library (Lees, 1997)
8) A performance prototype (Birringer, 1998)
9) Local Exchange Trading Schemes (North, 1999)
10) Women's Colleges at the turn of the nineteenth century (Tamboukou, 2000)
11) Sites in Fascist Italy (Burdett, 2000)
12) Library studies (Bryant-Bertail, 2000)
13) Childhood studies (McNamee, 2000)
14) Landscapes (Guarrasi, 2001)
15) Gated Communities in South African Security Parks (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002)
16) Buddhist Sites of Swayambhu in Kathmandu Valley (Owens, 2002)
17) Underground bandrooms in Hong Kong (Ma, 2002)
18) The Nineteenth Century Ship narrative (Casarino, 2002)
19) Early Colonial Calcutta (Eaton, 2003)
20) Science Fiction Studies (Gordon, 2003)
21) Pornographic sites on the internet (Jacobs, 2004)
22) The Cybercafe (Liff and Steward, 2003)
23) Chinatown in Washington DC (Lou, 2007)
24) The shopping mall (Kern, 2008, Muzzio and Muzzio-Rentas, 2008)
25) Burial Sites in Kinshasa, Congo (De Boeck, 2008)
26) The vampire (Davies, 2008)
27) Patterns of disclosure among heterosexuals living with HIV (Persson and Richards, 2008)
28) The group dynamics of a Climate Camp (Saunders and Price, 2009)

This research adds second homes to the list of heterotopia spaces. However, this pattern somehow proves the worry about 'whether or not anything and everything could be described as an example of heterotopia' (Genocchio, 1995, p.39). To answer to this question, the concept of heterotopia needs to be re-interpreted.

Spaces of Otherness

Foucault (1986) describes heterotopia as spaces of otherness and the reflection of utopia. However, Foucault's definition of utopia seems inconsistent. In the preface to *The Order of Things*, the utopia stands for coherent, ordered imaginations while heterotopia represents the opposite, disrupt and fragmented language (Foucault, 1970). In the latter lecture to the architects, both the utopia and the heterotopia are referred to spaces that are different to the everyday (Foucault, 1998). Here, the distinction between a utopia and a heterotopia is rather simplistic as the former represents the 'unreal' imaginations and the later 'localisable', 'real' ones (Soja, 1996).

The idea of the utopia has probably existed since the beginning of literature, given the notions in precedents in the Biblical texts where Moses took his people to the Promised Land, where Adam and Eve reside. The promise land was later give birth to the new millenarianism after the second coming. Besides the religious context, there are a multitude of entries of the ideals of utopia. For example, Plato's *Republic* portrays the ideal of a perfect form of the society in the high culture whereas the Cockaigne represents the picture of a land of plenty where cooked food fly into one's mouth and the river flows wine (Bruce, 2008). These pre-modern text suggests the utopia as an entirely imagined space that isolates from the current location or state of being of any society (Bruce, 2008).

However, forwarding to the early modern era, different authors coincidently undertook the similar strategy to depict a fictional space as a utopia that somehow is desperately convinced to be truly existing somewhere on the world's map (Anderson, 1983, 68). Bruce (2008) suggests that it is not until the early modern era has widely produced a wide collection of literature on utopias with the best instances including More's *Utopia* (1516), Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), and Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668). There are abundant modern translations and interpretations of these works, however, these are not the focus of the thesis.

In this thesis, utopia is defined as an ideal world that is bounded to one's imagination. The examples (table 3.1) of an ideal world can be found in five categories (Davis, 1984).

Examples	Demand & Supply Feature
The Lands of Cockaygne	Unlimited abundance to fulfil unlimited demand
The Arcadia	Less excessive abundance for less acquisitive people
The Perfect Moral Commonwealth	The idealization of the nature of humanity
Millennial literature	Intervention of *Deux ex machina* who transforms men and nature
Utopia	People are as potentially transgressive as they are in the real world, their desire as potentially subversive to collective well-being (no change to humanity); the resources and materials are as limited (no change to nature).

Table 3.1 The examples of an ideal world

Source: Davis (1984)

According to Davis (1984), what makes the utopias a unique form of an ideal world is that it is the organisation that makes the utopia a solution to the troubled current society and problems of reality. Likewise, Harvey (2000) suggests that there are two dimensions of utopia. The first type refers to More's original essay, in which Harvey reads as the exploration of spatial and organisational forms (Harvey, 2000). Such a spatial form is supported by authority and control. The second form of utopia, according to Harvey, refers to the free form of social processes such as Adam Smith's ideology of an entirely free-market (p. 176).

Marin (1984) takes strong issue with the dualistic meaning of the utopia being both the 'ou-topia' (unreachable place) and 'eu-topia' (good place). Based on the intellectual roots in the Marxism of Althusser and Macherey, Marin (1984) defines the utopia as 'the neutral moment of a difference, the space outside of place; it is a gap impossible either to inscribe on a geographic map or to assign to history' (p.57). At the heart of this definition, the utopia is 'neither yes nor no, true nor false, one nor the other' because the relationships between the real and imagined are not the opposite (Bruce, 2008).

In relation to this thesis, utopia is important because the pursue of it motivates the production and consumption of second homes. Much second home ownership is used for heterogeneous purposes – illicit affairs, a quite space to write a book, health reasons – these are motivated by the imagination of an ideal self or ideal world. Whether they are conscious or not about the mental existence of such an ideal world, it is in-reachable, but is realisable. This is because utopia is out of time and space, it is restricted in the *conceived space* (Lefebvre) where there is no boundary to be found.

If utopia is out of time and space, why do the writers constantly convince their readers the very existence of it in *other* communities? Hetherington (1997) asks why the early modern era has constantly produced the idea of perfected society. In Bruce's (2008) work, she finds that the answers to this question are probably that, on one hand, the geographical and scientifically discoveries of the time have made such imagination possible and on the other hand the profound social conflicts of one geographical location has pushed the natural imagination of an*other* location where things might be different.

It needs to emphasise that such difference embraces two possibilities: good and bad. Instead of providing solutions to the social, cultural, and political issues of their times, these versions of utopia have merely addressed such issues to the readers. From this point of view, the meaning of utopia only exists in the juxtaposes between the illusions of the writers and the real world of their own.

In this thesis, the definition of heterotopia is rooted in Foucault's original text that heterotopia is the realised utopia. However, it is not entirely opposite to what Harvey (2000) suggests 'utopia can never be realised without destroying itself' (p.167). For Harvey, the conventional idea of the utopia represents a dilemma where the space is entirely constructed within a defined boundary under complete control and manifestation and yet is never reachable. In this thesis, it is assumed that to seek for a real manifestation of utopia, therefore, is to seek for the possibilities of opening up the boundaries of these spaces. This follows Marin's (1977) propositions of alternative utopia logical patterns:

- Ideology is the representation of the imaginary relationship that individuals maintain with their real conditions of existence.
- Utopia is an ideological place; utopia is a sort of ideological discourse.
- Utopia is where ideology is put into play; it is a stage for ideological representation.
- Heterotopia is a real manifestation of an envisioned utopia in the individuals' real conditions of existence.
- Utopia and heterotopia do not oppose each other, rather, they share a common feature that those spaces are different from one's existence.

The Principles of Heterotopia

Foucault's idea is to use the term heterotopia as a strategy to introduce what he calls the heterotopology:

> *'As for heterotopias, how might they be described? What meaning do they have? One could imagine a sort of systematic description that would have the object, in a given society, of studying, analysing, describing [reading] of these different spaces, [and] these other places' (Foucault, 1998, 179).*

It is necessary to explore the principles that Foucault accounts as the definition of heterotopias (Table 3.2). These principles are made available to support his earlier argument about certain space that both mirrors other spaces and contradicts them at the same time. As such, Foucault gave a list of principles that produce such spaces in a rather homiletic fashion, alongside with examples in a rather witty way (Soja, 1996). This contradiction almost immediately makes the concept a confusing piece of work. To some extent, this very list of principles is quite similar to the form of Borges' Chinese Encyclopaedia mentioned earlier as one is almost unrelated to another against the conventional orders.

Principles of Heterotopia	Foucault's Examples
Arise in all cultures but in diverse forms (especially as sites of 'crisis' or later 'deviation')	Pre-modern 'crisis' places: e.g. for adolescents, menstruating women, old people, honeymoon trip, nineteenth century boarding and military school Places of 'deviation' (e.g. rest homes, psychiatric hospitals, prisons, old people's homes)
Mutate and have specific operations at different points in history	Cemeteries
Juxtapose in a single space several incompatible spatial elements	Cinemas, theatres, gardens, Persian carpets
Encapsulate temporal discontinuity or accumulation	Cemeteries, fairs, 'primitive' vacation villages, museums, libraries
Presuppose an ambivalent system of rituals related to opening/closing and entry/exit	Barracks, prisons, Muslim baths, Scandinavian saunas, motel rooms used for illicit sex
Function in relation to the remaining space, for example, as illusion or compensation	Brothels, Puritan communities, Jesuit colonies

Table 3.2 The Principles of Heterotopia

Source: Foucault (1984)

According to Foucault (1998), each heterotopia involves all the principles to some extent. Genocchio (1995) takes strong issue of Foucault's illustrations by arguing that most if not all social spaces share some aspects of these principles and, therefore, every space is probably a heterotopia. Indeed, it seems clear that Foucault was tempting to locate a set of sites that are different to the social ordering that has been mentioned earlier, but it is not clear how different they are and how do we measure such differences (Harvey, 2000).

Take the prisons as an example of 'different places', alongside other 'heterotopia of deviation' such as rest homes, psychiatric hospitals and old people's home: does it mean these places share something more in common, than with Brothels, Puritan communities, Jesuit colonies? Where do we draw the line? Why is the honeymoon trip classified as a crisis (principle one)? These questions lead to the idea that Foucault's heterotopia might contains different forms of space of otherness, depending on the spatial quality.

The ideas of a utopia represent a modernist's perception of a coherent, ordered, unitary or essential way of the society whereas the idea of a heterotopia allows heterogeneity of a post-modernist's view towards an ambiguous, transformative nature (Siebers, 1994). However, it seems that many Foucauldian authors have taken the idea of utopia for granted. Levitas (1990) clearly warns that we often forget that the concept of utopia is just as problematic and contested as, if not more than, the concept of heterotopia. All the examples that Foucault gave as heterotopias contain a slice or slices of utopias (Hetherington, 1997). Indeed, the sites that are mentioned above all represent a *perfected* system that is detached from the surrounding social relations. Alternatively, there is a significant temporal-spatial mechanism that is embedded in the principles to nurture additional social relations.

However, perhaps we could observe that many of Foucault's examples are contradictory to the notion of utopia. If we take Plato's idea of a utopia as a perfected society, none of the prisons, brothels, boarding schools, gardens would exist at the first place. All of the sites are controlled space with distinctive spatial characteristics, however, the purposes of control vary from one site to another. For example, whilst the purpose of the prison is to punish and discipline the actions or omissions which constitutes an offense by law, the garden is controlled to express and deliver ascetics and appreciation of the nature. Moreover, all the sites mentioned above are heterotopia only when they function for the actors. For example, if the sites are abandoned for any reasons, are they still recognised as heterotopia?

Therefore, Foucault's claim that these sites are the 'localisable' or 'actually realised' utopia seems confusing.

Qualities in Heterotopology

Soja (1996) argues that both Foucault and Lefebvre both realised the trialectics of spatiality-historicality-sociality as a powerful way to overcome the limitations of dualism in analyses of spaces. For Soja, this approach is called 'an-Other' or 'Thirding' which produces what might be called the cumulating of trialectics which allows us to negotiate the spatial boundaries and cultural identity (ibid). The spatial qualities accumulate in heterotopia and they might be accumulated in different extent and context. In other words, if spaces are socially produced, they can be socially changed. Therefore, spatial qualities must be understood as a transformable other than static.

Perhaps, three different forms of heterotopia sites are available: *heterotopia*, *limbotopia*, and *apotopia.* The first spatial form, heterotopia refers to Foucault's initial understanding of it as a 'reflection of utopia' and as space that is fully lived in the physical and mental spaces. In other words, heterotopia stands for the positive spatial quality in heterotopology.

For example, when Foucault's festive park hosts events in the summer, it is a fully functional spatial practice (*Firstspace*), as well as a representation of an ideal summer event (*Secondspace*). The park event is repetitive and different to the everyday life of the attendees, therefore the park is both ordinary and extraordinary (Thirdspace). Nonetheless, the spatial quality of the park is transformed during the off season. On the site of the park, social relations are nurtured during the festival season and are terminated as soon as the festival is over.

Following this, two possibilities are available. First is that the park will be left empty until the festival returns next year. As such, social relations that are terminated will be restored and therefore the spatial characteristics of the park still relies on the Foucault's principles. For example, an entry/exit system remains at the course when the park is not occupied by the festival so that the site can be planned, reserved and maintained for the upcoming event. The second possibility is that the festival discontinues at the park or the park fails to fit its purpose as the host to the festival. In this case, the spatial characteristics of the park are missing from the heterotopia. After all, a park without participants are *in*different to a random grass pitch. These two possibilities lead to the next two forms of heterotopic space.

The second form of heterotopic space can be called ***limbotopia***. The term synthesizes from the Catholic theology of *limbo* and *utopia*. From its Latin origins (limbus), limbo stands for the 'edge' to heaven or hell. In a spatial sense, the edge possibly equals to Marin's (1993) idea of the 'spatial frontiers' where the spatial quality is undecided and dependent on the matter of perspectives. Whereas heterotopia is where the spatial practice coincides with the spatial representation, limbotopia is where the spatial representation dissociates from the contemporary practice.

Limbotopia is the second possibility of Foucault's case of the festive parks. A limbotopia is when the park is left empty in between two seasonal events. The previous festival is terminated and the park is contemporarily not practiced for festival although it is imagined as such, until the next festival takes places. The space is still perceived, conceived but it is not yet fully lived. Limbotopia is when the social relations are yet to be cumulated or nurtured at the space.

The third form of heterotopic space can be called ***apotopia***. Along the line with the biblical atmosphere of utopia and limbotopia, apotopia is composite from *apocalypse* and *utopia* referring to the spaces where a supposedly reflected utopia is not fully experienced. *Apocalypse* in ancient Greek is directly translated as an 'uncovering', a disclosure of knowledge, a lifting of the veil or revelation. In a biblical sense, the term has often been used, very loosely, as a metaphor for the *end of the world* (The Book of Revelation). Post-apocalypse genera of arts interpret the aftermath of the world when a major apocalypse event occurs to the human society. Apotopia uses such works as a metaphor to describe the negative qualities within Foucault's heterotopology.

The third possibility of the case of the festive park is an apotopia since the space is neither practiced as a seasonal event hub nor to be represented as one. This could be the case when natural or manmade disasters (earthquakes, floods or war) occur and the physical space of the park is destructed. Or, when the park is unimaginable as the host of events for social reasons such as policy changes or privatising of public spaces. Regardless the reasons, apotopia is the space where the social relations are impossible to be produced under current circumstances. Whilst the spatial characteristics might still be heterotopic, its perceived, conceived and lived quality have been changed.

Perhaps, the best example of apotopia is China's newly built ghost towns mentioned in Chapter 2. The ghost towns physically exist as the reflection of the developers' or state's utopian ideas, but they are not socially and spatially practiced since no one lives there. Image 3.2 is a typical representation of apotopia which is emerged during China's urban transformation. The palace-style luxury housing development has remained paused since 2004, when the local developer abandoned the construction due to unknown reasons. In this example, the building physically exists and hosts a distinctive aesthetic form that is different to its surrounding buildings.

In a Foucauldian perspective, the space that are similar to this site is heterotopia because it meets all the principles (Table 3.2). However, since the site lacks spatial practice and its representation deviates from its original utopian ideas, no social relations can be produced at the site apart from occasional visitations of wild animals or urban explorers.

Image 3.1 Abandoned Palace-style Construction as Apotopia

Source: Author's Photograph

3.4 Second Homes as Heterotopia

Second homes can be understood through the spatial knowledge conducted in section 3.2 and 3.3. The conceptualisation of the space of second homes might be delivered in two layers.

The first layer deals with the spatial characteristics of second homes. Second homes might be understood through Lefebvre's *spatial trialectics*: initially, second homes can be analysed as perceived space (spatial practice) as they are physical dwellings that are used as seasonal lifestyle choices. In addition, second homes are conceived space that are socially produced and therefore needs to be socially understood. This thesis suggests that the representation of second homes is an integral part to help understand its spatial characteristics. Most importantly, the lived experience of second homes is absent in current research since the major focus is based on physical characteristics. In general, *spatial trialectics* helps this thesis to gain a thorough understanding of second homes in terms of:

- How they are used - use *perceived space* to answer Paris (2009)
- The image of second homes against the rural surroundings - use *conceived space* to answer Müller & Hoogendoorn (2013)
- The social production of the space of second homes- use *lived space* to answer Gallent (2014)

Assembling these points together, it is possible to fully explore the power relations that produce second homes. This helps identify the actors who are involved in the process of production and how they are involved in it.

The second layer deals with the spatial qualities of second homes. Second homes are the *space of otherness* (Foucault). This is because the features of western second homes fit in Foucault's principles of heterotopology. As illustrated in Table 3.3, varies authors have indicated the linkages between second homes and Foucault's principles of space of otherness, yet no one has analysed second homes via the lens of heterotopology. The debate of second homes have run into a *cul-de-sac* because the binary view of second homes as either 'curse' or 'blessing' is outdated (following Coppock, 1977). Heterotopology offers a potentially coherent perspective to analyse the spatial quality of second homes.

Foucault's Principles (1986)	Western Second Homes
Arise in all cultures but in diverse forms (especially as sites of 'crisis' or 'deviation')	Sites of crisis: emerged out of urban crisis such as pollution, retirement, health care, etc. (Müller, 2011) Places of Deviation: a way to escape the daily life (Cohen et al., 2015)
Mutate and have specific operations at different points in history	Second homes as seasonal lifestyle (Salazar and Zhang, 2013)
Juxtapose in a single space several incompatible spatial elements	Second homes are the intersection between tourism space and housing space
Encapsulate temporal discontinuity or accumulation	Second homes as the intruder of rural communities (Coppock, 1977b) or the agent for social capital (Gallent, 2014)
Presuppose an ambivalent system of rituals related to opening/closing and entry/exit	Second homes are often blamed for segregating rural landscapes (Hall, 2014). It is a controlled system
Function in relation to the remaining space, for example, an illusion or compensation	Second homes represent the local environment and amenities while compensate what is missing in the everyday space (Halfacree, 2012)

Table 3.3 Second Homes as Space of Otherness

Source: Author

The quality of the spatial features is variable and contextual, depending on the power relations that produce the space of the second homes. In other words, the possibilities of heterotopia, apotopia and limbotopia also applies in the realm of second homes. Second homes can be heterotopia when the social relations are established within and around the dwellings. For example, in Gallent's (2015) study on Stintino, he finds that second home owners with local family ties are the most socially embedded and active in the community.

The result of the lifestyle choices of the second home owners have led to a bridging effect on social capital. Stronger influences might be achieved through open community governance structures. In this case, the Stintinian second homes are heterotopia because it nurtures a positive social relation through its spatial production.

When the owners leave, the social capital is presumably paused. The physical landscape of the second homes remain unchanged and the established social capital is probably reserved until the owners' next visit. In this case, the second homes can be understood as limbotopia where the space is still heterotopic. What is different is that the social relations that produce the space are now interrupted. As limbotopia, second homes hold a relatively neutral spatial quality that is subject to change in the future.

Second homes can also deliver a negative spatial quality if the production of space is suspended or abandoned altogether. In other words, second homes may be apotopia if space is produced inappropriately. Among other studies, Rye's (2011) warns about the fertile economic, social and cultural conflicts that second homes might induce to the local communities. If the conflicts are enhanced to the scale that second homes are completely resisted by the locals, none of the second home owners would willing to come back for visitations. In this scenario, second homes became apotopia since no social relations are linked with the physical buildings.

This framework helps us to escape the definitional issues of second homes. In this way, what matters is no longer the physical forms of the second homes but how the space of second homes is socially produced.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter examines second homes through the lens of spatial theories. Through Lefebvre's *the spatial trialectics*, the spatial characters of second homes are defined as perceived (physical space), conceived (imagined space) and lived (experiential space). Most of existing second homes research are now focused on the physical places in the tourism or housing sector (Paris, 2014), i.e. the perceived space. The shortage of this approach is that second homes fall into a binary debate following Coppock's (1977) terminology 'curse' and 'blessing'. Given its complex spatial characters, second homes can be understood not just as a complete product that influences the rural area, but as the process of production of social relations in the rural area.

Then, this chapter turns to Foucault's heterotopology and suggests it as a potential framework to help understand the spatial qualities of second homes. Since the spatial quality is the result of power relations from the production of space, there is no static way of labelling the space of second homes as positive, negative or neutral. Therefore, second homes are contextual and need to be analysed separately under different socio-political and cultural-economic circumstances (Paris, 2010).

Chapter 4 Spatial Existential Authenticity and Justice

> *'The post-tourist thus knows that they will have to queue time and time again, that there will be hassles over foreign exchange, that the glossy brochure is a piece of pop culture, that the apparently authentic local entertainment is as socially contrived as the ethnic bar, and that the supposedly quaint and traditional fishing village could not survive without the income from tourism' (Urry, 2002, p. 91).*

4.1 Chapter Introduction

In the previous chapter, I paved a spatial and philosophical direction to conceptualise second homes. Having done this, I have constructed a theoretical basis to explain the physical side of the case study: how power shapes the presence of the Aqua and determines activities within it. In this chapter, I will search theories to explain the emotional side of the case study: what is the motivation behind the production of the Aqua?

For me, personally and intuitively, it is probably not so difficult to explain why my parents felt so happy when they visit the Aqua. It does not require deep methods to understand that they can enjoy the fresh air, the mild moisture and temperature, and the extremely well looked after sport facilities. Both in their mid-50s and semi-retired with sufficient amount of affluence, health was the top priority in their life. The establishment of the Aqua offers a decent environment to help improving their conditions whereas the increasingly crowded and polluted urban living fail to do so. Thus, anyone who shares similar desire on health is unsurprised to be physically attracted to the Aqua.

What I cannot yet explain, however, is why they think that buying a house here is an inevitable choice. After all, buying home is a gesture for settling – even if it is temporary, as long as it is repeatable. What bothers me is not their action of buying *an* additional house, but *the* bizarrely shaped one. Sure, we all try something new at times, but deciding to establish a strong attachment with a place through the consumption of an inauthentic looking house? This calls for something entirely different. What I am confused the most is that how could someone find his/her life so *real* in such an identically *fake* tourism cluster?

This is when I realised that the concept of authenticity has a strong linkage to the study. Thus, in this chapter I first re-examined the theory of authenticity to find its relevance to second homes. Disappointed by its explanatory power, I conclude that contemporary understanding of the concept is not powerful enough to answer my questions on the conflicts between personal identity and (in-)authentic living. However, what I discover is a new theory of what can be termed as the 'spatial-existential authenticity', which can potentially answer the questions of this thesis.

4.2 The Debate of Authenticity

<u>The significance of authenticity</u>

The study of authenticity is nothing new. Since Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1976) introduced the concept in tourism, authenticity has been a central pillar supporting studies of tourist motivation. Although Boorstin believes that tourists seek for inauthentic experience while MacCannell claims the opposite, both of them agree that tourism experience, in an essentialist perspective, as inauthentic (Cohen, 1988a). However, many scholars have contested this common understanding throughout the past three decades (Cohen, 1988a, Bruner, 1994, Wang, 1999, Buchmann et al., 2010).

The term was initially used in archaeology to test whether or not an object was from the claimed time and space being researched, as such objects could then be valued by the museum (Trilling, 1972). However, in the extended fields, the term of authenticity is often much less object-based. For example, Plato, Dostoevsky, Freud, and Baudrillard (1987) have all explored the meaning of authenticity in everyday life, although they have not explored it in relation to antiquity or tourism (Rickly-Boyd, 2013).

Authenticity has remained a 'central yet contentious position' in the community of tourism studies (Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p.680). In *The Tourist,* MacCannell (1976) sees authenticity as an important part of his general theory for tourism. Some four decades later, MacCannell (2013) still insists it to be 'the only general theory of international tourism and sightseeing, with the possible exception of John Urry's *the Tourist Gaze*' (p. xvii). If this were true, and if second homes were indeed a vital form of tourism, there must be an opportunity to link the study of second homes with the theory of authenticity. However, only a limited number of literature explores such a linkage (see Lacy & Douglass, 2002; Haldrup, 2004; Pitkanen, 2008). Among them, Pitkanen (2008) offers a very interesting perspective in relation to this study. She suggests that today's society often perceives second homes as the ideal habitat because it offers a distinguish landscape. However, such perception changes throughout generations of people and as a result, the experience of second-home landscape is not independent from its interpretations. Pitkanen’s (2008) study in the Finnish Lakeland offers three prominent approaches to help understand second-home landscape: physical, experiential and cultural.

It is safe to assume that a similar approach can be applied case of the Aqua. While many homebuyers might see the physical landscape (e.g. the wetland, mild temperature and fresh air, etc.) as an ideal aspect of second home, what is more prominent is how they experience in such landscape (e.g. sport activities, healthy dinning and social interaction, etc). In addition, the experience is culturally and socially shaped as a result of degrading environmental quality and overwhelming lifestyle that comes with modernity.

The rich literature in authenticity echoes this potential explanation. The concept has evolved from three philosophical perspectives, including objectivism, constructivism and more recently, existentialism (Wang, 1999). The following sections will briefly review the first two, and focus on the extension of the last one.

On a final note, ‘the crucial questions to be answered are not ‘what is authenticity’ but ‘who needs authenticity and why’, ‘how has authenticity been used?’ and ‘what does authenticity do?’ (Bendix, 2009, p.21).

Objective Authenticity

Objective authenticity refers to the authenticity of the originals (Wang, 1999). The primary focus of objective authenticity is that of the genuineness of the touring objects ranging from artefacts, architectures and structures to the customs, appearances and rituals of a destination (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). These objects are tested or measured by ‘experts’ who are comparable to the archaeologists to museum pieces (Trilling, 1972).

Boorstin (1961) firstly introduces the concept of authenticity to tourism and describes tourism as a pursuit of ‘pseudo-events’, hence all tourist experience is somewhat inauthentic. By reviewing the romanticised heroic travel, Boorstin (1964) critiques mass tourism as the commodification of culture that is also responsible for the associated homogenisation and standardisation of tourist experience. For Boorstin, the problem with tourists is not that they leave their homes for sightseeing purposes, but that they are satisfied with superficial experiences of other people and places (MacCannell, 1976; 2013). Boorstin's (1964) nostalgic view assumes that there is an authentic version of objectivity and yet tourists prefer to seek for a contrived version of the image of such an original objectivity.

At a glance, people who consume the Aqua as a tourist destination might seem superficial. After all, the physical landscape which attracts the visitors is obviously not *original* to the local environment. Based on an objective view, the purposely built tourist attractions such as the castles, golf courses or the horse-riding fields are not any more authentic than the imitational western-styled houses that are sold as second homes. However, this analysis is too simplistic as the desire of visitation or second home acquisition is not purely based on the physical appearance of the Aqua, but also the experience of it. For instance, when my mother called me to deliver her excitement of becoming a second home owner at the Aqua, the physical appearance of the house or the Aqua was nowhere near the centrepiece of her emotion. Rather, she was excited because her status as a second home owner grants her the access to a brand new lifestyle that she desires through the constructed issues with her everyday life. I realise that I cannot label my mother simply as the hedonistic tourist who consume the superficial landscape or pseudo-events. What I need, however, is to view the Aqua and its production and consumption more constructively, in the realm of authenticity.

Constructive Authenticity

Since the early 1970s, MacCannell (1973) has influenced tourism studies in a significant way. In contrast to objective authenticity, his constructivist approach recognises the tourists' effort on seeking for the symbolic authenticity rather than the essentialist properties (Wang, 1999).

MacCannell (1976) argues that the nature of tourism begins with the desire to escape the opposition of tourism, i.e. the day-to-day lifestyle. As modern society becomes increasingly inauthentic and standardised, people long for heterogeneous experience in tourist destinations as means to escape their daily routines. Therefore, the major advancement of MacCannell's thesis is to provide a third perspective other than arguing within a dichotomous analysis, such as authentic or inauthentic; real or fake; true or false (Rickly-Boyd, 2012a). In comparison to Boorstin's conservative view towards mass tourism, authenticity in MacCannell's sense is a lot more radical since he believes that all tourists are seeking for the authentic experience and therefore the touring objects can be ‘totally set up for touristic visitation’ (MacCannell, 1973, p. 597).

For MacCannell, the sense of authenticity is no longer limited to the touring objects but now extended to two different senses: authenticity as *feeling* and as *knowledge* (Selwyn, 1996, p.6). In contrast to Boorstin’s nostalgic view and preference of pilgrimage over mass tourism, MacCannell suggests a ‘more helpful way of approaching the same facts is in terms of a modification of Erving Goffman’s model of everyday life activities’ (MacCannell, 2013, p.105).

Goffman (1951) divides authenticity of experience and who are delivering or have delivered such experiences into front and back regions (Table 4.1). The front regions are where the hosts and guests meet while the back regions are where the hosts rest and prepare for the show. Goffman (1959) identifies three groups of participants in this framework: the performers, who have crucial roles to deliver the show to the stage and therefore have access to both the front and back regions; the observers, who receive the show at the front regions only; and the outsiders who are excluded from both regions.

	Front Region	Back Region
Examples	reception offices, parlours	Kitchen, boiler room, executive washrooms
Accessibility	Performers & Observers	Performers

Table 4.1 Goffman's Front and Back Regions

Source: Author

MacCannell (1973, 1976) takes Goffman’s theory a step further. He argues that Goffman’s notions are built mainly on a social sense than the pure architectural forms. According to MacCannell (2013), the existence of a back region allows the performers to hide the props and activities that might discredit the performances taking places in the front region. In other words, in order to secure a firm sense of social reality at the front stage, some mystification is needed. In this way, social structures themselves are involved in the construction of the type of mystification that supports social reality (MacCannell, 2013).

MacCannell’s interpretation places Goffman’s front and back regions as two poles of a continuum connecting a series of other possible regions. In this way, the term ‘staged’ authenticity takes place in a systematic model as follows (table 4.2):

Stage 1	Front region (Goffman's sense): the social spaces that tourists target at.
Stage 2	A front region that is decorated to appear as a partial reminder of the back region (e.g. sea food restaurant with fish net hanging)
Stage 3	A front region that is totally organised to look like a back region. In other words, the stimulator of the back region. The better it stimulates, the harder it is to distinguish from stage 4.
Stage 4	A back region that is open to the outsiders.
Stage 5	A back region that maybe modified to permit an occasional glimpse to the tourists.
Stage 6	Back region (Goffman's sense): social space that motivates touristic consciousness.

Table 4.2 Staged Authenticity

Source: MacCannell (2013, p.101)

In this continuum, tourists' quest for authenticity is captured across stages from front to back. Functionally, stage 2 is no different to a front region: it is merely cosmetically decorated space to create a back region *atmosphere*. Also, the only thing that distinguishes stage 3 and 4 is whether or not the region hosts an open characteristic to the audience.

While this innovative approach provides greater explanatory power than Boorstin's theory, MacCannell does recognise some of the limitations inherit to his version of authenticity. For example, in relation to Cohen's (1979) suggestion that object-related authenticity is the essential condition of the tourist experience, MacCannell (2001) later admits that it is increasingly hard to grasp such an essentialist condition due to ever-growing homogenisation of destinations and experiences.

Indeed, a front/back model is ineffectual treatment for second homes. Unlike the ordinary sightseers, second home owners naturally acquire an active role when they visit the destination. The entire environment is exposed to them and therefore the divide between front stage and back stage is indefinitely blur. While the developers chose to construct the homes in a certain order and format, they are not the sole producers of the tourist product. Instead, the home owners themselves are usually the ones who are responsible of constructing their own tourist experiences.

For constructivists, the knowledge of authenticity is socially constructed, since it is based on self-belief and culture, even though in most cases authenticity has been 'staged' at the tourism destination (Rickly-Boyd, 2012b). Rather than an objectively judged status which inherently separates touring objects as 'real' or 'fake', the constructive approach suggests authenticity as the result of social construction in terms of perception, opinions, beliefs, perspectives and power (Cohen, 2010). Therefore, constructive authenticity is a relative term, which can be related to different versions of perceptions regarding the very same objects (Wang, 1999). This view shed lights on Pitkanen's (2008) research about second homes in Finland. While the previous generations of Finnish consider a lake-side cottage as a typical form of second home landscape, the latter ones would accept an apartment abroad as second home as well. This divide is closely linked with different interpretations of home-and-away, which is constructively shaped by the changing social and cultural perspectives of the everyday life.

The constructive developments certainly extended the foundation of tourism studies, yet, the underlying assumption of 'the search for authenticity' is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism (Urry, 1991, p.51). The objectivity-based authenticity, either objective or constructive, inevitably falls into the trap of debating about the attribute, or the projected attribute, of touring objects (Wang, 1999). Having said that, many activities in various forms of tourism are left untouched by the implication of authenticity, which was meant to be of central importance in tourism studies.

Objective and constructive authenticity share limited explanatory power in situations of certain tourism experiences (Wang, 1999). For example, tourism activities such as visiting family and friends and trips to Disneyland fall out of the scope of conventional authenticity. This is because both objective and constructive authenticity are object-related and therefore fail to grasp the experience-based activities (Brown, 2013). For instance, although Disneyland is entirely staged, tourists can still have an authentic experience in the sense that such visitations may be related to the tourists' preconceptions (Wang, 1999). The existence of Disneyland cannot be simply categorised in either the back region or the front region, neither in any one of the six stages of authenticity that MacCannell suggests. All the employees in the park can be called the performative labour; for example, crowds are expected to be entertained by the staff assisting the queue or serving at McDonald's (Bryman, 2004). In such circumstances, the entirity of Disneyland is a huge front region as well as a back region simultaneously. As observed by Bryman, the world is increasingly themed, and therefore the limitation of MacCannell's theory is increasingly exposed by new attractions and tourist activities.

The idea of linking Disneyland to authenticity is an interesting attempt from the perspective of this research. In many ways, the Aqua is comparable to a themed destination like Disneyland, where all tourists play their parts as active participants who produces their own tourist experience based on their constructed ideals. What distinguishes the Aqua from Disneyland is that you can actually own a slice of it. Such ownership is not only physical or experiential, but also emotional. In fact, the acquisition of second homes at the Aqua not only grants them the access to the environment or the rights of their actions in the boundary, but also a sense of self identity. Take my parents again for example, every time they mentioned the Aqua with a huge grin on their face, they seemed like they have discovered themselves or who they want to be; that is, a happily married mid-age middle class couple who endorses a healthy way of living. Certainly, this idea needs to be fully investigated throughout this research, with extensive data from participants other than my own parents. But the message is clear, the authenticity of self matters in second home research. This is where existential authenticity becomes relevant.

Existential Authenticity

Wang's version of existential authenticity can be understood as the authentication of the existential self through tourism experiences:

> *Existential authenticity involves personal or intersubjective feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities. In such a liminal experience, people feel much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life, not because they find the toured objects are authentic but simply because they are… free from the constraints of the daily (Wang, 1999, p. 351 - 352).*

Existential authenticity develops from the postmodernist approach. One of the key distinctions between the modernist approach and the postmodernist approach is that postmodernists do not presume pseudo-events or staged authenticity/inauthenticity as a problem (Wang, 1999). In other words, existential authenticity might have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects (Brown, 2013).

A typical example of the postmodernist approach can be linked to when Eco (1986) introduced the term *hyperreality* to tourism studies. Hyperreal tourism spaces such as the Disneyland has nothing to do with objective authenticity because such places are born out of someone's imagination and hence there are 'no original that can be used as a reference' (Wang, 1999:356). Many early postmodernist writers, including Baudrillard (1983), Eco (1986) and Fjellman (1992), use Disneyland as a powerful example of simulation in tourism. The concept of real and fake becomes irrelevant within Disneyland because everything is 'real real, fake real, real fake, and fake fake' (Fjellman, 1992, p.255).

Postmodern tourists do not seek authenticity, instead, their cultural sanction is to search the contrived attractions and purified enjoyment; they can make less impact to fragile cultures and communities because those cultures can be staged (Cohen et al., 1995). The search for the 'genuine fakes', therefore, is justifiable (Brown, 2013). This argument offers a fresh perspective in terms of the Aqua, where the totality of tourist space is built upon the imagined ideal lifestyle. In this case, whoever visit the Aqua does not come for the 'genuine' local culture, but the genuinely established one that can meet their desires.

Instead of viewing authenticity as the absolute genuineness of touring targets (objective), or as essentialist properties (constructive), existential authenticity refers to the 'experience that involves personal or intersubjective feelings activated by liminal process of tourist activities' (Wang, 1999, p.361). Differentiated from the object-based authenticity, Wang introduces existential authenticity as an activity-based approach, as such offering a powerful alternative to analyse the individual manifestations of lived experiences (Table 4.3). It is worth noting that other forms of authenticity are also available. For example, Selwyn (1996) suggests a well acknowledged distinction between 'cool' and 'hot' authenticity. Cool authenticity refers to epistemological experiences (contacts) of a 'real' world out there while hot authenticity refers to emotional experiences (feelings or knowledge) of the 'real' world (Selwyn, 1996). However, Wang (1999) argues that such an understanding is rather too simplistic as if authentic knowledge directly results in authentic experiences. By contrast, Wang's approach opens up many possibilities.

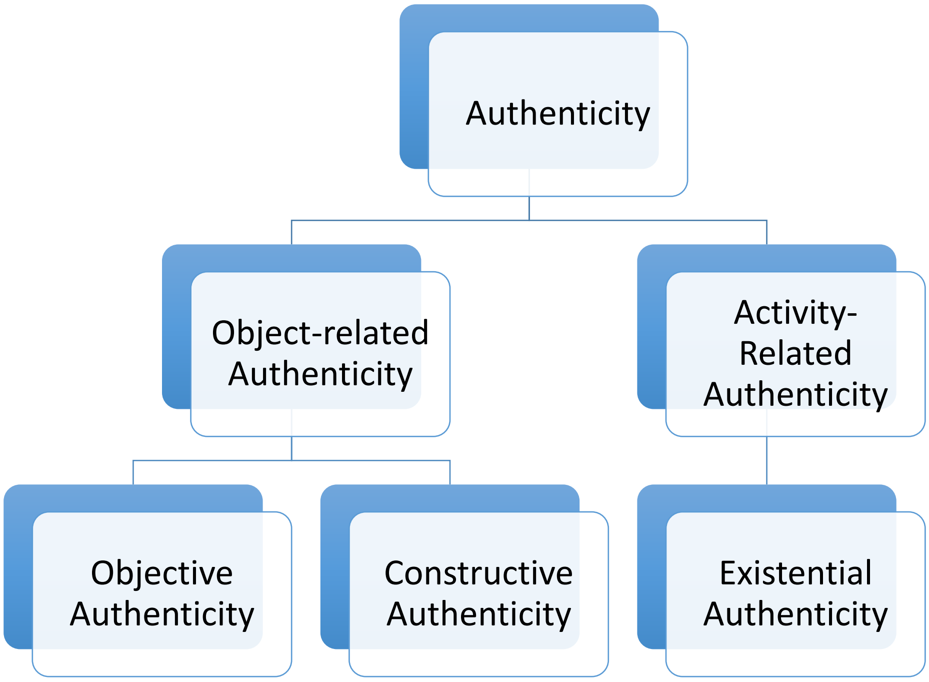


Table 4.3 The Typologies of Authenticity

Source: Wang (1999)

Existential authenticity can be defined as a *state of Being* which borrows from Heidegger's concept of self-actualisation (Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p. 682). The connections and differences of the three types of authenticity are available in table 4.4, in which Wang (1999) clearly defines each conceptualisation.

Objective authenticity	The authenticity of originals. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are equated to an epistemological experience (i.e., cognition) of the authenticity of originals.
Constructive Authenticity	Authenticity projected onto toured objects by tourists or tourism producers in terms of their imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers, etc. There are various versions of authenticities regarding the same objects. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism and the authenticity of toured objects are constituting of one another.
Existential Authenticity	A potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are to achieve this activated existential state of Being within the liminal process of tourism.

Table 4.4 Three types of authenticity

Source: Wang (1999, p. 352)

Following Wang's approach, some scholars suggest that object-related authenticity should be dropped as a term because it raises conflicts and confusions with objective authenticity, and therefore should be replaced by more discrete ones such as genuine, actual, accurate, real and true (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). However, since it has been accepted by a wide research community, it is entirely possible to reach a common usage of such a term (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006, Belhassen and Caton, 2006). Despite this issue, the discussions about object-related authenticity is more or less settled, although there are the voices insisting its productivity and validity (Benson and O'reilly, 2009, Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). By contrast, in terms of existential authenticity, many scholars have interpreted the concept in different ways or with different empirical evidence. In general, existential authenticity is cast as 'a human attribute signifying being one's true self or being true to one's essential nature' (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006, p.299).

Wang (1999) explains that tourism can activate one's preoccupied, existential state of Being. In addition to objective or constructive authenticity, Wang's idea offers a brand new way of explaining my concerns about the genuine happiness of my parents. The logical explanation might be that my parents discovered hidden 'true self' while they were visiting the Aqua for the first time so that they suddenly decided that this is the place where they can call a home away from home. Nevertheless, how does this activation process take place?

Existential authenticity is produced by or pursued through tourism (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). Wang pictures existential authenticity 'as an ideal state, a way of life in which people can be true to themselves' (Brown, 2013, p.178). Such an idea echoes many of the previous thinkers' thoughts on tourism, including MacCannell (1976), who sees the post-industrialisation modern life as alienated, and Cohen (1979), who sees modernity as the source of generated tensions and dissatisfactions. Tourism's role, as the *refresher* and *comforter* to modern everyday life, is also reflected in more recent writings. For example, Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier (2001) find that tourists retrieve 'better version[s] of the old selves' after the trip. In this way, tourists live in two worlds, *the world of the everyday*, in which the self lacks meaning, and *the world in exile*, where he/she is the real self (Cohen, 1979).

Kim and Jamal (2007) examine the tourist experience in the Teas Renaissance Festival. They discover that existential authenticity is the key to help understand the experiences of regular, repeat festivalgoers who activate behaviours and self-understandings. The tourists also realised their true selves under the circumstances of the festival which allows relaxation and de-control. This committed action is a means of attaining heightened bodily feelings, expressing, regaining, or reconstructing a sense of desired self, and developing authentic intersubjective relationships (Kim and Jamal, 2007, p. 181).

Similar to repeat festival-goers, second home owners might unconsciously or consciously treat their visitation as an ideal escape to discover their existential authenticity. However, it is important to address the distinctions between second homes and other forms of tourism. While typical tourism formats heavily address on tourist activities, second-home goers are often more selective on the place matters other than activity matters. Sure, one can argue that all tourist activities are undoubtedly bounded and restrained by its geographical conditions. But the fact that second homes are purchased as someone's alternative dwelling highlight the importance of place over activities alone. For example, had the Aqua been 50 kilometres further than where it is, my parents would probably not perceive it as an ideal second home destination, regardless how much activities they could participate. Similarly, if the form of the house was in the shape of ordinary Chinese modern concrete instead of a Scandinavian/Canadian wooden format, my parents would perhaps not purchase it as their second home.

Geography matters in this case, and that is what current existential authenticity theory fails to grasp. Indeed, if it were true that 'existential authenticity is a potential existential state of [B]eing which is to be activated by tourist activities' (Wang, 1999, p. 351), how could we then ignore the function of place, when all tourist activities, especially second homes, are almost automatically place-based endeavours?

In addition, despite the calls for dismiss the dualistic approach on consumption or production side in tourism studies, the idea of existential authenticity directly originates from studies on tourists whilst on holiday (Wang, 1999; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Therefore, existential authenticity is strictly an action-based notion, which tend to cover only the consumption end. Limited knowledge is available towards production of tourism place. While tourism activities are now understood for its triggering effect on existential authenticity, the fact that why and how tourism spaces are produced at the first place to allow such activities and experiences, are ignored (Knudsen and Waade, 2010). When Bryson (2004) introduced the employees in Disneyland as performers for the Disnified themes, no scholars wondered if their actions could ever activate their 'true self', as if it is self evident. In the case of the Aqua, however, where the employees 'perform' also happens to be where their 'real life' happens. The question about self identity is critical in the scenario of which one's habitat becomes an alienated space.

To sum up, experiential authenticity offers a potential explanatory approach to help understand the motivation and behaviour in terms of second-home tourism. However, it shows limitations from both the consumption and production side of second homes. On the consumption side, it fails to grasp the meaning of place and space in the process of activating tourists' authentic self. On the production side, how the participants deal with their existential authenticity is missing during the process of place-making. Therefore, in the following section, I propose to combine contemporary concept of existential authenticity with the spatial knowledge that is gained in the previous chapter.

4.3 Spatial-existential Authenticity and Second homes

The Spatiality of Authenticity

After defining existential authenticity as an experience-based, activity-oriented seeking of the 'true self', Wang (1999) further divides existential authenticity into two dimensions: intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity. *Intra-personal authenticity* covers two areas: the bodily feeling and self-making, or self-identity (Wang, 1999, p. 363-364). *Inter-personal authenticity* refers to family ties and touristic communities.

These developments are important and useful, however, there might be missed opportunities when focusing overly on tourists' experiences rather than spatiality. Thanks to a wide range of adaptations and empirical evidences in terms of existential authenticity, some opportunities have opened up for further theoretical development on the concept. For example, Noy (2004, p. 91) notices a 'cyclical relationship' to gap-year tourists who establish the self-change narrative from the experience of (staged) authenticity and tourists' experiences (existential authenticity). Also, Buchmann et al. (2010) present interesting data indicating that tourists inspired by the *Lord of the Rings* films to visit New Zealand, have developed a strong sense of existential authenticity, which is strongly framed by the geographical conditions of filming. Indeed, the tourists experience to New Zealand involved various landscapes ranging from the rugged mountains to the deep valleys, creating the sense of mythical tales for the tourists. Therefore, the experience is both real (through sensations) and imagined (through the movie). Likewise, Kim and Jamal (2007) observe how repeat festival goers use the space to act spontaneously to express their 'true selves' and establish communities.

In all of these studies, a common feature of spatiality stands in the centre of authenticity. Existential authenticity assumes that tourist experiences or activities can act as a catalyst for authenticity that exists within one's true self. I propose that space and experience are intertwined because all tourism experiences happen through space and place. Take a climber for example. Among the rock climbing community, there exists a subculture of maintaining a hypermobile or minimalist lifestyle (Rickly-Boyd, 2012b). While doing so, climbers obtain a sense of self through the bodily practice as well as the camaraderie with fellow lifestyle climbers (ibid). As such, their existential authenticity is enacted by both the bodily performance as well as by the socially constructed community. Indeed, Rickly-Boyd (2012b) provides a vivid case study of place-based existential authenticity in relations to the experiences, challenges and accomplishments of the tourists.

However, this case study could have been taken a step further towards the spatiality of climbing. Imagine the same group of climbers having committed to ascent two mountains with the same equipment and bodily conditions. One of the mountains is the Dkyh-Tau in Kabardino-Balkaria, Russia and the other is the Mount Everest intersecting Tibet and Nepal. When they reach the same altitude of 17,000 feet (5,200 meters), in an ideal situation, their bodily experience might be similar in terms of the awareness of shortage of oxygen and sense of environment. Also, their sense of communities might remain the same and hence their sense of self should be equally activated in two separate locations. However, this is impossible because at such an altitude, the climbers would have stood at the top of the Dkyh-Tau with a flag in hands celebrating their achievements, while they would have been sitting comfortably in an electric bus commuting them from a township in Tibet to the Everest Base Camp II which is located at 5,500 meters. They would have not even started their ascent! From a Thirdspace perspective, what makes the Mount Everest the mountain with the highest altitude on earth is not only its absolute elevation above mean sea level, but also its socially constructed image of 'the highest mountain in the world'. Depending on the standards of comparison, this notion is not entirely true or authentic.

From a Thirdspace perspective, the geographical facts about the mountains ensure the spatial practices for climbers to perceive. In addition to the perceived space of the mountain, the image of it is constructed and conceived by the social and the spatial. This explains why there is a post office selling postcards with words printed in English language saying 'Hello from 5,500 meters Mount Everest Base Camp, the highest mountain in the world'. For the climbers, the experience (lived space) of the ascent depends on both the real (perceived space) and the imagined (conceived space). Their discovery of the authentic self, therefore, needs to be analysed from a Thirdspace perspective rather than a bodily exercise.

Of course this is an extremely simplistic case. But there are some questions that need to be taken from it. How could we assume *intra-personal* or *inter-personal* existential authenticity without the analyses of space and place? And how could we focus on the socially and historically produced authenticity without thinking about the fact that space not only shapes, but is also shaped by, existential authenticity? In an increasingly mobilised world, how could we distinguish home from away? Where do we draw the line between ordinary (alienation of authentic self) and extraordinary (discovery of the existential authentic self)? The simple answer to these questions is *No, we could not*. The more analytical one is explained through the spatiality of second homes.

4.4 Spatial-Existential Authenticity and Second Homes

It is possible to use Thirdspace to construct the theoretical framework to establish, what can be called, the spatial-existential authenticity. Following Soja, this comes in two interconnected trialectics: spatial-temporal trialectics and socio-spatial trialectics.

Spatial-temporal

'Home' is ordinary, 'second' is away, thus second homes deconstructs the regular assumption about 'home' being *ordinary* daily routine, and 'away' as *extraordinary* experience. Visiting a second home can sometimes be living an ordinary life in an extraordinary setting (e.g. staying in an exotic house with a usual lifestyle), or living an extraordinary life in an ordinary setting (e.g. living in a normal apartment can still live an extraordinary lifestyle), or living an extraordinary life in an extraordinary setting (e.g. staying in an isolated island house where one's lifestyle is inevitably different). Coming back *home*, for regular tourists, according to Steiner and Reisinger (2006), means to return to the ordinary settings with a refreshed feeling gained through something extraordinary. However, for those who return from their second homes, the gap between ordinary and extraordinary is somewhat blurred, depending on how often they visit and how long they stay. Therefore, existential authenticity needs to take consideration from a time-space perspective.

Nostalgia is best to exhibit such linkage. The word 'nostalgia' comes from two Greek roots, *nostos* meaning 'return home' and *algia* 'longing' (Boym, 2008). Nostalgia can be interpreted as the displaced person's longing for a home that is no longer present or never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy. In relations to authenticity, the sentiment of nostalgia plays a significant part because the fantasies of the past, determined by the needs of the present, have a direct impact on the realities of the future (Boym, 2008).

Following these thoughts, Boorstin's objective authenticity can also be understood as *past authenticity* because it concerns originality and historicity of touring objects or events. MacCannell's constructive authenticity can be termed as *present-past authenticity* because it argues that tourism has become a stage to present the originality and historicity to the superficial, modern tourists. Existential authenticity can be termed as *future-past authenticity*. Koselleck (1985) suggests that it is important to realise that each present once was a future that has passed, hence the term *future-past*. Since modernity dramatically increased the speed of changes in our society, expectations of the future have also increased (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). This is because individuals now have realised that the future conditions have an increasing impact on their remaining lifespan.

In the realm of second-home research, nostalgia is a popular theme to analyse tourist motivation. For example, Dias, Correia & Lopez (2015) trace data from a UK-based second home rental website and discover that owners selectively apply their sense of place to the advertisements, along side descriptions of hospitality and house facilities. Perhaps a more interesting research is Walters' (2014) discourse analysis on New Zealand second home owners. While the media and academia have increasingly labelled ownership of the traditional second home and the affiliated lifestyle as the antithesis of luxury, Walter (2004) find that the owners consider the 'rustic' lifestyle in the rural area as an article of luxury. The way of eating, playing and relaxing contains a strong sense of nostalgia because they are no longer accessible in an urban life.

Nostalgia , the disease of an afflicted imagination incapacitated the body (Boym, 2008, p.4). The case of the Aqua is where imagination meets the body. On one hand, tourists seek the lost quality of life via the geographic quality and facilities at the Aqua. For example, when air pollution and traffic jams become issues concerning people's health, visitors find the Aqua fresh and quite. Such opposition reminds them the lifestyle that they once had, before the rapid modernisation process took place in China. On the other hand, visitors turned into second-home buyers when they realise a hidden dream reflecting a potential lifestyle that they never had in the past or present. This dream is often culturally shaped with a strong influence from the media, family and friends. Indeed, the idea of living in a house with a private garden, eating organic and slow processed food, and participating in exotic sports such as golfing and horse-riding is a metaphor of the imagined lifestyle from Europe, Austrailia or North America. Owning a house at the Aqua means that owners could have the chance to realise a slice of the imagined lifestyle. Hence, it is almost reverse approach of Ed Said's Orientalism, when the westerners formulate a set of culturally shaped nostalgia that was never there in real life.

Current thinking on existential authenticity misses the opportunity to analyse how the state of Being might be activated by spatiality in addition to tourist experience and activities (Rickly-Boyd, 2013). Spatial-existential authenticity also acknowledges the complex relationships between socially produced space and the authentic self.

On a temporal sense, the second homes are heterotopia sites when they are fully lived by the actors. This is when the actors stay at the second home (spatial practice) and realise that they are away from the home (conceive space). As such, the boundaries between the home and the second home rests in time (on holidays) and space (away from the everyday). Being heterotopia, the space of the second home is the reflection of one's interpretation of the utopia which could be labelled as the destination for 'lifestyle mobility' (Cohen et al., 2015). The sun, sand, beach, good weather, tasty food, and exotic culture in mass tourism equalises the rural beauty, fresh air and the suburban fortress that obstruct the everyday chaos in second homes. Indeed, the experience of second homes can activate one's existential authenticity; but it is not possible without the second homes being heterotopia sites at the first place.

Second homes are limbotopia sites when they are not fully lived. This is when the physical dwelling and the ideal of it both remain but not combined. For example, when the actors are back to their everyday life and their second homes are left empty. The boundaries between the home and the second home become 'restless' in time (alienated everyday modern life) and space (geographically apart from the actors). Thus, existential authenticity can only be activated while owners are presence at their second homes.

Socio-Spatiality of Second Homes and Existential Authenticity

In the socio-spatial dialectics, the key to understand spatial-existential authenticity is that space is socially produced and therefore can be socially changed.

It is not irregular to come across the strange spaces that Soja calls the 'interstitial hyperreality'. In between fact and fiction, people produce the 'scamscapes' – a constructed geography filled with trickery, misrepresentation, and often innovative forms of fraud, like the savings and loan fiasco of the early 1990s, perpetrated by people who genuinely believed that what they were doing was not only acceptable but virtuous (Soja, 2014). More global in its impact was Hollywood, USA's fulsome dream machine, pouring out realistic fakes that entertained nearly everyone on earth (Soja, 2014). This observation echoes what Baudrillard (1988) calls the production of 'hyperreality' and the 'precession of simulacra' (1991) by which he meant that simulations of the real are rapidly replacing reality itself. At first, there was the material world which then abstracts into maps.

Place-making in the conventional way has now been turned around: the real material world seems to melt into its never completely accurate representations. In other words, now it is the map that precedes the territory (Soja, 2014). This is the case with Disneyland, where the tourist experience of the land is perceived and conceived by the maps rather than the geography.

Although Soja makes these observations based on Los Angeles and its urban changes in the past four decades, it can be argued that elsewhere in the world urbanisation happened in a similar fashion as in L.A. For example, the places like the Thames Town and The Aqua now flourished not only in China, but also across the world. It is increasingly difficult to judge the authenticity of spaces from the objective or constructive approaches because they have become juxtaposes of the *real* and the *imagined*. For example, having an entire Chinese town built in a British style, and naming the streets and shops in it 'Piccadilly Road' and 'the Windsor', is as confusing as talking to a *performed* Micky Mouse in Disneyland.

In the case of the Thames Town, the spatiality of the site can be classified as an apotopia since the lived experience of the project does not correspond to its purpose. The Thames Town was planned and built as the frontier of the state's ambition for driving rural economics with the development of the new town (Shen and Wu, 2012b). The British image of the place survives among the limited number of tourists who come to take wedding photography but not among the community who were supposed to migrate there, or those who were forced out from local communities. To almost all its participants, the image of the Thames Town is alienated and in-authentic not because all the buildings are designed in a British fashion and given exotic names, but because the spatial practice of the site does not thaw its conceived image and hence the space is not fully lived.

By contrast, in a gated communities in China, the excessive usage of western-style architectural forms is interpreted as the catalyst for a sense of pride and a representation of personal wealth (Wu, 2010). Living in such an environment, whether permanently or seasonally, activates the participant's authentic self. In other words, the key to unleash the catalyst power of space on existential authenticity is neither the architectural style nor the nature of the dwelling as first or second homes. Rather, it is the socially produced cognitive that allows the physical and experiential space to activate the existential self.

For The Aqua, the question to ask is not whether it is authentic or whether the actors see it as authentic or not. Because space is socially produced (Lefebvre, 1991), and space is as important a factor as history and social (Soja, 1996), the key to understand the existential authenticity associated with The Aqua is to understand how the space is socially produced. Different actors construct existential authenticity differently, and as a result, they stood different positions in the process of place-making. The task of the thesis is to find out how diverse groups of actors have played their power to shape the Aqua and how the Aqua has shaped their self identity. Thus, the socio-spatial form offers a great tool for analysis.

Existential authenticity, without a sense of space, fails to grasp the flavours of a second home because the problematic assumption of being elsewhere is essential to activate one's existential authenticity (Shepherd, 2015). Spatial-existential authenticity potentially overcomes these issues in two ways: by understanding how the space of second homes is socially produced, it is now possible to understand how the space activate one's existential authenticity; reversely, by understanding one's perception of authenticity, it is possible to understand why they choose to participate in place-making in a particular way and what impact their participation might address.

4.5 The Impact of Second Homes: Spatial Justice

Justice Matters in Authenticity

Authentication is the process by which 'something – a role, product, site, object or event – is confirmed as original, genuine, real or trustworthy' (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). The topic of authenticity in tourism has shifted from a concern over tourist experiences towards a more sociological problem of the 'processes if authentication of tourist attractions' (Cohen and Cohen, 2012, p. 1295). To fully understand authentication and its impacts, I suggests that the politics of authenticity needs to be studied through the power in the productions of tourism space is closely related to the existential authenticity.

Building on top of spatiality and authenticity, I would like to open a window to justice. Since the attitude towards second homes has departed from a mostly negative origin (Coppock, 1977b) towards a more liberal notion (Gallent, 2014), it is timely to inspect the concept of spatial justice in the context of second homes.

Previously, I took a stand to claim the issue of second homes needs to be understood further than the popular *rural-out thesis*. I agree that it is too simplistic to critique second homes as an elite landscape that the high or middle class buy in the rural areas, and as the source of economic, social and environmental issues that the rural areas are facing today (Gallent, 2007). Instead of adding new evidence to the debate about the impacts of second homes, I propose a linkage between existential authenticity and social justice as a framework to analyse the impacts. This idea is inspired by Edward Said's observation of *the struggle of geography* that 'is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings' (Said, 1994, p. 7).

One of the most important issues associated with the existentialist thought clearly situates itself within the contradictions between authenticity and ethics (Shabot and Menschenfreund, 2008). For example, the less privileged communities are sometimes forced to *stay poor* so their lives can be a showcase to the authenticity seeking tourists (Harrison, 2008). Therefore, the discussion about spatial-existential authenticity is logic to link with the notion of justice.

Under current intensification of economic inequalities and social polarisation associated with neoliberal globalisation and the new economic restructuring, the concept of justice and its related ideas of democracy, equality, citizenship and civil rights has taken a quick and thorough development over the recent years (Soja, 2009). Soja (2010) argues that justice has a sense of spatiality and needs to be understood geographically. In the broadest sense, spatial justice seeks the equitable distribution of resources, services, and access to various user communities.

In relation to this thesis, *Seeking Spatial Justice* (Soja 2010) is an effective way to explore how these unjust geographies have changed through determined social and political actions in the context of the production of second homes in China. However, due to the limited scope and capabilities, the following section merely shows the basics of the concept, which requires further exploration.

Spatial Justice

Over the past decades, economic restructuring, neoliberal globalisation, and unregulated flexible capitalism have produced unprecedented levels of inequality and social polarisation (Peck et al., 2010). Meanwhile, both terms *spatial* and *justice* have obtained new meanings and significance in the contemporary world (Soja, 2010). Focusing on both the new meanings of spatial and justice can help unifying constituencies and promoting new forms of coalition building to struggle for increasing injustice (Soja, 2010). In relation to this thesis, Soja's conceptualisation of spatial justice is useful in the sense that it is possible to establish some hypothesis in relation to second homes and spatial justice based on his original hypotheses foregrounding Los Angeles:

Soja's (2010) hypothesis foregrounding spatial justice in Los Angeles

1. seeking spatial justice through labour-community coalition building has advanced further in LA than in other major metropolitan areas
2. The recent resurgence of labour and community organising arises in part from the unusually intensive and polarising effects of globalisation and economic restructuring
3. The uprisings and riots of 1992 (now often called the Justice Riots) marked a turning point for labour and the working poor in Los Angeles, stimulating a growing recognition that government was unlikely to respond effectively and that new methods and strategies were needed in the struggles for greater economic and social justice. New and innovative grass roots movements necessary.
4. Distinguishing these movements: they have tended to increasingly to realise the spatiality of government. Heightened awareness of the politics of space and the potential strategic importance of seeking spatial justice and the rights to the city
5. The higher spatial consciousness of local coalition building and the emergence of specifically spatial strategies of political activism derive in large part from linkages between activist groups and university students and faculties involved in urban planning and geography.

The potential of thinking space offers the meaning of spatial justice in three layers: firstly, it recognises the multi-scalar of geographies that we live in as socially produced from local to global. Secondly, these geographies can have unjust effects that need to be recognised and changed. Thirdly, therefore, the struggles to achieve greater spatial justice provide a 'unifying force' as an umbrella to contain coalition building and linking social movements together, across all geographical scales. Soja's logic is to provide a radical precedent that ensures that all public service plans meet the needs of the disadvantaged population, and in doing so, spatial justice can act as the means for protesting against the unjust effect of globalisation. Through labour-community coalition building**,** Soja envisions the *city of the future* – just cities through spatial change (Soja, 2010).

Later in this thesis, I will represent a detailed analysis on the power relations that have shaped the Aqua into today's format, which is led by a discussion on spatial justice. Here, I present the potential linkage between second homes, existential authenticity and spatial justice as a loose framework.

Second Homes, Existential Authenticity and Spatial Justice

In the past forty years, the impact of second homes have been a key area of research (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). However, the debate over the impacts have never been linked with authenticity and justice. Whilst authenticity has been widely studied in tourism, the *social process* of producing authenticity was scarcely examined until recently (Alexander, 2009, Noy, 2004). Xie (2011) urges a shift from tourism authenticity to the ways that tourism is authenticated. To authenticate a form of tourism is associated with the designated features and is bound up with the issue of power (Xie, 2011).

In the production of authenticity, several scholars have suggested frameworks to study the issue of power. In the realm of ethnic tourism, Xie (2011) identifies key stakeholders, including governments, tourism business participants, tourists and ethnic communities in the process of producing authentic tourism products. In a similar fashion, Ateljevic and Doorne (2005) suggest that the politics of authenticity can be viewed dialectically between producers (local tourism providers) and consumers (tourists). However, Cohen and Cohen (2012) believe that these approaches are limited because they fail to conceptualise different kinds of social processes that are authenticating tourism.

To fully understand the impacts of second homes, the activation of existential authenticity needs to be considered in relation to its ethical meaning in terms of social justice. Instead of a classic dualistic way of discussing the tension between the second homes community (urban) and the local community (rural), this thesis seeks out the power relations between different actor groups and their roles in the production of second home space.

Potentially, this thesis would discover the spatiality of second homes and its implications to different participant groups. For example, there might be similarities and tensions between second home owners and the local communities in terms of how they perceive, conceive, and live the space of second homes. Social justice can therefore be measured and justified between such comparisons. Owners might find their second homes in the rural setting the space where they discover their true identities while locals perceive the same space as an intrusion to their conceived authentic selves. Therefore, to understand spatial justice in second homes is to examine the power relations within the process of the production of the space.

Instead of a singular analysis of how one community is affecting another in relation to second homes, the spatiality of social justice allows opportunities to explain the socio-spatial relationships in a more complex manner.

4.6 Chapter Conclusion

Inspired by the humanistic geographical spirit which ties places with sensations, geography with experiences, and lived with imagined environments (Tuan, 1977), this chapter further explored the possibilities of using some of the key theories in tourism and space to shed light on the epistemology of second homes. Interestingly, one of the struggles of the ontology of second homes – the tourism/housing divide — also brings opportunities to employ a safari-like journey to collect the useful theories to conceptualise second homes later in the next chapter. Following (Paris, 2014) and (Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013) call for collaborating tourism theories and spatial theories on second homes, this chapter further explores three (initially isolated but then interconnected) concepts, namely authenticity, the Thirdspace and spatial justice.

Based on (Wang, 1999) critical examination of the authenticity theory, this chapter explored the legacies and limitations of the three different perspectives on the concept. Objective authenticity explains the basics of touristic activities (Boorstin, 2012), while constructive authenticity suggests that authenticity can be socially produced (MacCannell, 1976). As a radical rather than subtle development, existential authenticity offers greater explanatory power in explaining the contrast between the authentic self and authentic knowledge and experience (Wang, 1999). This chapter suggests that there might be a potential spot for spatial-existential authenticity.

Having analysed what Soja calls the trialectics of space, the theoretical linkages between authenticity and spatiality become clear. That is, authenticity should not only be activated by tourism or tourist experience or activity, it can also be activated by tourism space. Because both space and existential authenticity is socially produced, and all tourism experience take place in space and place, it is logical to use the new term *spatial-existential authenticity* as a potential framework to develop Wang's (1999) work further. Still acknowledging the theoretical underpinnings of existential authenticity, this new entry of spatiality allows the following propositions:

P1. Pre-occupied authenticity can be activated not only by tourism activities or experiences, but also by space and place.

The discussion of authenticity was purely based on tourist experiences and activities, therefore it is incomplete as all tourism experiences happen not just socially, but spatially as well. In the case of second homes, existential authenticity is limited because the experience is more complicated than those in ordinary forms of tourism. Because of its nature of privatised ownership, second homes can be purchased, decorated and maintained in favour of the owners and participants. In such way, they are not only the mere experiencers but also the actors and producers of their own experiences. In this scenario, the experience itself is outweighed by the extraordinary space that lies in contrast to the actor's ordinary home in terms of activating their pre-occupied authentic knowledge or power. In other words, space can produce authenticity. This leads to the second proposition.

Whether or not second homes are harmful installations in the countryside relies on the power relations in spatial justice. Because the discussion of authenticity can never be set alone without thinking of ethics of tourism, it is logical to uncover the spatial justice with relations to spatial-existential authenticity:

P2. Spatial-existential authenticity matters not only to the second home owners, but also to other participant communities involved in the production process of the second homes. What is authentic to one community/individual might be unethical or unjust to another.

Insofar, the chosen site of study becomes even more interesting. Because my initial experience of the site was conducted without concrete knowledge of theory, the experience I had was raw and unanalytical. That also made me an explorer, not only to the site, but to the theoretical world as well. As I have identified the potential way to connect second homes, authenticity, and justice, and use it as the theoretical underpinning for this thesis, the third proposition follows logically:

The gap between theories and reality is almost always present. In fact, strategies and policies that are simply constructed upon theories tend to fail constantly (Parr, 1999a, Barca et al., 2012). This is because theories are often mistranslated into practice, or theories vannot be fully implemented in reality (Storper, 1997). Indeed, theories often require unrealistic preconditions or are unable to lead practitioners to a clear action plan (Porter, 2000). Both theory and practice need to be understood as evolving processes of learning.

Having said this, the gaps of existing theories and practices are expected to contain gaps and controversies. The purpose of the literature review is by no means to dismiss the contributions of existing research on second homes, authenticity or space. Rather, it is believed that a sophisticated literature review can be used as the foundation and inspiration for substantial and useful research (Boote and Beile, 2005). As such, there are other potential angles of existing literature that might be found equallyrelevant to this thesis, however, due to the length and scale of this research, it is not possible to fully expand in those directions. Instead of drafting an end mark to the current position of the field, this literature review leaves it open for further explorations and refinements.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Chapter Introduction

The first mission of this chapter is to define the methodology adopted for this research. Baxter (2010) defines methodology as a theory of what can be researched, how it can be researched, for what purpose and to what advantage (p.82). The considerations of methodology should come before the considerations of method, because 'methodological issues are those broader matters which need to be addressed with reference to their epistemological and ontological bearings' (Hollinshead, 2004). Therefore, even though the selection of method depends on the aims and objectives of the specific study, methodological issues need to be discussed reflexively first and foremost (Silverman 1998). This is because the philosophical standpoint of the author will inevitably have a deciding impact on the selection of research questions, aims, objectives, and methods of collecting and interpreting data (Delanty and Strydom, 2003). However, in appreciation of the limitation of current knowledge and capacity, it is more appropriate to conduct *good practice* than to debate what *good research* is or is not (Silverman, 2007). That is, although the paradigm of research is highly important, the focus of the chapter is on the actual means of how this research is conducted.

Then, the second mission of the chapter is to discuss the research design and my concerns over the quality of the research. As a blueprint of the study, a research design outlines what the research will do, from establishing the research framework to the analysis of data (Creswell and Clark, 2007). The key areas that help establish the research design include: concerns over the quality of research and potential bias; selection of case study approach; and employment of grounded theory.

Based on the methodology and the research design, the third part of this chapter describes the methods employed in this research for data collection and analysis. This chapter ends by noting the technical challenges facing the conduct of the research, including particular limitations.

5.2 Paradigm of the Thesis

Paradigm

A paradigm is a basic set of beliefs or propositions that explain the worldview (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Three major elements should be included in the set: ontology, epistemology and methodology. Varies definition of these elements can be found in Table 5.1.

Key Authors	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
(Denzin and Lincoln, 1998)	Is there a single or multiple reality/realities out there in the world?	How do we know the reality of the world?	How do we gain knowledge about the reality of the world?
(Hollinshead, 2004)	Nature of Being /World/Reality	Relationship between the reality and the researcher	How a researcher use procedure and tactics for purposes of knowing?
(Creswell et al., 2003)	What is knowledge?	How do we know?	The process of knowing it.

Table 5.1 Key definitions of Paradigms

Source: by author

According to Goodson and Phillimore (2004), the discussion on methodology is in terms of *ontology* (the nature of being, meaning the position of social reality) and *epistemology* (the means to know about social reality). As considerations of being (our world view) precede the objectives and research questions, which then decide the methods we choose, it is worth noting that different philosophies direct attention to different aspects of a phenomenon (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005). Following Guba's (1990) ground-breaking work, *the Paradigm Dialog*, the philosophical stances of research for social scientists are established over the twin terminologies of ontology – how the world is assumed to be — and epistemology – how the world is assumed to be known.

Generally, there are two philosophical positions to social science: positivism and interpretivism (Lincoln and Guba, 2002). This thesis relies on interpretivism as a general guiding philosophy or paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Interpretivism demands that researchers take human interest into account within their study.

The research arises from a set of curiosities found when I visited the site of study for the first time. During this occasion, I embodied three different social roles: the son to parents who had just acquired their second home for leisure purposes; the tourist/visitor who was invited to experience the purposely built tourism township in a Western-style; and the research student who had decided to study the realm he was most familiar to, i.e. tourism geography. Thus, based on these curiosities I have later formulated a simple, yet fundamental interest in the social reality of authenticity and its existence throughout the production of space of second homes.

In order to achieve what the research has set out to do, the ideal scenario would be that as a researcher, I would take up a totally independent position in relation to the researched communities. This would allow me to obtain non-biased information on how the communities sense, use, and experience the space of second homes that were produced by themselves in the first place. However, this became impossible as soon as I set foot in the field, because my personal (the visitor), social (the son) and institutional (the researcher) roles have made me inevitably subjective to the phenomenon:

> *I am sure, from the tenor of books I have read, that many who have visited this land in years gone by, were Presbyterians, and came seeking evidences in support of their particular creed; they found a Presbyterian Palestine, and they had already made up their minds to find no other, though possibly they did not know it, being blinded by their own zeal. Others were Catholic, a Methodist, and Episcopalian Palestine. Honest as these men's intentions may have been, they were full of partialities and prejudices, and they could no more write dispassionately and impartially about it than they could about their own wives and children (Twain, 1869, p. 329).*

The different social roles have benefited the research in a multitude of ways, such as giving me enhanced accessibility to various actor groups, and allowing me to participate in different ways while conducting observation. In terms of the theoretical roots of the study, 'given the grounding of authenticity in the philosophy of phenomenology, it is recommended that the phenomenological method is used to explore the experience of tourism as catalyst for change' (Brown, 2013, p. 187).

<u>Ontology</u>

According to Hollinshead (2004), the matters of ontology refer to the concerns of social reality (*being, becoming, meaning, etc.*) that help 'determine or designate the nature of the knowable' (p. 75). The starting point of an ontological stance depends on the vision of social reality (Guba, 1990). Matters of ontology relate to questions of seeing, meaning, being and identity (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Ultimately, philosophical ontology discusses the questions of reality in two different dimensions depending on whether we believe there is such things as being and real (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Ontological realism recognises the existence of reality while idealism denies it. However, this research focuses on ontology for social actors, which explicitly deals with whether there are single or multiple social realities (Silverman, 2007).

With regards to the relationships between social reality and social actors, ontological standpoints are established differently with different philosophical roots (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). For example, objectivist or realist acknowledges a single social reality with social facts that are independent on social actors (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Constructivists and relativists, on the other hand, believe that social reality is not a single objective entity, but it is socially constructed, holistic and contextual (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In other words, social phenomena are constructed and dependent on interactional accomplishments (Silverman, 1998). Pragmatism stands in between these two dimensions, which suggests that social phenomena are true only insofar as they work (James, 1975). In this sense, social reality is partially dependent on the interactional accomplishments of the social actors (James, 1975).

As Bryman (2015) suggests, researchers envision the connection between different viewpoints about the nature of social reality and how it should be examined (p.4). Also, it needs to be clear that the researcher's understanding of ontology is also a matter of either sociological or anthropological awareness (Hollinshead, 2004, p. 63). In tourism studies, this awareness is particularly important as it is a crucially deciding factor to the degree in which the researcher is capable of envisioning 'the real cultural world' of the studied locale or local groups (Hollinshead, 2004).

For this research, the phenomenological paradigm was adopted and the positivist approach was rejected due to the following reasons:

- To critically evaluate the experience of a second home space and how it is linked with existential authenticity, this study requires intensive involvement and participation with/from participants, hence the conduct of interviews with individuals over a lengthy period;
- The single case study approach does not have the capacity to generate/test universal hypotheses for other second home spaces - elements that are essential to deductive reasoning and positivist approach (Bryman, 2015);
- The research examines the phenomenon from a holistic approach (Guba and Lincoln, 1994);
- There was no intention to generalise statements to be universally applicable about this particular phenomenon.

On a personal note, as soon as I arrived at the Aqua for the first time, my understanding of the place and the people within it was immediately impossible to be entirely objective. Instead, I had a rare opportunity to construct my narratives based upon my own experiences with the site and my involvement with the communities within it. Instead of generating a new definition of second homes to the already abundant pool of academy, I am more interested (and serviceable) to be a painter who stands in front of a bizarre scene and map a sketch with myself in it. My hope is that one day we can look back and realise that the researcher (I) and the researched (the participants) were merely players who had their exits and their entrances to the world of stage which produced the Aqua at a certain point of time. Although we played different parts, I was not so much different from the participants in the sense that we all had our own understanding of the Aqua and how it was constructed. Such construction is both physical and mental, and I have neither the intention nor the capability to be a 'clean outsider' who unbiasedly mark down the physical and dismiss the mental.

Thus, this thesis builds on a constructionist ontology that rejects the assumption of a singular social reality. This study emerges from the social reality of second homes, and how such space is socially produced and how it is related to the social production of authenticity. Because the researcher is part of the social world that he studies, this research is a practice that is shaped by his interaction with the people and place at the researched destination. Drawing upon Hollinshead's (2004) suggestion to examine tourism as the quintessential place-maker, this thesis challenges the idea of objective knowledge of second homes by exploring the realities as contextual and subjective.

Epistemology

Epistemology regards how we gain knowledge (Cloke et al., 2004). To gain knowledge about social facts, four 'basic belief systems' rule contemporary science (Hollinshead, 2004, Guba, 1990): *positivism*, with its realist ontology; *post-positivism*, with its critical-realist worldviews; *critical theory*, with its neo-Marxist oriented standpoints that aims to reduce entrapment in systems of domination or dependence; and *constructivism*, with its dialectical outlook on the world's multiple realities.

Tourism as a field of study has long been dominated by the use of positivist and quantitative methods (Walle, 1997, Jennings, 2005). This is because a positivist or phenomenologist approach fits well with the industry, in which business and functionalist/applied research was once emergently required (Franklin, 2004). In recent years, however, it is increasingly realised that a paradigmatic shift is needed in order to better develop tourism as a discipline (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). As ontology of tourism turns to critical theory and a relativist approach. Consequently, the use of phenomenological approaches remains highly relevant in tourism because phenomenology is considered as the study of lived experience, which is an integral part of tourism (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010). Guba's early work on subjectivism allows a rather simplistic comparison on epistemology and philosophy grounded between critical theory and constructivism (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Guba's Comparison of Post-positivist Paradigms

Critical Theory	***Critical realist***—as in the case of post-positivism.	***Subjectivist***—in the sense that values mediate inquiry.	***Dialogic, transformative***—eliminate false consciousness and energise and facilitate transformation (via *praxis*).
Constructivist	***Relativist***—realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them.	***Subjectivist***—inquirer and inquired into are fused into a single (monistic) entity. Findings are literally the creation of the process of interaction between the two.	***Inter-subjective, dialectic***—individual constructions are elicited, compared and contrasted dialectically, with the aim of generating one (or a few) constructions on which there is substantial consensus.

Table Source: Guba (1990, p.23)

A constructivist approach assumes that 'human beings do not find or discover knowledge… [as much] as [they] construct or make it' (Schwandt, 1996, p. 197). While a positivist ontology assumes that there is an objective truth to be found, a constructivist builds knowledge of the world through collective senses and acts accordingly, instead of through passive learning processes (Schwandt, 2000). Therefore, 'people discursively creat[e] their worlds' (Crang, 2003, p. 494) and therefore social research needs to explain those worlds.

This turn of tourism/geography research has resulted in the development of hermeneutic (interpretivist) phenomenology. According to Schütz (1962), social reality has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the *beings* living, acting, and thinking within it (p. 59). Therefore, the action and reaction to the social reality is different and subjective to the *beings* (Bryman, 2015). In other words, in an interpretivist epistemology the focus lies within the meaning of social action ('verstehen' in Weber's terms) and how it is interpreted.

The Research Rationality

Having found the paradigm of the research in phenomenology, this integrative study adopts a constructivist epistemology that serves an interpretive nature. The logic of the choice is explained as follows.

This thesis proposes that the 'truth' about second homes is socially produced and unveiled through spatial practices. Therefore, the knowledge of second homes is dependent on 'some background or context of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices and so forth' (Schwandt, 2000). In short, the knowledge generated by this thesis is relative and bounded to time, context, and culture (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Also, the thesis asserts that the dispute between rationalism and empiricism takes place within epistemology (Aune, 2003). Based on the literature review (chapter 2) and initial visitation to the site (chapter 1), it is established that there is no concrete source for the concept of second homes in a Chinese context apart from a few weakly theorised observations (Wu et al., 2015). In other words, the knowledge of the phenomenon is constructed with no other social encounters than sense experience. As the research takes places, the construction of knowledge employs a subjectivist epistemology that is grounded upon the co-constructed understandings towards the site – between the researcher and his respondent (Lincoln and Denzin, 2000). In other words, the knowledge gained from this study is filtered through the researcher's own experiences, as well as being co-created with the research respondents. Since the construction of meaning is restricted to time and space, it is necessary to discuss the complexity between people and places (Crang and Thrift, 2000). This leads to an important question about bias and rigour within a methodological commitment that is embedded in research design.

5.3 Research Design

Qualitative Research Strategy

There are two general approaches to reasoning which may be used to generate new knowledge, namely inductive and deductive reasoning (Hyde, 2000). Inductive reasoning is centred upon the belief that theories are generated from collected data (Gilgun, 2001). In other words, induction is a theory building process that aims to establish generalisation of the phenomenon through the observations of particular instances (Hyde, 2000). By contrast, deductive reasoning is a theory testing process that seeks to justify if the theory is validated in specific instances (Hyde, 2000). Depending on the school of reasoning, research may be categorised into two distinct types; quantitative and qualitative research (Walle, 1997).

Quantitative research grasps social facts and assumes that human behaviour can be examined through the employment of deductive logic and quantified methodologies (Bryman, 2015). In contrast, qualitative research works on the opposite epistemological and ontological orientations (Table 5.3).

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Principal orientation to the role of theory in relation to research	Deductive; begins from theory; testing of theory.	Inductive; begin with phenomenon; generation of theory.
Epistemological orientation	Natural science model, in particular positivism	Interpretivism
Ontological orientation	Objectivism	Constructionism

Table 5.3 Fundamental differences between quantitative and qualitative research strategies

Source: adapted from Bryman (2015, p. 32)

Thanks to the involvement of social anthropology and the recognition of humanistic approaches in research, the value of qualitative tourism research has now been promoted by many scholars including Tribe (2002) and Pernecky and Jamal (2010). In tourism geography, 'qualitative approaches have enabled the study of, and emphasised the importance of, seeing economic activity as a set of lived practices, assumptions and codes of behaviour' (Crang, 2002, p. 650).

This thesis aims to study the mentioned issues in depth because the data collection is not limited to pre-determined categories (Walle, 1997). Following the ontological and epistemological stances of the research, this study is ultimately an inductive and qualitative one that aims to interpret what is taking places at the site of study, based on which theory can be generated.

The goal of qualitative researcher is to 'expand and generalise theories, not to establish the frequency with which a phenomenon is likely to occur in a population' (Hyde, 2000, p. 83). While quantitative generalisation is based on statistical probabilities (Bryman, 2015), qualitative generalisation is an analytical expansion based on the depth of understanding on a detailed knowledge of the particular (Stake, 1995). Hence, traditionally qualitative research is inductive. However, many scholars have argued that qualitative research can gain assurance with the employment of deductive processes. For example, Patton (2014) suggests that inductive and deductive processes can both be applied in qualitative research.

Ideally, the researcher would go to the field with as little preconceptions as possible for a discovery through an inductive approach. During the first period, the researcher opens up to whatever emerges from the data. Then, as the patterns and dimensions of interest become clearer, the researcher would focus on verifying or elucidating what has emerged. That is, a more deductive approach to data collection and analysis (Patton, 2014).

In this research, it is impossible for the researcher to be fully independent from what is being researched. Therefore, this thesis follows a constructivist epistemology that believes in the multiple perceptions and meanings of all the participants in the research. However, this research also takes advantage by opening up with both inductive and deductive approaches. Two occurrences are followed by data collection: 1) the initial trip that occurred without any research purpose; and 2) initial knowledge on the subject formulated by studying existing literature. Therefore, this thesis is prepared to face whatever emerges, which will be captured and verified immediately (Hyde, 2000).

<u>Research Rigour</u>

The criteria for research quality needs to be discussed before proceeding to the research design, because careful design and rigour are critical to the dependability and trustworthiness of any research (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2010). In qualitative research, three major schools of thought have contributed to the quality of research. The first way of ensuring the quality of research is to replace quantitative terms such as *representativeness* with *rigour, quality* and *wider potential* (Mason, 2002). However, it is argued that these cannot fully measure qualitative methods and thus new ideas need to be employed (Table 5.4).

	External	Internal
Reliability	Replicability	Inter-observer Reliability
Validity	Generalizability	Match between data & theory

Table 5.4 Criteria of Research in Ethnography

Source: LeCompte and Goetz (1982)

In addition to this, some suggest that distinguished criteria are needed to assess the quality of research in ethnography. For example, the term *trustworthiness* is introduced to house credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). Later, considering the ethics of research, they expanded the criteria with *authenticity* in dealing with the fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity (Guba and Lincoln, 1989).

Bearing in mind that the 'criteria wars' are still on-going, Schwandt (1996) sends a 'farewell to criteriology' and stresses the necessity of 'good practices' over criteria. Following Bradshaw & Stratford (2010), this research takes two steps in the checking process to ensure rigour. Firstly, strategies ensuring trustworthiness are employed and formulated at early stages and applied at various stages (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). These strategies include appropriate checking procedures which will go through the scrutiny of the participant community and research community (Bradshaw, 2001). Secondly, each stage of the research process is documented as open to scrutiny as possible (Fielding, 1999).

In this research, triangulation is the key to ensure rigour. Issues with validity in a single case study often results from unreliable self-report data, unsubstantiated observations, unsystematic summarise and speculation or overgeneralisation (Cloke et al., 2004). Bearing these in mind, this study uses a mixed method inquiry as 'an approach to investigate the social world that ideally involves more than one methodological tradition and thus more than one way of knowing, along with more than one kind of technique for gathering, analysing, and representing human phenomena, all for the purpose of better understanding' (Greene, 2006, p. 94).

Triangulation refers to the means in which a researcher can discover the same research phenomenon by using more than one source of data (Decrop, 1999). The process presents a checking procedure to secure the following (Baxter and Eyles, 1997):

- One source against others (re-search);
- One process and interpretations against that of the supervisor and of others;
- That the written text is confirmed by the participant community, as to enhance credibility of the research (maybe difficult when the subject of research is in a powerful position).

In this study, the researchers find that both the locals and second home owners share a similar strand on conserving the rural idyll while opening up to new developments as well. They further discover that the real place where the so-called rural conflict emerged is not so much between the local communities and the second home owners, but between those initiating new development that is different to the rural vicinity, and those appreciating the existing qualities and appearance of the host area (Farstad and Rye, 2013). It is impossible for the researchers to achieve this result if they had not implemented triangulation in their research and had not leaned on one singular participatory community only. Furthermore, a similar strategy is embedded in the research design for this study, which will be elaborated on next.

The second type of triangulation can be called mixed method. The most prominent critique on phenomenology is that it lacks the power to generalise its findings (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this research, this issue is tackled through two means. On the one hand, while generalizability or external validity is often discussed in quantitative social research, many qualitative studies, including this one, prefer to prioritise transferability or internal validity (Lincoln and Guba, 2002). Instead of expanding on the representativeness of the findings of this study over others of its kind, this research encourages to extend the degree in which its findings apply to other cases of the phenomenon in question (Baxter, 2010). In other words, this research attempts to escape the 'more cases are better' approach and instead believes that explanations of the phenomenon as manifest in the case are credible. This is achieved through two steps: a careful selecting procedure of the case study; and then the creation of useful theory that is neither too abstract nor too case-specific (Yin, 2013). The examples of how generalizable (or transferable) theoretical concepts and explanations can be generated from a single case study can be found in Flyvbjerg (2006).

Research Design

Research design offers a web to connect researchers to research philosophies, strategies and to methods for collecting and analysing empirical data (Lincoln and Denzin, 2000). This research employs a *single case study* design that is enhanced by *grounded theory*.

CASE STUDY

A case study is 'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence' (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 150). The definition highlights the importance of time and space in a phenomenon or a person that is being studied and the contextual nature of that case study (Stake, 1995).

A case study may be either exploratory or explanatory, or both at the same time. Case studies are descriptive when the outcome of the study is what can be called the 'think' description of the phenomenon; that is, the final result not only explains the human behaviour but its context as well, in such a way that the behaviour becomes meaningful to the outside community (Yin, 2013). Also, case studies are *particularistic* as they focus on a particular issue or an event (Stake, 1995). The case study approach is often criticised for its limited replicability due to its speculative and specific nature (Beeton, 2005). However, the case study approach is also *heuristic* as it is a useful means to illuminate understanding of the invested phenomenon (Bryman, 2015).

According to Cloke et al. (2004), there are two major variants of case studies in human geography: within case (temporal comparison) and cross cases (spatial comparison). Table 5.5 indicates the complexity between the temporal and spatial variations in different types of case study design. The areas that are highlighted in grey represents the most common types of case study design.

Number of cases	Spatial Variation	Temporal Variation	
		No	Yes
One	None	1	2 Single Case Study – diachronic
One	Within Case	3 Single case study – synchronic	4 Single case study – synchronic & diachronic
Several	Cross-case & within case	5 Comparative method	6 Comparative Historical
Many	Cross-case	7 Cross sectional	8 Time-series cross sectional
Many	Cross-case & within case	9 Hierarchical	10 Hierarchical time-series

Table 5.5 Types of Case Study Design

Source: adapted from Gerring (2006, p. 28)

This research adapts the single case study with considerations of both spatial and temporal variations. Following the initial visit to The Aqua, three more research trips have been undertaken between 2013 and 2015, each with different research purposes and tasks. As will be explained later, different communities are involved in this single case study. Thus, the research is both synchronic and diachronic.

There are a multitude of reasons why the research fits the interesting case of The Aqua. Firstly, a single case study can be selected if the theory is well developed and the case is critical (Yin, 2013). In this study, the theories are well developed in terms of authenticity and the production of space. The case will confirm or refute the relevance of the theories in the context of second homes in China. Therefore, The Aqua can be a critical case to study the phenomenon of second homes since the theories have never been applied in the second home studies in general or China in specific. By studying how The Aqua is socially produced and if such production activates actors' existential authenticity, it is likely to gain an intense layer of analysis towards the phenomenon of second homes in general.

Secondly, researchers can generate decent theory by studying an extreme or unique case, especially in the field of clinical research where complex psychological matters are examined

(Yin, 2013). In this study, the site of The Aqua is unique to the typical cases under existing second homes research. For example, the second homes installed in The Aqua are designed in different forms, sizes and shapes. Also, The Aqua did not emerge as a result of the lifestyle mobility choices of second home owners; instead, the second homes were developed by the co-operation between the state and the developers. Also, the second home owners are only entitled to stay for the maximum duration of 60 days per year for the first five years of their purchase, which in turn is compensated by the developer with a discounted price. The developer would manage their properties in the remaining times of the year. Therefore, the mobility rights of the second home owners are different to that within a Western society.

In this sense, The Aqua is closer to a typical *time sharing* in the U.S. (Gregory and Weinland, 2016) other than a second home sites. However, the features of The Aqua and the power relations behind it are far more complicated than of those behind a *time sharing* park. These unique features challenge the conventional definitions of the phenomenon which is based on the Western stances.

In terms of establishing theoretical grounds, The Aqua makes the question of authenticity more interesting because it blurs the fences between the production-consumption, experience-ordinary life, and home-away. In sum, The Aqua is an extreme second home case where visitors' pursuit of authenticity coalesce with the state's development ambition. The way in which different participating actors perceive, conceive and live in The Aqua pushes the question of authenticity to an extreme as there is nothing objectively authentic about the space – just like in the Disneyland case study (Bryman, 2004).

While Disneyland is purely staged, themed and performed for its visitors, The Aqua is *de facto* the home to different communities. Therefore, Bryman's (2004) study is about the Disneyisation of society, while the study about The Aqua can be understood as the *Societalisation* of a Disneyland.

Last but not the least, the single case study needs to be representative or typical so that the researcher might capture the circumstances of the everyday (Yin, 2013). The Aqua is more representative as a case study oppose several existing ones. Wu et al. (2015) contributed a good body of knowledge about the roles of second homes in terms of socio-economic development in the era of mobility. However, their study was based on Sanya – a tourism city that has grown out of migration and second homes in the first place (Wu et al., 2015). In other words, Sanya is not representative enough for the second homes that are emerging outside of ordinary cities.

Other studies have been based in the East Coast regions where the economic circumstances are far more privileged than the majority of China (Huang and Yi, 2011). Although these research efforts have all adopted the comparative case study approach, the cases that are being compared are restricted to the regions where research circumstances are extremely similar. By contrast, The Aqua is more representative and typical in terms of second homes development in China; that is, a state-involved, purposely developed and privately owned second homes village with installations of leisure attractions that is located at the urban fringe of a second or third-tier city (‘*er-san xian chengshi*[8]’). For example, in Kunming alone, there are approximately five projects similar to The Aqua being developed at the end of 2014 (CPA, 2015).

Grounded Theory

The grounded theory is by far the most popular analytical approach in qualitative research (Gibbs, 2012). A grounded theory is one that is ‘inductively derived from the study of the phenomena it represents’ (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 23). The focus of grounded theory is on generating theoretical ideas (or hypotheses) from the data rather than having them specified beforehand (Gibbs, 2012). Instead of a method, the grounded theory is a way of discovering the theory that is grounded (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In other words, grounded theory is concerned with generating theories rather than testing them. Therefore, key focus of grounded theory is reflective reading of text and the application of codes (Glaser, 1992).

[8] 二三线城市

However, it needs to be mentioned that this research does not follow a full-circle of grounded theory. The approach is applied differently from study to study (Bryman, 2015). This is because the early grounded theory is often objectivist while the alternative constructivist approach is preferable (Charmaz, 2014), especially in this research. Indeed, the fundamental assumption of traditional grounded theory tended to be used for uncovering social facts that are external to the social actors (Charmaz, 2006). In this sense, categories and concepts are inherent within the data which are awaiting to be explored by the researcher (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). By contrast, this thesis assumes 'people create and maintain realities and act […] within them' (Charmaz, 2006, p. 520). Therefore, the categories, concepts and theoretical generation emerge from the researcher's interaction with the researched during data collection in the field (Charmaz, 2014). Although Charmaz (2014) refers to constructivism more as an ontology than an epistemology, the idea that grounded theory might be constructed is supported throughout this thesis. Based on that, this research abandons the requirements of sampling or theoretical saturation from the traditional approach (Bryman, 2004). Rather, the study follows grounded theory in a broad constructivist sense.

Personally, I have been standing on a boundary spanning position throughout the implementation of this thesis. My role as a researcher who is seeking for the 'truth' seemed as a conflict to my role as a descendant of second home owners who is partially constructing that 'truth'. However, the beauty of grounded theory turns my role of conflict from a potential disaster to the research outcomes to a *de facto* boost for positive results.

From the start, I applied a broad constructivist approach to establish this research. My personal anecdote (section 1.2) has raised my curiosity about the Aqua. After my first visitation to the site, my initial curiosity developed into a set of questions, which indirectly gave birth to the aims, and objectives of this research. Why indirectly? Because I went back to my desk to seek for theoretical explanations from the literature, without knowing exactly what questions that I was looking for. Ironically, just when I realised that it was not possible to apply a concrete definition or case study to what I had seen in the field, I also realised that what I was truly looking for was not a new definition of second homes per se, but this: the social shaping of the Aqua and the people within it. That is to say, the construction of the questions was inevitably intertwined with the construction of the answers.

Without a theory to test in the field, I invited myself to generate the theory while learning about the field. Instead of viewing my different roles as a conflict, I complimented them as a harmonious way of getting accesses to different parts of the place making of the Aqua. By constructing my personal, physical and mental experience of the Aqua, I also observed how different actor groups construct their own. As such, my interpretations to this unique space became an incubator for the participants to shed light on their narratives. The gap between real and unreal vanished throughout this process, and the network of relationships emerged out of social construction. Such relationships carried me towards the answers to my research questions.

In sum, this thesis adopts key ideas of grounded theory in the way that theory is generated from empirical research. Data is systematically gathered and analysed through an explicitly planned research agenda.

Research Stages

Methods are the techniques used for data collection. Integrative research methods are the way that the researcher attempt to make sense of, or interpret, the phenomenon (Fielding, 1999). This is a mixed-method qualitative research using *participant observations, semi-structured interviews,* and *photography*.

Ultimately, the conduct of the empirical research is distributed over three progressive and sequential stages following the diachronic nature of the case study. Having returned from my initial trip to The Aqua (chapter 1), I planned the stages of the research as follows (table 5.6):

Stages	Task	Methods	Time Frames
1	Research objectives 4: to grasp how The Aqua is physically perceived	Participant Observation; photography	December 2013
2	Objectives 5 and 6: to understand how the space of The Aqua is *lived* both physically and mentally	Participant observation; semi-structured interviews	August 2014 – November 2014
3	Objectives 7 and 8: to illuminate the linkages between second homes, authenticity and spatial justice	Participant observation; semi-structured interviews	July 2015 – September 2015

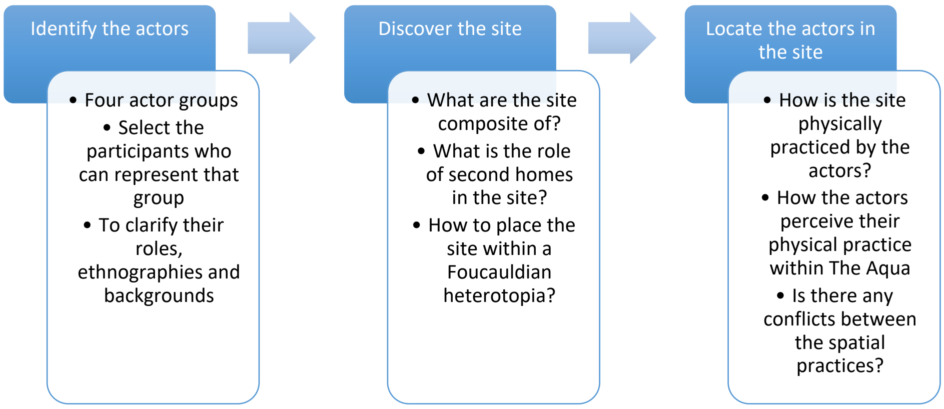
Table 5.6 Research Stages, Tasks, Methods and Time Frames

Source: author

The first stage took place in December 2013. The goal of the first stage is to capture the *conceived space* (Lefebvre) of The Aqua; that is, how The Aqua is physically experienced by different actors. Two layers of data is required from this stage. Firstly, it requires a detailed narrative of the place and space of The Aqua, and a portrait of different experiences that are taking places at the site. Secondly, it requires an analysis of different actor groups involved in The Aqua. Notably, the traditional 'production/consumption' dichotomy in tourism would not work in this study because the divide is extremely unclear as the people who are consuming the space are also producing it (Ateljevic, 2000). Therefore, this research uses the term 'actors' in the Weberian tradition of *social actors,* who are the individuals that are endowed with social agency that are playing various roles that are associated with the site of The Aqua. Based on the initial visit to the site, four major groups of actors are investigated in this research; they are:

- Developers and Management: the entrepreneurship around the site and the individuals who are working within;
- Planners and the State: the regulation of the site and the policy makers;
- Second Home Owners and Tourists: the individuals who are visiting The Aqua;
- Local Communities and Staff: the individuals who lived in the nearby communities and staff who work at The Aqua.

The key part of this stage is to establish connections with the relevant individuals who can represent each actor groups. The data collection process of this stage is illustrated (Image 5.7). Participate observations and photography are the main techniques employed at this stage.



Source: author

Table 5.7 Research Stage One: process and tasks

While the first stage of the research gathers data from the perspective of Firstspace (Soja), the second stage departs from the Secondspace and Thirdspace. That is, this stage aims for gathering information about how actors conceive and live the space of The Aqua. This stage requires insight knowledge and perception from the actor groups in order to find answers for why they choose to do what they do in Stage One. The data collection process and tasks of this stage are illustrated in Image 5.8.

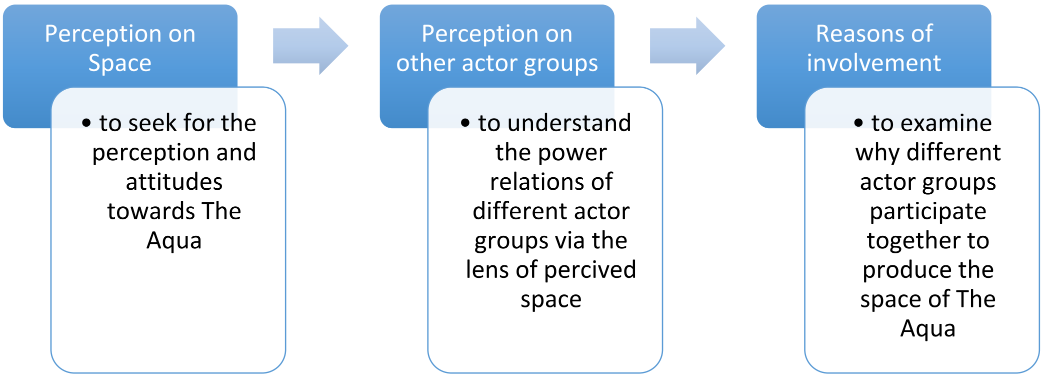


Table 5.8 Research Stage Two: process and tasks

Source: author

Together, Stage One and Stage Two established the empirical evidence of the spatiality of second homes. The main output of these stages are two-fold. On one hand, it helps identify that the site as a heterotopic space that is practiced, conceived and lived by different actor groups. On the other hand, it establishes data that is required to understand the power relations behind the production of space (Lefebvre). A development model is drawn according to the findings of the first stage of the research. However, a third stage of the research is needed to complete the aim of the study.

The third stage seeks for the actors' perceptions toward authenticity and social justice in the space of The Aqua. This stage is the most intense period of the study and consumed the longest time frame. The conduct of this stage is inspired by the renowned research by Venkatesh (2009). The self-proclaimed 'rogue sociologist' spent seven years working and living with gang members in order to study the day-to-day operations of their criminal organisation and to study the mentality behind how they operate. Equally dangerous (I wish!), I spent a month staying in three of those second homes with the participant group 3 (second home owners and visitors). Then, I spent a week volunteered as a staff member to do various tasks inside the local communities. Following three days of unpaid internship at the local planning bureau, I interviewed several key decision makers at the management and developer group. My intense involvement with the actor groups gave me a great advantage towards answering my key research question: what is the relationship between the spatiality of The Aqua and the two important concepts - authenticity and social justice.

5.4 Methods

Identifying Participants

Four types of actors have been crucial within the scope of this research. This is inspired by Xie's (2011) approach of identifying the stakeholders in the process of authentication in ethnical tourism in China.

Type A: Place Makers - *planners* and the *state*. *Planners* are defined as the composing body for the development plans who would receive direct orders and requests from the developers and the state. The planners play a number of roles in the production of space, including implementing tourism development plans, shaping the land, establishing tangible construction arrangements for the buildings, roads and tourism facilities, etc. Hired by the developer and reporting to the state agencies, the planners are bridging the interests and conflicts between those two parties. Two planners were selected as participants of this research, and they are marked as Interviewees P1 and P2. P1 was working as an integral part of the early stage development while P2 was contemporarily formulating referred plans. In addition, an architect has contributed significantly to this research, most significantly providing the information that will be analysed in the next chapter.

The state are the government agencies and authorities that are relevant to the planning of the site. In terms of The Aqua, the role of the state is to examine tourism policies, development plans and regulatory mechanisms, and to maintain political structures. Yunnan Province Planning Bureau and Tourism Bureau were engaged with and two officials were interviewed. They were marked as Interviewees S1 and S2.

Type B: Place Makers – Developers and Management. At The Aqua, the developers and management are deeply interconnected but distinctive members of the participatory group. In this research, the **developers** are defined as the persons and organisations who implement development plans and conduct activities that range from the purchase of raw land, to the construction of physical buildings and structures, and the sale of the developed dwellings (Peiser and Hamilton, 2012). Importantly, this definition combines the traditional sense of *developers* and *constructors*, as the development process of The Aqua requires the developers to be the coordinator of all types of activities that convert development ideas to real property (ibid). Also, as will later be revealed, the evolving development plan at The Aqua complicates the matter, pushing the developers further to adapt to a more ambiguous role than traditional real estate or tourism developers. On the developer side, four actors were selected as the participants for this research. Marked as Interviewee D1, the CEO of The Aqua acts as the representative of the developers and the ultimate decision maker for the management. Interviewee D2 is the head of HR, who is crucial in providing insight knowledge about the relationship between the site and the local communities, since the local communities are the major source of employees at the site. Interviewee D3 is the person who is in charge of the development of the medical centres, a critical feature for the site who will be discussed in detail. Interviewee D4 is the head of the finance who is valuable to the in-depth understanding of The Aqua as an imagined space rather than simply a physical space.

The ***management*** is defined as the persons or organisations that deliver the operation, control, and oversight of The Aqua. On the housing side, The Aqua consists out of various forms of dwelling establishments such as hotels, nursing homes, art studios, caravan spaces, rented tents and a boarding school. Therefore, the conventional Western understanding of second homes as *the secondary rural housing for urban elites* is fundamentally challenged by the presence of The Aqua.

Furthermore, on the tourism side, The Aqua complicates the issue further since it offers a wide range of tourist spaces. For example, the golf courses and horse riding tracks can be seen as elite tourism, the wetland hiking route and conservation tours could be seen as eco-tourism products, the medical centre is key for medical tourism while the conferences, concerts and festivals are repeatable mass events. Therefore, the physical environment (both natural and physical) and the experience with the environment offers a complicated pattern in ‘intersection between housing and tourism’ thesis.

Interviewees M1, M2, and M3 are on the sales team who are promoting the second homes and tourism products to the prospect consumers. Interviewee M4 is responsible for the tourism facilities at The Aqua and Interviewee M5 is the manager of the properties and real estate. Interviewee M6 is working in the public relations office, which acts as the negotiator and communicator between the four actor groups.

Why are Type A & B relevant?

In China, planning activities include three different categories, with respect to the construction directory, land administration, development and reform commissions (Wu, 2015). Therefore, the process and the profession of planning are inseparable with the state and administration authorities in China. Planners take a proactive role since the state values planning as a means to manipulate the market and to achieve economic growth and production (ibid). Wu (2015) argues that there are three reasons why the planning profession boomed in post-reform China. Firstly, under the market transformation, the process of planning is commodified and has adapted well to meet the market development goals. Secondly, in the Chinese context, planning has been adapted to cope with the increasing issues caused by marketization. Thirdly, the state has realised that planning could create legitimacy for economic growth and therefore strengthen the roles of the state during the market transition. As a result, the state and the planners are intertwined in terms of urban transformation such as the implementation of new towns and eco-cities.

Similarly, The Aqua represents a particular form of tourism and housing development in China. In this scenario, the developers cooperate strongly with the management of the site, as well as with the communities within the site. By contrast, in Western cases, second home developers are less attached to residents. For this research, what is important is not the analysis of The Aqua as a tourist place, but the kind of space that it wishes to represent itself as and the power relations that produce such a space. Therefore, the planners and the state are crucial for gathering valuable information in terms of the production of The Aqua.

How to access type A & B?

Type A is discrete from the site and relatively harder to establish connections for the research. Fortunately, though social connections available through family and friends, I was able to secure participation of two of the officials who were directly involved in the authoritative and planning process. Not only had they granted me interviewing privileges, they also gave me the opportunity to closely observe the everyday operation of the City Planning Administration (*'gui hua ju'*[9]) and the Tourism Planning Administration (*'lv you ju'*[10]). These became crucial for the gathering of information. The concern of bias is decreased by the professionalism of the participants, as well as the coherence and contradiction between their answers.

For the developers, as my parents are homeowners, they had established a relationship with the Manageing Director of the CITIC in The Aqua. I was introduced as a research student who had connections with them. After this, my further work with these research participants did not involve my parents. In such a way, I managed to maintain relationships with the participants as well as filtering out as much bias as possible that could emerge from my personal status. This strategy turned out to be effective for this research.

How the data was recorded?

Understandably, many participants in type A seemed careful with their participation for personal and professional reasons. Finding the right approach to record data was not always smooth. Luckily, I was allowed to take notes in most of the situations, although voice recording was often not permitted. Not that this research contains any politically or commercially sensitive information, nonetheless, most of the participants felt uncomfortable speaking when the voice recorder was on. Therefore, short notes and mental notes are recorded, which were immediately expand and transcribed on paper afterwards. This is also one of the reasons why computer based software is not appropriate for this research. Thankfully, this inconvenient way of data recording did not reflect the quality of the data. Instead, most of the participants offered relevant, direct and honest information regarding in response to my questions.

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[9] 规划局

[10] 旅游局

Type C: holiday makers - *second home owners* and *visitors*. *Second home owners* are the ones who purchased second home properties at the site. Four house owners and four condominium owners were attracted as participants (O1 – O8). *The visitors* are defined as the persons who visit The Aqua without being owners or employees at The Aqua. Seven visitors have participated in this research, including a conference attendee, a horse rider, two golfers, and two hikers. They are recorded as V1 – V7. The selection of holidaymakers is based on their accessibility and relevance. Although my parents are excluded from this research, the fact that they own a second home in The Aqua gives me an immediate access point into the community. This is an advantage that many of the researchers did not have when they criticised second home communities (e.g. Hall, 2004).

Most importantly, some of the participants offered me a chance to stay with them while they were present (O1 – O4). I met these participants at the swimming pool, which I frequented as a guest myself. The family was interesting to me in the first place because there were three different accents that were spoken between the four of them. O1 spoke to O3 in local dialectics (‘*kunming hua*’[11]), while O1 spoke to O2 in *‘Putonghua’*. O2 spoke to O4 in a Northern Chinese accent (‘*Dongbei hua*’[12]). Clearly, the family consisted out of multi-regional members. After a short conversation they became very interested in this research project and asked me if I wanted to stay with them for 3 nights. I began talking to them, expecting interview opportunities, and I ended the conversation with a great observational participation chance. This event turns out to be critical for the data collection in this research.

[11] 昆明话
[12] 东北话

Why is Type C relevant?

Holidaymakers are the direct actor group who are experiencing the site of The Aqua. Thus, their spatial practice, imagination and experience at The Aqua is the most direct and complete. By understanding their participation in The Aqua, it is possible to link the spatial characteristics with their existential authenticity and sense of justice.

However, there were some unexpected difficulties and challenges associated with the selection of participants. Compared to owners, visitors were less conducing to the research in terms of the information that they offered. Most of the visitors had stayed in the condominiums where working space is not available. Also, the visitors were on a relatively tighter schedule and hence the interviews were kept shorter than expected. Despite these issues, through participant observation and interviews abundant data was gathered.

Type D: conductors – staff and local communities. A group of ten staff members volunteered to be participants for this research. Among them, eight participants were from the local communities while two were from other townships in the county. As will be discussed later on, the local communities are merged as the labour pool for the newly developed site of The Aqua. The local communities are the actual conductors of all the tourist experiences and activities in The Aqua. Also, their involvement in The Aqua marks one of the most important findings of the research; that is, the relationship between second home development and spatial justice.

How to access?

It required additional effort in order to gain access to the last actor. While I was staying at my parents' second home, a team of locals came to the house on a daily basis for cleaning and service. By chatting to them, I acquired permission to conduct proper interviews with them. Also, through their connections, I extended my research to the further members of local communities (e.g. the restaurant owner).

By contrast to Hall and Müller (2004), who specifically claimed they are not owners of second homes, I suggest that such ownership is an advantage because it allows accessibilities to varies actor groups for a rich set of perspectives and opinions. Under such set up, the methods used in this research become possible.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is an ethnographic method designed to understand the context of everyday life within a certain place (Hay, 2000). Participant observation allows the researcher to be immersed within an environmental setting for a period of time, and learn interactions and behaviours, listen to what is said in conversations and ask questions (Cloke et al., 2004). Therefore, participant observation is a particularly effective method for research that requires data that must be gathered from local perspectives through community involvement (Hay, 2000).

Participant observations serve two specific functions within this research. Firstly, through participant observation, this research establishes access to, and constructs dialogue with the research participants (Taylor et al., 2015). In other words, participant observation grants a pre-interview session that facilitates the relationship between the researcher and the actor groups. Secondly, participant observation is a method that allows me, as a researcher, to experience the activities under observation. As the participant observer, the researcher has the opportunity to gain insights of the actor groups that are shaping the space of The Aqua through their actions (see Venkatesh, 2009).

In this research, participant observations were unstructured and naturalistic (Veal, 2006) as a result of my three interchangeable roles. As the kin to the second home owners, I had the opportunity to not only immerse myself as an observer, but also to consume the visitor/touristic interpretations on offer. Similarly, as the research student who can speak the local dialect, I was able to act as a gazer as well as a participant who was involved in the planning, management and daily operations of the site. My participant observation followed the guideline that was promoted by Hay (2000). Since every situation is relative, contextual and unique, the rules that apply in participant observation need to be concerned more with the researcher's capacity for introspection with respect to the researched than the approach that he takes (Hay, 2000).

In terms of techniques to conduct participant observation, this research follows Lofland (1995) and adopts the following recording process:

- *Mental notes* – particularly useful when it was inappropriate or inconvenient to take notes in a written form. Examples of this were in the lavender fields or on a boat in the wetland where I had to participate in actions with the participants.

- *Scratch Notes* and *Photographs* – brief notes were taken to add to the mental notes. By using techniques such as little phrases, quotes, key words, scratch notes are often more appropriate than digital recorders for memorising the initial feelings and ideas (Lofland, 1995). Photographs are also useful as a means to obtain jotted notes.
- *Full Field Notes* – at a later stage, the mental notes and the scratch notes were written up in full detail for comprehensive annotations. These notes were used as the final data source for the participant observation, alongside the photographs taken. Full field notes are the reflections to the periodic intervals throughout the various stages of observations. As later will be discussed in the upcoming section, field notes are important indicators for emergent themes.

Table 5.9 shows the duration of time spent on participant observations at respective sub-sites and specific events. Due to the size of its contents, the full version of the table is shown as Appendix III.

Locations (sub-sites within The Aqua)	Participant Observational Events
The Aqua Visitor Centre (also second homes sales)	See Appendix III
The Second Homes Area	
Touristic attractions (Golf, horse riding fields, lavender parks, and wetland area)	
Urban Planning Bureau	

Table 5.9 Locations and Events for Observation

Source: author

Semi-Structured Interviews

Early researchers in social science see interviews as conversation with a purpose (Webb and Webb, 1975). Similarly, interviews can be defined as the 'face-to-face verbal interchange in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons' (Maccoby and Maccoby, 1954, p. 499). As a result of the advancement of technology, such as the telephone and especially the emergence of computer-mediated communications, the conventional idea of interviews as conversations had soon been replaced by interviews as a powerful source to generate analytical information (Cloke et al., 2004). For Dunn (2000), what distinguishes an interview from a chat is that it requires careful planning and detailed preparation. This is because 'meaning is not constantly formulated anew, but reflects relatively enduring local conditions' (Foucault, 1975, in Holstein and Gubrium, 2004, p. 14).

There are different forms of interviews available in social research (Ritchie et al., 2013). The main comparisons of varies types of interviews are illustrated in Table 5.10.

Descriptor	Structured	Semi-Structured	In-depth/ unstructured
Style	Specific protocol of question and answer	Conversation-like	Conversation
Design	Structured	Semi-emergent	Emergent
Researcher Stance	Objective	Subjective	Subjective
Researcher Perspective	Outsider	Insider	Insider
Exchanges issues during the research process	Limited reciprocity	Reciprocity	Reciprocity
Material/Data collection	Data Representation Checklist Open-ended questions	Empirical materials Slice of life Field notes Transcription and recording	Empirical materials Slice of life Field notes Transcription and recording
Basis of analysis	Mathematical and statistical analysis	Textual analysis	Textual analysis
'Findings' expressed as	Numeric representation	Deep and thick descriptions	Deep and thick descriptions

Table 5.10 Comparison of Structured, Semi-structured and Unstructured Interviews.

Source: adapted from (Jennings, 2005)

Semi-structured interviews are employed in this research because they are effective to understand key informants in complex socio-cultural scenarios (Dunn, 2000). More importantly, semi-structured interviews allow flexibility in terms of the wording and sequence of questions according to the needs of certain circumstances (Cloke et al., 2004). This is crucial for this research as the interviewees are involved in four different communities who are placed in different locations. In this way, it was expected to require logical gaps within data so that it can be anticipated and closed (Kitchin and Tate, 2013).

New lines of enquiry can emerge out of the interview process and therefore interviews can also be transpired as ‘co-authored narratives’ (Kvale, 2008). The interviewer can interplay the interviewees during the interview process so that the output of the interview can be seen as a ‘joint social creation’ (Kvale, 2008). In order to pursue a valid joint creation, the conduct of the interviews requires guidelines to follow. Kvale (2008) suggests a combination of introducing questions, follow-up questions, probing questions, specifying questions, direct questions, indirect questions and interpreting questions.

In this study, the essential aim of the interviews was to reveal and explore respondent values, insights, encounters and emotions of their experiences with The Aqua, against their perceptions about authenticity and social justice. The key to achieve this aim is to ensure a set of highly variable questions (Bryman, 2015), as well as a purposeful sampling strategy (Jennings, 2005). A good sampling strategy requires careful selection of people who were considered relevant to the research. Indeed, this research adopts some specific and purposeful criteria to sample the participants.

Given the nature of the research, only adults are selected as interviewees because they are more involved in the ‘production side’ of the site. Secondly, due to the complex nature involved in the research design, it was decided that the research needs to focus on the significance and relevance of the participants rather than the number of them. Therefore, limited number of participants are selected as interviewees. Finally, interview respondents were only approached if they were willing to contribute to this research.

There were cases where I listened to interesting conversations during my observation sessions and decided to approach the participants who were being observed as my prospect interviewees, and the proposal was rejected for unclear reasons. In those cases, the ethnographic field notes were effective data but unfortunately, it was not possible to triangulate the data with in-depth interviews. Whilst the general goal was to balance the gender, age and socio-economic backgrounds of the respondents, due to the nature and subject of this research, and the willingness of respondents, interview sampling happened within the restrictions of convenience rather than specific quantitative approach.

A typical example of this was when officials at the local planning bureau were approached for interviews, however all members of that bureau were male except for the secretary to the head of the development bureau. It was decided that under circumstances as such, it was the information that was more important than maintaining a relatively more perfect quota-based selection. The ethnographic profiles of the respondents have been illustrated in Table 5.11.

Community Group	Sites	Gender		Age	Roles	Ave. Length
Developers & Management	The Aqua Offices	Male	4	50±5	Sales (3), HR (1), CEO (1), PR (2), Finance (1), Medical (1), Tourism (1).	1.5 Hours
		Female	6			
Planners & the State	Urban Planning Bureau	Male	4	60±5	Planners (1+1), Architect (1), Officials (2)	2 Hours
		Female	1			
Owners & Visitors	Second homes & Attractions	Male	7	40-60	House owners (4), Condo owners (4), Visitors (7)	1 Hour
		Female	8			
Locals & Staff	Locals' homes & Attractions	Male	5	20-60	Lavender Farm (2), Golf (2), Shops (2), Organic Farms (2), Cleaners (2)	30 mins
		Female	5			

Table 5.11 Interviewee Profiles

Source: by author

All the interviews were conducted at the vicinity of the site of observation, depending on where the actions of different participate groups were taking places. For example, to interview the developers and management participants, the interviews were conducted in their offices where they practice the space (Lefebvre). The second home owners and visitors were interviewed either at the tourism facilities and sites, such as the golf courses, lavender farms, wetland eco-parks and horse-riding fields, or inside the second homes. For the local communities, interviews were conducted either in their own homes or in the field where they worked for The Aqua. A sample of questions that were asked for each actor groups are attached as Appendix II.

An initial brief explanation of the research was presented to the interviewees followed by the attainment of an informed consent needed for academic writing and. Anonymity was ensured to the respondents whereby their age, gender and roles that they play in the production of

The Aqua were identified in Table 5.12. An interviewee/respondent numbering system was invented to simplify, expedite and clarify the analytic process (Bryman, 2015).

In an ideal scenario, audio recording would be applied in every interview. However, it became very obvious at an early stage of the empirical research that certain respondents were evidently not comfortable with the recording procedure. This was particularly the case when the government official (Interview 12) was illustrating the regional development plan and when one of the owners (Interview 17) was expressing her personal family issues which lead to her decision to buy a second home at The Aqua. This study agrees that trust needs to be earned, not assumed (Cloke et al., 2004). However, in practice such trust is either too difficult or too festinate to be earned.

Indeed, 'the use of a sound recorder could disconcert respondents, who may become self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being persevered' (Bryman, 2015, p. 322). As a result, in order to overcome such a resistance barrier, mental notes and scratch notes were taken to be followed by immediate full transcription after the interviews. Moreover, photographs were taken to ensure a vivid reflection of who was being interviewed. As such, interview quotes that appear in this research are a reflection of the interview intervals, and through accurate, but not *exact* wording of the actual conversation.

Photography

Photographs convey knowledge and perspectives (Stanczak, 2007). Photographs can not only document social events, but also shape its views through the manipulations of subjects (Goldstein, 2007). This is especially the case for digital photography, which allows for limitless opportunities to edit content to great extent. Using photography as a means of gathering data is automatically linked to the question of honesty and integrity since the viewers see the photographs through the photographer's objectives (Stanczak, 2007). Indeed, Umberto Eco (1982) famously critiques that 'we know that sensory phenomena are transcribed, in the photographic emulsion, in such a way that even if there is a causal link with the real phenomena, the graphic images can be considered as wholly arbitrary with respect to these phenomena'. Similarly, Becker (1995) considers that photography represents only a fraction and highly selected sample of social reality. Since the photographers select times, places, and people from a certain distance and angle, framing the pictures with a mended tonality, the final photos that they produce are inevitably different from the selection of reality (ibid).

Goldstein (2007) argues that we need to accept all photographs as deviations from the truth in the same way that experimentalists treat data as imperfect. The simplest reason why photographs can never represent reality is that 'it's a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional world' (p. 65). Also, every image is the product of a series of technical and aesthetic choices made by the photographer (Rose, 2012). The complex humanist senses of the environment require a 'more than meets the eye' definition of what is *real*. Perhaps, the experience of photograph will be soon revolutionised through new technologies such as holography or virtual imagery. However, at the moment of this research, photograph remains limited to a two-dimensional representation. As such, the response of the viewer to the images are based on the contents, perceptions of intent and context (Stanczak, 2007). As far as we accept the natural biases of photographs, the question of using photographs as data changes from 'does this data represent reality', to 'are the deviations from reality I know to be present relevant to the question I'm asking?' (p.64).

For this research, photography is an effective method for data collection. Tourism is bound with photography as it is a significant way of representing the tourist gaze and tourist product consumption (Urry, 2002). Thus, in tourism studies, it is believed that photographs are more effective than asking respondents abstract questions in the case where setting-specific information is required (Stedman et al., 2004). More importantly, as place attachment has now been increasingly linked to the perception of place and space, scholars such as Stedman et al. (2004) have experimented ways of using photo-based methods as a research protocol to understand resident place attachment to the Jasper National Park area in Canada. In their research, the key assumption is that the high amenity landscapes formulate place attachment with both the tourists as well as year round residents. However, it was not certain whether both the tourists and the year round residents would perceive and conceive the landscape in the same way.

As reviewed in literature, a place is a spatial setting that has been reproduced as meaningful (Tuan, 1977). The study about place attachment, then, is based on human experience, social relationships, emotions, and thoughts (Relph, 1977). As far as researchers address *how much* a setting means to a person, little have examined *what* the setting means (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Thus, Stedman (2003) is interested in exploring the distinction between evaluative elements (e.g. attachment) and symbolic place meanings (what kind of place does a setting represent). In this sense, the current study shares a common theme as Stedman's studies. Similar to Stedman's quests, this study examines how different actor groups participate in the relationship between their spatial practices, their representation of the space and how they produce the space of representation. For such studies, photography can be a useful approach because photographs are 'cultural documents offering evidence of historically, culturally and socially specific ways of seeing the world' (Rose, 2000, p. 556).

By adopting the so-called Visitor Employed Photography (VEP) as a method, Stedman et al. (2004) tempted to generate a collective set of data showing how participants perceive nature. VEP is a photo-based approach that places the cameras in the hands of participants, letting them to use photography to record what they were visualising as tourists/visitors (Cherem and Driver, 1983). However, the results show mixed results. Most of the pictures taken by the visitors were focused on the amenities or aesthetic scenes whereas what Stedman required, more critically, was evidence on the interplay between nature and culture. Also, because every picture is a fictional recreation based on a conviction of facts (Goin, 2001), what the photographs appear to be might be very different to what they really represent.

To overcome this, Yamashita (2002) chose to ask the respondents to provide written descriptions of each photo that they took. These are helpful, but given the complexity of this current research as a single case study mixed with intensive spatial and temporal processes, it is simply not practical to adopt a VEP approach to generate photos. Many recent examples have adopted 'auto-photography' (Lombard, 2013, Johnsen et al., 2008), 'autophtography'

(Dodman, 2003, Thomas, 2007), and 'photovoice'[13]. These methods are interesting, and maybe useful for future research.

Ideally, this research would distribute cameras to every single visitor and participant and ask them to take as many pictures as possible, as long as they think the visualised setting attracts their attention. After collecting their photographs, the perfect scenario was to establish follow-up interviews with them and then cross reference the data with observation field notes and VEP photographs. However, this was not possible for obvious reasons. In order to achieve the research objectives, a modified version of VEP is adopted.

To begin with, in contrast to traditional VEP, which separates the researcher from the photography process, this research analyses photos that have been taken both by the researcher and the participants. This is supported by the ontological and epistemological stances of the research as it assumes a more intense involvement of the researcher in the researched environment. Also, this research uses photos to capture the motion and emotions of the participants who are involved in the production of space at The Aqua. To express the meanings of the research images, this research follows Rose's (2012) idea of *compositional interpretation*. Compositional Interpretation depends on what Rogoff (1998, p. 17) calls the 'good eye'. This is a way of looking at paintings that is not methodologically explicit but that nevertheless produces a specific way of describing a painting (in Rose, 2012, p. 52). This method functions as a visual connoisseurship, which involves the acquisition of extensive hands-on experience of the artistic work by: firstly, identifying styles and establishing sources and influences and then, secondly, judging their quality and hence the value of the painting (ibid).

[13] https://photovoice.org

In this research, my multiple roles not only give me accessibility to different participant groups but also grant me the opportunity to observe different communities and their interaction with the nature and built environment. Taking pictures from my own perspective, then, is compositional interpretation to what is happening in the field. The content of my own photographs are beyond the common results of traditional VEP, which represented mainly aesthetics or human actions or reactions to the aesthetics. The photographs that I had taken have been influenced by my pre-established objectives and, at the time, developing theoretical underpinnings. Therefore, my photographs are manipulated to represent a portion of reality based on my intent. However, it is not to say that they fail to generate valid data.

Some of the respondents have allowed me to use the photos that they took as part of the data sets in this research, whilst the photographs that I took were used as a reference system alongside what the participants had taken. In such way, this research employs a VEP that is enhanced by self-produced evidence. The focus of these two variables is related but different. For instance, one respondent noticed the gate of the second homes area and took a picture of it to record her perception of The Aqua as a 'Western experience' because of the aesthetics of the architecture. At the same setting, I took another photograph of those gates, but this image showed the guards who were wearing unseemly cut uniforms that were supposedly representing Western uniform styles. These photos are presented, compared and analysed in the next chapter. Settings like these need to be interpreted carefully based holistically based upon the participants' gaze as well as mine.

More importantly, at the end of their research, Stedman et al. (2004) admit that the 'participant photographs should be paired with interviews, lest the meaning of the photograph be misinterpreted'. While the promoters have been convincing in arguing that photographs have the potential to be used as a stand-alone data that is as valid as that of observation or interviews (Rose, 2000, Goldstein, 2007), this research takes the advantage of triangulation by using the photographs as a source of data that is equal to interview transcriptions and observation notes. These lead to the final questions of this chapter: the analytical methods of the research and limitations.

5.5 Research Analysis

Interpretive analysis and narrative analysis are employed as analytic strategies for this research. An interactive process is involved as a result of grounded theory accepted by the study. What grounded theory offers, as Cloke et al. (2004) explain, 'is a detailed and empirically rich interpretation of the social situation under investigation deeply anchored… in the understandings of the participants as revealed in interviews or other accounts' (p. 315).

At this stage, the analytical process is fulfilled with constant interactions between description and explanation. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggest, the research travels from research design to data collection, and repeat this circle three times (shown in *the stages of research*). As such, the analysis is embedded within, rather than separated from, the other elements of the research process.

Data can never straightforwardly reflect the world. The goal of the analysis is to construct a narrative that 'presents persuasive themes and story lines, argues influences, connections and outcomes, and develops wider implications for the discipline in which the study is situated' (Parker, 2004, p. 163).

To achieve these goals, Cloke et al. (2004) recommend three interpretational strategies ('enumerating', 'explaining' and 'understanding') which are cross-cut by two interpretational processes ('shifting and sorting' and 'representing'). The enumerating strategy converts data into numerical forms and then proceeds to the analysis across all manners ranging from the simplest descriptive data to the most complex geo-computational modelling or mapping visualisation (Cloke et al., 2004). This research has no intent or resource to support such an analysis. Alternatively, human geographers might take an explanatory approach to produce knowledge with regards to the cause-and-effect relations or 'underlying casual psychologies, cultural expectations, [and] economic tendencies' (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 211). Although these perspectives are interesting and important in relation to this research, the key focus of the study is to seek ways to understand the complex relationships between space, authenticity and social justice. Therefore, the analytical approach of the research should best be delivered through hermeneutics, which is 'a form of justification involving the dialogic adjudication of both beliefs and standards of rationality' (Warnke, 1987, p. 170).

Two forms of data are generated from the study: texts (interviews and observations) and photographs. To process the texts, this research uses a four-stage qualitative analysis based on a modified version of grounded theory. Photographs are used as back-up resources for the qualitative analysis.

The first stage is called *coding*. Having read all the transcriptions from beginning to end, this study initially processes the data by linking chunks of text that represent the same phenomenon (Bryman, 2015). The second stage is called *thematic coding* (Bryman, 2015), or *shifting and sorting* (Cloke et al., 2004). Following an initial careful reading, the texts are separated into identified sections that are labelled with different 'codes'. Two types of codes are used in this research: *in vivo* or 'emic' codes – terms that are derived from terms used in the text, and 'etic' codes – words or phrases that do not appear in the text itself but are chosen because they represent the themes of the research (Cloke et al., 2004). It is important to mention that all the interviews were conducted in Chinese language. Therefore, codes are translated from Chinese to English for the ease of analysis and writing, and hence all codes are etic in some ways. However, this does not influence the rigour of the research since all codes requires interpretation to a certain extent (Cloke et al., 2004).

The third stage is associated with retrieving and identifying the links between the codes (Cloke et al., 2004). By bringing together all the texts that are coded in the same way, categories can be combined through so-called 'axial codes', which can express different kinds of relationships between the codes and themes. Finally, a 'code map' can be extracted from the data which then can be used for theory generation.

Crang et al. (1997) warn that the technical capabilities of software tools might overcome the substance of the actual analysis. In the context of the research, the computer-based software is not only unnecessary but also ineffective. The main reason is that this research involves three sets of data from four actor groups, and thus the forms of data would be too complicated for any computer-based software. Also, by conducting the analysis manually, many of the hidden patterns and correlations between the participants and actors have emerged. Most importantly, due to the multiplicity of expressions in Chinese language, the transcripts cannot be simply coded according to emic or etic codes.

This research has obtained rich data in audio and text forms from the various stages of participant observation and interviews. Table 5.12 demonstrates the codes and themes of data analysis. In order to present the data as detailed as possible, a relatively large number of emic and etic codes were initially collected. A significant part of codes is anticipated to be dropped or merged along the analysis process. Also, some of the codes are expected to overlap across different actor groups or themes.

The themes of the research have emerged as the literature review went along. Five themes are identified; namely: 1) *physical practice/activities*, dealing with the *Firstspace* of The Aqua, 2) *sense of place*, dealing with the *Secondspace* of The Aqua, 3) *lived experience*, dealing with the Thirdspace of The Aqua, 4) *perception of authenticity*, dealing with the relationship between the spatial characteristics of The Aqua and the how actors pursue authenticity, and 5) *attitude of justice*, highlights the connection between space, authenticity and social justice from the actors' perspective. In this chapter, the first three themes are covered while the next chapter is constructed based on the other two themes.

The themes are common for all of the four actor groups, however, the codes associated with the themes are located differently among them. This gap turns out to be critical to identify the patterns and conflicts that exist among the complex relationships between different actor groups. Having analysed the power relations between the actor groups through the lens of Thirdspace, a development model is designed as the output of this chapter. The next chapter will return to the development model and will turn it into a theoretical conceptual framework.

Themes	Codes Associated With the Themes
Physical Practice / Activities (Chapter 6)	Mapping, Planning, Conservation, Tax, Authorisation, Sales, Marketing, Maintenance, Service, Road, Air Quality, Retirement, Airport, Real Estate, Investment, Sports, SUV, Castle, Gates, Plants, Pets, Conference, Learning, Regional Development, Organic, Weekend, Food, Wine, Wedding, Golf Course, Horse Riding
Sense of Place (Chapter 6)	Retirement, Health, Aesthetics, Design, Rules, Pride, Social Status, Representation, Law, Nature, Future, Professional, Organic Farms, Financial Status, Achievement, Welfare, Holiday, Training, Marriage, Home, Entertainment, Relatives, Polite, Western, Abroad, Civilised, Vast
Lived Experience (Chapter 6)	Western Lifestyle, Retirement, Mobile, Healthy, Good Life, Different, Pop Culture, Events, Meaning of Life, Confidence, Security, Self-Development, Education, Socialising with family and friends, Restore the idea of family, Regional Development
Perception of Authenticity (Chapter 7)	Western, 'Fancy', Food, Sports, Air, Organic, Yunnan, Culture, Temperature, Expectation, House, Church, Lavender, Photography, Gaze, Architecture, Aesthetics, Themes/Theming, Royalty, Status Symbol, 'Trailer Park'.
Perception of Justice (Chapter 7)	Ownerships, Land, Accessibility, Price, Fines, Citizenship, Crime, Delivery of development plans, Education, Attitude, Value

Table 5.12 Themes and Codes of Qualitative Analysis

Source: author

For the ease of analysis, the codes were highlighted in different colours to represent its connectivity to different actor groups. Although all the codes are somehow associated to all actor groups, some are closer linked to one group than others. Some codes are highlighted in multiple colours when the code is shared among multiple actor groups. These colours are identified as:

- Planners & the State: yellow;
- Developers & Management: bright green;
- Second Home Owners & Visitors: turquoise;
- *Local Communities & Staff*: pink. ctors ,andnterparts, the planning of second homes are ds dtory spectively under the directory of construction, d

5.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were an important feature in this research. This research plan was submitted to the Research Office at University of Derby and approved by the *Research Ethics Committee* on 7 March 2014. Whilst the method of participant observation was queried, the study was accomplished on the basis that the participants would not be harmed or forced to give information against their will. The privacy of the participants was carefully protected, the research was conducted in an open setting, and deception was avoided. This research involves a great deal of candour, respect and sensitivity. A copy of the fully detailed ethical consideration is provided as Appendix I and Appendix II.

5.7 Chapter Conclusion

Table 5.13 summarise the research methodology.

Research Philosophy	Phenomenological / Inductive
Research Approach	Modified (constructivist) Grounded Theory
Research Strategy	Qualitative Study
Research Ontology	Interpretivism / Relativism
Research Epistemology	Constructivism / Empiricism
Research Design	Single Case Study with multiple sites across multiple time frames
Research Methods	Integrative ethnographic methods; - Participant Observations - Semi-structured Interviews - Photography
Research Analysis	Thematic analysis & photograph interpretation

Table 5.13 Research Methodology Summary

Chapter 6 The Production of Space: The Aqua Stories

6.1 Chapter Introduction

The analysis of data is based on thematic analysis of field notes and interview transcripts, and the results are visually represented through samples of research photographs. Following the codes and themes identified in the previous chapter, the present chapter examines the first aim of the thesis, which is to discover the spatial characteristics of second homes in China through the Thirdspace model.

This chapter applies Lefebvre's triad spatial model (or the 'spatial trialectics' in Soja) - the perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33, 38-9) – as an analytical tool to grasp the elements of the spatial characteristics of The Aqua. The spatial characteristics of The Aqua are established as a portrayal of the actions, representations and experiences of the actor groups. Thus, the chapter offers the insight knowledge and analysis of each actor group that contains the following elements:

- The **perceived space** of The Aqua is how different actor groups conduct spatial practice in The Aqua. The output of this section reveals how the participants are physically engaged with the space of second homes.
- The **conceived space** of The Aqua is how different actor groups represent The Aqua through their imagination.
- The **lived space** of The Aqua, as the experienced space, is both practiced and imagined by the participants.

Then, this chapter traces the production of space of The Aqua. Following Lefebvre (1991), space is seen as the site of ongoing interactions of social relations rather than the mere result of such interaction. The chapter examines The Aqua not as a spatial product but as a process of making a complex spatial product. Hence, the final part of the chapter draws a framework to map the interactions of social relations from the perspectives of four different actor groups, based on the findings established above. The output of this is a development model that can be used to prescribe the production of the second home space.

6.2 The Story of the Developers & Management

Perceived space

According to Lefebvre (1991), the perceived space offers the practical basis for the perception of the outside world, and therefore social practice presupposes the use of the body. This section provides empirical evidence of how various actor groups perceive The Aqua through their bodily exercise.

In the tourism industry, the production and consumption of services are *de facto* inseparable (Novelli, 2005). However, the roles that different parties play during the tourism development process might be distinguished for the ease of analysis. In this thesis, the focus is on the place and space rather than the services of tourism. In the process of the production of space, developers and management are the handlers of capital investment and the enforcers of the physical construction. Considering such an entrepreneurial role and the common interests, both actors can be placed within the same group in terms of the analysis of spatiality of The Aqua. Nonetheless, the actors between and within each group holds distinctive organisational and personal interests.

Actors from both the developers and management sides have undergone momentous changes. Table 6.1 summarise the three stages of spatial development at The Aqua and the changing partnerships and actors among the developers and management.

Time	Focus of Development	Developers	Management
2011 - mid 2013	Real Estate	The Shining Star	Wyndham Hotels and Resorts (US)
mid 2013 - 2014	Tourism	The CITIC Group	Introducing the NHS (UK)
2014 – present	Finance and lifestyle	The CITIC Trust	Merged as Jialize

Table 6.1 The Stages of Development, Developers and Management

Source: Author

While the table simplifies the power-relations behind The Aqua and the developing perceptions of The Aqua, the contents will be expanded and analysed throughout the chapter. To summarise the process, from Early 2011 to May 2013, the town was constructed by the *Shining Star* real estate development that hired a U.S. based resort management company (Wyndham) to conduct the management of the hotels, second homes and tourism facilities. In this period, the focus of the site was on real estate development for reasons which will be examined later.

The *Shining Star* was replaced by the previous investor, the *CITIC Group* as of June 2013, followed by a changing development plan with additional management contractors including the National Health Service of the United Kingdom. The purpose of this is to convert The Aqua into a cluster of lifestyle tourism niches, especially retirement care and medical tourism. Since 2014, the *CITIC Trust* has been playing a significant role both as the developer and as the central organisation that ties various management teams together, including the previously isolated Wyndham and NHS. Also, the *CITIC Trust* out-sourced some of its tourism facilities to an independent contractor. The development plan was further developed as a lifestyle cluster, which is empowered by various finance products. At all three stages, second homes played a central role in the sense that it continuously shaped The Aqua to a privately owned township with continuous mobile communities.

The initial developer was introduced to the project by the investor, the *CITIC Trust*. According to Interviewee D1:

‘The site was originally constructed by the *Shining Star Group*, one of the major local real estate developers which would co-design the masterplan with, and secure investment capital from, the *CITIC Trust*. The CITIC is formerly known as the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, a Chinese state-owned investment company. You know, at the time we mainly focused on the finance side of this business rather than on the actual, hands-on, development process. When the CITIC entered Yunnan with the proposal of The Aqua, the first thing we realised is the need for a local partnership in order to ensure the implementation of the master-plan. The developer was projected to be an experienced, local, and privately owned organisation who had successful projects in their portfolio. *The Shining Star* ticks all the boxes and they had access to local agencies and authorities. As a state-owned company there are many restrictions… this is the locals that we were dealing with’ (Interviewee D1).

Because Interviewee D1 was appointed as the CEO at Stage Two of the development plan after a significant reformation among the developers and management, he has been speaking with representation of both the CITIC Group and the new management structure. The message he sends out confirms Shen and Wu’s (2012) concerns, who observed the emerging trend of a new mode of public-private partnership favouring place marketing and holistic development strategies. What makes the case of China unique is that the extent to which the market and private forces are still largely dependent on the state’s urban policies (Shen and Wu, 2012b). Indeed, Interviewee D1 openly discussed how such a public-private partnership is crucial at a local level.

‘We are like a central-state owned giant who was prepared to enter a street fight where the rules are established by the local state and only the local players knew how to get around the arena. I was not here then, but I was leading an internal research which found a shocking truth about the industry. At the beginning of 2012, almost 3,500 similar projects were submitted to the central state. By similar I mean the idea of combining some form of tourism with real estate development. At the end of that year, 75% of them either dropped out the market leaving huge ghost-towns behind or turned their business plans upside down, dropping the tourism part entirely and hoping that they could sell enough homes to make up the cost and pay back the loan. We thought, well, we need someone who knows what he is doing, as our front man, bodyguard, boxing player, whatever you call him’ (Interviewee D1).

The involvement of the Shining Star group marks the first stage of spatial practice at The Aqua. This stage can be interpreted as 'the real estate era'. Emerging as a real estate developer, the philosophy of the *Shining Star* is a typical representation for the common business models across the majority of property developers and constructors in post-1990 China. As introduced earlier in Chapter Two, China's urban transformation and private housing development intertwined among the 1990s when the state's ambition was to decentralise its land authorities to the local states so that private properties can be developed as a driver to push economic growth (Huang and Yi, 2011). Therefore, the local state relied on the sales of land to generate tax income while the local developers flourished as a result of the sky-rocketing housing development since the early 2000s (Zhang, 2012). Like many others, the business model of the *Shining Star* group relied on the purchase of land at a relatively cheap price and the regeneration of profits through speedy sales of constructed or renovated properties. What was different for the *Shining Star* was the involvement of sports and tourism in all of their projects.

'At the time we had a list of potential partners and the *Shining Star* stood out because they had the experience of combining sports, tourism and real estates, all in one. Prior to The Aqua, they had constructed a stadium in Kunming and attracted thousands of new residents who loved the idea of living with 24/7 access to sports facilities. So we thought, well, the *Shining Star* is an ideal partner because essentially we are constructing a lifestyle that was never here before… We were wrong' (Interviewee D1).

Also, the *Shining Star* kept tight relationships with the local state and the planning bureau. Since The Aqua is located upon the wetland that is reserved as the back-up water resources for Kunming City, the permission of entering the land and host significant development and construction is strictly controlled by the local state. While the *CITIC Group* was aware and wanted to influence the central state's desire to pursue urbanisation at a sustainable rate (see Chapter Two), it seems that there was some form of local resistance to the project. Therefore, research into the insights of the planning bureau and the local state is essential to unpack the power relations behind the production of The Aqua.

According to Interviewee D4, the *CITIC Group* visualised the *Shining Star* as a mere contractor who they could hire to deliver the physical construction work for the development plan of

The Aqua. However, the *Shining Star* also invested its capital in the construction process to the extent it became vulnerable to the long-term success of the *CITIC Group*. According to Interviewee D4, who was working as a key Image at the time of organisational transformation?

'The *Shining Star* was clearly not on the same page as the *CITIC*, but of course you can say it the other way round as well. The *CITIC Group* has a grander vision of The Aqua as a driver for community building, not just a mere container of some empty houses and occasional residents. When we realised that the *Shining Star* had finished building 1,600 houses, two hotels and two condominiums in 14 months – all finished at the same time – we knew something was not right. For the *CITIC*, the idea was to separate those unites into six phases, and build The Aqua gradually. Clearly, the *Shining Star* wanted it differently. Later on, when we saw their financial situation, we understood immediately why they wanted to build and sell the properties *asap.* Just in Kunming, we have the biggest ghost town in China to prove that their approach was not going to work' (D4).

The *Shining Star* was forced to retreat from the project after 3 years' investment and construction. The original investor, *CITIC Trust*, took over the roles of developer since 2013 – soon after this research started. The replacement of players has had a dramatic impact on the changing landscape of both the natural and physical appearance of The Aqua. Essentially, it seems that the force-out of the *Shining Star* was more significant than a mere financial incident. This is when the first theme of the thesis emerged: *how do different actors perceive The Aqua as a physical space and their actions within such a space?*

An internal report reveals the developer's SWOT analysis. This report was presented by one of the participants (M4) during an interview (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 The Shinning Star's SWOT Analysis on The Aqua (Interviewee M4)

The SWOT analysis indicates some serious pitfalls in the perception of space of the *Shining Star* and their consequent spatial practices. At a superficial level, the analysis singularly analyses the spatial production from a real estate construction and sales perspective. This finding also proves the spatial practice of the *Shining Star* deviated from that of the *CITIC Group* at the first stage of The Aqua's production, which confirms D1's argument. The *Shining Star* pinned the *CITIC* down as a trustworthy co-operator who would act as a constructor following the development plan. However, it is important to realise that the perceived space is as socially as individually constructed.

From a Lefebvrian perspective, the *CITIC* initial development plan for The Aqua was to perceive The Aqua as an establishment that nurtures production of social relations. The details of the plan will be analysed later from the planner's perspective. Broadly speaking, The Aqua was portrait as a blueprint for building a mobilised community that relies on second home tourism. Instead of leaving the properties empty throughout the year, the *CITIC* borrowed ideas from the timesharing model in the U.S., which would allow for the properties to be professionally managed like hotels to the public.

By contrast, the Shining Star held the typical perception of the so-called 'urban entrepreneurship' (Harvey, 1989). The Shining Star saw The Aqua as a business opportunity to transfer the land into landscape based real estate products which they could offer to the middle class urbanites.

Having said this, it is suggested that the perceived space, or the spatial practice, of different developers had been a critical component to the social, spatial and societal changes of The Aqua. Since the *Shining Star* was in a position of conducting direct actions in terms of practising the space of The Aqua, the physical landscape of The Aqua had experienced dramatic impact as a result of how the developer had perceived the space. Reversely, how the space was practiced had re-shaped the way that the developer and other actor groups perceive the space. This dialectical view is key to understand the first theme in terms of the production of space at The Aqua; that is, the spatial practice and activities of the actor groups.

Conceived space

Following Lefebvre, this section examines the struggles over the meaning of space and considers how the developer and management at The Aqua were giving spatial imagination and cultural representation to The Aqua (Hubbard and Kitchin, 2010). This is particularly important for this research since 'a conceived space is a place for the practices of social and political power' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 122).

The developers imagined The Aqua in four layers. Firstly, both the previous and the current developers imagined The Aqua as an agglomeration of a multitude of sectors including tourism, housing, education, medical care and retirement services (Interviewee D1). As such, the imagined version of The Aqua was not only an actual place where the developer could construct capital and material, but also a mental space where social capital could be nurtured. This was because The Aqua was not seen as a new town development with the ambition to permanently locate a community and attract employment from elsewhere. Rather, The Aqua was conceived as a 'mobile community' where the owners and renters are on the move while the service and management are permanent.

Secondly, The Aqua is imagined as the carrier of a lifestyle rather than a mere provider of tourism products. At a glance, the physical space of The Aqua might be similar to that of a tourism cluster or a multi-functioned golf resort. In fact, the natural and physical landscapes of The Aqua could well be the representations of a theme-park or a staged leisure facility due to the excessive architecture designed in a western-style. The aesthetics of The Aqua might also be seen as additional evidence to prove the previous claims about Western images being status symbols for the higher-middle class in China (Wu, 2010). However, the purpose of The Aqua seems deeper than the superficial analysis of aesthetics. As the developers revealed, the amenities of The Aqua are carefully selected as a symbolic gesture to 'a good life':

'At the heart of our development philosophy, there are two essentials: on one hand we try to maintain the wetland area because the physical environment is what makes us unique. Therefore, we try to construct as little buildings as possible. On the other hand, when we build something, we want the visitors to think of a new possibility for their lives. The idea of owning a garden, playing football on green grass in front of a castle or a windmill, having kids trained at the equestrian club and… [that is] how people imagine the Western lifestyle, the good lifestyle'.

As such, a key theme emerges for this research. That is, why do the developers use the term 'Western lifestyle' as a way to represent 'a good lifestyle'? Indeed, not only the built environment was shaped in a Western fashion, the 'Western symbols' are visible seamlessly among the social environment. For example, the purposely designed staff uniform and the offering of exotic food and beverage are all 'Westernised', although the origin of these amenities are not specifically identifiable as either English, French or Irish. Is it true that other participant groups, especially those who designed it and who experience it – i.e. the planners and the home owners – see The Aqua vaguely as 'Western'? Do they also conceive the 'Western lifestyle' as 'good'? These will be answered later.

Thirdly, according to Interviewee D3, The Aqua also represents a futuristic picture of an ageing higher-middle income community.

> *Q: How do you see The Aqua in 10 or 20 years? What kind of place is The Aqua going to be? Can you draw me a mental picture?*
>
> *D3: If you bought a second home here in The Aqua, you are likely to be among the late 40s or early 50s. You are either retired or preparing to be, either way, you are*

planning your life for the future. Due to the One Child Policy[14]… this generation will have to face significant livelihood issues when they are older… [Because] their children simply cannot physically support or take care of their parents. Thus, The Aqua puts significant effort into the development of medical care and services that are tailored for the generation. I see The Aqua as a hub not only for tourism, but medical tourism for the ageing groups.

Q: Interesting point, but do you see the aged generation becoming permanent residents at The Aqua?

D3: Yes and no. They would have that option, of course. We are currently building a water theme park and an International Boarding School, so that if the aged generation stay with us in the future, their grandchildren would have a good place to learn. If they don't permanently stay, they can also do that. We don't want to build a fixed community, at least not for the majority of residents. But we are testing and learning about the site as we go. The Aqua is like a city, it will never be finished. It's an on-going process.

This emerges as another important theme for the thesis, which will be dealt with during the analysis of heterotopia. The developers seem to perceive The Aqua as a long-term process of production, and therefore it is important to discuss the social relations between the developers and other actor groups.

Lastly, the developers conceive The Aqua as an experimental site and a solution for complex social relations. Traditionally, the developers value the land as a key element for effective and

[14] The one-child policy acts as part of the family planning and population control policy in China. It was introduced between 1978 and 1980 and was formally lifted in 2015. According to the Chinese government, some 400 million births were prevented during the implementation of the policy.

efficient production and reproduction of capital. Under such circumstances, the developers would exploit the space of The Aqua as a quantifiable measurement where the most number of second homes could be built and sold. This was probably how the *Shining Star* would conceive The Aqua. Under the regime of the *CITIC*, The Aqua is re-imagined to be the host of a set of new actor networks. For instance, The Aqua gives the local community priority in terms of employment and entrepreneurship assistance.

<u>Lived space</u>

In terms of the lived space, the developers and management produce the lifestyle experience at The Aqua in a multitude of ways. To begin with, the term 'good life' is cited regularly by all of the eight participants during their interviews. The term is seen as an ideal representation of the site and the lived space of The Aqua. In detail, 'good' is a subjective description of the imagined spatial characteristics of The Aqua while 'life' itself is how the actors participate in their spatial practices. Thus, the 'good life' is both real and imagined, in other words, both perceived and conceived and therefore lived (Soja).

Interestingly, the term 'good life' is visibly printed across The Aqua: on the signs of shops, at the post office, on the brochure, and even on the restaurant menus. The term is printed in English, although only a few of the employees or the visitors knew what the term actually means (Observation notes, paragraph 10).

Following this, it is important and interesting to discover the perception and attitude of the developers in terms of how they decided to represent The Aqua. A common question was asked specifically to deal with the emerging perception about what a 'good life' represents:

Q: Please specifically explain what a 'good life' represents and how does a 'good life' reflect in your experience of The Aqua?

The answers indicate the major reasons of why the representational space of The Aqua has been constructed in a Western fashion. The representational space deviates from the traditional perception of local cultural identities. Yunnan is popularised by its touristic image of being the exotic landscape where the mountainous landscapes and the ethnic minority cultures are considered the most attractive traits to attract tourists (Chapter 2). However, these traits have been replaced by the installation of Western architecture in a territory of the wetland. As such, both the physical and cultural landscapes of The Aqua disconnects form the representation of the region. Reversely, little of the popular imagery of Yunnan has been adopted in the reflection of The Aqua. To the developers, The Aqua was constructed on purposes to establish a sense of exchanging cultural awareness:

'While Yunnan is often portrayed as this exotic cultural paradise, it is also the representation of a pristine lifestyle. There are people who literally think we use elephants as vehicles for the commuters. That might be an exaggeration, but if there were such a thing as the Yunnan lifestyle, it would not be easy and charming. By contrast, the lifestyle of owning a house, having a garden to yourself… clean air, safe environment, fun and education for the kids… [those are] a good life' (Interviewee D1, paragraph 12).

While the interviewee D1 highlighted the conflict between the local touristic image and that of The Aqua in terms of what a 'good life' represents, others have questioned such an argued connection. According to the architect (interviewee A1), the second homes area were designed in such a fashion not because of what it represents, but what it requires. In order to explain where the representational space of The Aqua stands, the interviewee offered me the opportunity to observe the construction process of the second homes (Image 6.1).

'In terms of the design of the buildings, geography matters as much as the cultural aspects of what the developers want it to look like. It's a wetland, and the construction of buildings on the wetland requires careful survey and design. The reason why these houses appeared to be ligneous is because they are. Using wood on the upper level reduces the weight of the houses and the stones and concretes provide a solid foundation. Building on wetland, the most important concern from an architectural perspective is coagulating sedimentation. Having decided the structure, there were only so many styles we could choose from.' (Interviewee A1)

Image 6.1 The construction of The Aqua deviates from the local approach (Author's Photograph)

It seems that the geographies of the site have helped shaping the built landscape of The Aqua, and while doing so, the physical amenities of the site become a representation of a unique lifestyle and a cultural pattern. This point will be empathised again throughout the rest of the thesis.

6.3 The Story of the Planners and the State

Perceived Space

The planners and the state practice The Aqua through their proactive roles in the planning scheme. For the planners, The Aqua is perceived as the experimental field for urban entrepreneurship through the cluster of types of tourism.

> *Q: How do you describe The Aqua and in what ways do you think you have practiced with it as a planner?*
>
> *P1: The Aqua was by far the most exciting, and challenging, project that I have ever experienced in my thirty-years of career as a planner. I saw it as such a rare opportunity… an indication of a new urban transformation opportunity. To me, The Aqua is an ever building fantasyland which directly answers to the most emerging issues that we are dealing with in our society: broken rural communities, the left-behinds, the wastelands, the ghost-towns, the overly crowded tourism attractions, the regional development, and so on. But most importantly, it is a solution to the ageing societies. When I was employed as a planner, I was given this almost empty wetland. 20 square kilometres of vast land. The Shining Star came with The Aqua and some initial ideas on to develop a resort-like site that contained different layers of properties as well as tourist attractions. They are very demanding, and very contradictory at the same time. On one hand, they wanted the site to be as high-end as possible, with two world class golf courses, world class horse riding fields, world class five star hotels, world class villas and all that. On the other hand, they wanted to attract as many visitors as possible, hence the medical centres, the large conference centre, the events facilities, the hiking tours, the gardens, and the lavender fields, oh, and a church, and something else. There was always something else. How did I see The Aqua? I saw it as, you probably would not believe it, as somewhere I wanted to come and stay when I am old enough. As it turns out, I am not so sure about it anymore.*
>
> *Q: And why is that? What changed?*
>
> *P1: You can ask (P2), my successor.*

P2: You (P1) think you had a strange experience working on this project? I had to experience what you experienced but even worse [both laughed]! Seriously though, there was this huge divide between the Shining Star and the CITIC... It's like a divorce when the Shining Star ran out of money and had to leave. They did not just leave, they left an obstacle behind. Those were the 1,600 houses waiting to be sold or leased out but no one was buying. No one was buying because there was no reason to. The Aqua was selling twice as expensive as other developments nearby. Yes, The Aqua has its natural aesthetics and exciting features in the pipeline. But the facilities were not ready. It was not possible to live here at that stage. Even if it was possible, why would anyone live here? Especially anyone who could afford to buy such a property must had [his / her] own occupations that is physically elsewhere. What's even worse, is that the one who built this (the Shining Star) never understood this. They wanted to build a permanent community. No they did not want to build a permanent community. They just want to sell as many houses as they could, regardless. When the CITIC changed its role, P1 was occupied with other assignments. So I took over to re-establish the planning mechanisms under the guidance of the CITIC and their new perception of The Aqua.

Q: What do you think distinguishes the old master-plan from the new one?

P1: The first plan, like I said, was the confused child of the two deviating parties. Actually, the state was involved too. Anyway, for the first three years, money was not an issue for the CITIC because they are a state-owned Trust, but it was an object for the Shining Star. So our roles as planners were difficult. On one hand, we needed to please the endless demand of the CITIC and on the other hand, we needed to conduct feasible plans to prioritise the housing areas before everything else. As a planner, I personally thought it was dangerous considering Chenggong… the famous ghost town… that was exactly how they ended up there.

P2: That is right. So we were a lot happier and more focused when the CITIC emerged with the new structure. Generally speaking, I turned the focus from real estate to tourism. So I was more of a tourism planner than an urban planner or city planner. I think we no longer perceived The Aqua as a new town or a high-end *middle class utopia. We wanted to grant access to as many people as possible. I saw The Aqua as a potential middle class disaster, just like the Thames Town in Shanghai. It would have been an empty high-end housing area that is covered in alienated Western architecture styles and purposeless wasteful structures. The only people who would visit such a site are those who came for wedding pictures… But that did not happen to The Aqua. I see The Aqua as a promised land for me as a planner. There are so much you can do with such a site and budget. The fact that the site is naturally preserved, and publically funded, and privately managed and owned… It opens a whole new way of thinking about public-private partnerships. But then again, this is China, as a planner you just have to be prepared to be caught in the crossfire between different stakeholders.*

The planning of The Aqua is represented at various places within The Aqua: large posters are visible at the entrance of the parking lot; banners are hanging over the telegraph poles, but most significantly, the large planning models that are placed at varies buildings including the visitor centre, the Wyndham Hotel and the horse riding reception. The planners' practice at The Aqua has been advertised and polarised to encourage tourist gaze at The Aqua. At the early stage when the *Shining Star* focused on the sales of real estate, the modelling highlighted the design and structures of the properties. By contrast, at the later stages, the modelling turned its focus to the vast natural area and the overall tourism development ambition as the result of the reshaped power relations of the developers and the accordingly refined perception of the space (Image 6.4).

While the developers (D1 and D4) portrayed the shifting power as a natural process and an act out of finance circumstances, the changing display of the masterplan is a metaphor for the changing perceived space of The Aqua from a developer and management perspective. In addition, this display is also a reflection of the state's entrepreneurial ambition from a land usage perspective.

Image 6.2 The Display of the Masterplan of The Aqua (Author's Photograph)

While the planners were the deliverers of the developers' will, their actions and spatial practices as the handler of the planning mechanisms had considerable impact on The Aqua. Taking a close look at the planning process, the planners practiced the space in a multitude of ways both internally and externally. Internally, the planners shaped the geography of The Aqua and turned it from space to place (Tuan, 1977) through their technical process and the design of the physical environment, including water, the infrastructure passing through and in-around the areas, the placement and distribution of land. Externally, the developers acted as the negotiator, communicator and presenter in private-public relationships. While the developers tended to have spread the perception that The Aqua is an actual space that would be practiced, the planners have been executing the developers' perceptions through their internal practices under the restricted control of the State. This is because the state of China is a lot more involved in the planning process compared to its Western counterparts.

For the state, the institutional set-up of The Aqua area is complicated and ambiguous. At various administrative levels, at least five ministries are directly involved in the process of the planning process of The Aqua: The City Planning Administration (CPA), The Tourism Planning Administration (TPA), The Bureau of Land and Resources (BLR), the Bureau of Housing Management (BHM), and The Bureau of Environmental Protection (BEP) (Interview S1). The institutional structure is reflected in Table 6.3.

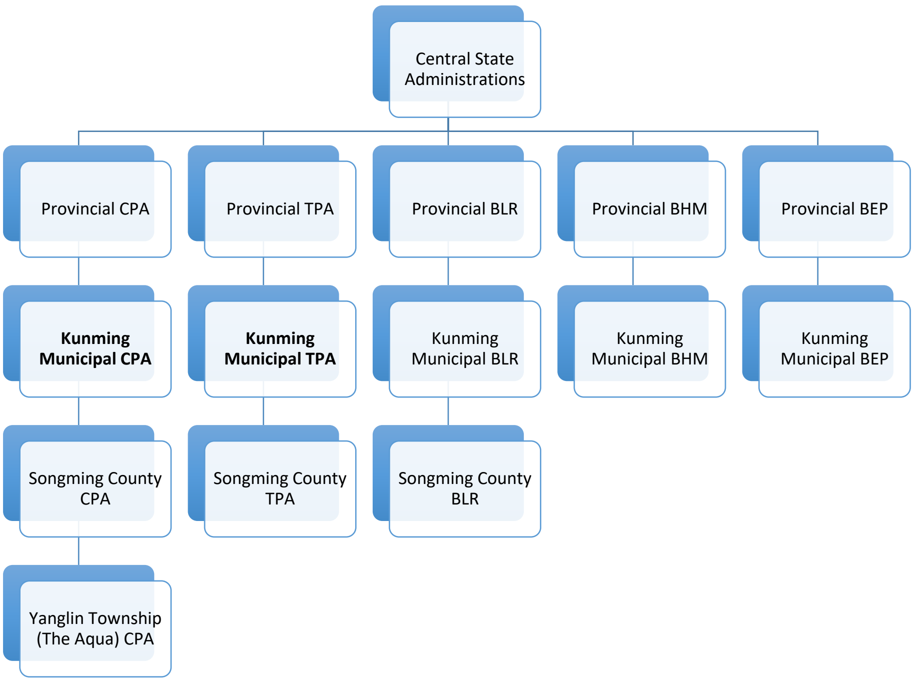

Table 6.3 Administrative Structure that is involved in the Production of The Aqua (Source: Interviewee S1 and S2)

In the context of development, the common issue for all the administrations listed above is to deal with the tension between promoting growth and implementing development control. On one hand, since urban entrepreneurialism has become a dominated philosophy in the post-reform era, the state attempts to coordinate development through national and regional planning. On the other hand, since land has become the supporting pillar for the survival of the economy, especially for the local state, and land is a scarce resource in the urban area, adequate development control has been inevitable. Therefore, the state of China is much more involved in the planning, participation and control process in the production of space.

A large number of national and international studies on China have dealt with this complexity and examined the issue in the context of real estate, new towns and eco-cities. However, few researchers have looked into the relationship between tourism and such ambition. Hence, The Aqua provides a unique lens to look into the state's perceptions about how they act its pro-active role in the relationship between tourism development and regional planning.

This research focuses on the TPA and CPA at the municipal level (marked in bold in Image 6.3). While the two institutions share common objective and issues, they stood for distinctive authoritative style and political agendas. The TPA's vision of The Aqua was potentially a new powerhouse to serve as leverage to local development in the areas around the ChangShui International Airport[15]. The central state perceives the airport as 'the gateway of China' to South and Southeast Asia and an important feature of its Western Development Strategy and One Belt One Road Strategy. Therefore, the development of the airport has benefited from national funding as large as 23billion RMB. However, at the provincial and municipal level, the airport plays a much more concrete role in terms of economic growth and regional development. The entrepreneurial local state relies on the land acquisition to generate tax and growth, however, different institutions reflect such a goal differently.

From a City Planning Administration perspective, The Aqua represents a set of new possibilities of driving the local economy with urbanisation. The CPA agenda has been shaped and reshaped a multitude of times since the late 1990s, when the central state privatised housing and activated rapid urbanisation as its primary development agenda. In the context of Kunming, whilst rapid urbanisation made the regional economy flourish, a series of urban issues had appeared, including segmentation of classes, rapid growing housing prices and increasingly crowded traffic (INT S1). Therefore, the municipal state took a proactive role in

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[15] The Changshui International Airport is the primary airport serving Kunming City and is a replacement of Kunming Wujiaba International Airport. It is located 24.5 km northeast to the city and XX to the site of The Aqua. The airport was firstly opened on June 2012 and handled over 33 million passengers in 2014. By 2020, it is expected to handle over 40 million passengers.

terms of city planning with a distinctive ambition to establish new town development as a strategy to overcome these issues (INT S1). Nevertheless, 'the result is rather disappointing as seen in Chenggong and the *University Town'* (ibid). Previously, the CPA's philosophy was to manipulate and guide capital to the newly constructed townships in the hope that a certain portion of population, jobs, and resources would be distributed more equally, spreading out the territory. The CPA saw the construction of the Changshui Airport as a new direction to test a new means of community building and city planning. This is because:

'In terms of County Songming and especially in the Town of Yanglin, the use of land is a challenging task. The land is strictly preserved by the Territory of Resource Office because of its sensitive geography. The positive aspect is that the land is relatively empty… the closest community is about 5km away (a planning map is attached as Appendix 3) and hence we could plan without too much negotiation with the conflicts of land ownerships or compensations. The down side is, however, our options are limited. We simply cannot imply the new town theory as it is not working, and we physically cannot conduct heavy construction because it is a wetland where the soil is not solid enough. At the same time the provincial and central state hopes to accelerate urbanisation. The Aqua was probably the only option that we had. And in that scenario, housing construction was prioritised over tourism' (Interviewee S1).

The CPA's perception of The Aqua echoed with the *Shining Star* in terms of generating profit through housing development sales. A very similar example can be found in the condition of infrastructure that was observed prior to the research. When asked why the expressway linking The Aqua with the Kunming city had been so poorly constructed, the staff at The Aqua simply resented the imputation that they had any responsibility for the delay of the road construction as it was supposed to be the state's assignment. During the course of the research, the road remained unfinished and hence has a considerable impact on the numbers of visitors to The Aqua.

By the end of the research, The Aqua announced that a new road has been fully funded and constructed by The Aqua itself, rather than the municipal government. During the interview with the state, infrastructure becomes an interesting point. From the state's perspective, Image 6.3 shows the infrastructure layout of the region. The Airport Expressway was constructed linking the Changshui Airport and Kunming City. Following this structure, the CPA were planning two more expressways that would link the city and The Aqua, whilst passing through the Airport: Kunming-Qiujin Expressway and Guanjun Road. Marked in brown, the construction of these roads began as early as 2012, following the construction of The Aqua by the *Shining Star*. However, due to certain political incidents and the lack of sustainable funding, the construction of both roads were in fact suspended, forcing the *CITIC* to partially fund its own construction of a new road (Kunming-Songming Expressway marked as the dotted line). This incident is an example of how the state's spatial practice can also lead to the production of an Apotopia, if such a spatial practice fails to generate social relations.

Since the spatial practice of the developers have shaped The Aqua as a mobilised community where its residents and visitors rely on constant commuting from the city, the infrastructure is the key to the site's survival. However, since the state's perceived The Aqua as a hub for new urbanisation, the roads are perceived as the bi-product of regional development, rather than the necessary condition of it. Since the house sales were paused by the *CITIC* under its new regime, the entrepreneurial state realised that it was not possible to generate taxes from housing sales as quickly as planned, and hence delayed the road construction.

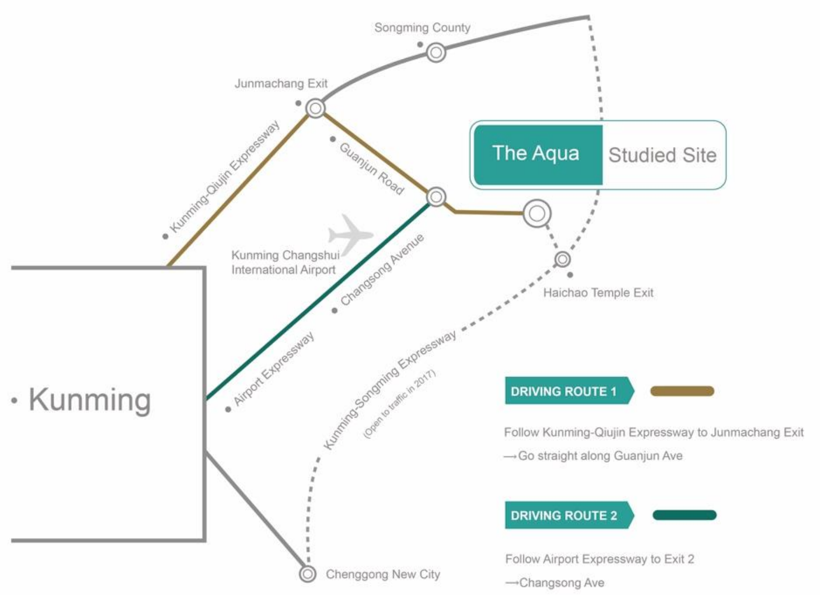

Image 6.3 Road Construction Plan of The Aqua (Author's work based on the state document)

From a Tourism Planning Administration (TPA) perspective, the municipal state is under significant pressure from both the market and the provincial and central state. As reviewed in Chapter 2, Yunnan's tourism sector has performed as one of the largest regions in China in terms of tourist arrivals and hotel beds. By contrast, Kunming as Yunnan's capital city has enjoyed much less of a success despite a limited number of events and sites (Interviewee S2). To the inbound tourists, Kunming is merely a transfer hub since it is the gateway to most transportation. Also, Kunming's tourism attractions are both too dated and too scarce to attract local and domestic visitors. Under such circumstances, the TPA perceived The Aqua as a new possibility of constructing a series of new tourist attractions and destinations. As such, the TPA perceives The Aqua as a tourism cluster where various tourist activities are being acculturated.

Conceived Space

From the state's and planner's perspective, the conceived space of The Aqua consists of four layers. Firstly, the participants conceive The Aqua as a critical component for regional development at Songming Town and Kunming City (Interviewee S1). This overlaps the objectives from the developers and the management.

Secondly, the state shares an ambiguous understanding towards the architectural styles of The Aqua. Instead of linking its western style with the notion of 'a good life', the state values the appearance of The Aqua as a representation to the city's image:

'As far as economic and social development, Yunnan has always been portrayed as a backward region of China where nature is good, but living standards are poor. With the new airport, we imagine that The Aqua as somewhere the higher-middle incomes would fly to, to enjoy their weekend. Or for the tired urbanites from Shanghai and Beijing, who would want to escape their city to enjoy the natural treatment. After all, Kunming will be seen as an entirely different place… a cleaner, better, well serviced place on top of great natural environment' (Interviewee S1, paragraph 20).

Similarly, the head of the tourism admission also expressed how likely that The Aqua would reshape the tourism image of Kunming:

‘Yunnan has one of the richest natural and cultural resources for tourism development in China… Ironically, as its capital city, Kunming has been struggling for tourism. People fly to Kunming as a footstep to other parts of the province. The Aqua would make some of them willingly stay for an extra night or two. After all, it would be only 15 minutes away from the airport, if the CPA had delivered its road construction’ (Interviewee S2, paragraph 13).

Again, the destination image from the state’s perspective reflects to the state’s ambition of ‘planning for growth’ (Wu, 2015). Following these, the third layer of the state’s and the planner’s imagination is to prescribe The Aqua as a potential means to deal with the economic and social issues of the local region. The planning scheme discussed earlier can be understood as the state’s tool to manipulate the components of the market in the way that the intersection between housing and tourism had become a vehicle to carry capital investment, the flow of tourists and the employment from the local communities.

Lastly, although the visions are divided between different agencies in the state, the common understanding is that The Aqua can be conceived as a useful way to enhance law and regulation. The CPA encourages The Aqua to be the engine of new urbanisation, while TPA is somehow against rapid urbanisation since ‘too many permeant residences would reduce the flexibility of tourism development’ (Interviewee S2, paragraph 15). Nonetheless, the existence of The Aqua means that the state has now gained more direct control to the area in terms of accessibility, conservation and the use of land:

‘Previously, the locals come to the wetland to fish and sell at the markets. They didn’t have other means to generate valid income for the families. Or they build here and there randomly. However, activities as such puts the conserved wetland in danger. What is even worse is that the locals suffered from the unregulated land because the production of agriculture is limited by the size of the land each family owns. Because of The Aqua, we had the chance to re-plan the land policy and now you can see a lot of progress’ (Interviewee S1).

In summary, the sate conceives The Aqua as the forefront of dealing with regional socio-economic issues, other than a mere site of real estate or tourism development.

Lived Space

The lived experience from the participation of the state and the planners is demonstrated around the two major issues of the society and its associated lifestyle changes. The first issue is the ageing society of China. Largely due to the strict birth control and extremely low fertility rate, ageing has increasingly become a major issues of China (Kinsella and Phillips, 2005). The ratio of 65 years and over increased from 5.5% in 1990 (fourth census) to 7.0% in 2000 (fifth census). As of 2010, the ageing group contains 8.9% of the total population (Yang, 2015). By 2050, the ageing population is expected to climb to over 20%, with 334 million people over 65, and 94 million over 80 (United Nations, 2013). Therefore, China has to face significant challenges in terms of the production of space.

The second issue is climate change and environmental issues related to rapid urbanisation. Having realised the significances of green space in urban ecosystems, the municipal government of Kunming has set out a series of policies to introduce green elements into urban areas. While the grass land has been significantly increased in the past decade, agriculture land and forest land were largely encroached and fragmented by urban sprawl (Zhou and Wang, 2011). Under such circumstances, the state's vision of enlightening urbanisation through the production of The Aqua is compromised by the mission of reversing agricultural land and the conservation of the wetland (interviewee S1).

Thus, the state's and the planner's experience with The Aqua is two-fold. On one hand, The Aqua is planned as a futuristic suburban centre to accommodate the changing lifestyle of the urban ageing population. For instance, the state's effort of assigning partnerships with international medical care institutions such as the National Health Service (NHS) from the UK and Calicéo from France. According to interviewee S2:

'These institutions could provide professional medical services to the communities who visit The Aqua. Through such a partnership, The Aqua is essentially a medical tourism project that holds even greater ambitions… more than just tourism. The Aqua could take some pressure off from the overly crowded hospitals in the city' (Interviewee S2, paragraph 17).

The partnerships are signed at the national level as leverage to enhance the local's ability to better formulate its medical services. While the planners are merely the conductor of development plans, their understanding of the issue has reflected upon the actual design of the region. For example, the introduction of the education system can be seen as the result of the planner's experience with the ageing society:

'The children can be educated at the international boarding school which is directly linked to the private or public schools in America or England. While the pupils spend their weekdays at the school, their parents can commute to The Aqua and spend the weekend, with their children. The kids are offered the opportunity to learn about the ecosystem of The Aqua, and they will pick up some distinguished skills including equestrianism, golf and all kinds of sports… From a very young age' (Interviewee P2, paragraph 19).

On the other hand, the participant group's involvement in The Aqua is restricted by the social and societal limitations of the local community. During of its last Ten-Year development plan (2000-2009), the local CPA has prioritised the urbanisation in terms of regional development. As a result, the local communities were attracted out to the cities for better employability and personal income. Thus, the communities were 'urbanised' at a hetero-location that is distant from their 'home'. To solve this, the state's spatial experience in The Aqua re-established its policy in terms of use of land 2010-2020. As such, the agricultural land has been steadily increased in the past five years and as such the local communities are benefited from the development of The Aqua from the standpoint of employment, healthcare, education and income (Interviewee P3).

6.4 The Story of the Second-home Owners and Visitors

Perceived Space

At The Aqua, second-home owners overlap with the ordinary visitors in terms of their ethnography and spatial practices. At an attempt to distinguish the second home owners from the visitors, I had to face a difficult scenario.

However, my participant experience staying with the participants in both the villas and the condominiums opened the possibility of exploring another way of clarifying the differences between second home owners and the visitors from a perceived space perspective. Owing largely to the fact that I could grasp their spatial practices within The Aqua simultaneously as they contemporarily lived in it, I was to grasp the details of their activities.

The spatial practices of the participants can be classified in three genres. Table 6.4 summarise the how the second home owners and visitors are physically engaged with The Aqua.

	Villa Owners	Condominium Owners	Visitors
Time	60 nights / year	40 nights / year	Non-fixed
Social	• Family activities • Health & Sports • Recreation	• Health & Sports • Recreation • Treatment	• Conference • Events • Prospect
Spatial	• Low mobility • Indoor activities	• Medium mobility • In-/out-door activities	• High mobility • Mostly outdoor

Table 6.4 Spatial Practices of the Second home owners and visitors

Source: observation notes, by Author

Due to the agreement with the developers and management, the villa owners (interviewee O1 – O8) are allowed 60 days of access to stay at The Aqua. In reality, however, since the nights are transferable, many of the nights are given to the families and friends as gifts. Meanwhile, according to the management (Interviewee M3), the second homes receive over 70% of occupancy rate on average throughout the year (255 days). This means that the villas are mostly occupied by visitors other than the home owners themselves. Furthermore, some of the owners prefer to stay at the condominiums instead of the villas:

'Because we would only gain our full ownership after five years, we would like our villa to be occupied as little as possible during these years so that we would receive a relatively new house when we claim it. Also, the developer transfers each one of our villa nights to two condo nights. When we have less people visiting, we'd prefer to stay there. It is also more convenient to stay in the condos because it is closer to everything' (Interviewee O4, paragraph 3).

While staying at the villas, the most highlighted activities are family oriented. That they often visit The Aqua with a large group of family and friends seems to suggest this (Image 6.4). The owners stated that a 'spacious environment and low population density' as the major reason why they had purchased a villa as their second home (Interviewee O4). However, they tend to bring as many friends or family members as possible every time they visit the second home so that they ‘could enjoy some over-due quality time’. The supposedly spacious and low dense living, therefore, never took place. In the houses, the middle aged participants conduct activities such as playing cards and cooking (Table 6.5).

Image 6.4 My ‘bed’ while staying with the participant family O1-O2. They established indoor tents so that more family members and friends could stay with them while they visit The Aqua (Author’s Photograph).

Q: what distinguishes playing cards and cooking in here from doing those activities at *home*?

O2: … we used to play cards and cook together all the time when we were young. Everyone got busier with their own kids and career, and therefore this is like a nice throwback to the good old days. Also, we are all about to retire, this gives us an expectation about what life could be like in a couple of years… Oh, cooking is better because we have this lovely locally sourced meat and vegetables for ingredients. As well, the guys go out fishing during the day and the ladies went to the organic farm to pick up fruits and berries. You will have a treat tonight! It's very different to what we do at home.

Table 6.5 Second Home activities vs the everyday (Interview O2, paragraph 8)

For the youngsters in the family, The Aqua is a place where they could experience what is unavailable in their home environment (Image 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7). These activities are celebrated among the second home participants in The Aqua for the educational value for the younger generations. It needs to be clarified that these activities are solely portrayed as elite activities and hence are provided at a high price. In this way, although the locals are employed, trained and hired as the producers of such activities, their own youngsters miss the opportunity to access the resources that were once available to them. This will be explored further in the next section and the following chapter.

Image 6.5 A youngster from the participant family practice equestrianism at The Aqua (Author's photograph)

Image 6.6 Adults accompany their children to participate in the eco-tour in the wetland area (Author's Photograph)

Image 6.7 Youngster is learning about basic horse training skills (Author's Photograph)

The condominium owners tend to visit with less family members and friends due to the limited space in the apartments. Also, they seem to spend more time embracing the outdoor activities than the indoor ones. Similarly, the visitors also spend more time exploring The Aqua because they rarely have access to the site. However, in general, the activities show very little distinction between the three groups of visitors. In fact, some second home owners had expressed unpleasant experiences related to that lack such distinction (Image 6.8 and Table 6.6).

Image 6.8 Interviewee O1 broke a lamp unintentionally. When she checked out, she found that the management team had asked her for a fine (Author's Photograph)

Q: What happened to the lamp? O2: I broke it unintentionally, and they (the management) fined me. I didn't understand why I had to pay for breaking my own property? You know, I bought the house, and everything comes with the house. So why am I treated like a tourist staying at a hotel? Q: Did you talk to the management? What did they say about this incident? O2: After talking to them I understand where they are coming from. I am now only partially an owner of my house, because of the five-year contract. We had to specifically ask to stay in our own house, otherwise we would be placed in any random house that happened to be available at the time of checking in – just like hotel rooms. In this sense, if I broke anything I would have to compensate. This is actually a good way to protect my own property as well, because random visitors might be staying in my house as well – for the first five years.

Table 6.6 Participants' understanding of ownerships

The story of the lamp is also a metaphor of the potential conflicts between various types of second home occupiers. Overall, regardless of the physical types of dwellings, whether the occupiers own these properties or not, they physically practice at The Aqua as *tourists* – in a UNWTO definitional sense. Because they 'travel and stay in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes' (UNWTO, 2011). Having said this, in a broad sense, the activities of this actor group can be understood as tourist activities. The perceived space of The Aqua can therefore be understood as a tourist space, from an owners' and visitors' perspective. However, what distinguishes The Aqua from an ordinary tourism space is that it has been imagined and experienced differently by the actors.

<u>Conceived Space</u>

The representation of The Aqua is conceived through the architectural style, natural habitat and unique tourist products.

Similar to the previous two actor groups, home owners and visitors also claimed that their vision of The Aqua is strongly associated with its Western-style architectural designs.

However, the implication of ‘a good life’ through the Western architectural style is not identified in this case. Instead, the actor group sees the Western architectural style (Image 6.9) as a symbol of personal status and intrapersonal illusion that is differentiated from the everyday.

Image 6.9 Western-style Architecture in The Aqua (Author's Photograph)

O5: in China, we see a lot of wealthy people celebrating their enviable lifestyles and they are not shy about showing them. But I think they have tacky taste and I don’t see the point to flaunt my wealth. I bought a house in The Aqua and now my friends are saying that I made a great choice of lifestyle and that must I value health over wealth…

Table 6.7 Conceived Space and Changing Perspectives of Consumption (Interview O5, paragraph 1)

Personally, owning a house at The Aqua grants the participant a sense of pride and self-induction. It needs to be pointed out that such a scenario is slightly different from the conclusion that the previous research has emphasised (Shen and Wu, 2012a). While in the Western-styled gated communities, the amenities are seen as the representation of the owners' financial status. In the case of The Aqua, the design is conceived as a reflection to the owner's lifestyle choices.

Other interviewees have also expressed a similar attitude; for example, 'all the houses are powered by solar panels, all the jobs make the region alive again, and the architecture style is very low-key. I feel good about buying such a property' (Interview O6, paragraph 5).

In terms of the natural habitat, The Aqua is perceived as a hetero-local site. On the one hand, The Aqua is thought as a representation of the natural aesthetics of Yunnan. Because The Aqua is preserved by the state, the developers are forced to apply limited modifications to the natural environment. As a result, the visitors read the image of The Aqua (Image 6.10) as a delegate to the natural states of Yunnan province.

Image 6.10 Natural Image of The Aqua (Author's Photograph)

On the other hand, The Aqua represents an image of what the city of Kunming could no longer represent due to rapid urbanisation and increased urban issues. In some cases, tourists felt refreshed as soon as they entered the area, following an unpleasant journey through incomplete state road works (Interviewee O2, O7, V3). In other cases, visitors claimed that they felt more relaxed in The Aqua because of easeful humidity, climate and air quality (O1, V2).

The Aqua is also represented through its unique tourist products. Except for the elite tourism experiences such as golf and equestrianism, the most interesting example of this is the lavender field and the church (Image 6.11).

Image 6.11 Lavender field and the church at The Aqua (Author's Photograph)

For the developers, the church was planned and constructed as an enhancer of the 'Western image' of The Aqua. Similarly, the lavender field around the church was supposed to be a representation of Provence, south-eastern France (as advertised on the brochure). By contrast, second home owners and visitors conceived the attraction merely as a site to take photographs. Thus, the conceived space of the former actor group did not directly translate to the latter group. In other words, the tourist gaze deviates from how the site was supposed to be practiced. To be more specific, the tourists' imagination of the church has nothing to do with its religious symbol. Instead, the visitors imagined the church as a romantic site for marriage.

In summary, the image of The Aqua both represents and deviates from the everyday environment. Both the constructed and natural amenities of The Aqua are imagined as a result of personal or intrapersonal experiences.

Lived space

The bodily experience of The Aqua is shaped through the activities (perceived space) and the imagination (conceived space). For the actor group, the term 'lived' is ambiguous since there is not yet a permanent community established. In fact, mobility and temporariness are placed at the centre of the perception of *living* in The Aqua (Table 6.8 and 6.9).

Not only the second-home owners, but also the visitors had a similar opinion about permanent residence at The Aqua. Since the *CITIC* offers financial packages to the visitors who would purchase trust in exchange of accessibility and stay-ability at The Aqua, they are happy to return to The Aqua at a flexible basis (interview V1).

Q: After five years, you would receive an option to extend the contract with The Aqua or to claim your full ownership back. What would you choose and why?

O3: Continue with the contract. 60 days are about the right amount of time that our family could stay at The Aqua. I am 56 now and I will be retired in five years. At the moment we are engaged with other stuff to do at *home*, but I think that remains the case even after retirement. I really like the idea that my house is being looked after, professionally cleaned and used by others while I am not here…

Q: Would you consider moving here entirely and why or why not?

O3: No, not that I can think of. Staying here for a week is fun and relaxing, but living here for 365 days is an entirely different story. You would be surrounded by tourists and life is just not very convenient.

Table 6.8 Perception about lived experience (Interviewee Q3)

Q: The Aqua is building an international boarding school now, and there are other facilities on its pipeline. To what extend do they influence your perception about *not living* here? O7: I heard about the school. It might be great. When my grandchildren are ready for it, we might give it a try. Because they will be likely attending an American university anyway, we might as well just help them to prepare for that at a young age. My daughter and her husband are too busy working so they will need someone to look after the children during the term time. So if the school turns out to be great, we would love to send the kids there. But do we want to live here so the kids can be looked after? No. That's why it's a boarding school I guess. But I don't mind coming for a weekend.

Table 6.9 Perception about lived experience (Interviewee Q7)

In this sense, the actor group perceives the lived space of The Aqua as a timely basis of second homes and as a social basis of tourism. Their physical engagement with The Aqua is bridged through mobility while their imagination of the space is enhanced by lifestyle choices. In this sense, The Aqua offers an empirical example and a spatial element to the concept of lifestyle mobility (Cohen et al., 2015).

In order to understand the impact of such a space, this research needs to reveal the Thirdspace from the local community's perspective.

6.5 The Story of the Local Community

Perceived Space

The spatial practice of the local community depends on that of the former three communities. Thus, there are three dimensions that determine the perceived space from the local communities' perspective.

Firstly, the local communities practice the use of land. Under Deng's leadership, a fundamental change was applied to the Constitution of PRC enacted in 1982, which provided two forms- state ownership and collective ownership – of 'socialist public land ownership' as the means of production (see Chapter 2). The land policy had significant impacts to the rural communities at Yanglin, where The Aqua is located. Since the late 1990s, the local and rural communities have been deeply involved in the rapid urbanisation process. This process has two significant impacts on the Yanglin community. On the one hand, agriculture was no longer a cost-effective for the local households, since the urban production seemed a more profitable form of employment. On the other hand, it was difficult to maintain agriculture productivity in Yanglin since the collective land ownership has limited the accessibility of land per household.

Interviewee L10 gave a lively portrayal of the insight of the transition and how that has made an impact on her family. In the beginning of 2001, Interviewee L10's husband moved to the city of Kunming to work in a construction company as a builder. As the company took on projects across Yunnan, her husband had been travelling from one construction site to another, leaving the interviewee and their young daughter in the village, with the interviewee's parents.

> *'For generations, we relied on agriculture to survive. Males used to handle the heavy work but now they are all working in the cities. They used to come home once a year. We have less and less produce from the land because I could not possibly look after the family and the field all on my own. Yes, my husband sends money to us every month, but it's not a lot of money. They cannot come back because there are no jobs for them at home. When my husband comes back for the Chinese New Year, the kids don't recognise him. I find him very distant. It's like having a total stranger in my home, at the time of New Year' (Interviewee L10).*

This story is familiar from the research topic of work-based migration and the lonesome left-behind children in the rural China (Biao, 2007). While it seemed an individual choice to either leave or to stay behind, there are fundamental institutional conditions for such decisions. As previous research indicated, the major 'stay-behind' groups are wives, the elderly and children (Chang et al., 2011). They have been left behind economically and socially, as the public goods are increasingly drifted apart from them.

Because of the perceived space of The Aqua, the aftermath of the Yanglin story was altered. Institutionally, the collective land ownership is reduced as a result of negotiated power between the state and the developers. For example, the local state established a new scheme to redistribute the use of land for agriculture purposes. Under the scheme, each household could obtain the responsibility of a certain portion of the land. The developer, *CITIC,* decided the mechanisms of such distribution. Consequently, the local communities turned its agriculture into a systematically managed and distributed organic farming structure.

> *'Before, each household worked on a small piece of land. We turned against each other in the production process. Now, the collective land is truly collective since The Aqua professionally manages our land. We know what to grow, and we know that we can make a living out of it' (Interview L4, paragraph 8).*

With increased productivity and enhanced quality, the local community regained its confidence in terms of local economic circumstances (Image 6.12). Also, such a renewed spatial practice is considered as one of the main reasons of community reconstruction; the husbands began to move back to work in the local communities. In contrast to the rural-out thesis that is popular in the Western second-home research, this phenomenon can be called the rural-backs:

> *'I came back in 2011. The Aqua turned the agricultural land into organic production and immediately there was a demand from the city. I farm with the community, and I deliver the goods to the city to sell. There is no need to work in the cities for odd jobs anymore' (Interviewee L5, paragraph 3).*

Image 6.12 The Contrast between Second Homes and the Local Farm Land (Author's Photograph)

The second way of spatial practice by the local community is through employment at The Aqua. Previously, it was revealed that over 70% of existing jobs at The Aqua is provided to the nearby communities (Interviewee D1). This chapter explores the story from the local's perspective. Under the circumstances of the development of The Aqua and local conditions, the 'rural-backs' are also a result of the increasing employment opportunities. Officially, The Aqua established the scheme to use the local community as its talent pools for human resources. The Aqua could benefit from such a scheme as it saves additional cost as the locals do not require additional places to live. In return, the local communities flourish again because of potentially increased livelihoods. However, significant issues are involved in such a spatial practice. The locals are employed for relatively low-skilled jobs such as cleaning, gardening hospitality and security. Other occupations, such as sales, equestrians, trainers and veterinaries, are held by the higher educated people from the cities. Also, while The Aqua promotes its official shops and restaurants, some local members established their own projects (Image 6.13).

Image 6.13 The Self-run Unregistered Mobile Shop (Author's Photograph)

The appearance of these mobile shops is a result of ambiguous administration authorities at The Aqua. Since The Aqua is not an entirely closed housing area nor a tourism resort, the management team has no authority to decide which privately owned businesses are allowed to operate in the public areas. More importantly, the local state has little interest in spending effort and additional budget in manageing The Aqua since the area is privately developed by the *CITIC*. Such imbalanced power relation leaves a gap that some of the local participants see as entrepreneurship opportunities. During my observation, I had a brief conversation with the shop owner:

Q: 'Do you have a licence to sell and do you pay taxes?'
A: 'I can't tell you that. I'm just trying to make some money. I buy from somewhere else and I sell… I sell whatever they want to buy.'
Q: 'Who are *they*? Who are your main customers? And what do they usually buy?'
A: ''Mostly the people who work [here]. They buy instant noodles, cigarettes, drinks, whatever.'
Q: 'Are you selling them cheaper than the official shops?'
A: 'Not much. But it's a huge area, they aren't walk 20 minutes just to get some smokes! They call me and I drive to somewhere close and they buy. I also deliver food and drinks for them, if they order from some random restaurants.'
Q: 'Why don't you work in The Aqua?'
A: 'Are you stupid? I earn more on my own.'
Q: 'Do you pay taxes?'
A: 'Who are you? Do you want to buy something or what? If not the conversation is over.'

Table 6.10 Conversation with the Shop Owner

The short but intensive conversation reveals the topic of justice in terms of The Aqua's development. This theme will be analysed in the next chapter. In terms of the owner's physical engagement in The Aqua, the emergence of the space has been practiced by the local community as a reason for 'rural-backs' official and unofficial employment opportunities.

Following this, the last example of local spatial practice is the changing landscape of the nearby townships due to The Aqua. To explain this, longitudinal observation of a particular instance is analysed.

Date: 25th November 2014 Time: 19:30 Notes #10: The restaurant looks new (Image 6.15). There are two large signs on top of the entrance sending the same message: 'Yanglin Sour Cabbage Fish' (no idea why it needs two signs). Two vans are parked at the parking spaces. They might be the working vans for the restaurant owners because there is some fishing equipment inside (Paragraph 8). Clearly, the owner has re-decorated the place and probably made an extension. Stepping inside, I was surprised about how big the restaurant has become in a matter of a little more than a year. This is when I decided to establish an interview with the owner.

Image 6.14 The Township of Yanglin

Author's Photogragh

Image 6.15 The Local Fish Restaurant

Author's Photogragh

The story reveals the potential role of second homes and how it is possible to achieve regional development through the establishment of a mobilised community. The restaurant owner (L1) expressed a welcomed attitude towards the second home owners and tourists. The reason is that:

> 'They visit my restaurant every time they come here. Almost all my customers are people who have been here before. If they had been living here, this would not be possible because they will not eat in on a daily basis. Instead of serving to a fixed community, I serve to a ton of them at the same time. All our ingredients are local, fresh and organic, and that is why Yanglin Fish is a brand now. We must preserve that.'

In terms of the attitude towards other members of the local community, L1 expressed an optimistic feeling:

> 'I am celebrated like one of the heroes here. When I came back, I had nothing but an old, broken van and a broken home – similar to many households here. Now, I have this restaurant, and I hire people from my village to help me. My relatives are fishing and growing organic vegetables for me. My wife is so happy now. She is actually the boss in the family (laugh)… If you look around, many restaurants have opened now. But I think the more the better. They say I am the authentic, but I think we are all authentic… My kids' school is getting better because the community is survived again' (L1, paragraph 19, 20, 30).

From the passage, it is clear to notice a sense of pride which was newly developed among the past two years. Thus, this leads to the question of how The Aqua is imagined by the local community.

<u>Conceived Space</u>

While the first two participant groups take a pro-active role in terms of shaping the representations of The Aqua, the visitors and the local communities are the passive receiver of the spatial changes. To the locals, the imagination of The Aqua is conceived as the representation of the landscape and the representation of self-engagement of the landscape.

In terms of the landscape, the local community almost disregarded the Western-style Township that is completely alienated from their home environment. This result is surprising given the contrasts of the image of The Aqua to their everyday spaces. Extracted from research notes, this finding is confirmed by several participants.

Date: 23th November 2014 Time: 19:30 Notes #8: Last night, one of my participants (O4) allowed me to stay in their house… This morning, the cleaning ladies came for service. I took the opportunity to talk to them. All four of them are from the village nearby and they have been working for The Aqua since 2012. I asked them how they like the aesthetics of the buildings, they looked confused and asked: 'why do you ask? Buildings are buildings'. Then I explained how they think of the architectural style that looked completely Westernised. They ignored the elephant in the room. They said the buildings are nice and new, but they are not that different. Then I asked them if they want to live in one of these houses, they said that would be nice. But they were not excited. The ladies are very well trained, and their housekeeping skills can be easily transferred to an international four-star hotel. For example, they folded towels into the shape of elephants, but they did know why they were trained to do that. 'Maybe it looks cute' they said.

Table 6.11 Research Notes

While 'Western-style' and 'good life' are seemingly identical terms to prescribe the other actor groups' conceived imagination of The Aqua, they are almost absent from the eyes of the local communities. For the local communities, The Aqua is alienated from their everyday space because of the disparate aesthetics and spatial practices. However, such alienation is strongly associated with the actual space of The Aqua. What is more significant to the actor group is the changing idea of home that is resulted from the emergence of the built landscape and how they act within it. Indeed, The Aqua is imagined as a driving force of the restoration of the families.

Lived Space

The best way to interpret how The Aqua is both practiced and imagined by the local communities is through the case of the church. The developer outsourced the church and the lavender to a local family for daily operation, management and maintenance. Consequently, the family had been living and working on the site (Image 6.17). Thus, what is supposed to be experienced as the romantic symbol (for the developers and tourists) is now substituted as the everyday space and somewhere that the local community calls ‘home’. What is common is that the representational space also deviates from the actual meaning of the church as a space – the religious symbol for theological practices and virtue (Image 6.16 and 6.19).

Image 6.16 Locals Turned the Church as Their Second Home (Author’s photograph)

Image 6.17 The Interior of the Church (Author's Photograph)

Image 6.18 The Lavender Oil Tank Occupies the Centre of the Church (Author’s Photograph)

The case of the church is a good example of how The Aqua is lived by the locals. For them, the spatial experience of The Aqua is different from the other three groups because they are the only permanent residents that are formulating a continual relationship with the place. Before the emergence of The Aqua, the spatial experience of the local community was limited by both the shrinking means of spatial production and the restricted imagination. As The Aqua offered new materials for production, the local community benefited from the new lived experience at The Aqua.

While the 'rural-back' phenomenon seems to be tightly associated with the local's experience of The Aqua, the extent of such a correlation is unclear. Since the local communities are the actual handlers of The Aqua, their lived experience can have a direct impact on the way that other actor groups engage with The Aqua. As such, it is important to discuss the tensions and conflicts between their understanding of the spatial characteristics and their participation with it.

6.6 The Production of Social Relations at The Aqua

China's suburban areas have become an attractive destination to house the abundant tourists from the urban areas. Nevertheless, local communities were short of sufficient capital and knowledge to get involved in the process. On the other hand, rapid urbanisation process act as the "pulling factors" that has demanded a large portion of labour from the original communities. The combined result of both factors is that the original local communities showed signs of reduced households and number residents, which resulted in worsened poverty, imbalanced male/female ratio and social inequality. Note that these issues already exist long before the emergence of the Aqua. In other words, in terms of classic debate of second homes, what this case study found is that the "curse" was already in place long before the claim of the "blessing".

To solve those issues, the local government has introduced a series of strategies on the economic dimension [second layer of the diagram]. In order to facilitate enough resources to support tourism from around the city of Kunming, the state has launched large campaigns on two option: expanding on existing tourist sites and developing new ones. While both directions have been successfully attracting additional visitors, Kunming had limited options in terms of exploiting existing resources because tourism resources in the city are either overly used or sacrificed for real estate during rapid urbanisation (Interviewee S2). In fact, the work on existing resources has resulted in even bigger pressure on tourism capacity during the periods of expansion, when the infrastructure and tourist site were closed for construction. While Kunming has been the gateway for one of the most popular tourism provinces in China, the city itself had been increasingly distant from the fruits of tourism. As such, the local communities at the suburban areas of Kunming were now even more distant from the benefits of tourism development. To avoid these mistakes, the state has turned to the development of new destinations in the rural area, which laid a policy foundation for the birth of the Aqua.

The other spectrum of the economic dimension, the local state has been playing a proactive role in the urban development process and tax generation from land sales has claimed high priority in the state's agenda. Under pressure from the increasingly crowded urban space and resources, suburban development seemed a logical and feasible direction for the state to implement its growth strategy. Again, the state has approached two options: the adaptation of suburbanisation theory in terms of the development of new towns and the invention of a new model. However, new town has proven to be insufficient as seen in a multitude of places including Chenggong and Yiliang. Those new towns, which were once the hope of a generation, failed to attract sufficient number of residents because of the lagged behind development of infrastructure and facilities.

Alternatively, without the inward migration, such facilities are not likely to be nurtured in near future. As a result, new towns fall in a dilemma of development and they have become what I called 'apotopia' in the previous chapter – unoccupied townships that were built for a phantom population at the cost of original community, who are now unwilling or unable to afford to move back. The crucial consequence is that suburban development has accelerated the 'pushing' factors of urbanisation and forced the locals out of their natural habitat. Under such pressure, Kunming was now at a tipping point to solve the degrading rural communities at no expense of tax generation. Consequently, the state began to explore the possibilities to develop a new model, which shapes suburban space into a growth engine based on real estate development while avoiding them turning into apotopia. On this basis, a rural-based tourist cluster, which combines a set of urbanites-favourable attractions with dwellings that do not require a fixed community, emerged as an ideal model for suburban development. That is to say, from the suburban development perspective, the Aqua was explored as a new model to facilitate the local state's ambition at the benefits of the original communities.

On the economic dimension, the Aqua distant itself from the conventional development mode of second homes, which often grow organically because of urbanites' self-decisions. What the Aqua means is beyond the physical construction of a second home tourism destination, as it also represents the psychological sphere among those who are involved in the making it. More specifically, through the lens of the local state, the Aqua carries an imagined space that should potentially be the solution of tourism and suburban development issues. On the side of consumption, whoever is attracted by the Aqua can be categorised as the mobile community of visitors and homeowners. Obviously, the visitations that this actor group makes repeatedly could sustain a level of income through their tourist activities such as playing golf, attending a horse riding school and trying out local cuisine. These engagements can be understood as their physical consumption of the Aqua, where their mental consumption also emerges. What the Aqua represents for the urbanites is not only a burlesque to the Western architectural forms, but also a demythologized Western way of living that is combined with the evoke of their imagined past or something that has lost in modernization. The reason why the identically 'fake' Western township raised immediate popularity is not simply the urbanites' pursue of a Disneyland of second homes per se, but their desire to seek for a better living, even if it can only be realized occasionally. The mental consumption of the Aqua will be explored further in the forthcoming chapter. However, it is important to note here that the birth of the Aqua is a complex result of a network of social relationships.

The third layer of the diagram introduced different actor groups who are embedded within the network of social relations, which jointly contributed to the place making of the Aqua. In

China, the state takes the roles as the ultimate planner of the site while the developers act as the constructors who deliver the state-controlled plans. What makes the Aqua special is that the developers of the site was also responsible for the operation of it: while conventional developers rely on the revenue from the sales of properties, the developers of the Aqua understood such revenue as merely a fraction of its cost. Hence, the involvement of the local community in the process of development is no longer a marketing propaganda for acquiring land from the local state – it is in fact the key of survival for the long run. Hence, the developer of the Aqua hopes to attract labour forces from the local community, and then train them into suitable professionals who can deliver the promises of services from the tourism cluster. Obviously, if the entrepreneurial spirited developer could attract sufficient labour from nearby villages, it can benefit from huge cost reduction since they do not have to consider building additional accommodations for its employees – they can *live* at *home!* Unfortunately, this equation could not now balance as a result of aggressive development from tourism and urbanisation (issues on the first layer). Since the majorities of labour from the original local community had been forced out before the implementation of the Aqua, it was now a daunting task for the developer on the mission of building up a reasonably priced and functional talent pool. For a place like Yanglin, where everything is beyond the reach of urban centre, it is extremely easy to fall into the classic dilemma of apotopia – how do we construct economic and social activities without an already established economic and social network, and how do we build such a network without being able to nurture activities?

This is when the local state played a vital role in the production of the Aqua. By altering its land policies and tax structure, the state creates a new model for land acquisition. Instead of persuading the individual households of the local community to sell up their land for compensations, the choice that the state made was to lead a transitional programme to nurture a reconstruction of the local community. To begin with, the state circles out the land without the presence of local dwellings. Those lands are usually empty because of low productivity due to the lack of labour or essential skills. Then, the state paid a compensation to the potentially involved local households at a fare based on the marketed land price. It is important to note that such price is significantly lower than the usual approach, which usually pays the local households 1.5 – 2 times more than their properties' marketed value. In return, what the locals receive is a set of long-term value adding opportunities that is consist of land productivity support, financial aid for starting small enterprises, income tax exemption and education for the next generations. For example, if a local household decide to sell their unoccupied land for what it is worth on the market, the state would: 1) pay the compensation up front; 2) guide the household to switch to organic farming with the remaining land; 3) provide cash assistance and tax exemption to the family if its member decide to operate a small business such as a shop or restaurant, as long as what they do represents a local custom; and 4) a new school for educating the youngsters.

The direct impact of this revolutionary approach is that the state has now acquired enough land to ensure the birth of the Aqua at a reasonable price. In addition, the conservative area (the wetland) can now be free from the development scheme. Please note that the state could generate as much revenue as possible from re-selling the land if planned as commercial or real estate usage. In this case, this becomes not possible because the developer is restricted on its construction plan. Thus, the state bares a significant opportunity on its land policy, in order to realise its ambitions about the Aqua.

The indirect impact of this sacrifice pays back in the re-entry of previous members of the local community. As long as the local community sees the fact that the benefits of the development of the Aqua outweighs the limited payment from working away from home, a new economic process takes place. The most significant economic meaning of this actor group is that the repeatable nature of their visitation pattern to the Aqua mixes the pulling factor of tourism and the pushing factor of suburban housing development for the local communities. Because the consumption of the Aqua introduced a new set of physical evidence of enhanced opportunities for better income on behalf of the local communities, the already forced-out members of the local community started to migrate back. In this way, second home based tourism has become a tangible source of livelihood for the locals to reimagine their life, which indicates a strong pulling factor that attracts and nurtures the re-growth of the local community.

The locals now see themselves as a critical involvement to the production of the Aqua and they believe that they can gain significant benefits from it. Indeed, the newly emerged restaurants (what I presented earlier in this chapter) are the fresh signs of the transitional process, in which a fresh local community emerges out of the original one. Instead of singularly blame the second homes about how they force out the locals, perhaps a more profound approach is to examine the powers behind the development, so that we can fully understand the potential consequences. Of course, what I am trying to justify is not to ignore the obvious gentrification effect of the process, rather. Indeed, it does not seem very likely that the locals could afford to buy one of the awkwardly designed western style houses. But the more important question to ask is that, do they *want* to buy one, when they can gain a slice of life back from the terrifying urbanisation process? On the social dimension, I merely opened a conversation on how a network of social relations formulate throughout the process of place making based on second homes. What I find is that the locals do not necessarily view the urbanites as the intruder or the enemy per se, rather, they might see them as signs and attractions of a new life. Under such circumstances, the new local community volunteers to be the supporters as well as the beneficiary to the development of the Aqua. As a result, the developer's equation is solved because they have now gained self-motivated labour forces for the operation of the tourism cluster.

The bottom deck of Diagram 6.19 presents the possible environmental impact of the established network of social powers. The developer's investment initiated a series of tourism activities, for example, golf and horse riding, that are once absent from the local area. The demand for such activities led to the developer's desire to upgrade the natural and cultural landscape. Whatever form such upgrade takes place; the result is a destination that has clear entrances for both the tourists and the locals. What I felt bizarre, like the awkwardly dressed security guard at the gate of the second homes area, reveals something more profound than the conflict between the design of the uniform and the local custom. That is, a self-motivated member from the local community plays the profession who is behind the strange uniform. In this case, the gate of the second home area grants access for the urbanites who are now tourists, while the uniform provides access to the locals who are now the labour force. In addition, both groups do not have access to the conservative wetland, where the state took complete control.

This thesis is not about the measurement of environmental causes, thus what the final deck shows is merely the entrance of different actor groups in terms of how they might draw an impact on the land that is under development. Further research could expand on this dimension and conduct a more thorough analysis on this highly important matter.

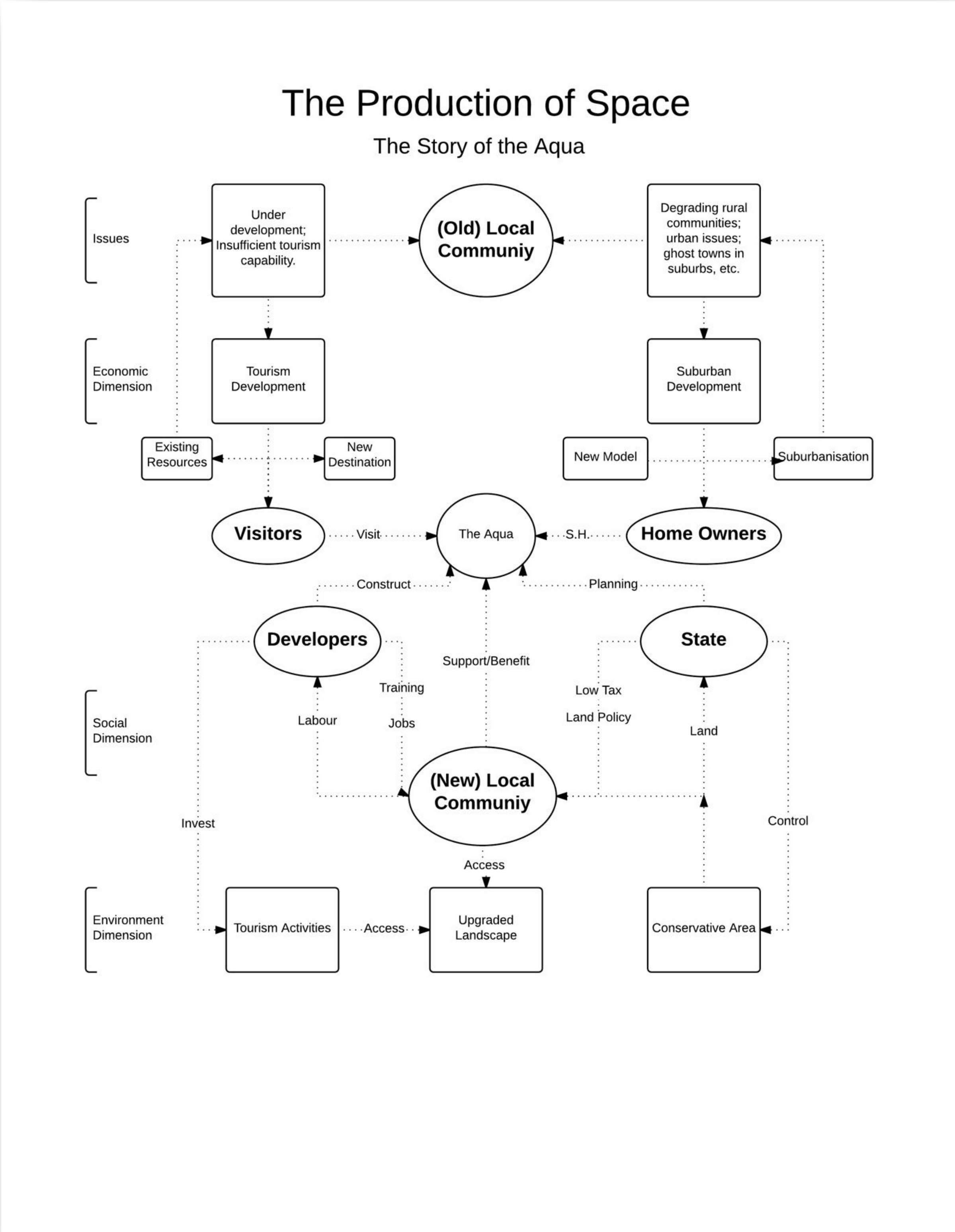

Image 6.19 The Power Relations that Produce The Aqua (Source: the author)

6.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter is a representation of the empirical findings of this research in terms of the spatial characteristics of The Aqua. Having described the perceived, conceived and lived space from the perspectives of four actor groups, various patterns have emerged. Firstly, although The Aqua as a place is map-able and measureable, the space is practiced, represented and experienced differently across different groups. Secondly, The Aqua appears to be the co-product of the on-going proceedings of social relations, other than the container of such proceedings. Thirdly, The Aqua has strong connections and deviations from that of the everyday spaces. Last but not the least, the second home feature is found to be crucial for the spatial characteristics and the image of The Aqua.

Chapter 7 Authenticity and Justice: Second Homes as Heterotopia

7.1 Chapter Introduction

The last chapter unpacks the spatial characteristics and the powers behind the production of space in the case of The Aqua. This chapter critically analyses the empirical findings in terms of three themes of this research: spatial quality, spatial-existential authenticity and spatial justice. Having done this, the empirical evidences are established against the propositions which were established in the end of Chapter 4.

The first section summarises the findings related to the spatial quality of The Aqua. Following the conclusions from the literature that second homes are space of otherness, this chapter critical measures the current state of The Aqua as a heterotopia. The power relations between the actor groups are the key reason why The Aqua differentiates itself from the Western case studies previously examined.

The second section examines second homes through the lens of spatial-existential authenticity. It argues that existential authenticity is contextual depending on how the actors perceive, conceive and experience the space. In the case of The Aqua, spatial-existential authenticity and spatial quality are intertwined. The Aqua is produced as a heterotopia based on the pursuit of authenticity by the actor groups, and reversely The Aqua as a space activates a sense of authenticity to the actor groups.

The third section suggests a framework that connects the spatial-existential authenticity of second home space with the question of justice. By adding the conclusions of the previous two sections to Cohen's (2012) concept of authentication, this chapter illustrates how existential authenticity is socially and spatially produced through contested social relations and conflicted interests.

7.2 The Aqua as Heterotopia

The Aqua can be understood as a heterotopic site according to Foucault's six principles. Firstly, The Aqua can be seen as both a space of 'crisis' and 'deviation' (Foucault, 1986). For all four actor groups, The Aqua is produced as a solution for their internal or external crisis. Table 7.1 summarises the internal and external crisis according to different actor groups.

Actor Groups	Internal (intrapersonal)	External (interpersonal)
Planners & State	Pressure for growth	Urban issues and tourism development
Developers & Management	Finance	Urban market saturation
Visitors & Home Owners	Ageing	Chaos of modern life
Local Communities & Staff	Quality of Life	Apart from family

Table 7.1 Internal and External Crisis of the Actor Groups

The actor groups imagined The Aqua as a hybrid solution for both the internal and external crises. As such, the actor groups perceive the physical landscape of The Aqua as the intersection between tourism and living, and hence second homes become the centrepiece of The Aqua.

This Thirdspace theory explains why the first two actor groups take an active role in the process of producing The Aqua, not only in the sense of constructing the actual place but also building the new image of it. The state has been introducing new regulations to prevent the excessive construction of buildings and to encourage tourism at the same time. The conventional approach of rapid construction and sales cannot serve the complex request of the Thirdspace of The Aqua, which resulted in CITIC replacing the *Shining* Star as developers of this project.

For the other two actor groups, however, the reason why and how they produce The Aqua in their specific ways is more complex. For them, it is a site that deviates from the everyday, rather than a solution to societal crises. Even though the holidaymakers see the Western architecture as a reflection of their desired lifestyle and place makers do not attribute such lifestyle ideologies to The Aqua, both actor groups perceived The Aqua as a place of difference. For example, to the second home users the Western architecture style reflected the desired Western lifestyle they wish to use as a status symbol, while the locals did not see The Aqua as such. However, both groups understood The Aqua as a space of difference: the representational space of The Aqua deviates from the daily practices or imagination.

The second principle is that The Aqua had specific operations at different points in history. As argued in the previous chapter, The Aqua is an ongoing process of social relations rather than a static output of any such relations. The outlook and operations of The Aqua depend on how the power relations shift over time. The best example is when the state failed to support the essential infrastructure and the developers had to adjust and reinterpret their roles in the power diagram. Similarly, the wetland of The Aqua is restricted for growth because of the current land policy that was ratified in 2010 (Image 7.1). To what extend the landscape changes depends on socio-political and environmental circumstances. For instance, after the completion of the water theme park that is currently under construction, the carrying capacity of The Aqua will need to be recalculated. To what extend such a development changes the outlook of the wetland needs to be further examined. However, it is clear that the functionality of The Aqua will be continuously evolving as a result of changing power relations. Reversely, the evolving landscape and functionality would reshape the power relations behind the production of The Aqua.

Image 7.1 The Current State of the Wetland, with the buildings on the far end (Author's photograph)

Since The Aqua is constructed in such a way that it contains a multitude of spatial features that are simultaneously serving different actor groups, it juxtaposes several incompatible spatial elements in one single space. As such, The Aqua answers the criteria for Foucault's third principle of heterotopia. For example, the international boarding school, the second homes and the saddle club exist in the same space with spatial meanings attached to different actor groups. Thus, the spatial practices of different spatial elements vary according to the physical set-up and functionality. However, the spatial elements are interconnected to the very representational image of The Aqua.

From the holidaymakers' perspective, The Aqua represents the 'Western lifestyle' because the composition of options for various spatial practices that are imagined as 'Western', although the specific option might have nothing to do with the West. An interesting manifestation of such coalescence is the church, where its usage and meaning deviates from the 'West'. Holidaymakers might conceive the church as a representation of 'Western lifestyle', but they do not necessarily long for the *true* function of a church. To them, taking a selfie with the church and lavender field in the background means more authentic 'imagined West' than the religious practices – if there was any. In this sense, the consumption of the church as a tourist attraction is disconnected from the operation of the church as a religious space. Since The Aqua is consist of many sites like the church,

With regards to the spatial incompatibility, there are obvious tensions and conflicts between different actor groups. The before-mentioned spatial picture that the second home owners hold is different from what other actor groups perceive. For the developers and planners, the incompatible spatial elements are indeed a reflection of the imagined exotic lifestyle, but the origin of such a reflection is constructed upon their visions about constructing The Aqua as an engine to empower the establishment of the mobile communities. Similarly, for the local communities, the incompatible nature of the spatial elements is reduced by the conceived idea of how these hetero-landscapes could potentially reshape their own life quality.

In this sense, the school, the horses and the second homes are all symbols of the ambition for growth. Whatever the style or the spatial element, the key determination of the space of The Aqua is its contemporary functionality towards growth. Therefore, if the equestrian club does not meet its conceived goals of obtaining growth from the promotion of the new lifestyle, it is highly likely that it will be demolished to make way for other ambitious forms of tourist products.

The fourth principle is that The Aqua encapsulates temporal discontinuity and accumulation. While Foucault did not expand on his example of ‘primitive’ vacation villages (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). Due to the agreement between the developers and the second home owners (40 or 60 days/year), and between the management and the tourists (trust packages), almost all second home users at The Aqua are temporal commuters who consume based on lifestyle mobility. However, what distinguishes The Aqua from the conventional sites of Western second homes is that The Aqua also accumulates time. Because the visitations of the tourists and owners overlap and complement, the entire user group of The Aqua is seamlessly connected. The properties in The Aqua function not only for the home owners, but also for other communities as well. Thus, the community who consume The Aqua are both mobile and stable in the fashion that the members of the community change regularly, but the community as a whole sustainably resides at The Aqua. By contrast, the local communities and staff are permanent residents who could have contributed to the temporal accumulation of the site. An example of this is the church described in the preceding chapter.

Thus, there is no absolute positive or negative quality to the discontinuity of time in space. Depending on how the actor groups perceive, conceive and live The Aqua, the outcome is contextual and expected to transform. The church at The Aqua accumulates social elements since a local family decided to move in permanently. As the result of their spatial practices, such as modifying the interior of the church and installing the lavender oil tanks, the physical message of the church is a factory or a souvenir shop rather than a place to practice religion. For the visitors, the imagination of the church deviates from how they would establish it in everyday life. Consequently, the functionality of the church is not restricted to being an objective background for wedding photography, but a wider implication to activate the participants’ imaginations of *the otherness*.

For the overall image of The Aqua, such accumulation is potentially dangerous from the developers’ and home owners’ perspective. While the visitors and second home owners currently experience The Aqua as a representational space for ‘Western lifestyle’, spatial elements such as the church are in fact a destruction of such a representation:

‘This is not a church. There is no spirit attached to the building. If you sit in the church, all you can hear is the stir fry noise coming from the family’s kitchen’ (Interviewee O6).

Such complaints lead to the important discussion of authenticity and justice, which will be further discussed in the following sections of the chapter.

The Aqua conforms to Foucault’s fifth principle as it is shaped as an ambivalent system of rituals that is related to an entry/exit scheme. While Foucault gave examples fuelled with relatively darker connotations, such as the barracks, prisons and motel rooms used for illicit sex (Foucault, 1986, p. 27), The Aqua holds a lighter set of dynamics in such a heterotopic system. At The Aqua, the only gated areas are areas with the second home villas, which are fenced and guarded by uniformed guards and therefore require a certain entry/exit scheme. Furthermore, it is required to compose certain financial or institutional gestures to gain access to various spatial facilities. For example, memberships are required for the golf or equestrian clubs. Similarly, organised tours are essential to explore the wetland area.

Officially, holidaymakers have similar accessibility to the spatial elements. However, the former group receives special discount and ownership rights so that they are granted earlier and easier access to the amenities of The Aqua (Image 7.2). As such, The Aqua can be related to Disneyland where the tourists who stay at the official hotels are allowed early accessibility to the theme parks. Nonetheless, what differentiates The Aqua from Disneyland is the openness and more complex control mechanisms.


Image 7.2 Wetland Hiking Route Executively Opened for Owners (Author's Photograph)

For The Aqua, the systematic features are much more complex and negotiable. While the site is developed and managed by the CITIC, various features are outsourced to third-party organisations or groups to operate. For instance, according to The Aqua's regulation, the local family that rented the church must exercise their own authority to control the church's sub-system. As such, even though the family degenerates the romantic and religious image of the church by living there, the CITIC has no authority to override such a spatial practice. Also, since the second homes in The Aqua can be privately owned, the spatial representation of the space and the emotions attached are inevitably ambiguous and ambivalent.

The final principle of heterotopia in the case of The Aqua is that it can be understood as an illusion or compensation of the remaining space. The built landscape of The Aqua is the reflection of the developers' utopian ideas, hence the space illustrates the conceived space of The Aqua from the developers' perspective: a tourism hub that nurtures 'a good life'. According to Interviewee D1:

'The Aqua illustrates a distinctive possible direction for Yunnan's tourism. Instead of coming to Yunnan to taste the staged cultural heritage and exotic ethnicity, now that the tourists can come and live a good lifestyle. We believe ageing can be a romantic item for our society…' (Interviewee D1, paragraph 18).

However, the illustrational role of The Aqua is reduced by its compensational role to the remaining spaces. Like Foucault's example of the colonies), the intrusion of the foreign utopian idea is inevitably reduced by the local surroundings. At The Aqua, none of the physical, mental or experiential perspectives represent a purified form of the 'Western'. For instance, the Western architectural style adulterates random Chinese features. Another example is that none of the actor groups see The Aqua as a directly imported Western township. Rather, the expectations of The Aqua consist of local symbols such as food, language and experiences. Therefore, The Aqua is a complex space of illusion in terms of alienated lifestyle, which has been compensated by the indigenous elements.

Image 7.3 illustrates such complexity. At a specific event where The Aqua introduced its wedding services, the locally hired staff dressed up as Micky Mouse and the Joker, hosting exhibitions outside the visitor centre. A Chinese style pavilion stands in front of the Visitor Centre, which has been constructed in the fashion of classic French architecture. A typical wedding at The Aqua is therefore a lived experience of the illusion and compensation of the space.

Image 7.3 Heterotopic Features of The Aqua (Author's Photograph)

7.3 Spatial-existential Authenticity and The Aqua

Following Chapter 4, this section analyses how The Aqua as a heterotopia activates existential authenticity for different actor groups. The meaning of tourism and travel constitutes 'ceremonies of life' that allow the visitors to experience the potentially life-changing 'points of shock' by expanding the boundaries of imagination (Botterill, 2003). Tourism are often praised for its transitional elements (Robben, 2004) which lead to the potential of influencing the perception of the individuals (Brown, 2013). Furthermore, tourism as an activity locates the individuals at the border between their authentic and inauthentic selves based on an existentialist approach (Wang, 1999). Thus, authenticity in general, and existential authenticity in particular, offers a lens through which the relationship of how society might shape tourism and tourism might shape society.

However, the emergence of second homes made some challenges to current thinking on tourism as they represent a blurred vision of the liminal time and space which are established in regular tourism (Sharpley, 2008).

The discussion of authenticity seems an odd topic for a few reasons. Firstly, since The Aqua is completely constructed in favour of a heterogeneous landscape or lifestyle, there is no cultural or historical heritage to track back to at the site. Secondly, since second homes are the key element and the backbone of the social existence of The Aqua, the experience of The Aqua is deeply associated with both home and away. Thus, a conjunction of tourist activity and authenticity is not essentially well established from a second home users' perspective. Last but not the least, since The Aqua is the production of complex social relations between the four actor groups, it is difficult to address the research question based on authenticity, which is traditionally and exclusively based on tourists and tourist activities.

Indeed, the very outlook of The Aqua and its constructed attractions exclusively eliminate the explanatory power of object-based authenticity. The *genuine/fake* divide in Boorstin's sense simply cannot explain The Aqua, where the space is both real and imagined. Take the architectural style as an example; while the appearance of objects are established in an imagined form of Western style, there are coherently physical and social reasons behind such a design. Physically, the combination of wood and concrete was chosen to reduce the weight of the buildings to enhance the ability of bearing for on the wetland surface (Interviewee D1).

Socially, the Western style is no longer a purified remainder of the owner's financial status (see Wu, 2010); rather, it is a carrier for an imagined good lifestyle (see section 6.4 and 6.5). Therefore, it is not possible to identify The Aqua as real or as fake, because it contains both qualities.

Similarly, The Aqua cannot be examined through constructive authenticity since the space of the owners and visitors are involved in both the front and back stage of the production of their own tourist experiences. Instead of being the passive receiver of what was performed on stage, the actor group is in fact actively creating their own lifestyle in the second homes – just as they would do at *home*. The case where the second home visitors play card games with relatives is a good example. This is a moment of what Brown (1996) calls an 'authentically hedonistic good time'. However, such authenticity is not exclusively what Selwyn (1996) describes as an 'alienation-smashing feeling'. This is because the activity of playing cards is produced in the exact same way as it would be at home; what makes the event 'smashing' is the fact that the second homes in The Aqua offer a space that is free from the everyday and yet connected with the familiarities of it.

Turning to existential authenticity, this thesis argues that the concept can be critical to explain the emergence of second homes in a Chinese context. Reversely, the research of second homes can potentially contribute to the body of knowledge of authenticity. Since Wang's (1999) ground-breaking demonstration, existential authenticity has been found useful to explain a large variety of tourist experiences.

In Wang's (1999) thesis, existential authenticity is primarily focused on tourists, assuming that their sense of authenticity is activated by tourist activities. Wang's existential authenticity in tourist activities contains two dimensions: intra-personal (via self-making and bodily feeling) and inter-personal (via tourist *communitas* and family ties). This model remains powerful in terms of its power to explain the 'authenticity-seeking' in tourists and their experiences. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, the model seems too simplistic for second homes tourism in general and The Aqua in specific.

Due to the temporary and repeatable nature of second homes, the discussion of existential authenticity must consider time and spatial elements, rather than solely social interactions. In The Aqua, the tourist experiences are not purified since they are themselves an active actor in the process of the production, as well as a crucial member of receivers to the services that are provided by the actor groups.

Therefore, this thesis proposes an enhanced version of existential authenticity that is grafted with spatial characteristics and the production of tourism spaces. To do this, Wang's intra-personal and inter-personal dimensions are established against the four actor groups who are involved in the production of The Aqua. Existential authenticity is updated by the insertion of spatial characteristics, becoming spatial-existential authenticity. Table 7.4 demonstrates the updated analytical framework.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Actor Groups</th><th>Intra-personal</th><th>Inter-personal</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Place-makers</td><td>Dev and Mgt</td><td rowspan="4">Bodily Exercise (Spatial Practice)
Mental Representation (Imagination)
Self-making (Experience)</td><td rowspan="4">Social Encounters (Perceived Space)
Perception of others (Conceived Space)
Tensions and Social Hierarchy (Lived Space)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Planners and State</td></tr>
<tr><td>Holidaymakers</td><td>Owners and Visitors</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Local Community</td></tr>
</table>

Table 7.3 Spatial-Existential Authenticity Framework

Both intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity consists of three layers of Lefebvrian spatial analysis: practice, imagination and lived experiences. In such way, existential authenticity can be used not only as an explanatory tool for the tourist experiences, but also an integral model to help understand the complex relations of tourism spatial production. Alternatively, it is crucial to add a layer of geographical analysis in the discussion of authenticity since place matters in authenticity (Rickly-Boyd, 2013).

<u>Intra-personal authenticity: bodily exercise</u>

Obviously, the intra-personal dimension of existential authenticity requires analysis on the bodily feelings, especially in the case of The Aqua where the touring objects are identically *in*authentic. Whereas Wang's *bodily feeling* views the body as a display of personal identity as well as an organ of sensibility and feeling, this section focuses on the aspect of the latter only. At The Aqua, the bodily exercise is a key component of the existential authenticity of the actor groups.

The Place-makers

The place-makers reflect their intra-personal authenticity in a similar fashion as the developers. Under the ‘planning for growth’ regime (Wu, 2015), both the Tourism Planning Administration and the City Planning Administration share the common utopian idea of The Aqua as a future engine for economic growth in the east suburban Kunming region. Such a utopian idea is transformed into a sense of authenticity that then influences policy making and implementation. Whatever the architectural style or tourism product on offer, the state’s version of an authentic image for The Aqua is to empower sustainable flow of capital and tourists, hence the promised construction of expressways linking The Aqua to Kunming City to the newly constructed airport.

However, as soon as the state realised that the developer’s involvement failed to generate growth, the state immediately and actively drew back financial and political supports to the site. Replacing the developer at The Aqua is a good example to demonstrate this point. While the previous developer, the *Shining Star*, was a local organisation with profound experience and relationships with the local government, its actions and implementation of the development plan deviated from what the state would perceive as existentially authentic. Speedy construction and rapid sale of property could not fulfil the long-term growth aim and consequently the developer was replaced.

Image 7.4 illustrates the aftermath of such a deviation over existential authenticity. Once the *CITIC* redirected its strategy from housing to tourism, the construction of 600th – 1600th houses was immediately paused. Due to the state’s delayed construction of infrastructure, the *CITIC* decided not to sell any of the half-constructed houses until the tourists had better access to The Aqua. The dilemma of this situation was that the state was hoping that The Aqua would become more popular as a tourism destination so that the further completion of the roads could immediately lead to regional growth.

Image 7.4 A local woman who walk around the incomplete villas (author's photograph)

While the *status quo* of The Aqua is a form of heterotopia, the production of social relations is not complete. Before the completion of the houses and the follow-up operations, the buildings themselves are no different to the 'ghost cities' that Shepard (2015) investigated. Therefore, this area can be interpreted as an apotopia that is located within a heterotopia. In the scenario that the photograph was captured, the only social relation that was taking place (i.e. the perceived, conceived and lived) was the locals who live around them. The danger of this image will be analysed in the following section.

Since the *CITIC* has constructed its own road to Kunming, The Aqua has seen an increasing flow of tourists. We can expect the transition of the apotopia into a heterotopia as soon as the heterotopic principles are installed. Following this transition, the state updated its vision of its existential authenticity:

'The Aqua as a new growth powerhouse remains unchanged. What is changed is how it is powered. Before it was housing development, we denied it. Then it was tourism… too slow. Now they bridged tourism with retirement care. We think this is much closer to our aims' (Interviewee S1).

The developers conduct their spatial exercise based on the collective imagination of Western landscape and lifestyle. Evidently, the chosen architectural style and the touring attractions are the reflection of such imagination. Therefore, The Aqua can be seen as the *in*authentic touring product that is actively and deliberately constructed by the destination maker. From this point of view, The Aqua can be seen as the best example of Bryman's (2004) *Disneyisation* where constructed space becomes increasingly themed and commodified. That is to say, The Aqua is constructed as a theme park regardless of the fact that it can be partially and privately owned.

The place-making of The Aqua relies on the systematic construction of the site to ensure bodily experience, since the control and manipulation of the body give birth to power (Foucault, 1977). This explains why the place-makers at The Aqua apply strict control to the architectural style and the interior designs of the second homes. In order to reduce cost, all the houses share similar design and building material. However, depending on availability, various forms of design are on offer (Interviewee D4). In this way, the developer controls the image of The Aqua through the manipulation of design.

Thinking back of the case when one of the participants (Interviewee O4) was fined over a broken lamp at her own house, the event reflects not only the strict manipulation over the touring objects, but also the spatial practices of the home owners and visitors. Whereas the developer's utopian idea is to establish a well performed tourism destination that is based on the installation of Western lifestyle, the delivery of such an idea requires absolute control and manipulation. In reality, this is not implemented since the power of the developer is reduced and restricted by the spatial practices of the other actor groups. For example, the developer is under strict surveillance of the state in terms of land usage and expansion into the environmentally sensitive wetland area. Also, the developer is currently under partial-ownership with the home owners, who have the possibility to claim their full ownership rights in a number of years. By then, the amenities of the second homes in The Aqua might be modified and changed according to the home owner's tastes and thus the developer's power of manipulation is expected to reduce in the foreseeable future. Lastly, since The Aqua allows public access into most of the areas, except for the gated villas, the place-makers cannot fully reflect their utopian idea in the control mechanisms of The Aqua.

The holidaymakers

At the intra-personal level, the assumption that tourists are authenticity seekers through their bodily feeling is ostensibly suspicious in cases such as visiting theme parks or family and friends. Wang's existential authenticity defines a more powerful analytical framework for such occasions. The case of The Aqua further supports this idea.

The core of tourism activity relies on the *elsewhere*. The conventional thesis assumes that authenticity can be found outside the everyday. However, the concept of second homes questions such an assumption. The mere action of visiting a second home requires physical mobility from the everyday to the *elsewhere*. In this sense, second homes are an integral part of tourism. However, due to its repeatable nature as a home, the emotional attachment to second homes is presumably more similar to the everyday life and everyday homes. In this sense, second homes involve a bodily practice of personal authenticity.

In contrast to most critics on second homes which assume the owners as middle classes or elites (Salazar and Zhang, 2013), the case of The Aqua re-shaped the understanding of the social or societal status of the participants. Both the owners and visitors share similar rights in terms of accessibility and activity, therefore they both can be labelled as holidaymakers. Their practice with the space is not a pursuit of objective or constructive authenticity. In fact, none of the participants acknowledged the built landscape as 'authentically Western'. Rather, the holidaymakers believed the primary reason that The Aqua remains attractive to them is that The Aqua offers a physical place where they can practice an 'organic' lifestyle in an extraordinary setting:

'We've been to Europe, Australia, and America. We know the architectural style is not originally French or Italian. We don't care about that. What we care about is what we can do here and what it means to our lives' (Interviewee O2, paragraph 4).

The interviewee had visited The Aqua three times with her friends before she decided to purchase a house there. When asked what altered her willingness to gain ownership, she gave an important hint in terms of intra-personal authenticity:

'Both my husband and I are very busy at work. We knew healthy diet, sports and outdoor activities are extremely important for our health. But we simply don't have time for it in our everyday life. Coming here means that we can finally live a lifestyle in the way we have always wanted to live… few days at a time, once in a while.'

What seems identically fake and staged, i.e. the architectural style, turns to be merely the subjective carrier of the authentic selves rather than a touring object. At a glance, holidaymakers do not pursue objective or constructive authenticity; with a more detailed analysis, it is clear there is a deep correlation between their activities and intra-personal authenticity.

The Local Communities

The majority of staff members are hired from within the local communities. Clearly, the heterotopic nature of The Aqua derives itself from its surroundings. However, the appearance of The Aqua cannot be simply read as a threat to the local culture or environment. From the local's perspective, the community was forced out long before the construction of The Aqua (see chapter 2 and chapter 6). Whereas The Aqua becomes attractive to the previous three actor groups, the local community also pursues their intra-personal authenticity at The Aqua.

Using the church as an example again, not only the building of the church had been unseen before in the region, the symbolic meaning of it is also absent from the locals who live and work in it. Also, the lavender field around the church is not a form of autochthonic flora. This means that the locals had to learn to adapt to the heterogeneous way of production. Nonetheless, the church offers an opportunity for the locals to reunite as a family and therefore live an authentic family life, which was absent in modernisation. From this point of view, the locals, similar to the holidaymakers, are seeking the authentic practice of the everyday in a heterotopia.

<u>Intra-personal authenticity: mental representation</u>

The mental representation of The Aqua is more closely related to intra-personal authenticity than to spatial practice. This is because both the production and consumption of space are deeply associated with the symbolic aspect of the bodily experience (Featherstone et al., 1991). Wang's intra-personal authenticity involves the culture or sign-system of the body, but only through the tourists' lenses in ordinary tourism settings. While intra-personal authenticity adds a symbolic layer to the bodily senses of the tourists, what is missing is how the other actor groups link their authentic self to the mental representation.

The utopian idea of The Aqua being a new hub for growth has led developers, planners and the state to construct the physical landscape of The Aqua. Thus, the heterotopia of The Aqua is the reflection of such a utopian idea. In reality, since the production of The Aqua is a process of constructing social relations other than a concrete product, the status quo of heterotopia is changeable depending on whether or not these actor groups perceive The Aqua as authentically representative to their initial utopian ideas. In phase one of the development, the development under the spatial practice of the *Shining Star* caused The Aqua to potentially become yet another ghost-town like Chenggong, which lead to CITIC and the state marking it as a *future Apotopia* Forcing out *The Shining Star*was not only a result of financial tensions but also of irreconcilable differences in terms of intra-personal authenticity.

Similarly, since the CITIC redirected its utopian idea of The Aqua from a tourism hub (Phase Two) into a township based on lifestyle mobility (Phase Three), what The Aqua represents to the actor groups has also been reshaped according to the changed intra-personal authenticity. The international boarding school that is inserted in phase three is the best example of this. A boarding school is a closed system of its own, challenging the established social relations between the place-makers the holidaymakers. Before the construction of the school, place-makers and holidaymakers shared a performer/consumer relationship because Aqua was represented as a tourist destination. The school marks not only the transition of the representation of the space, but the social relations between the place-makers and holidaymakers. This change leads to the permeability of barriers between the 'performer (stage)' and 'consumer (audience)'.

It seems that the boarding school is *in*authentic in terms of the actors' imagination of The Aqua. However, since space is not static, the representation of space is also dynamic. The installation of the boarding school adds yet another layer of possibilities to the 'live a good life' campaign, and therefore activates the tourists' imagination of a futuristic lifestyle. For example, if the second home owners would sent their children or grandchildren to the boarding school, visiting the second homes would no longer be a purified tourist activity, but an extension of the everyday life. Transforming a key part of the everyday (i.e. the education of the next generation) to heterotopia (i.e. second homes) means a reshaping process of establishing the very idea of authentic life or lifestyle. Compared to this, the other actor groups have activated their intra-personal authenticity through different collective imaginations of The Aqua.

Since the spatial practice is often intertwined with spatial imagination, intra-personal authenticity is determined by the combination of both. From a place-making perspective, the emergence of The Aqua is a process of the construction of collective imagination towards the amended lifestyle. At The Aqua, the collective imagination is the equation between 'the good life' and the 'Western lifestyle'. What authenticity means to the place-makers, is therefore the matching point between constructed reality (state of being) and the existential utopian idea. Slightly modified, the collective imagination of The Aqua to the institutions and the state is a growth engine for regional development. While destination image is undoubtedly a major concern, the planning process is largely dependent on the intra-personal authenticity of the planners and the state.

The local communities are the most sensitive group to the spatial representation of The Aqua. Indeed, it is the socio-cultural meaning, rather than the physical appearance or practice of The Aqua, which is a pulling factor for the re-establishment of family. For example, if the developers had built a horse-riding field or a dungeon, the local communities would still perceive The Aqua in a similar way because it still provides employment opportunity and therefore a reason for the husbands to return. In the example of the church, the intra-personal authenticity is best represented (Image 7.5).

Image 7.5 The church as a workplace and a second home for the locals
Author's Photograph

The church is *in*authentic as a touring object because it has never accomplished its symbolic nature due to the lack of religious or spiritual practices within it. However, since the locals live inside the church and practice their everyday activities, the church becomes a crucial part of the intra-personal bodily sensation. Moreover, because the church restored the locals' access to the land, a significant number of males migrated back to help the project. The locals live in the church during the farming season for the lavender fields, and move back to their original homes occasionally. In this sense, the church is reimagined as a symbolic representation of 'home', as well as a 'second home', for the locals. To them, the emergence of the church activated their intra-personal authenticity – the long lost sense of family.

<u>Intra-personal Authenticity: self-making</u>

Self-identity or self-making is the third crucial part of intra-personal authenticity. Self-making is the underlying motivation for tourism, especially for niche markets such as adventure and religious tourism. Work and everyday roles have routinised modern lifestyle so that many individuals find it difficult to achieve self-realisation. The experience of second homes as a heterotopia can facilitate tourism-based self-making, as second homes are physically detached from the everyday environment and yet emotionally familiar. As such, the

Author's Photograph

holidaymakers are able to forsake the obligation and burden of the modern and routinized lifestyle. For example, the major reason why interviewee O4 finds it more enjoyable to play card games in her second home, is because the space of The Aqua offers an opportunity for her to deny the mundane quality of her everyday life. In other words, had the interviewee used the house as her primary home, the extra-mundane experiences from the practice and imagination of The Aqua would probably be lost. What defines the intra-personal authenticity for the interviewee is not the Western architectural style *per se*, but the lived experience that comes with it.

For other actor groups, the realisation of the authentic self is also clearly associated with how they practice and represent The Aqua. The place-makers and the state attempt to achieve their personal and institutional ambitions through the construction of practices of their imagination. On another matter, the local community regains their authentic self through the restoration of the sense of family, although the spatial practice and the imagination of space are both changed from the original state of being. Interestingly, the illegal shop owner (Image 6.13) wore a fake police uniform when he was photographically captured for this research. His intention of wearing the uniform is unknown, as the conversation was cut short by his suspicious over my authority. However, the uniform can be interpreted as a form of self-making, or a form of adding something to his self-marketing scheme. While the official security guards are obliged to wear uniforms in the imagined Western design, the illegal shop owner chose his own dress code at 'work'. Thus, the choice of the fake uniform can be understood as his attempt to be institutionally recognised. Such effort, driven by financial and psychological reasons, lead to the potential policy changes to better support and manage such efforts.

<u>Inter-personal Authenticity: social encounters</u>

Actor groups also engage in inter-personal authenticity, which includes social encounters. In the case study, social encounters are complex and multidimensional. Table 6.18 is an illustration of how such encounters take place. In terms of how authenticity is embedded in the inter-personal interactions, six examples are available.

- Place-makers & Holidaymakers: the relationship is more complex than production - consumption. The interaction between the two groups have been critical for the recognition of existential authenticity. As soon as the Interviewee O1 realised that she had been fined over a broken lamp in 'her own house', the intra-personal authenticity of 'a good life' was challenged. In this case, the achievement of intra-authenticity is restricted to the control and manipulation of inter-personal authenticity. This is similar to the case of Disneyland Paris where the visitors are not authorised to dress up as the characters. The bodily experience of visiting a theme park or The Aqua relies on the maintenance of image.

- Place-makers & Institutions: while the CITIC perceives The Aqua as a hub for lifestyle mobility, the state has to maintain and restrict the use of the land in the area, as it is a reserved water resource for the city. The interaction between the two actor groups defines the balance between the intra-personal authenticity in the perceived, conceived and lived space.
- Place-makers & Locals: the recognition of authentic self depends on the interaction between the two actor groups. While place-makers manipulate and control the local communities as the *body* of labour, the locals recognised their sense of family via bodily feeling. Alternatively, without the re-establishment of local families, it is not possible to produce authentic bodily experiences for the holidaymakers.
- Holidaymakers & Locals: the interaction between holidaymakers and the locals directly activate inter-personal authenticity. Whilst the locals had no idea why they had to fold the linens into the shape of an elephant and place it on the beds, the holidaymakers immediately obtained a sense of otherness that differentiated from their everyday lives. Similarly, when the local fish soup dish becomes a fashionable symbolic feature of 'authentic Yanglin', the locals immediately transformed their routinized everyday practice into a profitable subject and source of restoring pride.
- Holidaymakers & Holidaymakers: the pleasure of tourism exists not only in experiencing exotic objects, but also in sharing and communicating such pleasure with other holidaymakers who are staying in the same environment together.
- Institutions & Locals: the state's land policy is crucial for the restoration of the local communities. Since urbanisation has been the central pillar for the planning of the growth regime, many locals were pulled away from their home environments. As the state reshaped its planning system for the use of the land, the locals turned to The

Aqua to pursue opportunities for ‘migration back’. This is interesting because it offered a counter opinion to the criticism in the Western literature on second homes, in which second homes are blamed for pushing away the locals and hence degrade the authentic local being.

Inter-personal Authenticity: perception of others

The perception of others is relevant to inter-personal authenticity. An example of this can be found in a multitude of locations across my research diary.

> Date: 26th August 2015
>
> Time: 16:40
>
> Notes #33: Today, two family members of my participants are leaving by train. I think it would be a good idea to accompany them to the train station, because it is rare to see anyone commuting to The Aqua by public transport. I want to see what it's like.
>
> The train station was difficult to find, even with the help of GPS. We drove about 30 minutes from The Aqua… was supposed to be 5 - 10 minutes away. No signs. No directory. Map was not working. 3G was barely available.
>
> Finally got to the station. While my participant was in the queue to purchase tickets, two local youngsters came straight to the side of the line and started yelling at the window: 'oi, two tickets to Kunming, we will give you some cigarettes!' My poor participant looked at them as if they were from another world. Well, they are, from another world. The result is that the two youngsters received two tickets in exchange for an invisible cigarette – they paid nothing but a promise, which is probably the local currency.

If I had not captured the moment using my camera (Image 7.6), the diary note would look fictional. This very moment illustrates how the perceptions of others are important to the realisable authenticity. At this point, the participant had just stayed in the second home for two days and had locals coming to his bedroom to make elephant towels every morning. His perception about the locals as friendly, skilful, and caring composers of 'a good life', is supposedly under severe strain at the train station.

What is so 'authentic' about the locals is clearly constructed depending on whom the participant had encountered. When asked whether or not this incident changed his experience and whether or not he thinks that there is a real 'local community' out there to be explored, the participant smiled and said:

> *'I had to be extremely naïve to think that The Aqua is what Songming is all about. This is not a fairy-tale, and it should not be. I will be back next year. Jumping the queue is a tiny crime, but it just shows you how important The Aqua is to me. There are no troubles like these.' (Interviewee O7)*

This incident brings this chapter to the final aspect of inter-personal authenticity.

Image 7.6 Train station incident (Author's photograph)

Inter-personal authenticity: tensions and social hierarchy

Since heterotopia is actor-bound and action-based, the experience of it involves tensions in the social hierarchy of varies actor groups. While it is recognised that tourist activities can activate the authentic self, the production of social relations is also an integral part of the catalyst.

In the realm of tourism studies, there is a popular notion claiming that ‘a package tour supplies a relaxed ambience and relatively concentrated period of time for intensive and emotional interaction’ (Wang, 1999, p. 365). However, this understanding is too simplistic to help understand the complex temporal and spatial characteristics of second homes. The consumption of second homes is intensively distinguished from that of ordinary forms of tourism. The very product of second homes – the buildings themselves – require physical places to remain in the owners’ lives, whilst ordinary tourism does not have such requirements. Most forms of tourism are a boundless consumption whereas the consumer brings nothing but luggage, and leaves with some souvenirs, pictures, memories and a heightened carbon footprint. By contrast, the consumption of second homes holds up a much more solid physical and emotional occupation because of the very existence of the second home itself.

For the holidaymakers, owning a second home not only means that they could have the ultimate rights of using and accessing the tourist place, but also establishes the similar obligations and responsibilities of owning the ordinary home. In order to obtain a good experience, holidaymakers would have to be actively involved in the maintenance, planning and renovations of the building and the experience. In this way, holidaymakers to the second homes are inevitably involved in the social interactions with other members of the tourism society, including the developers, management, planners and the local communities. In regular tourism, especially in a packaged tour, tourists do not have to engage in these interactions if they are not willing to. Theoretically, a packaged tourist can switch to a purified passive mode of travelling by occupying a seat on the coach, silently gazing at the landscape through the windows between naps, and listening to whatever the guide has to say.

From another perspective, knowing that they would come back at some point in the future, the second home owners are relatively more relaxed in terms of conducting intensive and emotional interaction. The 'once in a lifetime' and 'you only live once' mentality of adventurous tourists is hidden by the 'will do it the next time' attitude. Therefore, although the consumption of second homes happens in heterotopia, where the perceived, conceived and lived experience are different from the everyday, regular social relationships might be established through this form of lifestyle mobility.

The complex nature of social interactions in second homes tourism is reflected in the story of equestrian training field at The Aqua. Interviewee O4 believes that her grand-daughter could receive 'noble education' at The Aqua, where high-class activities are available. Since the acquisition of a second home in 2013, the family spends every summer in The Aqua. During this period, the grand-daughter's timetable is packed with activities and lessons.

Time	Activity
6 a.m. – 8 a.m.	Swimming Lesson
8 a.m. – 10 a.m.	Breakfast and Relaxation
10 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.	Equestrian/Golf Training
12:30 p.m. – 2 p.m.	Lunch Break
2 p.m. – 4 p.m.	Dancing Lessons
4 p.m. – 6 p.m.	Learn English through Movie
6 p.m. – 8 p.m.	Dinner

Table 7.2 A typical day at The Aqua, (Interviewee O4)

For the child, the authenticity of The Aqua is established not only via the gaze upon the outlook of the castle or riding the horse, but also by the interactions with others. The idea of holiday is dramatically reshaped because her lifestyle at The Aqua is even 'busier' than her everyday school life. At The Aqua she has to dress up as a professional golfer or equestrian, something she is not obliged to do in her daily life. As such, she feels that The Aqua has made her someone special, which differentiates her from her friends at school. The participant's family believes that there is a strong educational value attached to their second home ownership at The Aqua, and that the space is crucial for the self-making of the child.

Behind the presented picture, there is another story. The labour in The Aqua is divided according to the skills required. The locals occupy certain roles, such as security staff, shop runners, organic farmers and housekeepers, whilst the horse trainers, veterinarians and management team are completely made out of migrants. Although the CITIC has plans to assist the locals for further training in the long term, it is difficult to accomplish the short term needs.

This scenario is potentially dangerous. As more and more spatial elements are constructed and introduced, the gap between local and foreign employment will be inevitably enhanced. For example, as soon as the NHS medical centre and the international boarding school are constructed, The Aqua will have little choice but to open its human resources to a higher educated audience. If that happens, the locals' reaction to such subtle changes in their life circumstances would be an interesting topic of discussion. This leads to the final theme of the thesis.

7.4 Authenticity or Justice?

The tensions between the four actor groups are reflected upon authenticity and ethics. What activates existential authenticity for one actor group might be unjust to another. Having added the spatial characters in the discussion of authenticity, the final focus of this thesis turns to examine the relationships between spatial-existential authenticity and spatial justice.

In addition to the intra-personal and inter-personal aspects, the third aspect that needs to be included into the framework of spatial-existential authenticity is the notion of justice. In his book *The Ethics of Authenticity*, Taylor (1991) points out that the consumer feels safe in the past because the future is uncertain. Logically, the pursuit of authenticity is based on nostalgia, a searching journey for roots and heritage (Boym, 2008).

Similarly, in his book *Sincerity and Authenticity*, Trilling (2009) described sincerity (a term he would later replace with the term authenticity) as the central aspect of moral life. 'Being real' and 'staying true to the self' are lifted as the virtue of society. However, in tourism there is obviously hostility between authenticity and morality.

Essentially, we need to be more concerned with the demand for authenticity at the cost of the future of the local communities. Thus, this section focuses on the local communities in response to the production and authentication of Aqua. Notably, although the analysis does not follow the hot and cool authentication model (Cohen and Cohen, 2012), the thesis deals with the same crucial question the model proposed. That is, who is authorised to authenticate (second homes) tourism?

To explain this, this section proposes an analytical framework. The framework integrates the concept of spatial-existential authenticity in the framework of spatial justice (Soja, 2009). During the production of space, both intra-personal and inter-personal existential authenticity has been activated based on the perceived, conceived and lived space. By using the case of Aqua, Table 7.3 demonstrates the conflict interests in spatial-existential authenticity that are embedded in various actor groups.

		Spatial-existential Authenticity (Intra-personal)			
		Place-makers		Holidaymakers	Local Community
		State	Developer	Owners and Visitors	
Spatial-existential Authenticity (Inter-personal)	Perceived	Suburban Development	Profit	Recreation	Livelihood
	Conceived	Growth	Finance	Good Lifestyle	Family Reunification
	Lived	‘Mobile Community’	Diversification	Lifestyle Mobility	Welfare

Table 7.3 Conflict of Interests in Spatial-Existential Authenticity: the case of Aqua

Source: Author

In the case of The Aqua, two key trends are emerged from the framework.

In a spatial sense, interpersonal existential authenticity is enhanced or restricted by the intra-personal authenticity. Justice is deeply associated with spatial-existential authenticity.

Inter-personally, spatial-existential authenticity is achieved through the practice, representation and experience of space; intra-personally, existential authenticity is activated by the interaction of various actor groups in the same tourism space. The role of tourism space as the catalyst for authenticity is the result of negotiated power between the inter-personal and intra-personal. This trend is mostly emerged between the place-makers and the local communities.

An interesting manifestation of such coalescence is the changing use of land in the state’s plan. The growth-seeking state designed and implemented the 2011-2020 Land Development and Management Plan[16] based on its interests in urbanisation rate. The previous period (2001-2010) coincided with the privatisation of housing and the booming of real estate development. Therefore, the inter-personal authenticity in terms of place-making was based on the common interests of the state and the developers. As a result, vast areas of new housing was developed on the once agriculture-based land, which was the core of production for the local communities. Without the residents moving in, these new areas became apotopia. This historical lesson has restricted the state's authority to the 2011-2020 plan.

As a result, the inter-personal authenticity that exists through the state's practice of the land policy is switched from 'pursuing urbanisation rate' to 'suburban development'. Instead of sacrificing agricultural land for housing development, the state encourages local development through tourism. This reflects on the effort in infrastructure development such as the Changshui International Airport and the express ways.

Following the state, the developers could no longer pursue restless construction of housing. While the developers remained profit-seeking, they now are forced to seek profit through other means of production. In the case of Aqua, the force-out of the previous developers was driven by such changes. On the other hand, although we often take it for granted in the ultimate power of Chinese institutions over land usage, the inter-personal authenticity of the developers is in fact a powerful tool to influence the state's policy.

For example, the CITIC has successfully negotiated with the local state to plan the region as a tourism space rather than a residential one. In this way, second homes are the key for the adaptation of new ways of authenticating space. Instead of promoting a fixed community, the state accepted The Aqua mode as a way to build a 'mobile community'. That is, 'a community without fixed members because they are all tourists; a community that is always at presence

[16] 《嵩明县土地开发整理规划（2011-2020）》

although the members come and go… [And] that is how I define tourism-led urbanisation' (Interviewee S1).

The coalescence between the place-makers have profound impact on the local communities. Most obviously, with the state's new policies over the protection of agriculture land and the reduction of taxes, the spatial practice of land re-emerged through agriculture. The example of collective organic farm is an instance for this. Furthermore, the developers' support on employment and entrepreneurial opportunities have attracted the 'rural-out migrants' to come back. This is the reason why the second homes in the case of The Aqua distinguishes from its Western counterparts.

The question of justice needs to be concerned jointly with existential authenticity and space. In Aqua, none of the architecture style or recreation products can be objectively authenticated as 'local'. However, in a spatial-existential sense the local communities authenticated their livelihood through the spatial practices of the place-makers. Consequently, the image of Aqua, speaking from the local's perspective, is no longer a hyperreal Western second home township, but a catalyst for family reunification. Therefore, the case study shows a mode of re-producing local's understanding of *home*, through the second home development.

In a spatial sense, the process of authentication is not privileged to the place-makers, but through a complex network of power relations between the place-makers, holidaymakers, and local communities. Justice in authentication needs to be analysed through the context of power.

As Bærenholdt et al. (2004) correctly argued, tourists' performances co-produce places. The dualism of production and consumption cannot explain the complex nature of second homes, where tourists' experience is largely dependent on their own making. Therefore, the process of authentication at the existential level involves not only the personal experiences, but the intra-personal relations.

Following Bruner (2005), the focus is 'not whether an object or site is authentic, but rather who has the authority to authenticate'. In other words, authenticity in the making of tourism spaces is fundamentally a question of power. In the context of second homes, authentication is an integral process that is shaped by the network of power relations between the place-makers, holiday makers and local communities. As such, just or unjust circumstances must be understood through the network of relations (production of space) rather than the output (place) alone.

Abundant evidences from the empirical data in the case of Aqua support this argument. For instance, the power relations between the holidaymakers and the local community have shaped the notion of justice.

For the holidaymakers, The Aqua merges nostalgia with utopia. On the one hand, The Aqua activates nostalgia. Being able to breathe the clean air and live without air-conditioning reminds them of life before pollution and climate change (Interviewee O3). Similarly, being able to play cards with relatives and friends without the interruption of the everyday reminds them of their youth, their lives before the addition of the liability of business life (Interviewee O1). On the other hand, The Aqua is a physically accessible utopia. The attractiveness of The Aqua relies on how much it initiates the imagined lifestyle, or the 'good life'. Therefore, at The Aqua, past meets future, momentary marries annual, imagination grafts reality.

For the locals, the authentic The Aqua is, possibly, as romantic. Many members from the local community welcome the development because the emergence of The Aqua brings back the long lost family life. In this scenario, some of the locals realise the authentic self even if they have to wear idiotic Western uniforms because they can once again claim the sense of 'home'. Some of the locals who turned into entrepreneurs have renewed their sense of pride through the commodification of their everyday (e.g. the fish restaurant). Others who have reclaimed their interests and profitability through farming, which is regenerated through innovative use of land. Nonetheless, we also have to be cautious about the circumstances. For example, some of the local communities are clearly left behind from the regional development (e.g. the youngsters at the train station).

Although the holidaymakers and the locals identified their inter-personal authenticity differently from the same place of Aqua, they share similar ideas through intra-personal relations. Thanks to the visitations of the holidaymakers – whether they own a house or not – the locals activated their nostalgia of authentic life through the better-some livelihood, which is resulted from the rejuvenation of the area. In this way, second home ownerships are in fact the catalyst for the existential authenticity of the locals, rather than the messenger of the ‘curse’ (Coppock’s term).

Within the local communities, existential authenticity varies largely due to personal circumstances. Whilst some families benefit from the development, others have struggled to join the process of spatial production at The Aqua. It is naïve to assume ‘one fits all’ answer to the question of justice in a diverse environment like China. However, it deserves further observation in terms of the *in*justice internally within the local communities. One of the potential risks is the access to housing. To what extend does the second home development shape the local housing prices need further investigation. The result is crucial for the local’s livelihood, quality of family life and welfare.

The power relations that produced Aqua were demonstrated in Image 6.18. Through the development of Aqua, the (old) local community is transformed to the (new) local community, with the addition of the so-called migrant-backs. Some of the migrant-backs have accumulated wealth during their rural-out periods, whilst others did not. The divided circumstances have impacts on the individual’s existential authenticity. That is to say, the question of justice must be understood based on a spatial-temporal framework based on personal and institutional backgrounds.

7.5 Chapter Conclusion

By examining second homes as heterotopia rather than singular places, it is possible to bridge a couple of previously disconnected concepts to generate new knowledge. One of the concepts discussed in this chapter is existential authenticity. Throughout the chapter, I demonstrated how the principles of heterotopia can be linked with the activation of intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity. The main argument is that the perceived, conceived and lived space are crucial elements to activate existential authenticity. Alternatively, existential authenticity can help shape and reshape the spatial characteristics. The other concept discussed in this chapter is the relationship between spatial-existential authenticity and justice. The concern of ethics needs to be bridged via the production of space and its activation of intra-personal and inter-personal activity.

The Aqua is a good example of how authenticity means different things to different people and, in fact, how it is socially, spatially and politically determined. The Aqua hosts second homes at the centre of its production of space, and as such, The Aqua is closely linked to the themes that have been discussed in the current chapter. Following the previous chapter where the spatial characteristics are identified via perceived, conceived and lived space this chapter takes a step further and places these characteristics under the examination of heterotopic qualities, existential authenticity and spatial justice.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Research Overview

The present thesis began by reviewing the debates on second homes in the Western context. The approach in the literature towards the study of second homes seems to follow a couple of terms distinguished in *Second Homes: Curse or Blessings* (Coppock, 1977b). Generally, second homes are criticised as a *curse* to local communities in suburban or rural environments, and a *blessing* to the rich urbanites. More specifically, existing studies have focused on the economic and social issues related to urban-rural integration. Despite increasing awareness of the topic and new evidences from around the world, second homes remain a concept without a broadly agreed definition and therefore without a framework that can fully explain the potentials and impacts of second homes, especially in a context of China where the political and geographical preconditions are different to its Western counterparts.

In order to situate the emergence of second homes in China, this research investigates the development and issues in relation to urban-rural changes and tourism development. This approach follows the premises of second homes as the intersection of housing and tourism. Existing literature on Chinese second homes have examined the phenomenon through the lens of state-led suburban development. Therefore, second homes in China offer a window of opportunities to examine the three previously unlinked issues: urban-rural disparity, housing inequality and tourism development challenges.

Having extensively studied second home development in China, The Aqua, I began to realise that the definitional issues of second homes are intertwined with a set of deeper questions: how do we understand the politics of second homes? What is the role of second homes in the process of geographical development? Who are the actors that are involved in the making of second homes? And how does the power relation between the actors lead to the three issues mentioned above? These questions are not specified to the case of the Aqua alone, but to second homes in general. In this light, this research employs key concepts from tourism and geography to formulate the aim of the research – that is, to examine the process of place-making and its impact on urban-rural relations, housing and tourism development via the scope of second homes.

In order to escape the issue of dualism in dominant second homes research, and to better situate second homes in a systematic framework that truly understand the complex power relations in a Chinese context, this study firstly explores how different urban theories conceptualise second homes.

Chapter 3 highlighted two general theoretical discourses; namely Lefebvre's notion of *The Production of Space* (1991), and Foucault's (1986) *heterotopia*. The former helps to establish the spatial characteristics of second homes while the later helps to examine the spatial quality of second homes. Following this approach, the definitional issues of second homes are tackled. Instead of seeking for a 'one-size-fits-all' definition for second homes, this thesis proposes a conceptual way of understanding the phenomenon through the two spatial discourses.

Many scholars understand second homes as an integral part of second homes. However, the phenomenon has never been studied through some of the most significant tourism theories such as authenticity. Current authenticity research has been dominated by the naturalistic tradition with a strong emphasis on theory building. Yet, scholars seem to take for granted that second homes have nothing to do with authenticity. Furthermore, while some scholars have realised the importance of authenticity in the process of place-making in tourism, second homes are absent from the scope of research.

In order to deal with these gaps, Chapter 4 investigates the development of authenticity as a key theory of tourism in the context of second homes. Following Wang's (1999) categorisation of various schools of authenticity, this thesis realised potential ways to expand the explanatory power of authenticity in the context of second homes. This chapter introduced the concept of *spatial-existential authenticity*. Since all tourism experiences are attached to space, the activation of existential authenticity is also bounded up with space. In other words, the production of space can activate the existential authenticity and, reversely, existential authenticity can influence the production of space.

The authentication of tourism space leads to the question of justice. Some scholars suggest the crucial question to ask is who is authorised for authentication (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). In this research, the crucial questions are how the space is authenticated and how such authentication influence the spatial characteristics and spatial quality from a local community's perspective. Because the production of tourism space involves more than just one actor group, the authentication of such space can only be simply attribute to the network of power relations other than a specific force within the relationship. In other words, it is too simplistic to focus on the 'who'. Therefore, chapter 4 explores theories on spatial justice and bridges it to the process of authentication.

The idea of studying second homes through spatial theory, authenticity and justice is applied to the case of The Aqua. Following the methodology designed in chapter 5, the empirical findings from the case studies are examined through chapter 6 and 7 respectively. Chapter 6 identifies the actors that are involved in the production of The Aqua and how they practice, represent and experience the site. Based on the findings, a development model based on the power relations of the actor groups is proposed for understanding second homes. Following this, Chapter 7 firstly identifies The Aqua as a site of heterotopia. Then, the linkages heterotopia and authenticity emerge from the case study. The results lead to the composition of the spatial-existential authenticity theoretical framework. Existential authenticity is activated in tourism spaces intra-personally through bodily exercise, mental representation and self-making, and inter-personally through social encounters, perception of others and social hierarchy. Finally, chapter 7 reveals the correlations between authentication and justice based on two trends. On one hand, by analysing the power relations in terms of the production of tourism space, inter-personal authenticity is often negotiated with intra-personal authenticity. The tensions between inter-personal and intra-personal authenticity can lead to just or unjust production of second home tourism space. On the other hand, the process of authentication is driven by the complex power relations between actor groups. Second homes are not necessarily 'a curse' or 'a blessing' because social relations can be nurtured through balanced production of inter-personal and intra-personal existential authenticity.

8.2 Theoretical reflections

In a Western-dominated inquiries such as second homes research, established and conceptualised theories and models tend to fail to explain the similar phenomenon in China. Although China's development has evolved along a rather unique trajectory and political circumstance, other localities or countries can still gain substantial knowledge from the lessons of China. This research has made contributions to extract new lessons from China through the conceptual framework of space-authenticity-justice in second homes and the development model of the case of The Aqua. These new lessons from China provide fresh perspectives to reflect on the current state of theories on second homes, tourism, and regional development.

The conceptualisation of second homes

It is evident that the debate of second homes has run into a *cul-de-sac* due to the struggles over definitional issues. In the most recent reviews from research communities on both the housing and the tourism side, this problem has been highlighted (Paris, 2014, Müller and Hoogendoorn, 2013). Therefore, the first theoretical contributions of this thesis is to offer an epistemological perspective on how to understand second homes as a socio-spatial product.

The conceptualisation of second homes as socio-spatial product contains two dimensions. The first dimension situates second homes as the production of the spatial triad (Lefebvre, 1991): as *perceived space* (spatial practice) which is the physical object where actors establish their sensational engagements; as *conceived space* (representations of space) which is the social representation of second homes; and as *lived space* (space of representation) which is the social experience that combines the objective and the representation. In this way, the spatial characteristics of second homes can be interpreted as: 1) repeatable or seasonal leisure-oriented dwellings that is physically disconnected to one's primary residence; 2) the representation of a place for temporary escape from the routinised everyday space; 3) the transformational experiences of heterogeneous lifestyle mobility. These spatial characteristics result from the production of social relations, which are established through the interactions of institutions (who authorised the space), developers (who constructed the sites), second home owners or users (who activates the place), and local communities (who are engaged in the dynamics). The compositions of actors might change in context.

The second dimension investigates the spatial qualities of second homes. Second homes are space of otherness due to its heterogeneous relations with the everyday. The spatial qualities of second homes are dependent on the power relations that produced the space. Essentially, the discussion of the impact of second homes has to be placed within a spatial framework which allows the thorough investigations of the power relations that produced the second homes at the first place.

Space of otherness

In order to construct the spatial framework to help understand the quality of second homes, this thesis explores the theoretical possession which Soja uses to formulate the Thirdspace: Foucault's *heterotopia* (1984). Since the idea of heterotopia is never fully developed by Foucault, there are rooms for (re-)interpretation and development. Heterotopia is often read as places and spaces that function in a non-hegemonic state against social norms.

Based on Foucault's (1984) concept of *heterotopology*, I suggest possible new entries to the concept of space of otherness. Foucault's heterotopia is the localisable utopia, which means the social relations are produced through the construction of spatial characteristics at the sites that are different to the everyday space. However, I suggest that there are mixed qualities among the spatial examples that Foucault provided. More specifically, three forms of spatial qualities are available: heterotopia, apotopia, limbotopia. My revised definition of heterotopia highlights the space of otherness where social relations are positively nurtured. This is because heterotopia reflects to utopia, which contains a positive representation of one's imaginations. Apotopia is a new term that I created as a combination of apocalypse and utopia. Apotopia is where the social relations are absent or abandoned through the production of space. Examples of this is the ghost cities in China, where abundant resources are invested in the construction and yet no one lives in them. In a sense, apotopia can be translated as the reflection of broken utopian ideas; i.e. the post-apocalypse heterotopia. Limbotopia is another new term that I propose to explain the combination of limbo and utopia. Limbotopia describes the type of space where the effects of power are not yet identifiable in the spatial characteristics. Future research could explore this concept as it relates to power dynamics in second home construction.

As space is not static, the process of producing the space will lead to different spatial qualities at different times and in different power relations. The introduction of new terminology enhanced heterotopology so that it can be used to analyse the individual places, other than the entire form of certain spaces within the society. This research adds second homes to the glossary of heterotopic spaces. Also, it indicates how spatial quality of second homes can be evaluated in the specific social and spatial context. Because space is socially produced, it can be socially changed. The understanding of spatial quality helps future researchers to escape the trap of dualism in second home research, and to better understand the reasons behind the meanings and consequences of the phenomenon.

Authenticity

Existential authenticity generates greater explanatory powers to the previous notions such as objective authenticity or constructivist authenticity. The key argument is that tourism experiences would activate the tourists' existential perceptions of authenticity. However, the idea can be updated to what I call *spatial-existential authenticity* since all tourism experiences are attached to space. In other words, tourism space can activate existential authenticity and, reversely, existential authenticity can influence the production of space.

Indeed, recent studies have recognised the process of authentication in the place-making of tourism spaces. However, most of studies on authentication are focused on the objective or constructive approach. For example, whilst the notion of 'cool' and 'hot' authentication provide great manifestations and implications of the politics of authenticity in terms of tourism production, many examples such as Disneyland and second homes are absent in the scope of the framework. Therefore, this research offers a new perspective to understand authentication from the newly introduced concept of spatial-existential authenticity.

Intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity are examined through the perceived, conceived and lived space in tourism. As such, the authentication of tourism space does not singularly rely on tourist experience, but on the holist production process of social relations. In the previous models, the idea of authentication can be used to identify whether the process is 'cool' or 'hot', or to distinguish who is authorised to authenticate tourism products. With the introduction of spatial-existential authenticity, the beneficiary and casualty are no longer 'who' the singular, but the results of power relations. This leads to the final contribution of the thesis.

Justice

The politics of authentication and tourism production is examined through the concept of spatial justice. This thesis proposes a model named space-authenticity-justice which can be explained through the following dialectics. By changing the dynamics of power, spatial-existential authenticity can be activated or deactivated, and thus the quality of tourism space can be modified. As a result, the causes and effects of authentication can be understood and shaped.

In the context of second homes, the debate over the impacts leads to further confusions. On one end, some scholars blame second homes for rural issues such as disparity, poverty, equality and environmental wellbeing (Hall and Müller, 2004). On the other, researchers have introduced new evidences to suggest second homes can have a positive impact as they empower social relations (Gallent, 2014). This debate seems going nowhere without the space-authenticity-justice model. This thesis hopes to dismiss the dualism that has existed in second home research for almost 40 years, following Coppock's first entry in 1977.

8.3 Research limitations

There are several limitations of this research. Three issues are noticeable: economic and environmental focus on the development of second homes, limitations in theoretical breadth and depth, and limitations in methodological design.

Economic and environmental focus

This research has only adopted the socio-cultural and socio-political aspects of second homes to investigate the production process. Nonetheless, there are many factors that need to be focused in the context of second homes, such as economic and environmental sustainability. Although the framework allows new entries for future research, these focuses are beyond the scope of this study.

The economic focus in second homes research has long been promoted by early scholars. However due to the definitional issues and the lack of trustworthy data respectively, the true scale of the economics of second homes are difficult to monitor. In the context of China, these issues are especially strong because second homes have not yet been realised as an official housing or tourism category. This makes the prediction of the economic values of second homes a daunting task. Even the economic-centric geographical perspective has realised the social, cultural, political, and environmental conditions are crucial element for a sustainable, balanced, and healthy economy (Storper, 2013). From a spatial production perspective, economic focus needs to be highlighted in the context of second homes.

The environmental issues related to second homes have also been highlighted in previous research. Even in Coppock's (1977) editorial work, the impact of second homes on the rural environment was one of the major concerns. Many second homes are located in natural or exotic places that are possibly environmentally sensitive, hence the impacts need to be closely monitored. In the case of The Aqua, I have identified generally positive environmental trends because it is closely preserved by the government. However, further exploration is necessary over time.

Limitations in theoretical breadth and depth

The conceptualisation of second homes in this research has exclusively followed spatial theories. However, the spatial theories employed by this research have much more potential to enhance our understanding of tourism in general and second homes in specific. For example, although I have introduced the new terminologies such as apotopia and limbotopia, they are not fully explored in the case of The Aqua. Heterotopia and the production of space can be further explored because clearly the layer of space thinking can enhance our understanding to the production and consumption of tourism.

The linkage between spatial-existential authenticity and justice needs to be further explored. Due to the limitations of current research, the findings merely explored the surface of the complex relationships between the production of second home space and justice. The two trends that emerged in the end of chapter 7 deserve much more attention for the future research.

Limitations in methodological design.

This research has been conducted through a single case study of The Aqua. Although I have defended the rigour of such a design in the methodology chapter, it would be interesting to see if the results from this research are similar, or reflected in other cases. I chose The Aqua because I had the accessibility to the data that was needed for this research

Also, it is regrettable that this research has not had the opportunity to trace the development of The Aqua for a longer period of time. Although interesting trends have been emerged out of the case studies, many more trends can be captured for interesting results. This is a common problem of doing temporal research, and like many social science theses, is a snapshot at a particular period in time.

Furthermore, a critical part of the empirical data was obtained through semi-structured interviews. The interviewees give answers based on their world view and personal experiences, memories, and subjective preferences. Although this research has fully attempted to triangulate the data, there might still be misunderstandings in them, but again this is a common challenge in social science research (find a reference who said this – I'm sure it's in all of your research methods books). In addition, the research collected all the empirical data in Chinese language. The nuances of meanings in Chinese may be ignored in the translations to English.

Lastly, this research did not cover failed second homes development sites, where apotopia might be used to produce alternative models which reveal the more negative side of second homes development, especially in the context of China.

8.4 Future research agenda

From all my travelling experiences to the 27 countries that I have been, there was one moment that stuck in my mind. This happened when I was conducting empirical research for my Master's degree. While I visited the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet, in 2012, I came across a monk who was listening to Eminem's song *Slim Shady* through huge headphones which were connected to his iPhone on which he was playing the trendiest game at the time –Angry Birds. This was such a contrast to the image of him practicing Buddhism in front of tourists only five minutes earlier.

The basic doctrines of Buddhism are surrounded by the concept of suffering, craving, and concentration. Therefore, I had an impression that the practice of religion is to seek for inner peace, which is often hindered by materialism. This experience, then, reveals such a contrast that I could not explain at the time. Is this all for a show? Maybe not. Despite the ruthless development which is driven by the political economy of China, Tibet and Tibetans had maintained strong attachment to their religion. The very religious practice that are shown to the tourists, in fact, are also what the locals conduct their everyday. Nonetheless, where does the monk find the money to consume the iPhone? Furthermore, how did he decide to listen to Eminem's music or the games? Does he treat her personal identity merely as a job? What happens if the seemingly astonished Western tourists see this picture? Do they blame the iPhone (modernity) or do they blame China (Political Economy)?

In that situation, I got to experience MacCannell's notion of 'back stage', where the reality rests at the back of the tourism stage. However, the real question should be asked is this: who is authorised to ask Tibetans to live their 'authentic lives' in the name of preserving cultural heritage for tourism?

If a tourist had seen this picture, he or she might have felt deceived, might have questioned the authenticity of his or her tourist experience, and might have faced the departure of his or her existential authentic self. Nonetheless, from the monk's perspective, if he had to deliberately stay behind modernity, rejecting anything contemporary from the TV to the Internet just because who and where he was, he might feel as deceived and confused as the tourist. Tibetans have doubled their life expectancy in the past forty years, under the govern from Beijing. While we criticise modernity and development for cultural and social changes, the curse and blessing might be intertwined.

I think second homes can potentially be the lens for us to look into the lifestyle for the future. As mobility continuously and increasingly become the integral part of the everyday living, second homes can offer a window of opportunity for us to observe some of the most exciting changes of the era. After all, second homes are the showcase of some of the most fascinating tensions in the society: home and away, heterogeneous lifestyle and the everyday, tourists and locals, development and environment, identity and homogeneity, politics and culture…

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Appendix I: Ethical Approval

Sample of the application form

UNIVERSITY of DERBY

Request for Ethical Approval for Individual Study / Programme of Research by University Students

Please complete this form and return it to your Independent Studies Supervisor or Co-ordinator as advised by local guidance. Feedback on your application will be via your Independent Studies Supervisor or Co-ordinator

1. Your Name:	KAIHAN YANG	**2. Programme name and code**	Doctor of Philosophy
3. Contact Info	**Email: K.yang@derby.ac.uk** **Tel No. 07708036008** **Address: Flat 104 First Floor, 8-18 Inverness Terrace, London W2 3HU**		
4. Module name and code	Doctor of Philosophy		

5. Name of project supervisor (Director of Studies)

Tim Heap & Tony Johnston

6. Title or topic area of proposed study

Tourism Development Combined with Suburbanisation in China: a Holistic Approach

7. What is the aim and objectives of your study?

This study aims to discover whether or not the new form of suburbanisation, which combines tourism development, and residential growth, would lead to the creation of sustainable communities.

In order to achieve the goal, this study carefully chooses its researched site in China. The Aqua has appeared to the public as the consequences of the reshaped new town development strategy from the local state of Yunnan Province, considerably the biggest tourism region in China. The project ambitiously combines gated real estate development with the construction of luxury hotels, two golf courts, horse riding filed, organic farms, hospitals and other health facilities, and a large conference centre.

Focusing on the Aqua, this study is capable of serving the following objectives:

- How does the Aqua being placed in the map of Kunming's urban planning strategy?
- Is there a desire to become permanent residents? In other words, do real estate buyers treat their properties as holiday houses, investments, or home?
- How does different groups of participants experience the facilities differently?
- What impacts will different groups of participants make on the built environment?

Confirmation of approval via email

From: Donna Bhola
Sent: 07 March 2014 11:38
To: Tim Heap; Tony Johnston
Subject: Request for Ethical Approval for Independent Study/Programme of Research - Kaihan Yang

Hi Tim and Tony

Please see the below comments for Ethical approval for the Individual Study/Programme of Research for Kaihan Yang.

Approved.

At Tim's request I have asked Peter Wiltshier if he can read Kaihan's proposal.

STUDENT ID: 100306643

NAME: Kaihan Yang

COURSE: PGR04: Postgraduate Research

SUPERVISOR: Tim Heap/Tony Johnson

PROPOSAL: Tourism Development Combined with Suburbanisation in China: a Holistic approach

COMMENTS: No Ethical issues identified.

RESPONSE: Approved

Appendix II: Locations and Events for Observation

The table starting of the next page is the full version of Table 5.9 from this thesis. It shows some of the locations and events that I conducted my observation.

Locations (sub-sites within The Aqua)	Participant Observational Events
The Aqua Visitor Centre (also second homes sales)	- Observed visitors in The Aqua; - Observed prospect second home buyers; - Observed staff/guide/sales interactions with visitors; - Observed the architectural design and facilities at the centre; - Listening to visitors' conversations while they were in the centre; - Made notes of action, reactions and interactions.
The Second Homes Area	- Observed the architectural design and planning of the second homes; - Observed the environments in and around the area; - Observed staff and their interactions with the visitors; - Observed how visitors arrive at the second homes (what vehicles did they arrive in, how much luggage did they carry, how many people entered the house, etc.); - Observed how visitors live their daily life when staying at the second homes; - Listened (discreetly) to conversations between the staff members and between the second home users.

Touristic attractions (Golf, horse riding fields, lavender parks, and wetland area)	- Observed visitors in and around the area; - Observed visitors' interactions with the environment; - Observed visitors' interactions with the staff/local community; - Observed visitors' activities and listened to their conversations;
Urban Planning Bureau	- Observed the day-to-day decision making process; - Observed the local development plan for the area; - Collect maps and copies of planning documentations for future use.

Appendix III: Map of Urban Planning Grand Plan (Yanglin Government, 2010-2020)

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Appendix IV Sample of Interview Transcripts

The following transcripts reveal how different participants respond to the same questions that I asked: *how do you see the second homes in the Aqua? And how important do you see them as part of your plan?* The answers confirmed the definitional bias that is embedded in the terminology of second homes.

> D1: The properties that we construct and sell at the Aqua are a hybrid version of tourism, financial products and real estates. I'm not sure if we could call it 'second homes'. In Chinese we simply don't have a term like that. Most of the home owners chose the Aqua as their third or fourth residence. None of them was in a hurry to move here at the time of purchase… that is the key to formulate such a space… But you are right, they are second homes in this sense, they use their homes at the Aqua for occasional leisure purposes.

> M4: What is different for us is that we control the access to dwell. House buyers would only receive 60 days to stay with us within the first five years of their purchase in exchange for a discounted buying price. After the five years, they could choose to extend this contract in exchange of a monthly or yearly income. Or else they could claim their full ownerships back and live here permanently, if they will. For the ones who bought condominiums, they have 45 days, monthly income since day one, no discount at the selling price. The owners rarely get the opportunity to stay in their own homes because they are rented out throughout the year like hotel rooms or holiday houses.

> D2: The Aqua is very much like a timesharing in the U.S. But it is different. It's economic significance to the local and regional level is entirely different to a singular tourism resort. The second homes are not just the properties or real estates; they tie everything together. If you wish, you can see the people who stay here as a mobile community. We get a new community every week, and on weekends… every day.

> P2: Second homes are the integral part of the plan. The *CITIC* came to us with the initial idea of building and selling holiday villas. This remained at the centre of the planning process regardless how the developers and management are changed.

G1: In China's planning scheme, there is no such a thing as a second home (to your definition). In recent years, there were voices about how to tax the trading of the multiple properties that one owns. This is the state's potential tactic to leverage the increasing housing prices. In the UK, I think, planning is restricted. It is viewed that planning is bad for growth in the so-called neoliberal attacks of the West. For China, planning is different, and is for growth. Whatever we examine, growth comes as the first criteria. Therefore, when we see the Aqua as a potentially growing tourism cluster with real estate development, we welcomed it. So yes, I think the 'second home' scheme is really smart both internally (for the Aqua) and externally (to the local communities). Jobs are created, and those are the local jobs. Rural communities started moving back. Transportations and structures are improved. Everything started from there.

H1: second homes are a new thing to our life. We are about to retire and we needed a place to get away for the weekend or something. Living in the city can be tiring. So we think the second homes as a really good investment – not only financially, but also personally. The second homes are very important for our healthy lifestyle now. For them, I think if they actually deliver the medical care and the theme park, it will be fantastic not only for the retired people like us in the future, but also to the youngsters. We want to bring our grandchildren here, and spend some time every once in a while here. They would learn horse riding, English, golf, painting, nature, and they would have a lot of fun. We would have a lot of fun.

L1: second homes? I have no idea. I work as a cleaner in the Aqua and I clean the houses. It doesn't matter who stays here, as long as people stay, I have a job to do.