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BRIDGING SPATIAL AND SOCIAL MOBILITY:
A PHENOMENOLOGY OF CHINESE SOJOURNERS IN THE PERIPHERY

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PhD

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2020

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Bridging Spatial and Social Mobility:

A Phenomenology of Chinese Sojourners in the Periphery

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2019

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ABSTRACT

"In ordinary usage, place means primarily two things: one's position in society and spatial location." (Tuan, 1979b, p. 408). The spatial and social location anchors an individual's rudimentary position in the world. Accordingly, the spatial and social mobility record the basic life trajectory within one's life. However, the two interwoven concepts – spatial mobility and social mobility-- are split into different disciplines and the linkage between spatial and social mobility has rarely been explored. While studies of spatial mobility that focus on the movement or travel of individual from one place to another lie in the scope of geography (Urry, 2007), studies of social mobility that emphasize the movement of individuals, families, or groups through a system of social hierarchy or stratification is broadly discussed in sociology (Mägi et al., 2016).

In contemporary China, conflicting spatial and social mobility caused many youth issues. On one hand, the increasing spatial mobility caused the megacities polarization. Millions of educated youth with great social, cultural and economic capital concentrated in megacities from different parts of China to chase a better quality of life. While on the other hand, as a result of class solidification, there are decreasing opportunities for educated mobile youth to obtain upward social mobility. As a consequence, many youth issues raised, such as social inequality and social exclusion, Chinese puzzle --falling happiness in a rising economy (Brockmann et al., 2009), and marginalization of educated youth

in the megacities. These youth issues are not only detrimental to the SWB of youths but also pose a threat to social equity and harmony.

Dali city, the largest sojourner gathering place in China, is chosen as the research area. Built on the new mobilities paradigm, this research redefines sojourn （旅居）as a collection of inter-mingled and inner-heterogeneous forms of mobility that anchored in the mobility spectrum between tourism and migration. Accordingly, sojourners （旅居者）are defined as individuals who involve in a voluntary semi-permanent stay for a better quality of life outside of the traditional socio-geographical milieu. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is adopted as the primary research methodology to interpret Dali sojourners' meaning-making of their spatial and social mobility experience through the lens of contemporary Chineseness (中華文化): Confucianism, communism, and consumerism.

In respond to megacities polarization, social exclusion, and class solidification, thousands of youthful urban immigrants flee from megacities and relocated in Dali based on balanced considerations of the natural, socio-cultural, and economic environment. The trajectories of the educated mobile youth include two stages: in their end of teen-age and early 20s, they moved from different parts of China to megacities for better education and occupation; After around five years' drifting in the megacities, they relocated in Dali – A below four-tier village – for a better quality of life.

The interaction between spatial and social mobility is examined in the context of tourism. On one hand, previous social mobility facilities spatial mobility. It is explained by the elevator effect: previous upward social mobility leads to the accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital, thereby facilities their relocation in Dali. While on the other hand, spatial mobility also helps the construction of social mobility. A split can be found in sojourners' objective and subjective social mobility. In most of the cases, sojourners experienced downward objective social mobility as a consequence of changes in resources and opportunities. However, sojourners are predominantly perceived as their mobile experience as an upward one. It results from changes in the social construction of dimensions.

Dali sojourners constructed an enclave parallel with the Dali local society, where sojourners constructed their own social rules, social dimensions, and social structure. This enclave is characterized by high mobility, anonymous social atmosphere, diverse cultural composition, fragmented cultural power, and limited interest exchange. *Quanzi (圈子)* is the basic unit of socialization and the building brick of sojourner society. Countless *Quanzis* atomize the sojourner society into fragments, thus contribute to the de-hierarchical social structure and social equity. Pragmatism mainstream dimensions are deconstructed, while the more diversified-formed, humane-driven, and individual-focused dimensions are reconstructed by sojourner society.

Five neo-features of social mobility have been identified: the downward objective social mobility is out of sojourners' voluntary choice; there is a discrepancy between the objective and subjective social mobility; the subjective social mobility involves a deconstruction and reconstruction process; changes in social dimensions are caused by changes in value, moral, mindset, lifestyle, thereby the changes will transcend time and space; regardless of the range, speed, direction of social mobility and individual characteristics, all the social mobility is associated with improved SWB.

The meaning-making of Dali sojourners' spatial and social mobility experience reflected upon socio-cultural framework of Chineseness: the castle society that enhanced by class solidification and social exclusion, the cracked sky-ladder for educated youths, the "China Puzzle" that comprised of anxious middle-class and satisfied loser, the anti-individualistic Confucianism syndrome, the monochrome life, the supreme stability, the cheap freedom, the materialism obsession, and the early-dead youth. Social mobility is not necessarily the reason for spatial mobility. Instead of seeking upward social mobility, their main motivation lies in a request for a life of tranquillity and dignity, a society of equality and humanity, and the possibility of diversity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Honggen Xiao, who gave me the maximum freedom, trust, and support during those years unconditionally. Without you, I doubt I can be encouraged to work on this topic in the publication-starved age. I would like to express my heart-felt appreciation for Dean Chon, who illuminated my path to be a researcher. I would like to thank Professor Haiyan Song, for being a great role model in academics and in life. I would like to express my high appreciation to my BoE chair Robert Douglas McKercher, my external examiner Professor Allan Williams from the University of Surrey, and Professor Ning Wang from the Sun Yat-Sen University for arranging my oral examination and upgrading the quality of my thesis. I am grateful for my panel and committee members, Professor Brian King, Dr. Markus Schuckert, and Dr. Mimi Li, for giving me valuable suggestions on my confirmation proposal. I would like to thank all the professors and educators at HKPU and the University of Surrey who shaped my academic career.

My son, Simo, thank you for lighting up my life and never doubted my love. I respect your charming courage to be different and to be happy at the same time. Thanks, my mother, for being a mirror to reflect me. Thanks, my father, I believe in your silent love. Thanks, my grandma, my warmest memory in life. I hope you will be proud of me. I pray for the youth in Dali and in the country I deeply loved. Why are my eyes full of tears? Because my deep love for this land is unspoken.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research background

1.1.1 Dali City and Dali Sojourners

Dali City (大理市), located in western Yunnan Province (Figure 1.1), People's Republic of China, is the capital of Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture (大理白族自治州). Dali City was previously known as Jumie (苴咩, Jūmiē), the capital of Bai Kingdom Nanzhao (8th and 9th centuries) and the Kingdom of Dali (A.D. 937–1253). It used to be the political, economic, cultural centre of Yunnan area and was a prosperous traffic hub of Southern Silk Road (南絲綢之路) and Ancient Tea Horse Road (茶馬古道)[1].

The climate in Dali is considered as restful and liveable. Dali City is influenced by the subtropical plateau climate. The annual average temperature is 14.9-degree centigrade, the annual sunshine hours are 2,227.5 hours, and the annual rainfall is 1,051.1 millimetres. The annual temperature difference is small and the season's changes are not distinct. The chill temperature makes Dali an ideal place for residential tourism, especially during summer. Due to complex topography and landform, the climate in Dali is manifested as the hot river valley, warm dam area, cool hill area, and cold mountain area.

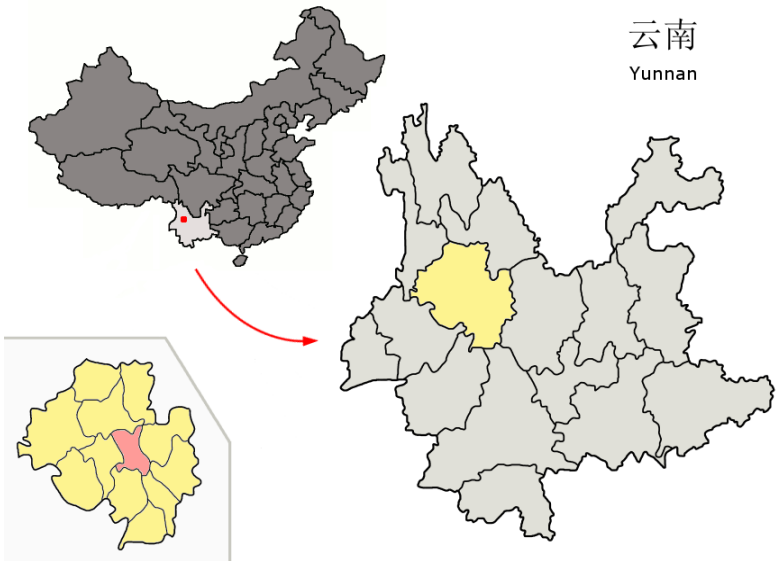


Figure 1.1 Locations of Dali City (Pink) and Dali Prefecture (Yellow)

Figure 1.2 Map of Dali City

Dali is one of Yunnan's most popular tourist destinations. Famous attractions include Dali Ancient Town (大理古城), Cangshan Mountain, Erhai Lake, West Town, Shuanglang Town, Sanyuejie Street (三月街), Three Pagodas of Chong Sheng Temple (崇聖寺三塔), etc.

Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture tourism statistics show the rapid growth of the tourism industry: In 2012, Dali prefecture received 18.47 million domestic and international tourists, with 19.56 percent yearly growth, and its tourism revenue reached 19.536 billion Yuan (around 2.91 billion USD), with 41.15 percent yearly growth. In 2013, Dali prefecture received 707,000 overseas tourists and 21.702 million domestic tourists. The total revenue of the tourism industry reached 24.89 billion Yuan (around 3.7 billion USD), with an increase of 27.6 percent. In 2014, Dali prefecture received 26.4801 million domestic and international tourists, with 18.17 percent yearly growth. Total tourism revenue reached 32.293 billion Yuan (around 4.81 billion USD), with 29.81 percent yearly growth. In 2015, Dali prefecture received 29.2851 million domestic and international tourists, with 10.59 percent yearly growth. The total revenue of the tourism industry was 38.84 billion Yuan (around 5.78 billion USD), with 20.25 percent yearly growth. In 2016, Dali prefecture received 38.59 million domestic and international tourists, with 31.78 percent yearly growth. Total tourism revenue reached 53.458 billion Yuan (around 7.96 billion USD), with 37.64 percent yearly growth. In 2017, Dali prefecture received 21 million domestic and international tourists.

Dali is chosen as the research area for four reasons: First, Dali is one of the largest gathering places for the group under investigation. Since the 1990s, thousands of urban youths have been moving to Dali for semi-permanent stay. Although there is no accurate statistical data about the size of the target population, it was reported that around 12,400 non-local permanent residents registered in West Town and Dali town by 2013. A considerable proportion of sojourners did not go through the legal household registration, thereby the actual number of sojourners should be larger than reported. Additionally, the number of sojourners has been increasing since 2013[2]. The high density of the research population contributes to the accessibility of participants and the representativeness of the Dali phenomenon. Secondly, in comparison to other sojourners' gathering places in China such as Lijiang (麗江), Yangshuo (陽朔) and Fenghuang (鳳凰), Dali has the lowest level of commodification (Yang et al., 2012). For the vast majority of sojourners, the primary sojourn motivation is to chase a better living rather than gold-digging. Thirdly, the semi-permanent residential mode of sojourners allows the long-term interaction between sojourners, and thus lead to a process of collective social construction. Fourthly, the author's Master of Human Geography degree thesis – "*home and homelessness: Dali sojourners' cultural identity and place attachment" (Chinese: 家與無家：大理旅居者的文化認同和地方依戀*) – was conducted in Dali.

[2]Stated by Zhou Guozhen, the standing committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference (CPPCC) of Dali. Cited in the People's political consultative conference newspaper, http://cppcc.people.com.cn/n/2015/0714/c34948-27298422.html.

Based on the prolonged ethnographical fieldwork, the author has a better understanding of the research area, research phenomenon, and research subjects under investigation.

1.1.2 "Myth of Dali" versus "Urban Losers"

Dali, a remote town located in between the shores of Erhai Lake and the Cangshan Mountains, is one of the largest sojourners' gathering places in China. They live semi-permanently, adopt alternative paths of life, and form distinguishable sojourner *communitas* in Dali. They are often referred to as "Dali new migrants" by the mass media. Due to the inaccuracy to define this group of people as "tourists" or "migrants", in the present research, they are conceptualized as "sojourners", which indicates the semi-permanent dwelling-mobility status between residential tourists and lifestyle immigrates.

The sojourner gathering phenomenon draws intensive attention from mass media. However, the news coverage of Dali sojourners are quite conflicting, thereby, the myth of Dali is constructed. Some medias portrayed Dali sojourners as wealthy and well-educated urban elites who seek a better living environment and spiritual fulfillment at the cost of giving up the affluent urban life. As was reported by The New York Times with the title "*Urbanites Flee China's Smog for Blue Skies*" in 2013, "The urban refugees come from all walks of life […] The immigrants, some with immense wealth, live near fishermen and farmers" (Times, 2013, p. 12). Likewise, in 2015, the Chinese Studies Association of Australia held a lecture titled "*High Times: Dali and the Politics of Lifestyle*

Migration" that offered accounts for (Dali) status as an exotic tourist destination bringing hordes of foreign and domestic tourists. More recently, Dali has become one of the major sites in China for lifestyle migration, that is, the migration of people from other parts of China (as well as from other parts of the globe). "They are seeking to escape the pollution, congestion, and stresses of modern urban life. A good proportion is also seeking new forms of community and meaning, alternatives to the consumerist and party-state dominated mainstream" (Sigley, 2015). The image of Dali sojourners as urban elites is also reflected in academia. Yang et al. (2012) conducted ethnographical research on the residential guests of Dali. They portrayed Dali residential guests as the elites coming from metropolitan centres. The research population was portrayed as "high education, high income, and high competence" (p. 45) who maintained a social status between the local communities and mass tourists to experience the change in lifestyle.

Meanwhile, skeptical voices incessantly linger on. Some critics point out the image of Dali sojourners as urban elites is a deception rooted in deliberate fabrication. They deem Dali sojourners as youths who are marginalized in the competitive urban society due to insufficient living skills. Most of them were born in small cities or rural areas, then move to megacities for better education or job opportunities. Even though they do not have the competencies to make a living in the metropolis, they are not reconciled to go back to their hometown. They suffer from low social status, but they only pin their hope on reaping where they haven't sown. Coincidentally, Dali, a combination of idyllic scenery, low

cost of living, and international culture, becomes a perfect shelter for them to set forth a decent life. In this way, Dali sojourners are depicted as "urban losers" who cannot survive in the megacities and adopt spatial mobility as a shortcut to obtain social mobility. With the aid of spatial relocation, "urban losers" who struggle in the bottom strata of metropolis undergo an imaginary transformation into urban elites and obtain a higher social status in an anonymity society. Critics also pointed out, because the sojourners' subjective social mobility is seldom associated with materialistic improvement in social reality, therefore, the so-called "upward social mobility" is nothing more than an ephemeral illusion.

The "myth of Dali" -- controversy between the "urban elites" and "urban losers" -- triggers the curiosity about Dali sojourners: Who are they? Where are they come from? Why do they move to Dali? Is there any connection between their spatial and social mobility? More importantly, are they really happy?

1.1.3 Spatial and social mobility

In this contextual framework of research, spatial mobility refers to the potential of movement or travel in space (Urry, 2007), and social mobility indicates the movement of individuals, families, clans, or a group of people within or between stratum(s) in a social hierarchical open system (Mägi, Leetmaa, Tammaru, & van Ham, 2016). While spatial mobility of people, objects and information are accelerated than ever before, social mobility is hampered in contemporary China. The contradiction between increasing spatial and decreasing social mobility gives rise to youth issues (Deng, 2013; Xin et al., 2011; Zhang & Zhang, 2012).

The youth generations experience greater spatial mobility (Bian, 2002). They move to the metropolis for better opportunities, but the limited space for upward social mobility leads to their marginalization in the metropolis. Therefore, many Chinese youths are suffering from social alienation,which manifests as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, social isolation and self-estrangement (Lystad, 1972; Owie, 1982; Sullivan & Wodarski, 2002). Those youth issues may not only deteriorate the happiness of the youth but also threat social harmony and stability. Since structural transformation requires decades of effort, there is an urgent need to find alternative ways to balance the conflict between spatial and social mobility.

If putting the aforementioned myth of Dali aside for the time being and considering its inner logic, an interesting question arises: can spatial mobility be a short-cut to achieve upward social mobility? Since social mobility indicates the change of social status that is defined by various social dimensions. The social dimensions are socially constructed, thereby the dimensions vary in the different socio-cultural framework. There is a possibility that universal social dimensions in a mainstream society may become ineffective in some non-mainstream societies, and some devalued qualities in mainstream society may be constructed as important dimensions for social hierarchy. As the logic goes, people may achieve upward social mobility by moving to a socio-cultural environment where their advantages are appreciated, while their disadvantages are overlooked. Despite the possibility in logic, there remains a paucity of evidence on the assumptive relationship between spatial and social mobility. It is interesting to

think of how are the social dimensions constructed? Is there any interaction between social and spatial mobility? If the changed social status brings improvement in social reality, or they are just changes in people's minds? How long does the changed social status last?

1.2 Problem statement

This research aims to solve the following problems:

Firstly, to define sojourner as a tourist typology. There has been an unremitting interest in typological studies of tourists since the 1970s (Aramberri, 1991; Cohen, 1979a, 1979b; Graburn, 1983; Hartmann, 1991; Ward et al., 2005). Sojourners are conceptually linked to non-institutionalized tourists, but previous research on sojourners was conducted in the migration domain. This research conceptualizes sojourners in the scope of tourism studies, in an attempt to take some first steps towards enriching the existing tourist's typology literature, as well as broadening the understanding of the tourism phenomenon.

Secondly, to conceptualize sojourn as a mobility form. The divisions between different forms of mobility become increasingly blurred. Distinguishing mobility forms such as excursion, tourism, second home visiting, sojourn, migration, etc., on the basis of parameters of duration, distance, visit-frequency, etc. runs the risk of over-simplification. Sojourn, as a collection of semi-permanent mobility forms, can be anchored in the mobility spectrum between tourism and migration.

Thirdly, to explore the trajectories and determinants of sojourners' spatial mobility. Dali sojourners phenomenon is a reflection of the counter-urbanization trend in contemporary China, which is closely linked to a counteraction – the megacity polarization. The educated youths give up the urban life and relocated to a below four-tier village. It is important to understand the mobile trajectory of educated mobile youth over life. Besides, the determinants for the counter-urbanization movement should be considered from both sides – the push factors of the megacities, and the pull factors of Dali.

Fourthly, to understand the mobile trajectories and social construction of sojourner's social mobility. In response to the questions arisen by the "myth of Dali", there is a need to investigate the trajectories of sojourners' social mobility empirically. Due to the long-term social interaction, social rules, social dimensions, and social structure are collectively constructed by sojourners in the sojourn destination. To date, whilst tourism scholars have shown an increased interest in the planning, management, and marketing of tourist destinations, understanding of the social construction of such destinations is underexplored.

Fifthly, to bridge spatial and social mobility in the context of tourism. There is evidence that spatial mobility provided the accessibilities for upward social mobility for immigrants and their offspring (Bruegel, 2002; Das-Munshi et al., 2012; De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Fielding, 1992, 1995; Platt, 2005). However, most of the research was conducted in the migration field, focused on the inter-generational social mobility, adopted the large-scale quantitative survey,

supposed social mobility as a once-in-life linear trajectory, and assumed immigrants arriving at the new society at the bottom. This research is conducted in different domains and scenarios, in the hope of bridging spatial and social mobility in the context of tourism.

Sixthly, to explore subjective social mobility from a qualitative perspective. Although social mobility research started from qualitative inquiry, it is predominantly measured by quantitative methodology over the past four decades. In existing studies, objective social mobility is evaluated by occupational, educational, and economic social dimensions (Coie et al., 1982; Hollingshead, 1975), and subjective social mobility is mainly assessed by self-report social ladders. There has been a renewed interest in the qualitative investigation of subjective social mobility research in recent years, which indicates the mobility of "individual's perception of his/her own position in the status hierarchy" (Jackman & Jackman, 1973, p.569). Instead of applying a large-scale survey to capture the social trends and conduct cross-cultural comparisons, this research aims to dig out a richly detailed description of personal experience through phenomenological inquiry.

Seventhly, to reflect upon Chinese youth issues under the theoretical lens of Chineseness. China is going through a social transformation. The social boundaries, in terms of the geographical boundaries and class boundaries, have been solidified. Consequently, the increasing social exclusion and class solidification are turning China into a castle society in both geographical and

sociological senses. The restrictive and binary urban-rural division census register system, the unbalanced public service system, the unjust employment system of public institutions, and the unfair income distribution system have by far lead to the economic, social interactional and institutional exclusion of educated mobile youth in the metropolis (Zhang, 2006). Dali sojourner phenomenon reflects youth issues raised from the conflicting social and spatial mobility. The understanding of this phenomenon may shed light on the understanding of mobility issues in contemporary China.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

The main research objective is to interpret Dali sojourners' meaning-making of their spatial and social mobility experience through the lens of Chineseness. Under the phenomenological umbrella, in order to specify an area of interest and delimit the issue, seven sub-research questions are stated, as follows:

RQ1: What are the trajectories of Dali sojourners' spatial mobility?

RQ2: What are the determinants of Dali sojourners' spatial mobility?

RQ3: What are the trajectories of Dali sojourners' social mobility?

RQ4: How is Dali sojourners' social mobility constructed?

RQ5: What are the interactions between spatial and social mobility?

RQ6: What are the influences of mobility experience on SWB?

RQ7: Based on sojourners' meaning-making of mobility experience, how to reflect on the socio-cultural framework?

1.4 Significance of the study

There are several critical areas to which this study can claim original theoretical contribution by its completion: Firstly, this study reveals a youth issue raised from mobility that is also solved by mobility. The conflict between increasing spatial mobility and decreasing social mobility lead to the marginalization of educated mobile youth in the megacities and "Chinese puzzle". Secondly, this study calls for a new turn in tourism studies – the existential turn. Much early theory defines the nature of tourism through some rather fixed dualisms. However, the existential turn blurs the boundaries of leisure versus work, away versus home, extraordinary versus ordinary, guest versus host, etc. Tourism is not only a luxury experience, a break from mundane life, a consumption pattern, but a form of existence. Thirdly, this research may shed light on the understanding of tourist typologies and tourism patterns by conceptualizing sojourn and sojourner. Fourthly, this study bridges spatial and social mobility in the context of tourism. While social mobility facilitates spatial mobility, spatial mobility also helps the construction of social mobility. Fifthly, this study identifies five neo-features of social mobility and provides an empirical narrative of "Chinese puzzle". Sixthly, IPA has experimented in this study as an innovative approach to understanding mobility experience and interpreting its meaning-making. Seventhly, this study reflected upon the socio-cultural framework thereby deepens the existing body of knowledge about Chineseness.

In a practical sense, the study, upon completion, would offer insights into destination management and provide alternative approaches to solve youth issues. There are strong interactions among tourists, destinations, and the tourism industry. While a destination attracts the sojourner, the sojourner also acts as an attraction to mass tourists. This research has the potential to contribute to the protection and upgrade of traditional tourist destinations. More importantly, this research will shed light on youth social issues. The Dali sojourners are the epitome of the educated youth struggling in urban cracks and seeking a better quality of life through spatial mobility. Exploring the social and spatial mobility experience of Dali sojourners may provide an alternative solution to China's youth issues arising in the process of social transformation.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is composed of six themed chapters. Chapter one begins with an introduction of the research background and the problem statement for this inquiry follows. The research questions and objectives are identified. In the end, the research significance is established in view of the study’s contributions to theoretical, methodological and practical enrichment. Chapter two presents a review of the previous literature. This chapter aims to obtain an overall knowledge of the related theories and concepts, provide theoretical frameworks, as well as identify research gaps. Specifically, literature about mobility, spatial mobility, social mobility, and SWB is reviewed. Chapter three focuses on methodology. The historical development and philosophical vein of

phenomenology are reviewed. The paradigm, ontology, epistemology, and axiology of IPA are specified. The social structure, social status, and social mobility in China are reviewed as a contextual framework for this undertaking. This is then followed by the accurate procedure of conducting IPA. At the end of this chapter, research trustworthiness is discussed to enhance the credibility, applicability, consistency, and neutrality of phenomenological inquiry. Chapter four is concerned with findings of IPA. IPA accounts are thematized in response to research questions. Phenomenological portraits derived from participants' life-history interviews are sketched to provide accounts of Dali sojourners' meaning-making of spatial and social mobility experience. Chapter five provides discussions based on the IPA reflection. Chapter six briefly concludes current research and points out theoretically and practical implications, followed by a series of limitations and future research directions.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This section critically reviews the literature required for a thorough understanding of the research topic. Specifically, this chapter elaborates the relevant literature about mobility, spatial mobility, social mobility, and youthful travellers to conceptualize the research object, to anchor the theoretical framework, and to illustrate the research background.

2.1 Mobility

2.1.1 The conceptualization and typology of mobility

Kaufmann (2017) defined mobility as "the way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts this potential to use for his or her activities" (p. 37). Mobility involves the various potential for the movement of people, material objects, information, and metaphysical existence for different purposes, by all kinds of means, and in diverse scales and durations. Mobility refers to not only the actual movement but the potential for movement, which is deemed as "a property of things and of people" (Urry, 2007, p. 7).

In the era of mobility (Halfacree, 2012), mobility provides a "novel agenda for sociology" (Urry, 2000, p. 186). The mobility of people, objects, information, and perception is of vital importance to the contemporary world. Hannam et al. (2006) predicted the "mobility turn" (Urry, 2007, p. 6) might transform social science and transcend all the existing boundaries in the 20th

century. “A mobility ‘lens’ provides a distinctive social science that is productive of different theories, methods, questions, and solutions” (*ibid*, p.18). A variety of heretofore disciplines, such as geography, migration studies, feminism, politics, transport, cultural studies, sociology, and tourism studies, are synthesized into a unified “post-disciplinary” domain (Coles et al., 2005; Coles et al., 2006, 2009; Jessop & Sum, 2001).

The typology of mobility is proposed based on mobile path and motivation. In terms of the mobile path, there are five categories of mobility: corporeal mobility of human beings; physical mobility of objects; imaginative mobility through multi-media; virtual mobility in real-time through VR or AR; communicative mobility through verbal communication (Urry, 2007, p. 47). Considering mobility motivation, twelve forms of mobility are identified: involuntary mobility such as asylum, refugee seeking, and homeless drifting; business and professional mobility; youth-on-the-discovery mobility where a rite of passage is represented to accomplish the life-stage transformation; medical mobility for better or cheaper medical treatment; military mobility of people and all kinds of weapons and military equipment; lifestyle transnational mobility during post-employment; trailing mobility of family, relatives or domestic servants; diasporas mobility of overseas emigrations; travel for multi-sensory experiences and tourism services; visiting friends and relatives mobility to maintain social networks; work mobility including commuting (*ibid*, p. 10-11). This research mainly focuses on the corporeal mobility of human beings in the form of lifestyle mobility.

Philosophers, sociologists, and geographers have been contributing to the development of mobility paradigm of various ages. From the early stage Sedentarism that emphasized the importance of a stable lifestyle and the place attachment, to the Neo-Vitalism that focused on the mobility nature of the social reality. The new mobilities paradigm is an eclectic of Sedentarism and Neo-Vitalism, which accepts the dualistic relationship of traveling and dwelling. It is also the guiding research perspective of spatial mobility in this study.

2.1.2 The Evolution of Mobility Paradigm

2.1.2.1 Sedentarism: dwelling-in-traveling

The philosophical reflection on the relationship between human beings and space started from Sedentarism. For Sedentarists, the intimate bond between place and human beings was the fundamental human experience. Therefore, the dwelling was deemed as an essential existence, while mobility was nothing more than a process to acquire a better dwelling.

Through the embodied interaction with space, people obtain the belongingness and authentic existence. “To say that mortals are is to say that in the dwelling they persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locals.” (Heidegger, 1993, p. 359). Heidegger’s views were supported by Chinese-American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, who concerned the construction and formulation of environmental perception at various levels. The main insights of his research include: the relationship between species, the group, and the individual (Tuan, 2002); the mutuality of environment and culture; the

environmental experience in multiple settings such as city, suburb, countryside, the seashore, the valley, the island, and wilderness (Tuan, 1979a); and the influence that different environment has on perceptions, attitudes, values, and worldviews. Tuan proposed the concept of "Topophilia" (Tuan, 1974, p. 4) to describe the affective bond between people and space, which was deemed as one of the essential concepts of human geography.

2.1.2.2 Neo-Vitalism: traveling-in-dwelling

With the development of society, the connection between humans and space is loosened, and the necessities and accessibility for mobility are enhanced. In accordance with this trend, Neo-Vitalists who perceive mobility as an essential aspect of modern life and the existential form emerged in sociology. Marx and Engels (1948) lamented "all that is solid melts into air" (p. 6). Mobile is the existing form of the world and social life, whereas the settlement is only a temporary process (Bergson, 1911). "In reality, the body is changing form at every moment; or rather, there is no form, since the form is immobile, and the reality is movement." (p.302).

Scholars started to focus on the fluidity nature of social reality. Deleuze et al. (1986) depicted modern life as moving trajectories rather than fixed nodes, "the nomad has no points, paths or land, it is precisely because there is no reterritorialization afterward as with the migrant" (p. 52). Harvey and Braun (1996) also mentioned: "Reifications of free-flowing processes are always occurring to create actual permanence in the social and material world around us"

(p. 81). Clifford (1997) defined mobility as the fundamental cultural practice of human species. “Everything is mobile: movement, transformation, and transduction” (Adey, 2006, p. 77). In response to Adey, Halfacree (2012) pointed out “both an experiential and metaphorical sense of flux now predominate within everyday life and consciousness” (p. 210).

German sociologist, philosopher, and critic Georg Simmel focused on the negative perspective of the increasing mobility of the modern city (Urry, 2007). As a consequence of mobility, people in the modern city become physically proximity while physically distant from each other. Simmel examined various socio-spatial patterns of mobility, such as the wandering, nomadism, diasporic travel, leisure travel, migration, the royal tour of the kingdom, the Court’s travel, and so on. Additionally, Simmel made a significant contribution to the mobility paradigm by proposing the “flux” nature of the modern city (Lash, 2005). The concept “flux,” in contrast to the similar concept “fluidity,” “liquid,” or “flow,” not only stressed the instability of social life, but also highlighted the tension, conflict, negotiation, and compromise of the flows and the flux-like dialectic of mobilities and immobilities (Molseed, 1987; Simmel, 1950).

In a similar vein with Simmel, Bauman (2013c) pointed out the concept of “fluidity” which indicates “the passage from the solid to a liquid phase of modernity” (p.1). “Fluidity” became the “leading metaphor for the present stage of the modern era” (*ibid*, p.2), and “do not keep to any shape for long and are constantly ready (and prone) to change it” (*ibid*). Bauman further pointed out the

most significant characteristic of modernity was people emancipated from temporal and spatial constraints, thus acquired the freedom to move physically, socially, and emotionally. “Modernity starts when space and time are separated from living practice” (*ibid,* p.2). Bauman demonstrated repeatedly the importance of time to the fluidity of modern society: “it is mostly time that matters” (*ibid,* p.2). In so doing, Bauman revealed the flexible and expansive nature of modern time and deemed the modern time as a weapon in the conquest of space.

2.1.2.3 New mobilities paradigm: traveling and dwelling

Urry is regarded as the founder of mobility studies in tourism and leisure research scope (Canzler et al., 2008). According to Sheller and Urry (2006), the new mobilities paradigm is composed of twelve fundamental dimensions. Firstly, mobility permeates every aspect of modern life. “More or less fast, more or less intense and more or less involving physical movement” (Urry, 2007, p. 47). Secondly, five interdependent forms of mobility define modern social life. Thirdly, physical travel of human beings touches on a variety of bodies, embodied encounters and multi-sensory experiences. Fourthly, co-present or togetherness is an obligation to travel, thereby has the potential to increase social capital. Fifthly, mobility is inherent in the latent mob, thus should be controlled under governmentality. Sixthly, mobility involves all kinds of heterogeneous material objects, which may facilitate or block the mobility process directly or indirectly. Seventhly, mobility reflects and constructs the social structure based on hierarchical affordability. Eighthly, mobility constructs mobility system, and

reciprocally, it is regulated by the mobility system. Ninthly, the mobility system circulates human beings, material objects or information, and the unbalanced accessibility to the mobility system may lead to inequality. Tenthly, mobility in everydayness involves different routeways that give rise to numerous circulation modes and mobility capitals. Eleventhly, mobility is a relative concept rather than an obsolete status. The fixability of the mobility system and routeways also requires attention. Twelfthly, the construction and maintenance of the mobility system are highly dependent on professional knowledge.

The new mobilities paradigm is an eclectic reflection of previous mobility paradigms. It endows the "stability within movement and movement within stability" (Halfacree, 2012, p. 211). The concepts of "dwelling-in-travel" and "traveling-in-dwelling" (Clifford, 1997) diminish the binary opposition of stability and mobility. A journey away from home may be a journey towards another home. Tourism is not only the escape from home but a search for home (Larsen et al., 2007). A variety of new mobilities in the post-modern society form opening identity, and endow the non-traditional stability-mobility lifestyle with social significance (Adler & Adler, 1999).

Influenced by this philosophical trend, reconsiderations about the dialectic relationship between mobility and immobility raised both in the physical and social life (Cooke, 2011; Coulter et al., 2016; Coulter & Scott, 2015; Musterd et al., 2016). While the notions of nomadology, exile, migration, time-space compression, and hyper-mobility occupied the territory of social science, the

significance of home or stay is underestimated (Morley, 2001). Therefore Mägi et al. (2016) called for a shift in mobility research agenda – a holistic consideration of mobility and stability. The mutual interdependence of traveling and dwelling, or say, mobility and stability should be conceptualized and measured together (Quinn, 2007).

The new mobilities paradigm is the guiding paradigm for the mobility study in this research. The new mobilities paradigm sets out from the dynamic-static integrated philosophical standpoint to deliberate the influence of mobility on geographic interactions, the relationship between place and place, the attachment between people and people, and human beings' perception of the world. It stands for state-of-art academic achievements in mobility. It provides a valuable perspective to explore the dialectical relationship of dwelling and traveling, the ever-changing social life versus the lament for a sense of stability and belongingness.

2.2 Spatial mobility

A mobility spectrum is proposed to visualize the concept of sojourn. Instead of defining mobility as a specific form of mobility, this study conceptualizes mobility as a collection of mobility forms that anchored on the mobility spectrum between tourism and migration. This section reviews dimensions that frame different types of mobility, the distinction between the two ends of the mobility spectrum – tourism and migration, as well as two closed related concepts to the

subject under investigation – residential tourism and lifestyle migration. Consequently, the work definitions of sojourn and sojourner are proposed.

2.2.1 Dimensions of spatial mobilities

Based on different dimensions, there is a vast and heterogeneous complex of mobilities (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Traditionally, different mobility forms are separated by a well-defined spatial-temporal two-dimensional framework. As Hall (2005b) visualized in Figure 2.1. The vertical axis stands for the time of departure, which is marked with hours, day, weekends, weeks, months and years. Two nodes, “day” and “six to twelve months,” act as watersheds for the conceptual segmentation. The horizontal axis represents a spatial dimension which ranging from local, regional, national, to international. The boundaries between local/regional, and national/international are set to segment different forms of mobility.

Thirteen forms of human mobility scatter in the coordinate axis, ranging from short-term and nearby forms to long-haul and distant forms, accordingly, shopping, day-tripping/excursions, domestic vacation, travel to second home (weekends), intra-national business travel, travel to vacation homes, seasonal travel for work or by retirees to a second home, extended working holidays, sojourning, study/working abroad, educational travel/exchange, international vacations, international business travel. This framework provides a condensed definition of human mobilities, thereby formed the historical view of mobility typology and brought great convenience for statistical demand. However, due to its over-simplification in a sociological sense, this framework is criticized by researchers such as Williams and Hall (2000).

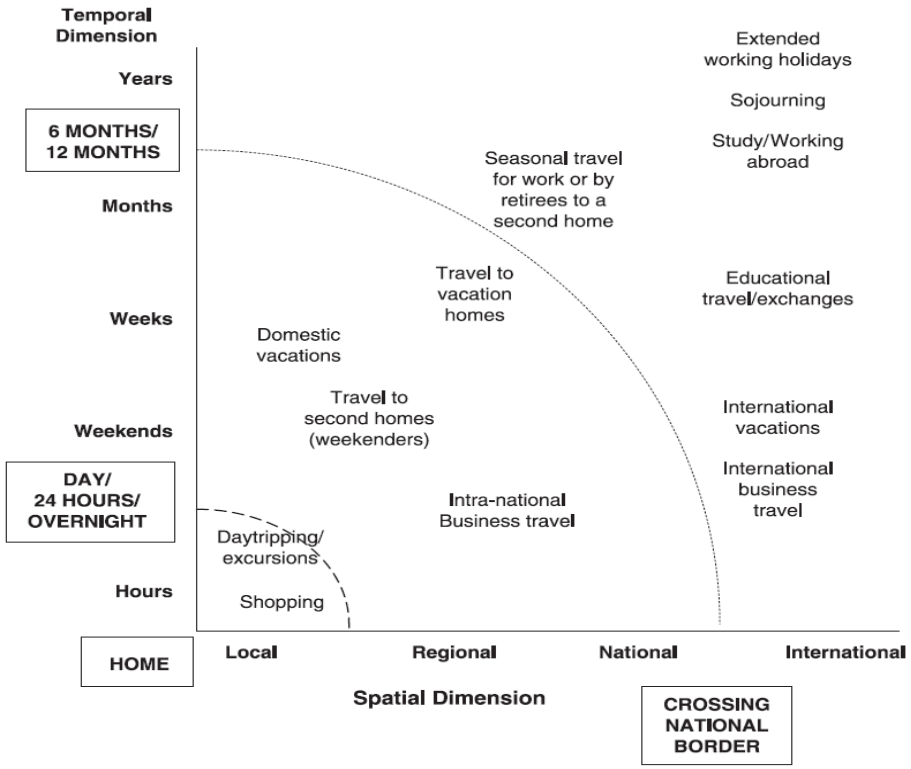


Figure 2.1 The First Mobility Framework

Source: Hall (2005a)

Built upon the historical view of mobility typology, Hall (2005a) came up with a three-dimensional framework with numbers of trips as an extra dimension in addition to time and distance (Figure 2.2). Nineteen forms of mobilities are brought into this framework: visits, day-tripping/excursions, commuting, shopping, short breaks, travel to second homes (weekenders), travel to vacation homes, business travel, vacation, educational travel, pilgrimage, seasonal travel for work or by retirees to a second home, long-distance commuting, extended working holidays, sojourning, study/working abroad, the "OE," return migration, and migration.

Different from the traditional framework that makes the distance dimension with clear cut boundaries for the local, regional, national, and international, in the second framework, the distance dimension represents greater flexibility. In so doing, the relationship between tourism, temporal migration, and migration becomes conceptually interwoven. This renewed framework provides a broader geographical context over one's lifecycle and makes more sense in cross-cultural comparison. For instance, for spacious countries like the Russia, United States, Canada, and countries with boundaries restrictions, such as North Korean, the meaning of "international mobility" is definitely different from "international mobility" within EU countries. Besides, the clearly defined temporal dimension is vulnerable to challenges both in practice and in a sociological sense.

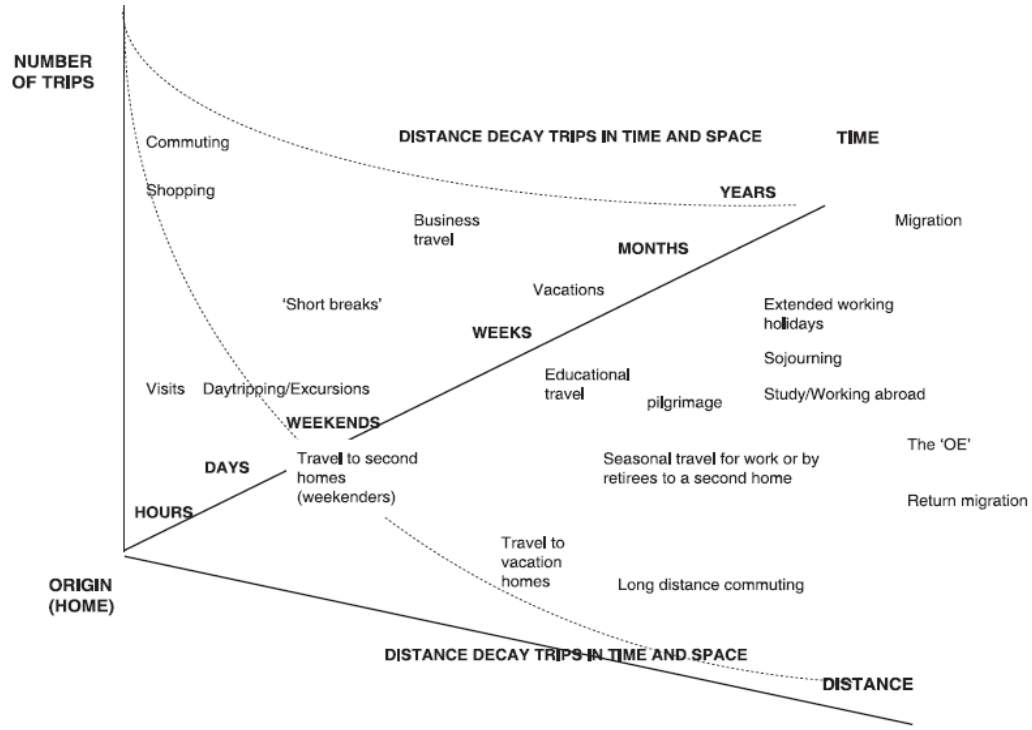


Figure 2.2 The Second Mobility Framework

Source: Hall (2005a)

In a more advanced manner, Lew et al. (2008) revised the second framework and proposed a model that places mobility forms in transitional zones instead of specific points (Figure 2.3). Similarly, mobility forms, include visits, day-tripping/excursions, commuting shopping, travel to second home, business travel, educational travel, travel to vacation homes, vacations, long-distance commuting, seasonal travel for work or by retirees to a second home, extended working holidays, sojourning, study/working abroad, migration, are scattered on the mobility zones. This framework shows researchers' attempt to emphasize the boundaries of mobility forms are blur in social practices, which shed light on the conceptualization of sojourn and research perspectives of spatial mobility in this study.

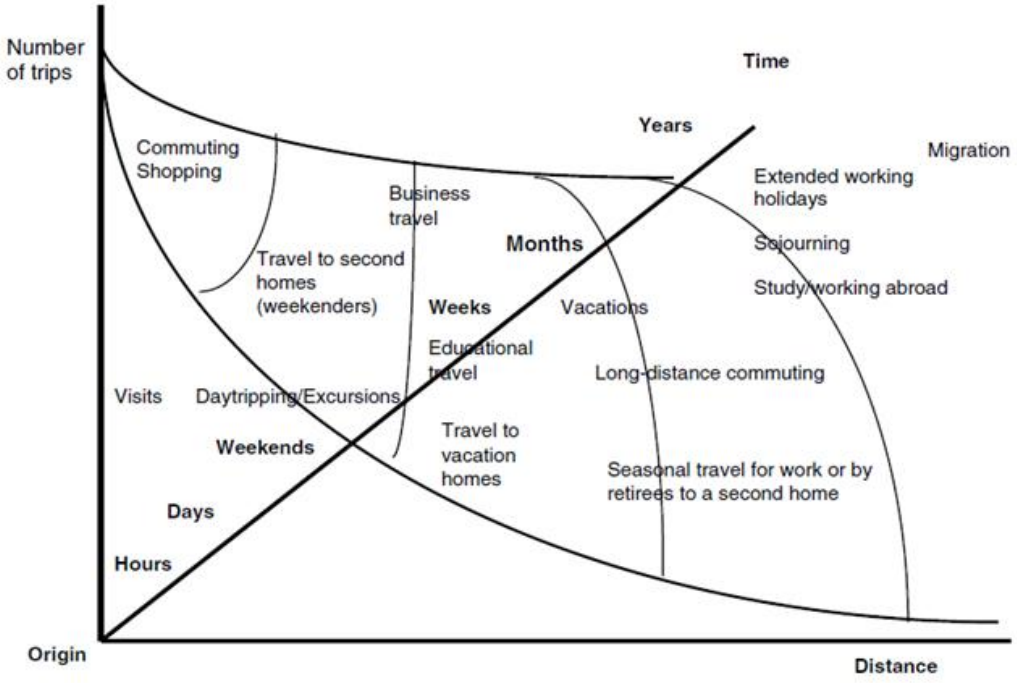


Figure 2.3 The Third Mobility Framework

Source: Lew et al. (2008)

2.2.2 Distinctions between tourism and migration

As Williams and Hall (2000) acclaimed, tourism and migration are two of the central preoccupations of contemporary geography. If we put tourism and migration on the two ends of a mobility spectrum, there will be a variety of mobilities forms lie in-between these two ends. Therefore, distinguishing the definition between tourism and migration is the fundamental step to develop a comprehensive understanding of the typology of mobility.

The main differences between tourism and migration mainly lie in five aspects (Table 2.1). Firstly, regarding the spatial dimension, tourism occurs outside the usual place of residence, while migration indicates the change in residential places. Secondly, referring to the temporal dimension, the duration of

tourism ranges from 24 hours to one year, while migration involves a permanent relocation to a new place of residence. Thirdly, the motivation of tourism could be anything other than a permanent residence or remunerated employment. It involves a series of transitory events where responsibility is suspended. However, migration includes the everydayness and life responsibilities. Fourthly, tourism activities are mainly leisure-oriented, while the migration mostly focuses on property purchases, registration with local councils, education, social welfare, and medical treatment. Fifthly, while tourism indicates the escape from the ordinary to the extraordinary that embraces a series of activities including such as "play, ritual, ceremony, communication, altered states of consciousness, meditation, worship, pilgrimage, and so on" (Graburn, 1983), migration marks a starting point of new ordinary life (Dann & Cohen, 1991).

Table 2.1 Distinctions between tourism and migration

	Tourism	Migration
Space	Outside of the usual place of residence	Inside a new place of residence
Time	From 24 hours to one year	Permanent relocation
Motivation	Non-permanent residence and non-remunerated employment	Life responsibility
Activities	Leisure-oriented activities	Everydayness
Encounter	Extraordinary	Ordinary

Despite the clear distinction in conceptualization, the division of tourism and migration can be problematic in social reality. There are emerging forms of mobility that are hard to be categorized into the scope of tourism or migration (Mazón & Aledo, 2005). For instance, "permanence relocation" is an ambiguous

on-going process that is hard to measure (Burkart & Medlik, 1981). In a similar vein, there is increasing evidence that among independent youth tourists, short-term work becomes a common way to make money and support the trip (Cohen, 1982a, Adler, 1985). It conflicts with the "leisure-oriented activities" versus "everydayness" distinction between tourism and migration in mobility activities. Therefore, Salazar (2012) argued, tourism-mobility was not a single form of mobility, but a variety of mobilities where space was constructed and tourism was performed.

The historical dichotomy between tourism and migration led to the overlook of their symbiotic relationship and definitional overlaps. Williams and Hall (2000) defined migration as a pole of tourism flows. In some cases, in order to maintain the social and kinship networks that are geographically extended by migration, ebbs of visiting friends and relatives travel (VFR) is structured throughout one's lifecycle (Boyne et al., 2002; Dwyer et al., 2014). In turn, tourism also promotes migration flows. For instance, the increasing labour demand driven by the tourism industry leads to labour migration. Similarly, a pleasant tourism experience can be a trigger for migration decisions.

With the increasing comprehensiveness of new mobilities forms, "distinctions between tourism, migration, and mobilities over the life course may blur" (Cohen, 2011, p. 5). As explained by Cohen (1982b), tourism may have a hardcore with wide, vague margins. Hall (2005a) also noted some mobilities were "partial tourists," whereas others were "partial migrants" (p. 132). Williams

and Hall (2000) conceived a continuum with tourism at one end and permanent migration at the other end. Various forms of mobility such as residential tourism, national counter-urbanization, international counter-urbanization, second-home ownership, seasonal migration, retirement migration, lifestyle migration, labour migration, diaspora living were utilized to capture a chaotic collection of human mobilities lying in a transitional zone between tourism and migration (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Coulter & Scott, 2015; Gascón, 2016; Hall, 2003; Janoschka & Haas, 2013; Mazón, 2006; O'Reilly & Karen, 2007; Wilkinson, 2009; Williams & Hall, 2000, 2002). Inspired by this mobility spectrum, the working definitions of sojourn and sojourner are proposed to add to the body of knowledge of tourism and tourist typology.

2.2.3 Residential tourism and lifestyle migration

In this research, definitions of "sojourn" and "sojourner" are based on two conceptual pillars: residential tourists and lifestyle migrants. The development of lifestyle migration and residential tourism is the result of a joint effect of individual and social changes, such as the increasing interconnection among countries that turned the world into a global village; the unprecedented increasing mobility in modern social life; the development of technology that contributes to the time-space compression; the increased portable pensions and expendable wealth; the increasing social capital that provides people the network for mobility; the construction of migration systems including the improved modern

transportation, immigration policy, and mobility infrastructure (Castles et al., 2013; Giddens, 2013; Papastergiadis, 2013; Urry, 2012).

Residential tourism and lifestyle migration are interlinked concepts that indicate the overwhelming individualization in modern society (Janoschka & Haas, 2013). According to Huete and Mantecón (2011), international residential tourism is an elite phenomenon that started in South France, particularly in Nice, then spread to Greece and Portugal in the 1990s. The Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the Schengen Agreement broke the barriers of mobility, thereby provided institutional foundation for the free mobility of transnational mobility within the European Union (EU). Ever since there has been increasing population move from advanced to relocate in less advanced regions for a better quality of life. (Aledo & Mazón, 2004; Gascón, 2016; Huete & Mantecón, 2011; Janoschka & Haas, 2013; O'Reilly & Karen, 2007; Van Noorloos & Steel, 2016). So have the movements of people from European countries such as England, Germany, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, and Sweden to Spain (Ackers & Dwyer, 2004; Aledo & Mazón, 2004; Casado-Díaz, 2006; Gustafson, 2001; Huber & O'Reilly, 2004; O'Reilly & Karen, 2007; O'Reilly, 2000); European and American second-home owners' travel to Croatia (Božić, 2006); British retirements' relocation to France; Europeans' movements to Romania or Morocco; and North American's long-term stay in Mexico (Tremblay & O'Reilly, 2004).

Definitions of residential tourism and lifestyle migration are presented to reveal their linkage and subtle differences. O'Reilly and Karen (2007) defined

residential tourists as the wealthy people who turn tourism into the mode of life by developing fluid and leisure-oriented lifestyle among different places and construct a community parallel to the local community within the tourist destination. McWatters (2009) conceptualized the residential tourism as "the enduring practices and lifestyles which result from a channelled flow of consumption-led, permanent or semi-permanent migration to a particular destination" (p.3). He pointed out two major characteristics of residential tourists: the leisure and consumption-oriented lifestyle in which work obligations are minimized, and the permanent or semi-permanent stay in a specific destination outside one's original place of residence. In a similar vein, Mazón (2006) conceptualized residential tourism as "economic activity that focuses on the construction and sale of properties whose buyers usually reside elsewhere; the users may employ these households for their accommodation during their holidays or may live in them on a permanent or semi-permanent basis" (p. 89).

In general, the concept of lifestyle migration has a broader application than residential tourism in mobility study. Lifestyle migration "transcends and encompasses the usual umbrella concepts: second-home ownership, retirement migration, seasonal migration, international counter urbanization or leisure migration" (Huete & Mantecón, 2011, p. 161). Therefore, lifestyle migration is perceived as "an anti-modern, escapist, self-realization project, a search for the intangible good life" (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009, p. 1), as well as a project "that encompasses diverse destinations, desires and dreams" (*ibid,* p.2). In contemporary social science narrative, lifestyle migration is a temporary or

permanent geographical mobility of a relatively affluent class for a better quality of life, which can either be personally defined or collectively accepted (Janoschka & Haas, 2013).

Lifestyle migration is defined as "the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life" (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009, p. 1). Escher and Petermann (2013) conceptualized the lifestyle migration as a permanent change in the place of residence or the selection of an additional place of residence, in order to achieve a better life for self-actualization, self-portrayal, and satisfaction of basic needs. Four pragmatic dimensions of lifestyle migrants were identified in their study: the conscious physicalness (fashion and beauty, wellness and fitness); the satisfaction of basic needs (food, drink, eroticism, and sex); the customized physical residential environment; and the social and media-based sphere aimed at maintaining one's social network.

The motivation of lifestyle migration is predominantly for "a better quality of life" (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009, p. 1). While in some cases, its motivation, beyond the chase for a better quality of life, can be seeking self-fulfilment, self-actualization, and self-reflection (Torkington, 2010, p. 102). Haas et al. (2013) defined the "Utopian lifestyle migrants" as "individuals who pursued a project emerging from a reflective attitude towards life and society before the migration took place" (p.99). Additionally, lifestyle migration often

relates to freedom and happiness in an alternative residential place (Janoschka & Haas, 2013).

Residential tourist and lifestyle migrant are closely related concepts with multiple similarities: firstly, both of them lie in the mobility continuum between migration and tourism; secondly, both involve semi-permanent stay outside one's original socio-geographical milieu; thirdly, both take place in tourist destinations and form communities coexist with the local community; fourthly, both are the privilege of affluent people; fifthly, both may involve the lodging purchase and infrastructural construction; and sixthly, both have ecological, economic, cultural and social impacts on the local community. Huete and Mantecón (2011) stated the boundaries between tourism and migration were blurred even in the same tourist destination. Many holiday homeowners went through the status transformation from residential tourists to lifestyle migrants. As McWatters (2009) explained, vacation tourism could inspire the desire, knowledge, and capacity to relocate in an unfamiliar social-cultural environment, hence often acted as a springboard propelling people into residential tourism.

There are some differences lying in-between lifestyle migration and residential tourism: firstly, lifestyle migration associates with more stable living while residential tourism normally indicates the temporary stay with frequent circular trips; secondly, lifestyle migration can be a lifestyle transformation, while residential tourism highlights changes in the consumption mode; thirdly, motivations of lifestyle migration include the pursuit for a better quality of life,

self-fulfilment, self-actualization, and self-reflection, while what push people to residential tourism are mainly hedonistic purposes; fourthly, activities of lifestyle migration touch on a whole picture of everydayness, whereas residential tourism centres around leisure-oriented activities.

Criteria to distinguish semi-permanent residential typologies include demographical characteristics (Rodriguez, 2001), time and space (Haug et al., 2007), intention and motivation (McWatters, 2009), mobility forms (O'Reilly & Karen, 2007; O'Reilly, 2000); and empirical standards such as legal registration and possession of property (Huete & Mantecón, 2011). Haug et al. (2007) proposed a migration trajectory of tourism including tourism, domestic second homes, permanent domestic change, seasonal out-migration, expatriate migration, and permanent out-migration. This trajectory indicates transformation from temporary (usually two weeks), semi-permanent (six months to one year), to a permanent situation (life-long period). However, McWatters (2009) challenged Haug et al. by arguing the conceptualization of residential tourists should beyond specific occupation or age range, instead, residential tourists should be viewed as a homogenous group in terms of demographic composition and motivation. He put forward an additional criterion -- intentions to sustain a lasting home in the destination which manifested as the environmental perception, spatial construction, residential ambitions, and place identity.

In response to the demand in large scale measurement, O'Reilly identified four types of migrant groups: *full residents* who permanently lived in the

migration place; *returning residents* who went back to their original place regularly; *seasonal migrants* who lived in the original country and travel to a migration place seasonally; *peripatetic migrants* who travelled back and forth between two countries (O'Reilly & Karen, 2007; O'Reilly, 2000). Huete and Mantecón (2011) proposed more operational typological standards based on legal registration and possession of the property, thereby identified four categories of semi-permanent residential forms. Besides, criteria such as the source country, population proportion, second home ownership, mobility motivation, stay duration, location choice, intention to learn the local language, and concerns about local governance and development were incorporated into the overall consideration. Each of the judging criteria and typological standards has its own advantages and disadvantages depending on different research purposes. The combination of different dimensions creates more informative insights for understanding the variation in mobility experiences. In this study, the aforementioned are adopted to give an overall portrait of Dali sojourners, rather than focus on the individual variations.

2.2.4 Anchoring sojourn and sojourner

Based on the review of mobility dimensions, the linkage and differences between tourism and migration, and the conceptualization of residential tourism and lifestyle migration, in this study, work definitions of sojourn and sojourners are proposed.

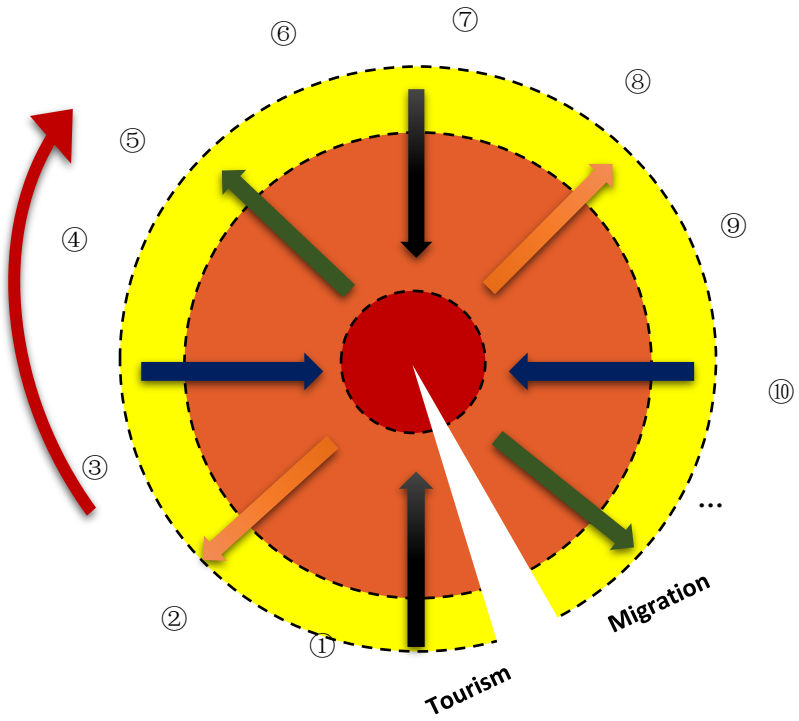
The most wildly adopted definition of sojourn is proposed by Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001) based on the duration, purpose, and return intention. Sojourn is defined as the "temporary stay in a new place" (p. 142). Firstly, "although there are no fixed criteria for defining a sojourn in terms of its duration, six months to five years are commonly cited parameters" (p. 142). Secondly, sojourners "voluntarily go abroad for a set period of time that is usually associated with a specific assignment or contract" (p. 21). Thirdly, "sojourners expect to return home after the completion of their assignment, contract or studies" (p. 21), and "are usually more committed than tourists to their new location, but less involved than immigrants and resettled refugees. Like immigrants, they voluntarily relocate abroad; however, 'returning home 'is anticipated and planned'" (p. 142).

The traditional definition of sojourn provides clear boundaries to identify sojourn as a mobility form. However, it narrows down the research scope to several fixed categories, and thus sojourn becomes a phenomenon only about "expatriate business people, diplomats, members of armed forces, students, volunteers, aid workers, and missionaries (p. 142).

Anchoring sojourn in the context of mobility allows a comprehensive understanding of the increasingly complicated mobility phenomena. Based on the aforementioned literature, a framework is developed and shown in Figure 2.4, which presents sojourn as a collection of multiple forms of human mobility in a cycle stretching from partial tourism to partial migration. The mobility forms

include residential tourism, national counter-urbanization, international counter-urbanization, national second-home ownership, international second-home ownership, seasonal migration, retirement migration, labour migration, diaspora living, lifestyle migration, etc.

Due to the high inner-heterogeneity in terms of geographical distance, duration length, demographical characteristics, and travel motivations, none of the mobility forms can be defined as an independent entity. Regarding the length of duration, most of the mobility forms include stages from temporary stay, semi-permanent stay, to permanent stay. Considering their interrelationship, most of the mobility forms overlap in the same territory and over one's lifecycle. Generally, as mobility forms develop from tourism to migration, the duration time and non-leisure related activities increase, while the extraordinariness and the attachment to original residential place decline. In some cases, people may develop multiple place identity and place attachment.



Permanent stay
Semi-permanent stay
Temporary stay

Time
Distance
Extraordinary encounter
Number of trips
Hedonistic motivation/ activities

① Residential tourism
② National counter urbanization
③ International counter urbanization
④ National second-home ownership
⑤ International second-home ownership
⑥ Seasonal migration
⑦ Retirement migration
⑧ Labor migration
⑨ Diaspora living
⑩ Lifestyle migration

Figure 2.4 Anchoring Sojourn in Mobility Spectrum

Source: author

In a more simplified manner, the work definitions of sojourn and sojourner are visualized in Figure 2.5. Specifically, sojourner is defined as *a mobility form can be anchored in the mobility spectrum between tourism and migration. It contains a collection of inter-mingled and inner-heterogeneous mobilities, which are differentiated according to the spatial dimension, temporal dimension, and a number of trips, motivations, activities, and encounters.*

Accordingly, the concept sojourner transcends and encompasses a series umbrella concepts to define mobile individuals such as residential tourists, national/international counter-urbanization migrants, national/international second-home owners, seasonal migrants, retirement migrants, labour migrants, diaspora migrants, lifestyle migrants, and so on. In this research, the work definition of sojourner is *individuals who involve in a voluntary semi-permanent stay outside of the traditional socio-geographical milieu*.

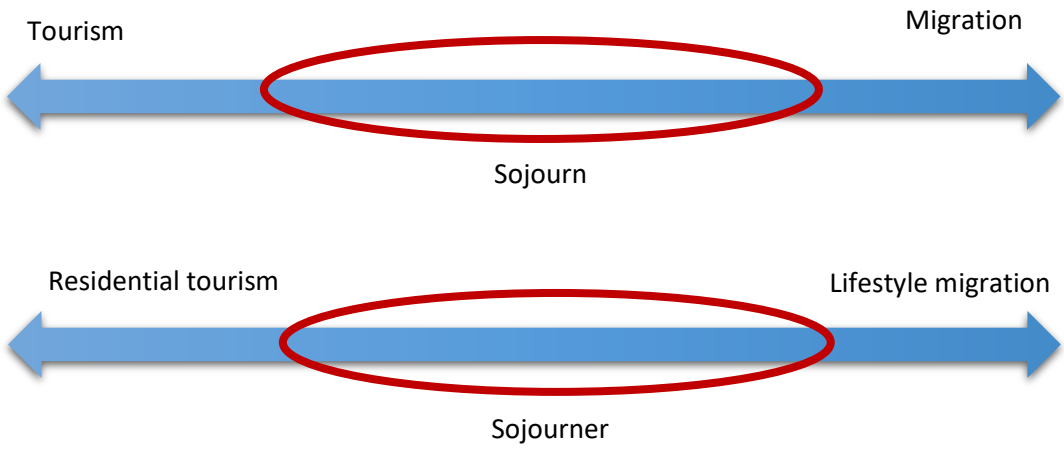


Figure 2.5 Anchoring Sojourn in Mobility Spectrum

Source: author

2.3 Social mobility

2.3.1 Definition of social mobility

The theoretical foundations of social mobility are the existence of a hierarchical society that results from the imbalanced distribution of resources, and individuals' or groups' various accessibility to resources (Song, 2016). The individuals' or groups' position in the social hierarchy defines one's socioeconomic status (SES), or say, social class, social status, class status. Nock and Rossi (1979) conceptualized SES as "the dimension of social stratification which translates the objective distribution of societal resources into meaningful perceptions of relative desirability" (p. 1325).

The movement between different social hierarchies is defined as social mobility. Müller and Pollak (2015) conceptualized social mobility as "the movement in time of social units between different positions in the system of social stratification of society" (p. 7). It is the "movement of individuals, families, or groups through a system of social hierarchy or stratification" ("Social mobility," 2018). In a simplified expression, Simandan (2018) defined social mobility as "moving into a different class than that into which one was born." One can experience multiple social mobilities in different life stages. Definitions that depict the trajectory of social mobility as a once-in-life linear movement ran the risk of over-simplification. Therefore, this study defines social mobility as *dynamic changes of the SES between different generations, or within one's lifecycle*.

2.3.2 Typologies of social mobility

Social mobility is a multifaceted social phenomenon that can be explored in various directions, reference groups, and measurement scales.

2.3.2.1 Upward, downward, and horizontal social mobility

Concerning the mobile direction, social mobility is comprised of horizontal, upward, and downward social mobility. Müller and Pollak (2015) defined horizontal as movements between classes at the same hierarchical level, upward mobility as movements from a lower to a higher hierarchy, and downward mobility as movements from a higher to a lower hierarchy. Britannica Online Academic conceptualized horizontal mobility as a change in position that not relevant to change in social class, while vertical mobility, either upward or downward, involves the change in social class (Britannica, 2018). Oxford Dictionary of Politics and International Relations defined social mobility as a movement from one class to another. Notwithstanding the laws of arithmetic, there is more upward than downward mobility with the development of the social and occupational structure ("Social mobility," 2018).

2.3.2.2 Intra-generational and inter-generational social mobility

Regarding the reference groups, social mobility either refers to changes in SES "over a person's life (intra-generational) or between parents and children (inter-generational)" (Paulson, 2018, p. 1067). Farina and Savaglio (2004) defined intra-generational mobility as the SES fluctuations of an individual, whereas the inter-generational mobility was the shift in SES within a dynasty. Houle (2011)

confirmed that “social class mobility can occur as people transition from their parents’ class to their achieved class (inter-generational mobility) or during adulthood as careers advance or decline (intra-generational mobility)” (p. 758). In the same vein, Müller and Pollak (2015) explained that inter-generational mobility associated individuals’ positions in adult life with the family origin, while intra-generational mobility compared the change in class within individuals’ own generations. Extensive research has been conducted on intra-generational social mobility (Barley, 1990; Chen & Qin, 2014; Euteneuer & Schäfer, 2018; Houle, 2011; Lu, 2008; Mok & Wu, 2016), inter-generational social mobility (Bjørnskov et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2015; Daenekindt, 2017; Gugushvili, 2016; Hadjar & Samuel, 2015; Houle & Martin, 2011; Li & Zhu, 2017; Li, 2016b; Yaish, 2002; Yuan & Chen, 2013), and the mix of both (Lee & Kramer, 2013; Paulson, 2018; Van den Berg, 2011; Zhao et al., 2017).

2.3.2.3 Objective and subjective social mobility

Referring to the measurement scale, social mobility can be categorized into objective and subjective social mobility. Objective social mobility indicates the shifts in objective social status, which is broadly evaluated by income, education, and occupation. Subjective social mobility is associated with subjective social status (SSS), which is defined as “the individual's perception of his/her own position in the status hierarchy” (Jackman & Jackman, 1973, p. 569). “The individual must identify himself with the class to which he belongs according to the objective definition; he must feel united with others in the same objective position; and he must feel separated from, or must disidentify with, people in a

different objective class position. These cognitive factors represent elements of awareness. They are often viewed as overlaid with effect, leading to characteristics such as intra-class friendship and inter-class resentment and antagonism" (Rosenberg, 1953, p. 23). As a result of changes in SSS, subjective social mobility indicates the self-reported changes in one's perceived position in society related to others (Huang et al., 2017).

This study explains the trajectory of Dali sojourners' social mobility in both subjective and objective manner. While the objective social mobility is served as a research context, we mainly focus on subjective social mobility, that is, the trajectory of changes in one's class identity. In most social mobility studies, SES is predominantly understood as the objective social status, by default, social mobility mainly refers to the objective social mobility. However, the subjective perception of social mobility experience also reflects the essential aspects of social mobility as a phenomenon. Euteneuer and Schäfer (2018) explained, SSS indicated the individual's perception of one's place on the social ladder, which emphasized the dynamic aspects of SES. We place subjective social mobility as the main research focus because of its advantages:

Firstly, subjective social mobility explicates the substantial variations of social mobility experience. People within the same social stratum are presumed to share a similar economic and social environment, while in the micro-level, the subjective experience of classism varies from person to person. Although usually, subjective mobility is in line with objective mobility (Chen & Williams, 2018),

there are cases that subjective and objective mobility are inconsistent or even conflicting (Gugushvili, 2016). For instance, in the research on US immigrants, Segura (1989) elucidated some participants who perceived themselves as upward social mobility, while the experience was objectively defined as downward social mobility. The breakage between objective and subjective social mobility provides convincing explanations of the social mobility experience in terms of different patterns of subjective SES position. Another evidence is provided by Duru-Bellat and Kieffer (2008). They attributed the inconsistencies between subjective and objective mobility to the fact that individuals defined the self-achievement and social mobility in broader terms than the predominant objective dimensions.

Second, subjective social mobility may distinguish nuances of SES dimensions in a different context, for instance, differences of the resource belong to the same occupation, the real purchase power in the different cities that fit in the same income range, and the different values lie in similar household status and educational level. For instance, in this research context, while one thousand USD monthly income in Chinese Megacities such as Beijing indicates a low living standard and SES, in Dali, it can provide people a decent life. "SSS is an immediate measure that can discriminate subtle but substantial variations in the social environment that objective SES cannot access" (Huang et al., 2017, pp. 2-3). "Interpreting these moments as interactions between multiple social class experiences provides a more nuanced lens than interpreting them as part of an identity change" (Lee & Kramer, 2013, p. 21).

Third, subjective social mobility provides a better explanation of class identity, values, worldview, and behavior. Wolf (1978) explained, individuals tended to filter the objective *Habitus* to form subjective worldview and experience. Lipset (1992) discovered that the SSS had a more significant influence on political attitudes than the SES. Liu and Hernandez (2010) defined the SSS as social-class consciousness. Destin et al. (2017) conceptualized SSS as a status-based identity, "the subjective meaning and value that people attach to understand their own SES as an identity" (p. 270).

The perception of subjective social mobility is influenced by individuals' family origin, living environment, interpersonal relationships, and expectations. Sánchez et al. (2011) conceptualized the *social class worldview model* which emphasized the subjective insight of differences within and between social stratum. The model suggests that people from different socio-cultural environments allocate various demands and expectations on themselves, which influences their access to resources and upward social mobility. "The person's worldview influences his or her social class behaviors, lifestyle considerations, and relationship to material objects" (p. 369).

Fourth, subjective social mobility unveils a steadier and stronger connection with psychological functioning, such as negative affectivity, stress, and pessimism (Adler et al., 2000; Adler & Snibbe, 2003; Cundiff et al., 2013; Endrighi et al., 2011), health-related factors (Diener & Chan, 2011; Ghaed & Gallo, 2007), cognition, empathy, and behaviour (Kraus et al., 2010; Piff et al.,

2010). Regarding the context of China, Rarick et al. (2018) discovered SSS, had a stronger connection to physical and mental health rather than SES.

SSS represents a simple, yet robust, measure of class-related issues. It related to concepts such as subjective social class, self-rated/reported status, or class identification. “subjective social status may capture one’s relative standing in a personally relevant community, which in the end may be more decisive and relevant to SWB than any objective SES measure” (*ibid*). Andersson (2015) further emphasized the subjective social mobility was highly contextualized, “one’s socioeconomic resources are assigned subjective value according to social–psychological mechanisms” (p. 317). Subjective social mobility emphasizes one’s perception of inequality and moving up on the social ladder (Huang et al., 2017). Fischer (2009) revealed that subjective social mobility alleviated the negative impact of income inequality on SWB, and thus contributed to individual life satisfaction. Kelley and Kelley (2009) discovered that subjective social mobility was significantly connected with SSS and perception toward inequality, even after controlling for actual social mobility, income, and class. In summary, because of the aforementioned advantages of subjective social mobility, it is adopted as the main perspective of social mobility study in this research.

2.3.3 Measurement of social mobility

2.3.3.1 Shift in research agenda

The measurement of social mobility has experienced a change from qualitative-driven to quantitative-driven. In the early stage, social mobility research was conducted by a sociologist in the qualitative domain. Responding to the demand for large-scale national extensive research and international comparison, quantitative research appeared on the stage since the 1960s and become the dominant research approach (Bjørnskov et al., 2013; Daenekindt, 2017; Euteneuer & Schäfer, 2018; Farina & Savaglio, 2004; Friedman, 2016; Gugushvili, 2016; Hadjar & Samuel, 2015; Houle, 2011; Lee & Kramer, 2013; Matthews, 1992; Yaish & Andersen, 2012). Very few qualitative studies emerged during the period (Barley, 1990; De Juan-Vigaray et al., 2013; Lawler, 1999; Liu & Hamnett, 2017; Sánchez et al., 2011; Song, 2016; Van den Berg, 2011). Due to the un-standardized measurement and conflicting research purposes, the evaluation of social mobility is contentious (Friedman, 2014). For instance, based on the same sample in the same socio-cultural context, economists Blanden et al. (2001) found the rate of absolute mobility in Britain was deteriorating, while sociologists Goldthorpe and Jackson (2007) argued that the rate was approximately constant.

The large-scale quantitative-driven survey paradigm is criticized for overshadowing the complication of the social mobility process, therefore, there has been an emerging interest in retrieving qualitative investigation of social mobility recently. Van den Berg (2011) criticized, “The gap between research in

the ‘survey paradigm’ and other kinds of social scientific investigations of class and mobility has become quite large” (p. 503). This study echoes with Van den Berg by focusing the socio-cultural context where the social mobility happened, exploring the subjective definition of dimensions that define social status and social mobility and providing a comprehensive interpretation of sojourners’ meaning-making of mobility experience.

The advantages of qualitative inquiry of social mobility studies are broadly supported by researchers. Paulson (2018, p. 1067) recommended, “qualitative accounts provide a richly detailed description of social mobility that is particularly appropriate for exploratory research.” Friedman (2014) passionately called for a shift in social mobility research agenda, “it proposes a shift -- one which attends to the possibility that people make sense of their social trajectories not just through ‘objective’ markers of economic or occupational success, but also through symbols and artefacts of class-inflected cultural identity.” (364).

2.3.2.2 Measurement of Objective Social Mobility

The objective of social mobility is measured by different dimensions depending on the research tradition. Conventionally, economics adopts the (household) income as the main dimension, while sociologists tend to utilize occupation to measure social mobility. In recent years, the combination of occupational, economic and educational dimensions as a more complexed measurement emerged in sociological research scope (Bjørnskov et al., 2013; Simandan, 2018).

Lenski (1954) adopted four vertical hierarchies to measure social status: the income hierarchy, the occupation hierarchy, the education hierarchy, and the ethnic hierarchy. Farina and Savaglio (2004) proposed the main dimensions of social mobility were income (which links to consumption opportunities), prestige (the prestige among peers or the power wielded within a specific social group), and occupation (within homogeneous social groups that share the resource collectively). Bjørnskov et al. (2013) examined the relationship between intergenerational social mobility and SWB by utilizing social, educational, and income dimensions to measure intergenerational mobility. In China's context, Liu and Hamnett (2017) measured social mobility in terms of occupation, capital accumulation, income, housing, education, and health. Song (2016) claimed the social relationship was also one important dimension of SES and social mobility.

Considering the complexity of SES, alternative measurements are in demand to epitomize life-time achievement and to capture the observed and unobserved dimensions of social mobility. Unobserved facets not captured by traditional SES measures may include neighbourhoods, educational experiences, meaningful social affiliations, job security, instability, career history and so forth. The effective application of occupational-related and economic-related dimensions provides research convenience of statistical analysis. However, the empirical robustness of these dimensions is controversial, and researchers called for mix-measurement to guarantee the research accuracy and to expand the research depth (Müller & Pollak, 2015).

2.3.4.3 Measurement of Subjective Social Mobility

Similar to SES, the SSS is also predominantly measured in a quantitative approach following the positivist paradigm. Notably, the MacArthur Scale is the most commonly applied measurement scale. By applying the MacArthur Scale (Adler et al., 2000), participants mark their position on the rung of a social ladder (range 1–10) based on their self-estimated occupational, economic, and educational dimensions. (Euteneuer & Schäfer, 2018). Evans and Kelley (2004) investigated the SSS by asking the participants to mark their social status on a scale from top to bottom. The application of MacArthur Scale is presented in details in the study of Nielsen et al. (2015) and Huang et al. (2017, p. 4) Participants are required to compare with their acquaintances (e.g., friends, family, and workgroup) and choose the rung that can best represent their SSS.

In line with the measurement of SSS, subjective social mobility is also measured through self-reported scale. Gugushvili (2016) measured the extent of subjective inter-generational social mobility by asking the participants to mark the extent of agreement on the question "I have done better in life than my parents" (p. 411). Huang et al. (2017) adopted a six-item subjective social mobility scale to measure subjective social mobility. Participants rated how well each item fits with their experience on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Although the self-report scale provides convenience for large-scale measurement of the direction and extent of subjective mobility, the subjective meaning-making of social mobility experience is ignored. For instance, in the

classical qualitative work of Goldthorpe et al. (1982), although some participants mentioned “Inevitably this means that contact is lost with old friends.” (pp. 244-245), due to the simplification of positivism, the testimony about negative social mobility experience was interpreted as one-dimensionally beneficial.

Therefore, a further set of criticisms seeks to reconfigure the structural and cultural understandings of social mobility by exploring the multi-dimensional meaning-making of social mobility. Nielsen et al. (2015) categorized the dimensions of SSS into 1) family background: age, father’s education, mother’s education, gender, race, parental income, number of siblings, single parents; 2) educational attainment: verbal IQ, high school GPA, college plans, education, occupational education; 3) current job situation: occupational wages, job autonomy, job non-repetitiveness, job supervisory role, job satisfaction; and 4) current socioeconomic situation: personal earnings, household income, household assets, and homeowner.

Five models are proposed to give explanation to the subjective nature of the social constructed SSS and social mobility, 1) the *class position model* proposed by Wright (2000) that emphasizes the features of current work associated with supervisory responsibility, autonomy, non-repetitiveness of tasks, etc; 2) *reproduction model* indicates the features of family origin not only determines the SSS but also manifested as an important dimension of SSS; 3) *achievement model* refers to the archived and more proximate features, for instance, educational accomplishment and present socio-economic situation,

have a more significant impact on SSS than background features such as race, gender, and family origin; 4) *permanent status model* assumes the more permanent signs of status, such as educational accomplishment, household prosperity, and real estate ownership, have more stable influence on SSS rather than transitory situations; and 5) *beautiful family model* (Goldman et al., 2006) indicates the stable marriage and happy family predicts positive evaluation of SSS.

Notably, the definition of SSS and social mobility is highly context-related. It varies significantly across racial and ethnic groups due to diverse values, historical experiences, and extent of acculturation. Therefore, the dimensions of subjective social mobility vary from society to society, from group to group, from generation to generation. For instance, in some socio-cultural context, having two or more sons has a significant positive effect on SSS. Segura (1989) diagnosed the unique social mobility dimensions defined by Chicana and Mexican immigrant women, which explained the conflicting subjective and objective social mobility due to the meaning given to specific jobs and economic segments (Van den Berg, 2011). Van den Berg (2011) examined the non-mainstream definitions of the social mobility dimensions of Moroccan migrant women in the Netherlands, which included the housing careers, informal education, and self-reliant, sense of autonomy and emancipation. Additionally, there was a difference in the subjective definition of social mobility between dimensions for the migrant women and their offspring.

2.3.4 Functions of social mobility

Social mobility, as one of the critical objects of normative and political discourse, has been found to improve social openness, the efficiency of human resources, and social equality. The functionalists deem social mobility as a way to allocate the most capable people to the most critical positions, and thus to burst the social efficiency of human resource. As Farina and Savaglio (2004) explained, social mobility was a mechanism to distribute the wealth and power to the most eligible people, therefore, it has the potential to promote the economic and political equilibrium in society.

The possibility of upward social mobility is one of the most significant criteria to evaluate social openness and fairness (Simandan, 2018). As Müller and Pollak (2015) illustrated, in a rigid and closed stratification system, the individual position was firmly decided by people's social attribution, while in an open and fluid system, the individual position is more flexible, and there are more available for upward social mobility. Increasing social mobility provides opportunities to break down the class structure and thus promoting social equality.

Because of the importance of social mobility in promoting and predicting social openness and fairness, creating opportunities for social mobility becomes the common goal of the advanced world. The British government paid high attention to improve the social class of citizens, especially inter-generational enhancement. For instance, British Deputy Prime Minister claimed that "We must create a more dynamic society. One where what matters most is the person

you become, not the person you were born" in an influential speech on social mobility (Jowitt, 2012). The UK Government proposed the "Opening Doors, Breaking Barriers: A Strategy for Social Mobility" in 2011; Social Mobility Commission introduced the "State of the Nation 2016: Social mobility in Great Britain"; and Scottish Government developed the "Equally Well Review 201" (Iveson & Deary, 2017).

As a result of a joint effort of the industrialization development and institutional endeavour, the rate of social mobility had been increasing in the Western world. Around 50–75 percent of Americans experienced intra-generational social mobility, and there were more cases of upward mobility than downward mobility (DiPrete, 2002; Houle, 2011). Whereas in Britain, around half of all men have experienced vertical social mobility (Paulson, 2018). With the data derived from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) and official national-level surveys from 20 contemporary countries and regions, Yaish and Andersen (2012) observed the systematic cross-national variation in the association between the occupational status of participants and their parents was positively related to per-capita GDP, which indicated wealthy countries were featured with more open and fluid stratification structures. They also proved that immigration promoted the openness of society.

In general, the rate of social mobility is accelerated by the industrialization process. Although social mobility has been criticized for enhancing the social hierarchy, social mobility plays a vital role in gearing up the

social openness and social fairness and acts as a significant predictor of social equality for the time being. This section conceptually reviews the definition, typologies, and measurement of social mobility, and synthesized opinions on its socio-political functionality. In the following section, the impacts of mobility experience on individuals' SWB are introduced.

2.4 Mobility and subjective well-being

2.4.1 Development, terminology, and measurement with of SWB

The study of well-being has a long history in philosophy and thoughts initially advanced by philosophers like Epicurus, Aristotle, and Bentham (De Vos et al., 2013). In contemporary world, SWB is a burgeoning field of study at the intersection of psychology, sociology, and economy (Hommerich & Tiefenbach, 2018).Well-being is defined in multiple ways, but it is predominantly characterised by happiness, life satisfaction and flourishing (Stanley et al., 2011). There are two frameworks of well-being in the scope of psychology, subjective well-being (SWB) or hedonic well-being and psychological well-being (PWB) or eudaimonic well-being. Origin from philosophical utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and classical philosophers like Aristippus of Cyrene and Epicurus, SWB focus on the extent of pleasure experienced. While PWB is proposed by eudaimonic thinkers, such as Aristotle (De Vos et al., 2013), and indicates purpose in and meaning of life, personal growth and 'flourishing' — the realisation of the best in oneself.

SWB is closely related to happiness. It indicates one's appraisals and evaluation of his/her own life (Diener et al., 2018a). SWB is comprised of both reflective and cognitive judgments: the presence of positive affect, the absence of negative affect, and the overall satisfaction of life. Notably, the dimensions of SWB are correlated but indicates independence to some extent. For example, the positive emotion and negative emotion are moderately inversely related rather than not precisely opposite. Some people experience one emotion (e.g. positive emotion) frequently and intensively, while they can barely experience another emotion (e.g. negative emotion). Therefore, different dimensions of SWB should be measured separately.

Considering the subjective nature of SWB, it is evaluated by participants rather than researchers. The most frequently adopted measurement of SWB is self-report rating scales that reflect personal experiences (Diener et al., 2018b). SWB can be measured in the real-time or retrospective manner. While real time measurement can effectively reduce the bias caused by recall distortion, the retrospective measurement is cheaper and more convenient to implement (De Vos et al., 2013).

There are several scales to measure SWB. Positive and negative affect schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988) is a 20-items self-report scale evaluating general propensities of positive and negative affect. It includes positive items such as alert, active, interested, proud and enthusiastic, as well as negative items such as distressed, afraid, upset, irritable, and nervous.

Participants mark each item using the 5-points Likert scale according to their experience during the last week. PANAS is found to perform well in internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and convergent validity (Stanley et al., 2011). The Swedish Core Affect Scale (SCAS) (Västfjäll & Gärling, 2007) evaluates core affects that vary along two orthogonal dimensions labelled valence (pleasant versus unpleasant affects) and activation (from quietness to excitement). Participants are required to rate the items based on their feelings at a particular moment. The Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (SPANE) (Diener et al., 2010) is a shorter version of PANAS and SCAS. It requires participants to rate their experience of certain feelings (positive, pleasant, and negative, etc.) during a specific period. Overall satisfaction with life is generally measured by satisfaction with life scale (SWLS). SWLS includes five items "in most ways my life is close to my ideal", "so far I have gotten the important things I want in life". Participants reports on each item on the 7-points Likert scale.

2.4.2 Mobility and SWB patterns

SES constructs every sphere of society includes education, politics, health, family life and an individual's ontological identity (Henry, 2005; Lareau & Conley, 2008). Health geographers and sociologists have a long-lasting passion for recording and illuminating the relationships between social mobility and SWB (Simandan, 2018). Drawing upon data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study, Li (2016b) exposed that in contrast to the influence of formal and informal social networks (civic engagement, neighborhood cohesion,

diversity and size of social networks), social mobility had a more significant impact on SWB. Destin et al. (2017) developed an eleven-item status-based identity uncertainty scale to find out the status-based identity uncertainty was associated with self-esteem and life satisfaction. Research on this issue is far from conclusive, however. The dynamic relationship between social mobility and SWB various from different mobile direction, gender, racial, and social context (Houle & Martin, 2011). Four typical patterns are summarized to illustrate the dynamic relationships.

2.4.1.1 Pattern one: upward-positive, downward-negative

Historically, upward social mobility, which associates with one's enhanced social prestige and access to a resource, is assumed to bring individual happiness and health, whereas downward social mobility is accused of being detrimental to one's SWB. As Simandan (2018) addressed, "the subjective experience of social class mediates widely differentiated outcomes for the mental and physical health of upper versus lower-class individuals" (p. 258).

The sociological exploration of social mobility has long been dominated by John Goldthorpe and his colleagues and interlocutors at Nuffield College, Oxford. Goldthorpe was the leading authority on British social mobility who established the qualitative focus of social mobility. In his seminal article, based on life story narratives from 246 male participants, Goldthorpe et al. (1982) investigated the participants' meaning-making of social mobility both cognitively and evaluatively. Goldthorpe explicated that upward social mobility

led to positive psychological implications. Instead of focusing on the transformational experience of social mobility, the participants tended to attribute themselves as a member of the destination class. They were surrounded by peers who went through parallel social mobility trajectories, similar aesthetics, and lifestyles, which guaranteed them the reciprocal forces of ontological security. Goldthorpe et al. (1982) draw a conclusion that upward social mobility not only fostered a positive force at the individual and collective level but also reduced social distance and class conflict.

Houle (2011) examined the influence of intra-generational social class mobility on psychological health at mid-life. Houle observed that upward social mobility led to the improved psychological health condition that linked to privileged positions, whereas the downward social mobility involved the psychological health risks. Houle attributed this phenomenon to the fact that the psychological condition resembled the current SES rather than the mobility process. Bjørnskov et al. (2013) found out whereas downward social mobility in terms of social, educational, and income dimensions was negatively associated with the subjective health, which was measured by happiness, job satisfaction, subjective health, and financial satisfaction, the upward social mobility had a positive influence on self-reported SWB. Notably, the effect of the former influence was much stronger than the latter, which was in line with the decision theory that loss aversion that the experienced disutility from loses outweighed the utility from acquiring proportionate gains. Furthermore, the impact of income mobility on SWB reached a peak in the middle-age group (35-45 years old) then

gradually dispersed. Drawn from American cross-sectional data, Nikolaev and Burns (2014) detected that upwards inter-generational social mobility had a positive relationship with self-rated happiness, while the downwards social mobility had a reversed impact.

2.4.1.2 Pattern two: upward-positive, downward-non relevant

Zhao et al. (2017) noticed that the upwards inter-generational social mobility linked to advanced SWB, whereas no significant association between downwards mobility and SWB was found.

2.4.1.3 Pattern three: upward-non relevant, downward-negative

The falling-from-grace hypothesis (Newman, 1988) assumed that only downward mobility, instead of differences to the destination class or the lower social position, had a negative influence on individuals' SWB. After interviewed the Syrian refugees to Germany, Euteneuer and Schäfer (2018)exposed subjective downward social mobility was associated with depressive symptoms.

2.4.1.4 Pattern four: upward/downward-negative

The social exclusion functions as the results of both interior and exterior factors, both from/towards the origin and the destination social class. In terms of the exterior pressure from the original class, the upward mobiles are observed to experience reduced interaction with the original class (Atherton, 2016; Fiske, 2013; Friedman, 2014, 2016; Mallman, 2017; Van de Ven, 2017). Meanwhile, class climbers also struggle with the perpetual fear of social segregation,

discrimination, and the impostor feeling in the destination class (Hudson, 2015; Miller et al., 2015; Shahrokni, 2015).

A substantial body of research delivers the mental traumas caused by social mobility experience. With the support of various evidence, Durkheim (1951) remarked on the relationship between mobility and anomic suicide. Houle (2011) proposed the dissociative hypothesis, which indicated that social mobility, regardless of the direction, was detrimental to the individual's SWB. Drawing on 330 individuals, O'Donoghue et al. (2014) found social drift was a usual cause of psychotic disorders, and individuals who either preserved the social class or upgraded the social class were vulnerable to mental diseases. Based on the longitudinal research in the UK, Hadjar and Samuel (2015) found the dissociative effect, which indicated upward inter-generational social mobility has a negative impact on individuals' trajectories of life satisfaction. Following in the footstep of Bourdieu, Friedman (2016) depicted the process as, "facing upwards in social space they routinely battled feelings of insecurity and inferiority and facing downwards they were invariably met with a sense of guilt, estrangement, and abandonment. Mobility, in short, brought with it a slew of hidden emotional injuries" (p. 144). Iveson and Deary (2017) suggested efforts promote upward social mobility might not result in better SWB, despite the apparent benefits for health. Becker and Birkelbach (2018) lamented, "both upward and downward social mobility would harm individuals' SWB" (p. 2). Simandan (2018) explored how social location, perceptions, comparisons and class-based identities influenced health and SWB. He observed that "the status-based identity

uncertainty triggered by social mobility increases one's allostatic load and decreases one's SWB" (p. 259).

2.4.2 Social mobility adaptation theories

Referring the social mobility and SWB patterns, with the support of extensive research, pattern one and four has become two dominant patterns. The social mobility adaptation theories demonstrate the mechanism of different social mobility impacts on SWB. *Habitus*, one of the fundamental sociological concepts proposed by Bourdieu, is the central concern of social mobility adaptation theories. Bourdieu (1998) defined *Habitus* as: "a socialized body, [...] a structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world-a field-and which structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world" (p. 81).

Habitus shows the importance of the unconscious and internalized cultural capital that is constructed by an individual's life history and social class. As a product of social reality, *Habitus*, in turn, constructs social reality. "*Habitus* is cultural in nature, it encompasses even the most mundane aspects of life" (Lee & Kramer, 2013, p. 26), and shapes the whole existence physically and metaphysically. According to different reactions and strategies individuals apply to changed *Habitus*, the social mobility adaptation theories are categorized into *Habitus* Clive, *Habitus* Omnivorism, *Habitus* Strategic, *Habitus* Maximization, and *Habitus* Acculturation.

2.4.2.1 Habitus Clive Theory

Bourdieu's *Habitus* Clive Theory is supported and widely adopted by many scholars. According to the class narratives of seven white British women, Lawler (1999) illustrated that upward social mobility from the working class to middle-class led to mental trauma and a sense of estrangement. The class is embedded in an individual's history that cannot be escaped eventually. Baxter and Britton (2001) interviewed working-class British returning adult students. They depicted the students as "experienced as a painful dislocation between an old and newly developing *Habitus*" (p. 99).

Consistent with Bourdieu's *Habitus* Clive Theory, Lahire (2011) explained, "socialized successively but in part also simultaneously in worlds in which habits of taste are different and even socially opposed, these 'class transfuges' oscillate constantly - and sometimes in a mentally exhausting manner - between two habits and two points of view" (pp. 36-41). Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013) observed that the reluctant emigrants clung onto the origin *Habitus* rather than economized to new tastes in line with the destination *Habitus*. Lee and Kramer (2013) elucidated the process as "A cleft *Habitus* is both an internalized and externalized problem, shaped not only by their interactions with nonmobile family and friends but also within their own minds, by their own assessments of their social positions, and by how those positions are interpreted by others" (pp. 20-29).

Consequently, the upward mobility comes along with cultural alienation and the sense of guilt or betrayal for abandoning the class origin. Whereas downward mobiles are reluctant to acknowledge the new class identity and integrate into destination milieu. Therefore, social mobility, regardless of the direction, predicts negative SWB. Aarseth et al. (2016) portrayed the inter-generational upward social mobility generation from the rural agrarian to the middle-class urban as conflicting between the secure and ascetic rural *Habitus* and the courageous and bold urban *Habitus*. Paulson (2018) illustrated, "The *Habitus* transformed by the action of the school, itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of all subsequent experiences" (p. 1063).

All the studies reviewed here support the fundamental assumption of *Habitus* Clive -- the individual tends to cling onto the original *Habitus*, and if the *Habitus* changed, one can neither tolerant (be tolerated by) the original *Habitus*, nor fully embrace (be embraced by) the new *Habitus*, which leads to the social mobility trauma. The *Habitus* Clive provides a convincing explanation to the pattern four social mobility -- SWB relationship. In this case, social mobility happened in the rigidly hierarchical society, especially concerning the situation of intra-generational social mobility. Therefore, most of the research areas are West European countries. Nevertheless, in an open social system with a high rate of social mobility, especially collective social mobility with the mixed-class community, the *Habitus* Clive runs the risk of insufficient factual basis.

2.4.2.2 Habitus Omnivorism Theory

Drawing on the large-scale survey of Flemish Belgium social mobiles, Daenekindt and Roose (2011) revealed the individual's class formed aesthetic was the co-product of origin and destination class. The concept of cultural omnivorism was developed to describe the social mobiles form taste profiles that represented for both socialization of origin and destination. Supported by limited studies, *Habitus* Omnivorism Theory challenged the *Habitus* Clive Theory that has dominated the field for decades and proved the possibility of embracing dual or multiple class identities. In line with the Culturally Omnivorism Theory, the following three theories provide more comprehensive elucidations of the situation.

2.4.2.3 Habitus Strategic Theory

Habitus Strategic, which indicates one can adopt the *Habitus* strategically to adapt to different *Habitus*, provided another explanation for social mobility experience. According to Emmison (2003), *Habitus* is strategically chosen based on the individual's cultural mobility, which is defined as "the ability to move at will between cultural realms, freedom to choose where one is positioned in the cultural landscape" (p. 211). Individuals have the freedom to select the taste, cultural capital and consumption style. Therefore, the class origin is not an indelible mark but an inherent advantage.

Granfield (1991) witnessed the law students experienced the split class *Habitus* working-class origin at home and middle-class atmosphere at the school.

The participants recalibrated their goal line to adjust to the middle-class *Habitus* in the elite institution, while the working-class communication skills are kept communicating with families. Building on the work of Emmison (2003), Sánchez et al. (2011) investigated the social mobility experience of African American male youth in graduate school, whose early-stage class consciousness was shaped by school peers. Since the racial characteristics underprivileged their individual features, some of them utilized the romantic relationship strategically to facilitate upward mobility. Abrahams and Ingram (2013) noted the working-class students who navigated two contradictory class identity strategically -- working-class home life and middle-class university life. By exploring the selective school student, Lee and Kramer (2013) revealed the "multiple impression-management strategies" (p. 27). On the one hand, the working-class students adjusted their "food preferences, their conversational style, and their expectations" (p. 31) to fit in the middle-class institution; while on the other hand, they retained low-end communication skills to maintain the working-class tie. Although criticized as overly deterministic, *Habitus* Strategic Theory rethinks how sociologists of mobility incorporate Bourdieu's concept of *Habitus*. As Lee and Kramer (2013) concluded "*Habitus* can and should be seen as fluid" (p. 31).

2.4.2.4 Habitus Maximization Theory

Habitus Maximization Theory, proposed by Nieuwbeerta et al. (2000), indicated the individual tended to adopt the highest social class taste during the whole process of social mobility. Therefore, while the upward class climbers adapted to the destination *Habitus*, the downward social mobiles still insisted on the origin

Habitus. The *Habitus* Maximization Theory offered a theoretical explanation of the pattern one and pattern two social mobility -- SWB patterns.

Drawn from a large-scale survey in Flanders (Belgium), Daenekindt (2017) examined the impact of social mobility on social isolation (undergoing insufficient social acceptance), utilitarian individualism (the extent of agreement one had with action that is prearranged, prohibited, or permitted and symbolizes an attitude where one chased self-interest without considering others), and social disorientation (the lack of sympathetic of the events in which one was involved and the absence of values in terms of life purpose). Daenekindt discovered the upward social mobility experiencers adapted better to the destination environment than those who went through downward social mobility. Additionally, downward social mobility predicted higher social disorientation and utilitarian individualism.

Through life history interviews, Paulson (2018) scrutinized the influence of trajectory and the subjective experience of social mobility on the *Habitus* choice. Because of the devaluation of the downward social mobility experience, the mobile usually stayed in the origin class, while people who experienced upwardly mobility were more incentive for the destination *Habitus*. "Moving down is devalued and so there is little incentive to change one's *Habitus*. It is little wonder that they cling to former *Habitus*" (p. 1072).

2.4.2.5 Habitus Acculturation Theory

In contrast to the *Habitus* Maximization Theory, the *Habitus* Acculturation Theory envisages that the destination *Habitus* is decisive for the individual's class consciousness. Blau (1956) observed that in terms of social categories, for instance, fertility, voting, and union formation, the social mobiles, no matter upward or downward, were in line with the non-mobile groups in the destination class. In the same line, Houle (2011, p. 760) claimed that only the *Habitus* of the destination class was pivotal for SWB, while social mobility process itself had no significant influence on the individual. Drawing from the male samples from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS) and Sobel's Diagonal Mobility Models, Houle and Martin (2011) compared social mobiles with non-mobile counterparts in the same socio-cultural context. The findings suggested psychological stress was significantly associated with the *Habitus* of the destination environment, rather than the social mobility experience per se. What's more, compared with the non-mobile peers, less distress was found in the farming origin upward mobiles, which implied "the association between mobility and psychological distress" (Houle & Martin, 2011, p. 193).

2.4.3 Factors of social mobility experience

Theories presented in the previous section provide possible explanations of various class adaptation mechanisms. Alternative theoretical explanations are required to provide a miscellaneous lens for the complex social phenomenon.

The range, speed, direction of social mobility and individual characteristics have a significant influence on the social mobility experience. Friedman (2016) stated "the mutability of *Habitus* is heavily dependent on a person's mobility trajectory" (p. 144). Following in the footstep of Friedman, Paulson (2018) emphasized the impact of the mobility distance, transitional process, duration, and direction of social mobility on the social mobility experience. When the social mobility was large or sudden, or the social mobility was deemed as a temporary experience, there was a higher chance for a divided *Habitus*, while the slow and steady mobile trajectories or the permanent social mobile perception led to the lower possibility for a divided *Habitus*.

The class origin also influences the social mobility experience. Newman investigated formerly secure middle-class Americans who experienced downward social mobility due to the economic crisis. In comparison to the blue-collar workers who were socially and culturally better equipped to comprehend the change, the white-collar works managers and professionals were more frustrated and self-blame for the mobility experience.

Additionally, the individuals' psychological disposition is proved to be another factor in the social mobility experience. By exploring the German panel data of a cohort of previous Gymnasium students, Becker and Birkelbach (2018) proposed individuals' psychosocial dispositions, especially the locus of control, determined the social mobility experience. The internal locus of control meant "individuals who attribute control of events to themselves," whereas the external

locus of control indicated “individuals who attribute control of events to outside forces” (p. 2). Internal locus of control functioned as a buffer against negative psychological influence caused by social mobility. By contrast, participants with an external locus of control tended to be susceptible to social mobility.

2.4.4 Social mobility and spatial mobility

It is now well established from a variety of studies that the spatial is traditionally associated with social mobility (Bruegel, 2002; Das-Munshi et al., 2012; De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Fielding, 1992, 1995; Platt, 2005). Influenced by the industrialization, urbanization, and globalization, the spatial mobility provides the accessibilities for upward social mobility, with people moved spatially to chase better opportunities for themselves and offspring. Yaish (2002) noted, the first-generation enter a hierarchy society near or at the bottom of the society, while their offspring -the second generation- tend to reach socioeconomic parity with the native population. As a consequence, the social mobility caused by spatial mobility is assumed to have a negative influence on the social and economic SWB of these individuals and their offspring.

Yaish and Andersen (2012) demonstrated a positive relationship between the rate of social mobility and the proportion of immigrates. Yaish and Andersen proposed two models to demonstrate the mechanism of how migration influence intra-generational mobility: The Succession Model and the Queuing Model. In brief, the Succession Model assumes that newcomers enter the bottom of society, and thus older migrants are pushed to higher social hierarchy. The Queuing

Model suggests the increased immigration results in the augmented proportion of the subordinate group. Therefore, while the superordinate groups experience upward social mobility, the situation of the subordinate groups become worse.

The relationship between spatial and social mobility is proven by scholars. However, most of the studies are based on the fundamental assumption that new immigrants arrive at the new society at the bottom status, yet their descendants have the change to enter higher stratification hierarchy. The assumption goes against the sojourn reality, where the (individual or collective) sojourners obtain decent social status in the destination society. Song (2016) criticized that there is emerging evidence indicate the bottom assumption has ignored the discrepancy of social strata, and thus overlooked the influences of socio-cultural context, individual social networks, and social capital.

Additionally, previous studies on this topic only focus on inter-generational social mobility and adopt quantitative large-scale survey as the research method. In so doing, the comprehensive social mobility experience is simplified as a once-in-life linear trajectory. Therefore, within the Chinese socio-cultural framework, current research sets from the tourism research field adopt the phenomenological inquiry to explore the intra-generational mobility experience of Dali sojourners. Instead of focusing on the measurement of the direction and extent of social mobility experience, this study emphasizes the social dimension's construction and the constructivism meaning-making of the spatial and social mobility experience.

2.5 Youthful travellers

2.5.1 The definition of youth travellers

The social mobility is a prerogative of the younger generations (Farina &Savaglio, 2004). Simandan (2018) calls attention to "those critical periods in one's lifespan when social class transitions are especially likely" (p. 259).

Youth can be a socially defined age range or a social construction that yields multiple explanations. For instance, UN Secretariat/UNESCO/ILO Youth defined "youth" as the ages between 15 and 24; UN-Habitat (Youth Fund) defined "youth "as in between 15 and 32; UNICEF/WHO/UNFPA defined "adolescent" as those who between 10 and 19, "young people" as those who between 10 and 24, and "youth" as the ages between 15 and 24; the National Bureau of Statistics of China defined "youth "as the ages between 15 and 34.Theuns (2002) conceptualized "youth tourism" as the travellers between 15 and 25, and travelled independently or with a group of similar age. However, the standard based on a fixed physical age is challenged by some scholars. Hartmann (1991) argued the changes in the labor market and family structure in post-industrial society led to increasing youth-like travels of an older age. Therefore, the conception of a youthful traveller is a more fluid category rather than a fixed age-group.

Youth can be deemed as a socially constructed transitional ritual. Youth is a period of moratorium on social roles (Keniston, 1974) and the "period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence and

awareness of our interdependence as members of a community" (UNESCO, 2017). Usually, youthful travellers are facing crossroads in life, such as graduation, marriage, divorce, or job-hopping (Riley, 1988; Sørensen, 2003). Maoz (2007) found life crises acted as catalysts for initial and following travels. According to Teas (1988), the acquisition of a high school diploma marks a turning point in life that one can decide the life path. Meanwhile, because of insufficient life experience, unprecedented freedom also brings anxiety and the fear of losing control. "One can go down or up, regress or progress or get stuck" (Have, 1974, p. 306). It is a "risky phase, open-ended" life stage embedded with unlimited possibilities (*ibid*). Travel also involves prolonged absences and a self-testing ritual to get youthful travellers prepared for new life stage (Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995). Vogt (1976) noted the self-transition could be accomplished by making decisions independently, experiencing stimulation and intensity, exploring the world and authentic self, and interacting with diverse people.

Teas (1988) also convinced the physical removal initiated the mental detachment of the past status. The anonymous tourism encounter allowed youthful travellers to be invisible temporally and to adopt diverse cultural elements for self-identity formation. "In a way, traveling becomes a ritual process by which youth can control, albeit in a temporal manner, his or her own destiny." (Teas, 1974, p. 35). Travel is a self-imposed transitional period and rite of passage to bridge their childhood and adulthood. "The traveller is the passive recipient of the benefits of childhood and the active determiner of his or her temporal future" (Teas, 1988, p. 40).According to Van Gennep et al. (1960), the

ritual process involves a separate rite from the residential environment and social network. The separation rite lasts during the whole journey and ends with incorporation. It is a voluntary and self-directed ritual where the guardians are absent. No specific criterion to define how the youth is qualified for the adulthood status, instead, the acquirement of adulthood is self-defined.

According to Giddens (1991),youth is a critical period for the self-reflexivity process, which means the construction of self-identification. In a stratified society, the self-identity is defined according to social expectations and social orders and reinforced persistently through the social collaboration and exertion of social labels. However, travel, especially the long-term, multi-destination, and non-institutional independent travel, provides an alternative way for the construction of self-identity. In line with the reflexive self-identity theory proposed by Giddens (1991), travel encounter allows the youth to meet multiple cultures, lifestyles, values, social forms, which are served as the building bricks of self-identity through continuous assimilation, comparison, and reflection.

Youthful travellers can be defined as a subcultural group. Cohen (1972) pioneered the research on youthful travellers who drop out of the society in order to foster an "alternative mode of existence" (Spates & Levin, 1972, p. 326), which including voluntary tramps, escapists, anarchists, drug abuse, and hippie culture. Have (1974)identified the youthful traveller as a counter-cultural group with "an unwillingness to endure restraint, to follow established ways, to play institutional roles and realize oneself in institutional identities" (p. 304).

Youth tourist is historically associated with anomie culture, which indicates "a society whose norms governing interaction have lost their integrative force and where lawlessness and meaninglessness prevail" (Dann, 1977, p. 186).The essence of the youthful traveller's culture is the road status (Sørensen, 2003), which refers to a fluid status consists of hardship, experience, competence, budget travel, and communication ability. The road status has no fixed structure and is re-established through continuous encounters and status exchanges. Cohen (2011) found a shared ideology was (re)produced within the youth travellers' society based on a hybridization of orientalism, romanticism, and 1960s countercultures. The type and intensity of drug adoption and dominant musical genre were frequently adopted as criteria for identifying the subcultural group of youthful travellers. Riley (1988) witnessed some changes of the youthful travellers from the 1960s-1970s drifter to the 1980s international long-term budget travellers. In comparison to the previous ones, the subcultural characteristics of youthful travellers in the 1980s had been fading. Ironically, Cohen (2003) revealed the discrepancy between youthful tourists' ideology and practice. The youthful tourists are historically deemed to be ideologically loaded. Nevertheless, nowadays, the so-called youthful tourists' ideology is nothing more than an illusion co-constructed by travellers and the tourism industry. Therefore, today's youthful travellers differ significantly from the original drifters. Through the textual analysis of backpackers' narratives, Elsrud (2001) found "how the (distorted) risk and adventure narrative […] is (still) being manifested and expressed within backpacker communities" (p. 598).

Therefore, some scholars argued the subtype division of youthful sojourners should be based on social practice rather than cultural characteristics. Based on Israeli youthful tourists' travel experience, Uriely et al. (2002) found the youthful tourists' associated travel with a variety of cultural pursuits and develop multiple place attachment at the same time. What's more, the cultural characteristics of the individual changed over time across travel biography or even within a single trip. Therefore, Teas (1988) proposed that the ever-changing membership of youthful traveller should be identified according to social practice. O'Reilly (2006) stressed the only common ground of backpackers was travel. Aramberri (1991) highlighted the most significant feature of youth tourists: low-level organization and high-level cultural interaction. Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995) noted several characteristics of youth travellers: the preference for the budget lodge; intensive social interaction; independent and flexible travel pattern; prolonged travel duration; and the interest in participating leisure activities. Uriely et al. (2002) pointed out the critical features of youthful travellers: long duration of the journey and budget travel pattern.

Some scholars questioned the conventional perception that viewed youthful travellers as a homogeneous group (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2005; Hecht & Martin, 2006; Larsen et al., 2011; Maoz, 2007; Uriely et al., 2002). They emphasized the heterogeneities exist in demographic origin, motivation, travel organization, life cycle, social status, cultural pursuit, as well as psychological factors. Modern youth travellers, as a product of liberal, individualistic and affluent society, are marked with autonomy and heterogeneity. The sameness of

this group could only be identified comparatively. The youthful travellers live in free, independent, loose, temporary and individualized lives that are free from all kinds of social bonds and attachments. The youthful traveller is a socially constructed identity than a clearly defined category (Sørensen, 2003). Therefore, the so-called groupness is under-institutionalized mechanical solidarity (Have, 1974; Theuns, 2002).

Generally, the term "youthful "in current research refers to a mood status, a transitional ritual, a self-reflexivity process, a subcultural group, and a travel pattern rather than a specific age range. Therefore, youthful sojourners are defined as the inner-heterogeneous sojourners who are going through the critical transitional period and self-reflexivity process in their lives. Technically, the age range of youth sojourner in this study is set in between 18-34 (referring to the standard of National Bureau of Statistics of China). However, when selecting the research participants, the age range can be extended reasonably in both ends.

2.5.2 The cultural prototypes of youthful sojourners

Although limited research has been conducted on youthful sojourners, their cultural prototype can be found in the previous literature about youthful travellers. The youthful traveller is an important component in the tourism section and plays a key role in youth cultural expression. Since the 1970s, a variety of concepts and definitions has been developed to portray this group, from the cultural prototypes in the early stage such as drifters (Cohen, 1972, p. 168), Wanderers(Vogt, 1976, p. 25), and nomad (Kaplan, 1996, p. 66), to the modern forms international long-

term budget traveller (Riley, 1988) and youthful travellers (Teas, 1988, p. 35), as well as more recently emerged concepts backpackers (Lee, 2005; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Muzaini, 2006; Noy & Cohen, 2005; O'Reilly, 2006; Sørensen, 2003; Uriely et al., 2002), and lifestyle travellers (Cohen, 2011) .

2.5.2.1 Drifters

The first systematic research on youthful traveller stemmed from Cohen (1973). Different from the mass tourists, the drifters embrace the highest level of strangeness which allows them to step out of the cultural bubble and have direct in-depth interactions with local communities both physically and emotionally. The drifters adventure furthest away from the routine life, avoid all the possibilities to connect with the tourist establishment, arrange the journey independently, live with local communities, follow the local rhythm, and usually take some odd-jobs to support the journey. The drifters are predominately youth before taking a stable job, which allows long-term moratorium. They have no fixed itinerary, timetable, destination, or clear purpose, travel in an economical way, share transportation and accommodation to reduce expense, and participates in temporary work to sustain the trip. With their peers, the drifters create an international subculture and construct the "permanently temporary" (*ibid,* 117) colony of squatters.

2.5.2.2 Budget travelers and wanderers

Cohen's seminal article aroused the academic attention to the youthful travellers. However, the term drifter is accused of involving a negative image associated

with social deviant. Merriam-Webster Dictionary defined the drifter as a person who travels or moves aimlessly. Drifter is endowed with the same meaning with wanderer and placed in the list of synonyms the terms derelict, hobo and vagrant (Cohen, 2011).

Therefore, the concepts of budget traveller (Riley, 1988) and wanderer (Vogt, 1976) with less derogatory connotations are introduced. Vogt (1976) adopted the term wanderer to define the youth middle-class adventures who travel on a limited budget. The more practical-oriented concept budget traveller is proposed by Riley (1988) to describe youth traveller who are "middle-class, at a juncture in life, somewhat older than the earlier travellers on average, college-educated, and not aimless drifters" (p. 326). They travel under flexible timetables and itineraries. The budget travel pattern is not necessarily because of limited financial resources but refers to the prolonged travel duration at the cost of living on a budget.

2.5.2.3 Nomads

The concept of the nomad is adopted as a spiritual symbol of youthful travellers. "The nomad represents a subject position that offers an idealized model of movement based on perpetual displacement" (Kaplan, 1996, p. 66). In comparison to the modern tourists who stuck in the cage of the tourism industry, the global nomads burst out of the geographical and cultural barriers of modern society.

2.5.2.4 Backpackers

In the 1990s, the concept "backpacker" is developed as a succinct and less pejorative term to describe the young budget traveller on an extended journey (Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995). Backpackers are "self-organized pleasure tourists on a prolonged multiple-destination journey with a flexible itinerary" (Sørensen, 2003, p. 851). O'Reilly (2006) noticed the backpacker's enthusiasm for serendipity: flexible travel schedule, timetable and itinerary. A large body of studies have revealed the main characteristic of backpackers (Cohen & Noy, 2005; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Murphy, 2001; O'Reilly, 2006): young tourists who prefer budget accommodation, emphasize social interaction, organize travel itineraries independently, arrange long-term vacations, and prefer informal and participatory recreation activities (Larsen et al., 2011).

2.5.2.5 Lifestyle travelers

Drifters, wanderers, and nomads are cultural-oriented concepts, budget travellers and backpackers are practice-oriented concepts, and the notion of lifestyle traveller is a consumption-oriented concept(Cohen, 2011). In comparison to the drifter identity that often associated with deviant behaviours, lifestyle travel involves a positive image of meaningful consumption patterns. Lifestyle is highly associated with consumption culture (Cohen, 2011). Sobel (2013) conceptualized lifestyle as a distinctive and recognizable mode of living. Lifestyle could be observed through the consumption of goods and services which conveys a perceived meaning in life (Chaney, 1996).

Traditionally, youthful travellers are thought to be people in the moratory phase of life, take the travel as a transformation ritual, and return home sooner or later after the travel (Maoz & Bekerman, 2010). Nevertheless, Noy and Cohen (2005) discovered the subtype of youthful travel – "lifelong wanderer"-- who live in a state of continuous mobility. Uriely (2005) described the lifelong traveller as a pluralized personality produced by modern society. Pearce and Lee (2005) conceived it as a development stage of travel career patterns. Youthful travel became a lifestyle or life-changing choice (Bell, 2002; Noy, 2004). Cohen (2011) argued the mobile lifestyle provided the distinct place identity and social identity within a broader social matrix. He stressed, lifestyle travel de-differentiated the routine life and tourism experience, which functioned as one of the main features of tourism in late modernity.

Lifestyle practices manifest as how to dress, what to eat, the leisure habit, and even favoured environment are "decisions not only about how to act but who to be" (Giddens, 1991, p. 81). As society becomes more post-traditional and fragmented, lifestyle choice increasingly exerted on the formation of self-identity (Giddens, 1991). There are interactive effects of a lifestyle choice and the construction of self-identity. The lifestyle choice is not only an expression of self-identity and social stratification, but also a continuous process to shape the individual and society. Lifestyle is also a tool to negotiate power. For youthful travellers, lifestyle consumption is endowed with aesthetic sign-value to resist dominant power and mainstream culture (Cohen, 2011).

2.5.2.6 Antinomian

The terms “antinomian” and “counterculture” are adopted by Andriotis (2013a) to describe the tourists who are distinguished by alternative behaviour pattern, culture, norms, and beliefs. The term “antinomian” refers to going against the law, ignoring current social norms (Bowker, 1997), absenting of guiding values or rejecting ultimate ethical standards. According to Cutler (2006), the counterculture indicates people who disregard existing norms, behaviours, values, beliefs, and consumption patterns of the affluent societies. Therefore, this concept manifests as an oppositional existence to the normative ideals and frequently associates with social alienation.

2.5.3 The portrait of youthful traveller

2.5.3.1 Demographical portrait

The youthful travellers primarily though not exclusively come from developed Western countries and white. More male than female travellers can be found, especially in the early stage. Although still male-dominant, the proportions of female travellers have been increasing since the 21 Century. The age range of youthful travellers has extended towards both directions. The average age of youthful travellers nowadays (around 30 years old) is older than it used to be (around 20 years old). Most of the youthful travellers are unmarried, and travellers with children are rare. They predominantly come from a middle-class family and have a solid educational background. The length of the journey ranges from several days to more than one decade (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 The demographical portrait of youthful travelers

Author	Subjects for Research	Study Area	Source Country	Gender Structure	Age Range	Marriage Status	Social Status	Length of Journey
(Have, 1974)	Wanderer	No fixed study area	Primarily from the United States, Europe, and, to a rising extent, Japan	Not mentioned	College-age and above	Unmarried	Middle-class	long-term
(Cohen, 1982a)	Travelers living in Bungalow	Islands of Southern Thailand	Predominantly Europeans in the summer, while Australians in the winter	Not mentioned	20-30	Unmarried or without children	Mainly students or junior employees	Four to six days
(Adler, 1985)	Youth tampers	Documentary research without fixed study area	Western country	Most are male	Under 21	Unmarried	Middle-class	Not mentioned
(Riley, 1988)	International long-term budget travellers	No fixed study area	Developed, westernized nations	20-25 percent are women	25-33	Almost all of them are single or unmarried	The highly educated middle-class	Not mentioned
(Teas, 1988)	Youthful travellers	Nepal	Most travellers are from America and European countries	Most are male	20-27	Unmarried	The highly educated middle-class	3 months to 1 year
(Sørensen, 2003)	Backpacker	No fixed study area	Western origin, especially North America, Australia, New	Around 60 percent male and 40 percent female	18-33	Not mentioned	(Future) pillars of society who escape from	2.5 and 18 months

			Zealand, and Western Europe				affluence temporarily	
(Maoz & Bekerman, 2010)	Postmodern traveller	India	Israeli traveller	Similar percentages of men and women	20-25, and a few older people. After mandatory army service	Unmarried or no children	Mainly middle to upper-middle-class families	The trip lasts from two to twelve months
(Cohen, 2011)	Lifestyle traveller	India and Thailand	Dominated by English, Australians, Israelis, and Canadians	Men slightly more than women	23-50, and with an average age of 30.	None of them married or have children.	Middle-class	3-17 years
(Andriotis, 2013a)	Antinomians	Island of Gavdos, Greece	European countries	The majority are males, and most females come with a male partner	18-30, some are middle age	Most of the travels are unmarried, families with children are very limited	Middle-class	No fixed duration, ranging from months to 18 years

2.5.3.2 Cultural portrait

The cultural portrait of youthful travellers is generalized as follows: firstly, the youthful travellers echo with the post-war youth culture which goes against a standard, established, bourgeois life. Their behaviour is distinguished from the settled population as well as mass tourists. They do not have specific social roles to play or work to accomplish (Have, 1974).Despite the looseness and vagueness of the youthful tourists' group, there are some similarities regarding their cultural expression. Travel encounter allows the youth to construct self-identity according to their own will. The attire, appearance, and adornment are adopted as symbolized ways for antinomians to deliver their liberal attitude, natural lifestyle, and distinctive ideology.

Secondly, travel involves a culturally reversed encounter which may turn over the existing values and judging criteria. Existing aesthetic standards are deconstructed, new aesthetic fashion comes into being according to their cultural pursuits. For instance, spiritual cleanliness is associated with physical sanitation historically. However, for the unkempt youthful travellers, the slovenly exterior and anti-mainstream appearance are interpreted as their attitude of rejecting "loose and immoral" western culture and non-involvement of modern society (Teas, 1988).According to Andriotis (2013a), the most salient features of the antinomians are "long disheveled hair, sometimes Rasta style, and for men abundant facial hair" (p. 48). Expensive cloth of civilized society is rejected, casual and worn clothing which refers to the anti-consumerism values is

fashionable among the antinomians. Notably, some youthful travellers even reject wristwatch as a symbol of the precise work of common mechanism and upper-class status. They prefer to watch the movement of the sun as a more natural way to perceive time (Teas, 1988).

Thirdly, the symbolized cultural expression provides a visual sign to identify their peers and form the collective atmosphere. For instance, the nudism stems from the identity of Indian tribalism and is adopted as a symbol by the hippie-traveller group(Adler, 1985).Nudism enhances in-group interactions and promotes socialization (Andriotis, 2013a). Teas (1988) noticed that peasant-style clothes and exotic accessories, especially rings, bracelets, and amulets bought from peasant were most desirable among youthful travels. Those symbols stand for their exotic travel experience and in-depth interactions with local society.

Fourthly, the symbolized cultural expression distinct youthful travellers from the mainstream society and negotiate the cultural space. Based on auto-ethnographical research, Muzaini (2006) found the clothing was adopted as a strategy to immerse into the local rhythm. While citizens prefer to dress up to maintain a decent look, youthful travellers tend to dress to integrate into local society and maintain a distinguishable self-image. The image construction of youthful travellers is not immutable. The fashion trend changes over time according to the ever-changing popularity of niche destinations. For instance, Balinese skirts popular in 1971 spring was replaced by Tibetan dresses in the fall of 1972 with the growing interests of Tibetan trips (Teas, 1988).

2.5.3.3 Social portrait

Youth is the critical life stage for self-transition and social mobility. However, there is a paucity of research to explore the relationship between youthful travellers and social mobility.

Youth tourism is historically class-related mobility. A considerable amount of literature has been published to elaborate on the class-related history of youth tourism (Adler, 1985; Cohen, 2011; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; O'Reilly, 2006; Riley, 1988). In general, there are three parallel origins of youth tourism (Figure 2.7). First, the Grand Tours of 17th and 18th-century aristocratic European youth explored the unconquered territories to advance their sophistication, worldliness and social consciousness (Hibbert, 1969; Towner, 1985). Second, the working-class youth travellers' mobility in the 19th century. Influenced by the Great Depression after World War I, the unemployed young people left hometown and started the journey for survival. To reduce travel costs, they adopted camping as the main accommodation form and formed the working-class tramping tradition. Nowadays, although the practicability of tramping declined, tramping is romanticized for touristic purposes (Adler, 1985). Third, the middle-class youth movement in 19th century Europe. The youth travel to the unstained countryside to retrieve the beauty of nature and resist the modernization. The youth movement associations, such as the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA) in 1844, Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) in 1855, Wandervogel (Birds of Passage) group, Boy Scouts Association in 1908, promoted the development of the youth movement.

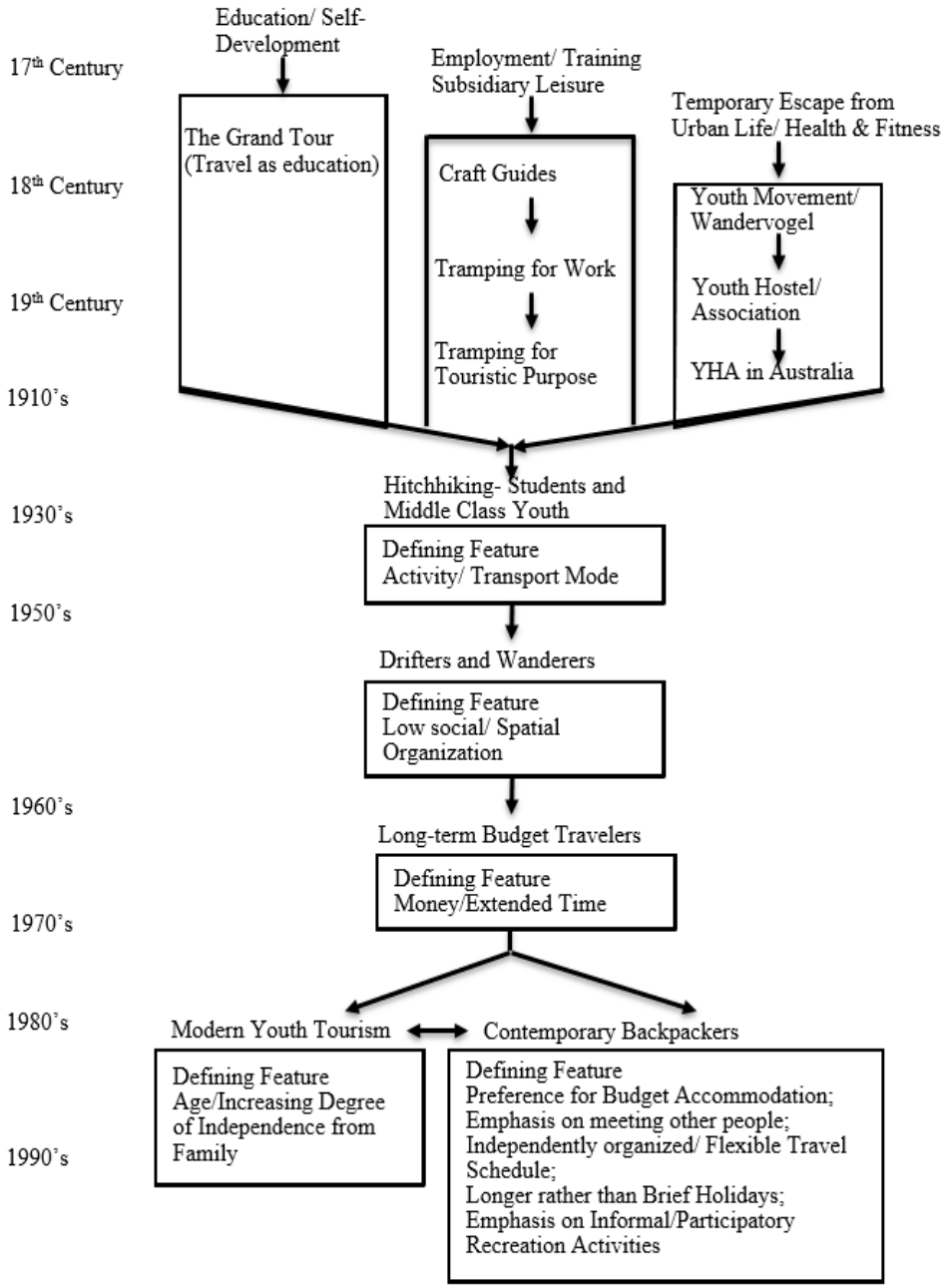


Figure 2.6 The class origin of the youthful traveler

Source: Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995)

There is an elitism myth about youth travellers. The non-institutional youthful travellers are associated with "a certain degree of . . . mystique and prestige" (O'Reilly, 2006, p. 1014). Youth travels are described as anti-tourists (Maoz, 2007) who seek authenticity and authentic experience. They seemed to be the elite among tourists and are distinguished from mainstream tourists (O'Reilly, 2006). According to Vogt (1976), one of the primary motivations for the youthful traveller is to obtain social recognition and prestige. As Cohen (2011) stressed, the participation of youth travel indicated economic privilege, the identity of first-world citizenship, as well as the network capital that allowed people to go across geographical and political boundaries. However, over time the Grand Tour became more popular and available to the middle-classes (Towner, 1985). The identity of the youthful traveller suggests one's taste rather than class status (Bourdieu, 1984). Thurot and Thurot (1983) observed how class-related signs are created and consumed. Distinguished social status can be revealed by consuming symbolized spaces, leisure activities, and services that are unavailable to other social groups. While the lower classes attempt to simulate the lifestyle of the upper class, the upper class always move further and create a new lifestyle to maintain the uniqueness. With more travellers from middle-class enter the tourism sphere and consume aristocratic signs, previous elites flee to hard-to-reach places and define new aristocratic signs to keep the social distance.

2.5 Research gaps

Although insightful, previous research on social mobility has tended to be hampered by several limitations. This study addresses the limitations and fills in several research gaps in social mobility literature. Firstly, qualitative research offers a more in-depth investigation of social mobility in comparison to quantitative research. Instead of focusing on the large-scale measurement of the direction and extent of social mobility experience, this study emphasizes the social dimension's construction and the meaning-making of the spatial and social mobility experience. Secondly, while a vast majority of social mobility studies are built on a statistical-driven collectivism perspective, the present research is conducted from the individualist perspective. Farina and Savaglio (2004) claimed that in-depth research following the dictates of methodological individualism was required. Yaish and Andersen (2012) called to move beyond the typical two-variable analysis that over-simplified the social phenomenon. Thirdly, samples are chosen in the same historical period and from the subjects with the same life stage. Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) observed that social mobility effects differently to specific societies at specific times. Currently, the research investigates sojourners in their youth who live in the same socio-cultural framework within the same era. Fourthly, previous studies on the downward social mobility assume the deterioration of hierarchical position is involuntary, while in this research, the participants went through the (objective) downward social mobility out of voluntary choice. Fifthly, previous research predominantly focuses on the occupational-oriented or economic-oriented dimensions, which

leads to the simplification of evaluation and distortion of interpretation. Socially constructed mobility dimensions are drawn from the idiographic investigation in the present exploration.

The current study forays into these identified conceptual, theoretical, methodological gaps to understand the meaning-making processes for sojourners' social and spatial mobility experience. Conceptually, sojourn as a tourism form and sojourners as a tourist's typology have received scant attention in the tourism literature. Theoretically, it echoes with the new tourism paradigm, the sojourn phenomenon provides a clear challenge to the traditional dualism opposition and calls for new theoretical framework and research agenda. Besides, no single study in tourism has explored the relationship between spatial and social mobility. It has been suggested that traditional methodology fosters a too limited understanding of social mobility research and underestimates the hermeneutic dimension of meaning-making reflected in the mobility experience. Therefore, current research sought to bridge the gap between social and spatial mobility under the constructivists–interpretivists ontological umbrella.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis is applied as the primary research methodology to explore the meaning-making of the spatial and social mobility experience of Dali sojourners. This chapter is composed of six parts, respectively, historical overview of phenomenology, the ontology, and epistemology of IPA, contextualization of current research, conducting IPA, researcher positionality, and research trustworthy.

3.1 Phenomenology -- an overview

3.1.1 The historical development of phenomenology

The term "phenomenology" was first introduced by Kant in 1765. Heidegger elucidated the word "phenomenology" according to its etymological origin, the term "phenomenon" comes from Greek term *phaenesthai*, which means "to flare up, to show itself, to appear" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 26), or "that which shows itself in itself" (Heidegger, 1977, p. 74), while "logos" refers to let something be seen (Heidegger, 1996). Literally, phenomenology means "let something is seen in the way it appears in consciousness" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 26). More specifically, phenomenology is a way or attitude of abstemious reflection on the essence and meaning of the lived experience.

Phenomenology has been developed by decades of scholars in various disciplines. As shown in Figure 3.1, based on the seminal work of René Descartes, Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Friedrich Nietzsche, several

precursors launched the academic schools of phenomenology study, respectively, Edmund Husserl (Transcendental Phenomenology), Max Scheler (Personalise and Value Phenomenology), Edith Stein (Empathetic and Faith Phenomenology), Martin Heidegger (Hermeneutic Phenomenology), and Jan Patočka (Personal Practice Phenomenology)(Heidegger, 1988; Husserl, 1999; Scheler, 1973; Stein, 2013).

Followed the precursors, developers promoted phenomenology in diversified productive disciplines, for instance, Emmanuel Levinas (Ethical Phenomenology), Jean-Paul Sartre (Existential Phenomenology), Simone de Beauvoir (Gender Phenomenology), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Embodiment Phenomenology), Hans-Georg Gadamer (Hermeneutic Phenomenology), Paul Ricoeur (Critical Phenomenology), Maurice Blanchot (Literary Phenomenology), Gaston Bachelard (Oneiric Phenomenology), Alfred Schutz (Sociological Phenomenology), Hannah Arendt (Political Phenomenology), Michel Henry (Material Phenomenology), Jacques Derrida (Deconstruction Phenomenology)(Arendt, 2013; Bachelard, 1994; Blanchot, 1949; de Beauvoir, 2004; Gadamer, 2008; Levinas, 1989; Merleau-Ponty, 1973, 2004; Ricoeur, 2010; Sartre, 1948; Schutz, 1967).

Successors carried on phenomenology in current research scope and permeated new thoughts into phenomenology, for instance, Don Ihde (Technoscience Post-Phenomenology), Hubert Dreyfus (Learning Phenomenology), Michel Serres (Sense Phenomenology), Alphonso

Lingis(Ecological Phenomenology), Jean-Luc Nancy (Fragmentary Phenomenology), Jean-Louis Chrétien (Religious Phenomenology), Giorgio Agamben (Philological Phenomenology), Jean-Luc Marion (Radical Phenomenology), Bernard Stiegler (Technogenetic Phenomenology), Günter Figal (Objectivity Phenomenology), Jennifer Anna Gosetti-Ferencei (Ecstatic-Poetic Phenomenology), Claude Romano (Eventual Phenomenology)(Agamben & Fort, 1997; Dreyfus, 2002; Figal, 2010; Ihde & Selinger, 2003; Lingis, 2000; Marion, 2002; Nancy, 1998; Stiegler, 2001). Notably, the IPA methodology applied in current research is systematically developed by Smith (1996), is widely used in qualitative psychological research.

Figure 3.1 The Historical Development of Phenomenology

3.1.2 The philosophical vein of phenomenology

Phenomenology is a systematic methodology based on a solid philosophical foundation. Related philosophical thoughts of Descartes, Kant, Friedrich, Nietzsche, Husserl, Heidegger are briefly reviewed.

3.1.2.1 Rene Descartes (1596-1690)

French philosopher, mathematician, and scientist -- Descartes is known as the father of modern western philosophy. Descartes' perceptions of *objective reality* laid the ontological foundation of subjectivity and objectivity. Like the famous quote, "Je pense, done jesuis" (I think. Therefore I exist), Descartes perceived the world as deployed by consciousness (Descartes & Soriano, 1960). He did not deny the existence of objective reality, yet, he argued that objective reality only makes sense when it appears into consciousness. Husserl (2012) further explained that objective reality is unknowable, but we could explore its reflected from-- the subjective reality-- through intuition and ideation.

Proposed by Descartes, the *methodical* doubt is achieved by getting rid of all the prejudgment and prejudice. "In order to seek the truth, it is necessary once in the course of our life, to doubt, as far as possible, all things" (Descartes & Cress, 1998, p. 5). Descartes's methodical doubt enlightened Husserl in the development of the notion *epoché*. The essence of epoché is "to the things themselves" (Husserl, 1970, p.61) by suspending the prejudgment and presupposition to explore doubts, and thus to broaden human knowledge. In comparison to the dominant authority-worship science at that time, both

Descartes and Husserl insisted on the method "that would epistemologically ground their knowledge in apodictic self-evidence and certainty" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 79). They encouraged the researchers to break the chain of the known field exploited by authorities and display academic autonomy, emancipation, and freedom. Additionally, Descartes's emphasis on *ego* in fundamental reflections inspired Husserl's study on transcendental subjectivity (Matthews, 1992). Rather than concentrating on the individual perceptions and meaning-making, Descartes's *ego* and Husserl *transcendental subjectivity* focused on the unprocessed consciousness of specific experience while the socio-cultural context is blocked.

3.1.2.2 Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)

German philosopher Kant is one of the central figures of modern philosophy who first introduced the term "phenomenology "in 1765 (Smith, 2008). Like Descartes, Kant distinguished the concepts noumena and intuit. Noumena mean things-in-themselves, while *intuit* refers to the things appearing in consciousness(Smith, 2008). He stated that *noumna* is unknowable and cannot be fathomed by human beings (Oizerman, 1981). The only way to approach the *noumna* is through its reflected form in consciousness-*intuit(Westphal, 1997).* Kant also explained humanity's initiative and stated phenomena in everydayness are the foundation of human knowledge.

3.1.2.3 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831)

German philosopher Hegel is the first one who conceptualized "phenomenology" as an academic definition. As is defined by Hegel, phenomenology is the unfolding research to discover perceptions, feelings, and knowledge that exist in one's immediate awareness and experience (Houlgate, 2003). For Hegel, consciousness constructs reality. The ultimate existence of *noumena* outside of our cognition is defined as the manifestation of cognition(Yovel & Hegel, 2004).

Hegel proposed the notion of *absolute knowledge* (Hegel, 1998, p. 497). Instead of "knowing everything absolutely" or "knowing absolutely everything, "the *absolute knowledge* refers to "knowing the thing as it appears to the consciousness" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 85). The pursuit of *absolute knowledge* calls for a spirit of inquiry to challenge authority and existent knowledge (White, 1983). According to Hegel, we get to know reality through *reflection*. Through reflection, consciousness can take a step back and breakdown the limitations of concrete partiality. In addition, Hegel emphasized the importance of *example* which influenced the development of phenomenological data collection and writing style in modern form (Dussel, 1993).

3.1.2.4 Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)

German philosopher, cultural critic, poet, and philologist Nietzsche's anti-authority attitude encouraged phenomenologists to comprehend human reality with academic freedom. Nietzsche endowed the metaphysical science of the power to cope with "the uncertainties and ultimate horror of the realization of the

truth" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 88). He declared that human reality could only be approached by "poetic, creative, insightful and apathic impulse" (*ibid*, p. 87) rather than rigorous rationality. This statement exerted a significant influence on methodological diversity in contemporary phenomenology.

3.1.2.5 Edmund Husserl (1859-1938)

German philosopher Edmund Husserl is often referred to as the father of phenomenology. Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology is concerned with exploring the essence and meanings of a phenomenon through lived experience (Ströker, 1993). Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology possesses the meta-theoretical characteristics of interactionism (Dowling, 2007; Giorgi, 1997). Nevertheless, many conflicting understandings of Husserl's writing exist because of his obscure text, painstaking self-refutation, ambiguous expression, and linguistic differences. The meaning of the term "transcendental" may refer to its ontological concentration on transcendental subjectivity, hidden, or descriptive(Husserl, 2012; Ströker, 1993; Welton, 2000). Transcendental subjectivity indicates the unprocessed consciousness of specific experience while the socio-cultural context is bracketed; Hidden means the human experience is hidden deeply in human consciousness; while descriptive attempts to capture the experience in the form of primordial and concrete origin, without explanation, abstraction, or theorization.

Ontologically, Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology postulates that reality is produced and manipulated by human beings (Magrini, 2014). Hence,

there are different modalities in which the phenomenon renders itself into various subjects. Unlike Hegel who denied the existence of the external world, Husserl laid stress on the dialectical relationship between *objective reality* and *subjective reality* (Hintikka, 2003; Jennings, 1986). He contended that objective reality is unknowable for human beings, but it can be approached by capturing the subjective reality, which is hidden deeply in our consciousness (De Warren, 2009).

Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology is inherently associated with the concept of *intentionality*(Dreyfus & Hall, 1982), which bridges the action and the object of consciousness. Objective reality appears to us in the form of intentionality (Smith & McIntyre, 1982). For Husserl, intentionality is not a subjective matter, but an action with concrete and independent objectifying quality. To illustrate this view, Husserl introduced the concepts of the *act of feeling* versus the *act of intentionality*(Drummond, 2012). The night sky is taken as an example. Humanity's curiosity about the night sky is the *act of feeling* which no longer exists once the curiosity is disappeared. However, the *act of intentionality*-- the perception of the night sky –still exists(Bower, 2014).

To the things themselves (zu den Sachen) repeatedly appeared in Husserl's writing. As Husserl stated, meaning inspired only by remote, confused, inauthentic intuitions -- if by any intuitions at all -- are not enough: we must go back to the "things themselves" (Husserl, 1970, p. 252). This notion is an epistemological standpoint to gain knowledge neither from the existing

knowledge system, nor from remote intuition, but from the in-depth journey to go back to the things themselves (Willis, 2001). Back to the things themselves calls for a reconsideration of the experience of the phenomenon, as well as a renewed perspective, to reflect on the experience (Willis, 2004). It allows the researcher to go back to the world as initially experienced distorted by the reflective process (Steinbock, 1997). Additionally, it refers to explore the phenomenon itself in its self-givenness without prejudice, presupposition, and predisposition (Steeves, 2006).

Transcendental phenomenology is a meaning-giving process for making an inquiry. Doing phenomenology is a reflective study to bracket the existing knowledge, thus, to obtain a primitive contact with the world-as-experienced and use the individual's experimental materials to construct the subjective reality. Phenomenological reflection is neither a study of deduction nor induction, but virtually the reduction. Doing Transcendental Phenomenology consists of two successive phases: the epoché and reduction. It is an attempt to not only suspend the natural attitude but also to constitute the meaning of the phenomenon as thing-in-itself-as-it-shows-itself in consciousness. In order to capture the essence of the phenomenon with an abstemious reflection, the researcher should do the phenomenology through a systematic epoché-reduction process theoretically, polemically, suppositionally, and emotionally (Marques & McCall, 2005).

Epoché is a Greek term that refers to abstention (Bednall, 2006). For Husserl, our consciousness, which is shaped and constructed by existing

knowledge, is an obstacle to obtain the transcendental experience. Husserl adopted the mathematical symbol bracket as a metaphor for parenthesizing to get rid of elements that disturb the open access to the lived experience (Küng, 1975). Epoché is a procedure point to getting rid of the researcher's natural attitude, suspending the existing knowledge, and reaching a clear beginning. Husserl defined epoché as bracketing of all predilections, prejudgments, prejudice, and predispositions, exploring the experience with a completely open manner and a pure state of mind.

The reduction is a definite movement to return to the thing-in-itself-as-it-shows-itself in consciousness (Marion, 1998). Phenomenological reduction means reflection(Merleau-Ponty & Bannan, 1956; Schmitt, 1959). Each viewpoint of different subjects adds to various horizons on the whole image of the phenomenon (Lyotard, 1991). Even though the adumbrations of a phenomenon can never be fully explored, the researcher can approach the phenomenon by adding different horizons (Flood, 2010; Welton, 2000). Various dimensions of lived experience are explored to enrich the diversity of sources and stratum of the structure. For Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology, the experience is understood as the pre-reflective and pre-predictive life of everyday existence (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 222), which refers to the original experience that we live in and live through our daily life. Therefore, Transcendental Phenomenology aims at collecting accurate description of the state of mind, the mood, the emotion, and the feeling, rather than conceptualization, interpretation, generalization, and abstraction (Van Manen, 2016a). Transcendental

Phenomenological inquires seek out evoking lived experience, the reflective and predictive accounts of experience. Therefore, the option, belief, judgment, interpretation, and perception are out of the scope of transcendental Phenomenological.

3.1.2.6 Martin Heidegger (1889-1976)

Husserl's student, Martin Heidegger was a German philosopher and a seminal thinker in the continental tradition and philosophical hermeneutics, who is best known for his contributions to phenomenology and existentialism. Built on Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology, Heidegger developed the Hermeneutic Phenomenology. Like Transcendental Phenomenology, Hermeneutic phenomenology focuses on the lifeworld of human experience as it is lived. Despite the ontological consistency, Heidegger's Hermeneutic Phenomenology has several differences with Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology.

The first significant difference between Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology and Heidegger's Hermeneutic Phenomenology lays in the perception of context and meaning-making. Unlike Husserl who developed the epoché to bracket pre-existing theories, conceptions, methods, and assumptions, Heidegger argued the socio-cultural context is not only impossible to be bracketed but also of great importance to our being-in-the-world (Larkin et al., 2011). Heidegger criticized that phenomenology had failed to acknowledge humans as existential beings and claimed that no knowledge is existing outside

of an interpretative stance (Heidegger, 1996). He launched the essential nature of *Dasein*, which is translated as the mode of being human or the situated meaning of a human in the world(Gethmann, 1993), as a distinctively situated temporal and historical being-in-the-world, embedded in reality and immersed in interpretive relationships with objective reality (Luft & Overgaard, 2013; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). Heidegger has a view of individuals and the world as indissolubly related in cultural, social and historical contexts (Munhall, 1989). The connection between the individual and the world is indissoluble. In the same way, every encounter is associated with an interpretation influenced by one's background or historical(Heidegger, 1996). As the concept of *worldliness* stressed by Heidegger (Murphy, 2018) echoes the inescapable nature of *Dasein* ineradicably a worldly individual-in-context that cannot be meaningfully detached from the pre-existing and ready-to-be-used world of people, objects, language, and culture (Smith et al., 2009).The concept of historicity is emphasized repeatedly to imply the meaning-making of the phenomenon is grounded in and shaped by pre-understandings or fore-structures (Fynsk, 1993; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). All the knowledge is linked to a given set of unremovable inimitable fore-structure, including the individual's *historicality* (Heidegger, 1996).

Another significant difference between Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology and Heidegger's Hermeneutic Phenomenology is the understanding of human experience. Transcendental Phenomenology seeks for the pre-reflective and pre-predictive accounts of experience as thing-in-itself-as-

it-shows-itself in consciousness, rather than artistic statements, socio-psychological perceptions, judgments, or interpretations (Lowes & Prowse, 2001). On the contrary, Heidegger made a convincing argument that the object and nature exist in themselves and can only be obtained via interpretation. “the being of the entity is found only in encounter and can be explained, only from the phenomenal exhibition and interpretation of the structure of encounter” (Heidegger, 1992, p. 217).

The interpretive procedure as focusing on historical connotations of experience and the cumulative impacts on individual and social levels (Polkinghorne, 1983). Hermeneutics is about an individual’s cultural activity as texts -- the written or verbal communication, visual arts, and music-- with a view towards interpretation to find envisioned or uttered meanings (Qu & Dumay, 2011). Heidegger’s hermeneutic epistemology to phenomenology is accentuated by Annells (1996). Hermeneutics is an interpretive course that intends to bring understanding and disclosure of phenomena through language. Through a hermeneutic circle, which generates from the partial experience to whole experience and repeat the process back and forth, the sympathetic interpretation is deepened (Annells, 1996).

3.1.3 Transcendental and hermeneutic phenomenology

Among these above-mentioned philosophers, Husserl’s Transcendental Phenomenology and Heidegger’s Hermeneutic Phenomenology are the most influential paradigms for modern phenomenology. Those two paradigms share

some similarities: they both origin in German philosophy; they both acknowledge the existence of objective reality, while their research focus is the subjective reality; they explore the lifeworld or human experience as it is lived; they both adopt the phenomenological attitude a fresh look at our world and ourselves.

As summarized by Munhall in Table 3.1, these differences between Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology and Heidegger's Hermeneutic Phenomenology "emerge within ontological, epistemological, and methodological realms" (Munhall, 1989, p. 26). The central split of the two phenomenological paradigms lies in the perception of the socio-cultural context. Heidegger's ontological and epistemological interpretation of phenomenology is essential to the theoretical development and practical implication of IPA. The current research is in line with Heidegger's philosophical perceptions, which focus on historical meanings of experience and their developmental and cumulative effects on individual and social levels (Munhall, 1989).

3.2 Interpretative phenomenological analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a comparatively current experiential qualitative methodology established for psychology, humanities, health, and social sciences. It was proposed by Jonathan Smith, Professor of Psychology, the Birkbeck University of London in the mid of the 1990s (Smith, 1996). As an alternative psychology approach, IPA has the fundamental purpose of exploring a rich and detailed portrayal of personal experience.

Table 3.1 Husserlian Phenomenology and Heideggerian Phenomenology

Husserlian Phenomenology	**Heideggerian Phenomenology**
Transcendental phenomenology	Philosophical hermeneutics Hermeneutic phenomenology
Epistemological questions of knowing	Questions of experiencing and understanding
How do we know what we know?	What does it mean to be a person?
Cartesian duality: mind-body split	*Dasein*
A mechanistic view of the person	A person as self-interpreting being
A mind-body person lives in a world of objects Ahistorical	A person exists as a "being" in and of the Historically
Unit of analysis is meaning giving the subject	Unit of analysis is a transaction between the situation and the person
What is shared is the essence of the conscious mind	What is shared in culture, history, practice, language
Starts with the reflection of mental states Meaning is unsullied by the interpreter's own normative goals or worldview	We are already in the world in our pre- Interpreters participate in making data
Participants' meanings can be reconstituted in interpretive work by insisting data speak for themselves	Within the fore-structure of understanding, interpretation can only make explicit what is already understood
Claim that adequate techniques and procedures guarantee the validity of the interpretation	Establish own criteria for the trustworthiness of research
Bracketing defends the validity or objectivity of the interpretation against self	The hermeneutic circle (background, co-constitution, pre-understanding)

Source: Munhall (1989, p. 31)

The suitable research topic of IPA, with the concern of exploring the meaning of specific experience to a specific group of people, should be "novel

or under-researched, where the issues are complex or ambiguous and where one is concerned to understand something about process and change" (Smith & Osborn, 2004, p. 231). The research focus of IPA is the meaning-making of the phenomenon through the individual's experience from diverse viewpoints. The notion of "experience" has a broad meaning. It can be the experience of external objects, like the experience of a tree, a paper, the blue sky, walking on a road covered with fallen leaves, and so on, or the experience of subjective feelings, such as the experience of hiding a secret, falling in love, or suffering from depression. Anything stepping into consciousness could potentially be the study object of phenomenology, while anything falling out of the boundary of consciousness is beyond the scope of phenomenology (Giorgi, 1983). Although during the past three decades, IPA was predominantly applied in psychological research scope, it has great potential for tourism academia. According to Smith (2011), "IPA is increasing of interest to people in cognate disciplines, and it would be good to see more high-quality papers appearing in non-psychology outlets" (p. 25).The current research has the potential to fill in this methodological gap by applying IPA in tourism sociology research.

Smith (2011) pointed out that IPA has theoretical roots in phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiographic. Finlay (2011) further explained the three touchstones of IPA methodology: Phenomenology refers to a reflective focus on subjective accounts of individual experience; hermeneutics means an idiographic sensibility; idiographic indicates the commitment to a hermeneutic approach. "Without the phenomenology, there would be nothing to interpret;

without the hermeneutics, the phenomenology would not be seen" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 37). IPA is a comprehensible approach, with the phenomenological and hermeneutic theoretical foundation, with the interpretative epistemology in synchronicity, and with the idiographic data collection and analysis process (Larkin et al., 2011). The three fundamental characteristics of IPA are further elucidated below.

3.2.1 Phenomenology

The phenomenological nature refers to understand the phenomenon from the perspectives of the participants. Smith (2011) defined the phenomenology nature of IPA as the philosophical concern with lived experience. Rather than endeavouring to explore specific phenomena through the objective record, IPA discovers the phenomenon through the individual's account of the lived experience. IPA is concerned with the meaning of specific experience that associated with embodied, cognitive-affective and existential domains (Finlay, 2011). IPA, with the reflective concentration on individuals' experience, undertakes a model of the human being as a sense-making creature. However, different from Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology which hunts for the pre-reflective and pre-predictive accounts of experience as thing-in-itself-as-it-shows-itself in consciousness, individual's reflections on specific experience are queried for IPA research.

3.2.2 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics denotes the interpretative nature of IPA. Hermeneutic is "the art, theory, method of sometimes science of interpretation" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017, p. 115). IPA is an explicit hermeneutic version of phenomenology which provides "an established, systematic, and phenomenologically focused approach, which is committed to understanding the first-person perspective from the third-person position, so far as is possible, through intersubjective inquiry and analysis" (Larkin et al., 2011, p. 321). Like other hermeneutic approaches, IPA emphasizes interpretation instead of obtaining direct access to participants' experience. As Smith (2011) convinced, the participant's personal world cannot be approached directly or completely, but through the researcher's interpretative process that makes sense of the participant's personal world.

3.2.3 Ideography

The ideographical feature of IPA indicates viewing multiple viewpoints with equal importance. "Idiographic research or assessment focuses on understanding the individual as a unique, complex entity." (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 128). IPA endeavours to make sense of the subjective meanings of experiences of the individual participants themselves (Smith & Osborn, 2004). Distinguished from other forms of phenomenology, IPA attempts to concentrate on the individual and prioritizes examinations of participants' sense-making. IPA hunts for idiographic accounts of individuals' perceptions: how participants themselves as individuals make sense of their experiences. The researcher collects these accounts to offer a general portrayal of the phenomenon (Finlay, 2011). Different

individual has different perceptions of the same phenomenon. It is impossible to capture the phenomenon in its non-positional essence with infinite perspectives and adumbrations simultaneously. Nevertheless, the researcher can approach the whole image of the phenomenon by adding different horizons (Flood, 2010; Welton, 2000). Therefore, IPA research should give voice to the individual, and enrich the diversity of sources and stratum of the phenomenon through various dimensions of lived experience.

3.3 Research paradigm

In terms of the research paradigm for this undertaking, ontology, epistemology, and axiology are reviewed in the first place. Paradigm involves a set of research philosophical standpoint. Based on this classical definition, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) enriched the regime of paradigm by conceptualizing paradigm as "a basic set of beliefs that guide action," that "encompasses four terms: ethics (axiology), epistemology, ontology, and methodology" (p. 245). In short, ontology is the philosophical viewpoint of reality, epistemology is the theoretical connection between researcher and knowledge, while methodology is the practical approach to give close to reality (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Definitions of ontology, epistemology, and methodology

	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 108).	What is the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it? For example, if a "real" world is assumed, then what can be known about it is "how things really are" and "how things really work."	What is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known? […] A "real" reality is assumed, then the posture of the knower must be one of objective detachment or value freedom in order to be able to discover [how things really are] and [how things really work].	How can the inquirer (would-be knower) go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known? […] For example, a "real" reality pursued by an "objective" inquirer mandates control of possible confounding factors, whether the methods are qualitative (say, observational) or quantitative (say, analysis of covariance)
Rawnsley (1998)	The study of existence	The study of knowledge	
Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 245)	Ontology raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world.	Every epistemology […] implies and ethical-moral stance toward the world and the self of the researcher. "How do I know the world?", "What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?"	The methodology focuses on the best means for acquiring knowledge about the world
Denzin and Lincoln (2011, pp. 12,615)	The branch of metaphysics concerned with what exists (what "is"), with being and reality and how entities are organized. "What kind of being in the human being?" "What is the nature of reality?"	"What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?"	"How do we know the world or gain knowledge of it?"
Williams (2016, pp. 36,154),	The branch of philosophy concerned with the existence and the nature of things that exist.	The branch of philosophy concerned with the study of knowledge.	

3.2.2.1 Paradigm

The constructivism-interpretivism paradigm is the leading paradigm of current research. In contrast to positivism's naïve realism which adheres to the singular-objective-external-reality, the constructivists-interpretivists accept the existence of multiple, apprehendable, and equally valid realities (Ponterotto, 2005). Fundamentally, while positivists conceive reality as a singular entity that is independent of human society, constructivists-interpretivists deem the reality as socially constructed by means of the intersubjective and intersubjective process (Ponterotto, 2005). The constructivists–interpretivists stick to the hermeneutical approach which attempts to explore the deeply-hidden meaning through reflection (Schwandt, 1994). To guarantee the quality of the reflection process, the intersubjective relationship between the researcher and the participants is elaborately maintained. Therefore, the interaction between the investigator and the object of investigation is of great importance, and the research should cooperate with the participants to excavate the subjective reality through interactive dialogue and double hermeneutic interpretation (Thibaut, 2017). The data collection and analysis process is both idiographic and emic (Picione, 2015).

3.2.2.2 Ontology

In line with the relativist philosophical position, the constructivists–interpretivists accept the existence of multiple, socio-constructed realities. For the constructivists–interpretivists, the reality is subjective and shaped by the socio-cultural context (Magrini, 2014). The objective reality is unknowable for human beings, and it can be approached by capturing the subjective reality, which

is hidden deeply in our consciousness (De Warren, 2009). Consequently, the constructivists–interpretivists concern the "what of our experience" rather than "experience of what" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 91).

3.2.2.3 Epistemology

The phenomenology characteristic of IPA anchored its epistemological foundation, that is, understanding the phenomenon via the participants' subjective experience, which embodied in everyday life. Conceiving a natural attitude, people are immersed in things without noticing them and view the world as taken-for-granted (Finlay, 2009). However, for IPA researcher, the phenomenological attitude is the first epistemological touchstone, which refers to getting rid of the attitude of taken-for-grantedness (Finlay, 2008). However, if lifting specific experience up from the everydayness, the researcher can find the quotidian experience is much more complicated than what it is supposed to be. Phenomenological attitude calls for curiosity that "that has a dispositional effect: it dislocates and displaces us" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 37). Heidegger described this process as "what we are trying to understand as the basic disposition, the one that transports us into the beginning of genuine thinking" (Heidegger, 1994, p. 143). With the wonder eyes, a free perspective which detects the extraordinary from the ordinary comes into being (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008).

In common with other forms of phenomenology, IPA research is based on the lived experience (Finlay, 2011). IPA explores lived experience and with the meaning-making of interviewees on their embodied experience. Hence, IPA

focuses on the meanings which those experiences hold for the interviewees (Smith, 2011). Lived experience, conceptualized by Husserl and Heidegger (1964) as "givenness of internal consciousness, inward perceivedness" (p. 177).Van Manen (2016a) defined lived experience as "an inexhaustible deposit of primordialities that constitute our experiential existence" (p. 152).It is a parallel concept with back to the things themselves possesses methodological significance in phenomenology (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). The term experience originates from German *Erlebnis*, which refers to living through something literally. Because of time-lapse, the experience once is recalled, becomes lived. Experience is traced through retrospection and reflection. Despite the fact that our initial attempt is to capture the "*immediate now*" (living) experience, however, what we can get is the "*now mediated*" (lived) experience(Van Manen, 2016a, p. 34).

According to Finlay (2009), phenomenology is comprehended through lived experience. Lived experience aims at describing the meaning of the living now before entering into reflective awareness: the life as we lived it, "before we have lifted it up into cognitive, conceptual, or theoretical determination or clarity" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 39). Hence Husserl conceptualized the lived experience as the primal impression of consciousness, where the source and condition for the intelligibility of the experience are constituted (Husserl, 1975; Sadala & Adorno, 2002).The lived experience is out of the boundary of reflective awareness -- the experience we never recall, name, describe or conceptualize (Kjaer et al., 2002).

IPA involves a sophisticated process of double hermeneutic, "whereby the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them" (Smith, 2011, p. 10). IPA is concerned with the interpretative work by the researcher who is making sense of the participants' meaning-making of specific experience (Eatough & Smith, 2008). The experience of reality is interpreted by the interviewees based on their positionality which is situated in a certain socio-cultural context, then further interpreted by the researcher within a specific socio-cultural context. Consequently, the exploration of a phenomenon is necessarily associated with the researcher's subjectivity and the intersubjective interactions between the researcher and the interviewees (Finlay, 2011).

IPA gives voice to each individual, treats each case with equal importance, and interprets each account to the in-depth micro-level. IPA is revealed in a comprehensive analysis of the case either as an end in itself or before moving to correspondingly thorough analyses of other cases (Smith, 2011). The idiographic sensibility of IPA calls for researchers' commitment to considerate the experiential phenomenon from the perspective of specific individuals in specific contexts. Therefore, the depth and detail of the micro-level analysis are essential to IPA research. (Finlay, 2011) . Traditionally, IPA analysis starts from the in-depth interpretation of each case separately and followed by the search for patterns across cases.

3.2.2.4 Axiology

Axiology refers to the value of the researcher's role in the research process. Unlike positivists and post-positivists who devalued the researcher's subjectivity, constructivists–interpretivists deem the researcher's subjective involvement with great importance in terms of 1) the inseparable intersubjective interaction between the researcher and the participant; 2) the impact of the researcher's intersubjective reflection on the interpretation mission. Unlike Husserl who attempted to bracket the researcher's contextualized knowledge and active perception, IPA encourages the researcher to interpret the participants' meaning-making within the specific socio-cultural framework, which is illustrated in Section 3.3.

The researcher's existing knowledge and social network should be adopted to facilitate the dialogue with participants and promote the sensitivity for interpretation. This research followed the constructivists–interpretivists paradigm, which ontologically admits that 1) reality is socially constructed; 2) the objective reality is unknown, while the subjective reality is approachable; and 3) multiple realities exist. Epistemologically, this research adheres to 1) capturing the knowledge through the lived experience of participants; 2) making sense of the participants trying to make sense of what is happening to them; and 3) giving voice to each individual, viewing each case with equal importance, and interpreting each account to the in-depth micro-level. IPA provides solid and systematic methodological guidance. Axiologically, the researcher's value, and lived experience are firmly connected with the research process.

3.4 Research contextualization

IPA is a study of cognition, which is a highly situated activity (Anderson, 2003; Larkin et al., 2011; Smith & Semin, 2004). Cognition is inter-subjectively embedded in both the physical and psychosocial aspects of our world (Gallagher, 2009). IPA attempts to explore how participants make sense of a specific phenomenon embodied in the particular socio-cultural framework, that is, "what it is like to be experiencing this, for this particular person, in this context" (Larkin et al., 2011, p. 330). The context, or say, the socio-cultural framework is positionality-anchored and inter-subjectivity-oriented. Positionality emphasizes the uniqueness and personhood of the meaning-making mechanism of specific experience. As Palmer et al. (2010) elucidated, "[Positionality] refers not to a linguistic stance or action but rather to the experiential meaning of one's stance in relation to a given phenomenon." (p. 108).

IPA is built on the principle of intersubjectivity, which refers to "the shared conceptual resources of the researcher and research participants that permit the former to come to an understanding of the latter" (Chadwick et al., 2005, p. 531). The inter-subjectivity is applied through each stage of IPA research with the explicit goal of launching a research account that is more reflective of the participant's experience than of the researcher's preoccupations. In order to come up with an inter-subjective interpretation, the researcher is required to back up the interpretation by "grounding them in the material from which they are constructed" (*ibid*).

In this research, a positionality-anchored and inter-subjectivity-oriented framework is constructed. The social status-related values and cultural features are shared by a vast majority of Chinese people, which serves as a basis to interpret the participants' meaning-making under the umbrella of the framework of Common Chinese knowledge.

Lu (2004) identified five critical periods of social transformation that significantly influenced the social stratification in contemporary China: 1) 1949-1956, Democratic Reform and Socialist Transformation; 2) 1957-1965, Great Leap Forward Movement, "People's Commune" Movement, Massive Economic Adjustment; 3) 1966-1977, Great Cultural Revolution; 4) 1978-1991, Planned Economy Dominated, and Market Economy Rising; 5) 1992 till now, Market Economy Dominated. Similarly, Li et al. (2015) categorized four periods of China's socio-political vicissitudes: the planned economy (1949- 1965), the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the dual-economic system (1977-1992), and the "socialist market economy" (1993 onwards). Li and Zhu (2017) divided contemporary China into four social stages: the pre- "Cultural Revolution" period (up to and including 1965), the "Cultural Revolution" period (1966-1976), the early reform period (1977-1992) and the deep reform period (1993 to the present).

Two major institutional revolutions led to social differentiation and social mobility trends. The first institutional revolution happened in 1949. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the public ownership replaced the private ownership, the highly centralized planned economic system took over

the market economy, the state-directed heavy-industry-prioritized industrialization strategy dominated the economic development strategy, and the society is full politicalized.

The whole structure of social classes and strata were reduced to “Two Classes and One Stratum” -- the peasant class, the working class, and the intellectual stratum. The second fundamental institutional revolution started from the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. The planned and centralized economy transformed into the market economy. It promoted the increase of social freedom, employment opportunities, as well as the emergence of the new social stratum. Therefore, a modern embryonic form of social stratum structure has come into being.

China’s social stratification has been continuously evolving since the Reforms and Openness. Market reform in China has led not just to economic growth, but also to a momentous transformation with the simple, enclosed, rigid peasant hierarchy of the Mao era being replaced by an open, modern and evolving system. The further development of industrialization leads to two fundamental changes in China’s social structure: the specialization and professionalization of the labour division, and the expansion of the bureaucratic organization both qualitatively and quantitatively. Since then, the social stratification phenomenon has become increasingly prominent in China, and socio-economic differences between the rich and poor have been continuously enlarging.

The most influential and informative national research report on social mobility in modern China is "The social mobility in contemporary China" written by Chinese scholar Lu Xue Yi. It presents two nationwide on-site questionnaire surveys among 11,000 people covering 10 provinces and among 6,000 respondents covering 73 cities in 12 provinces respectively.

Lu (2004) proposed ten social classes based on the occupational-oriented classification standard, which includes the possession of organizational, economic, and cultural resources. The ten social classes are the "national and social supervisor stratum" (with organizational resources), "professional manager stratum" (with cultural and organizational resources), "private entrepreneur stratum" (with economic resource), "professionals stratum" (with cultural resource), "clerical stratum" (with little cultural or organizational resource), "individual business stratum" (with little economic resource), "commercial service staff stratum" (with limited organizational, economic and cultural resource), "industrial workers stratum" (with limited organizational, economic and cultural resource), "agricultural labour stratum" (with limited organizational, economic and cultural resource), "urban and rural jobless, and unemployed and semi-unemployed stratum" (primarily with no organizational, economic and cultural resource).

Table 3.3 China's Social Stratification and Social Mobility

Class Status	Social Stratification	Social Mobility Condition
Advantageous social stratum	National and social supervisor stratum	Generational succession, more inflow than outflow
	Professional manager stratum	The rising and relatively open stratum
The lower advantageous social stratum	Private entrepreneur stratum	It mainly depends on entrepreneurship
Middle social stratum	Professional stratum	Relatively stable
	Clerical stratum	It offers opportunities for upward social mobility and has the possibility of downward social mobility
Middle-low social stratum	Individual business stratum	Outside of the organizational system and has limited opportunity for upward social mobility
The relatively low stratum	Commercial service staff stratum	It has more opportunities for upward mobility and the increasing population
	Industrial workers stratum	It experiences transformation and has a decreasing population
	Agricultural labour stratum	It has the most apparent generation successional feature and the least opportunities for upward social mobility
Low stratum	Urban and rural jobless, unemployed and semi-unemployed stratum	It appears during institutional transformation and industrial restructuring

Source: Lu (2004)

3.5 Conducting IPA

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

Participants are the source of experiential accounts and phenomenological reflections. The number of participants, participants' recruitment criteria, the cooperation willingness, the expression ability, and the relationships between the researcher and the participants have considerable influence on the trustworthiness of experiential materials collection.

Smith (2011) suggested the purposive sampling method. Because of the depth of the interpretation, the interviewee number chosen by the IPA research is inevitably limited. IPA holds the logic of capturing a phenomenon from the perspective of a specific group. In line with this logic, socio-cultural homogeneity is the primary consideration of participant recruitment. The researcher should draw a boundary to generalize the socio-cultural features of the interviewee, thus to locate the positionality of the research perspective (Smith & Osborn, 2004).

IPA research adopts a small sample. "Detailed and rich data are taken from small numbers of cases, in order that they can be adequately situated, described, and interpreted" (Larkin et al., 2011, p. 330). Theoretically, one substantial case study is adequate for IPA research (Finlay, 2011). In practical terms, "IPA studies are usually conducted with small numbers of participants 'six to fifteen' because the aim is to present an intimate portrayal of individual experience (Smith & Osborn, 2004, p. 230)." "Many studies have samples of 5-10" (Smith, 2004, p. 42). Smith et al. (2009) suggested three interviewees as the default size for a bachelor's or master's degree, while for the doctoral dissertation the numbers may increase according to the available research time and skills. Nevertheless, IPA is not a prescriptive approach. Instead of slavishly following the operation manual, the IPA research approach is encouraged to be creative and flexible. Finlay (2011) pointed out "this flexibility within IPA methodology is shown in recommendations about sample size" (p. 141).

Regarding the current research, the interviewees should be representative of Dali youth sojourners in China's social context. With the aid of five years' research experience and personal connections among Dali sojourners, the researcher chose the interviewees purposefully based on the research topic. 1) The interviewees recruited are Chinese and non-Dali citizen; 2) the age of participants should be between 18 and 34 when they started to sojourn in Dali (not the current age); 3)the sojourn duration in Dali should be more than half a year accumulatively; 4)the initial sojourn purpose should be non-remuneration driven; 5)the interviewees should have cooperation willingness and good ability of self-expression. Homogeneity is brought together by citizenship, age, sojourn duration, sojourn purpose, and cooperation willingness and ability. It is also important to gather a sample that can reveal differences between different social mobile and spatial mobile trajectories and avoid an overly homogeneous sample. Therefore, the interviewees belong to the diversified occupation, education, wealth, family background, and social mobility trajectories, in order to explore the psychological and socio-cultural variability within the youth sojourners by analysing the pattern of convergence and divergence arise (Smith, 2011).To find a balance between advisable perspectives and the depth of interpretation, the researcher adopted purposive sampling to find forty interviewees in this study.

3.5.2 Participants information

Table 3.4 offers a brief glance at the interviewees' social features related to current research. Out of privacy consideration, all the interviewees are

anonymous and represented by codes. The sequence of the code is based on the chronological interview order, while the letter "S" stands for the word "sojourner."

There are 22 male interviewees and 18 female interviewees to guarantee the gender proportion is considered balanced. The average current age of interviews is 31 years old, and the average sojourn length is four years. The average age when the sojourners settled down in Dali is 27 years old, which means they worked for four/ five years after graduating from university[3]. Most of the interviewees received higher education. Although only one interviewee obtained a master's degree, one-quarter of the interviewees are graduated from the best universities in China or abroad, 18 interviewees graduated from ordinary universities, five interviewees graduated from technic universities, while six interviewees didn't receive the higher education. Notably, one of the interviewees graduated from Cambridge University (UK), four interviewees graduated from Renmin University of China (Beijing), two interviewees graduated from Fudan University (Shanghai), two interviewees graduated from Central Academy of Fine Arts (Beijing), and one interviewee graduated from The Central Academy of Drama (Beijing). The high education level or academic performance is a neutral reflection of the socio-cultural background of Dali sojourners as a whole.

[3] According to China's Compulsory Education Law, Compulsory education includes six years of primary education, starting at age six or seven, and three years of junior secondary education (junior middle school) for ages 12 to 15. After Three years high school education, and Four years' undergraduate education, the students graduate from university usually at age 22 or 23. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_China#Higher_education.

The marriage status is generalized into four categories. Among them, 21 interviewees are unmarried, which counts as the dominant group, while 11 interviewees are married with kid(s), three are married without a kid, and four are divorced. Three couples received the interview separately. After the formal interview, several informal conversations focused on the divergence between the couple were conducted.

As aforementioned, the household condition is an essential factor of the social status of Chinese people and the financial support for sojourn life. For Dali sojourners, the household condition is comprised of two conditions, ownership and using right. The latter often refers to the up to a twenty-year long-term rental contract for a house in the Dali context. Sojourners have no access to get ownership of rural residential property legally[4]. Therefore, the up to twenty-years long-term rental contract acts as a conventional approach to transfer ownership in Dali, although the legal validity of the contract becomes increasingly fragile. Short time rental in current research is not discussed in current research. Eight interviewees have the ownership of houses in first-tier cities, and among them, six houses are in Beijing. Nine interviewees purchased a house in Dali, 13interviewees have a long-term rental contract for local Bai-style traditional houses, which are reconditioned for the homestay business, and 14 interviewees

[4]China's Constitution and Land Management Law set up collective ownership rights of rural land in the way that 'land in the rural and suburban areas', including agricultural land, rural residential land, 'is owned by rural collectives except those specified by law as state-owned land' (Wang et al., 2012, p. 202).

neither have ownership nor long-term using the right of houses. They rent a room or a bed in the dorm temporarily.

The spatial residential distribution shows the spatial mobility of the interviewees. The place of birth and the previous residential are categorized into "first-tier city," "second-tier city," "(under) third-tier city," and "the rural." It is easy to locate the place of birth. However, considering many interviewees have long-term sojourn experience in many cities, the identification of the previous residential is confusing. When asked about "where are you come from?" instead of talking of their hometown, the interviewees usually mention the place where they settled down after graduation, which is also the place they purchased the house, found a stable job, and formed the spatial-related self-identity. Even through interviewees were predominately born in the second-tier (10 interviewees), third-tier cities (17 interviewees), and the rural (9 interviewees), 35 interviewees' previous residential places were first-tier cities. It indicates that the dominant spatial trajectory of interviews is firstly moved from less developed places to the first-tier cities, and then moved to fourth-tier city Dali after several years of working experience.

The social status in vital life nexuses shows the trajectories of social mobility. First, the social mobility in Table 3.4 shows the objective social status according to the Chinese social stratification standard, which is objective and occupational-oriented. Second, the current research concentrates on the intra-generational social mobility while inter-generational mobility is served as a

context. Thus, the social mobility direction refers to the intra-generational social mobility, which is in line with the change from “previous occupation” to “current occupation.” Third, the “parents’ social status” refers to sojourners’ parents' occupational-oriented social status. If the parents’ social statuses are different, the researcher adopted the sojourners’ father-side social status. However, in two cases the interviewee’s fathers were passed away during the interviewees’ childhood, and in three cases the interviewee’s parents divorced at a young age, and the interviewees grew up with mothers. In these five cases, the mother’s social status is adopted. Fourth, in most of the cases, the interviewees had more than one job before they came to Dali, so the “previous occupation” refers to the primary income source or the latest occupation before they came to Dali. Fifth, some interviewees have more than one job to support their sojourn life financially. The “current occupation” refers to the primary income source currently.

Interviewees’ family social status is scatted. Six interviewees are from the national and social supervisor stratum origin, eight are from the professional stratum origin, six are from individual business stratum origin, eleven are from industrial workers’ stratum origin, and nine are from the agricultural labour stratum origin. Captivatingly, most of the interviewees are from middle-low social stratum and relatively low social stratum. In the same way, interviewees' previous social status is disseminated, while the majority came from the middle-class and low status. However, considering the relatively young age and frequently spatial mobility, the semi-jobless condition for many interviewees is temporary. Despite the various previous social status, after a sojourn in Dali,

more than ninety percent of interviewees relocated in professional stratum and individual business stratum. During this process, 14 interviews experienced upward social mobility, 21 experienced downward social mobility, while five interviewees had horizontal mobility. The income change is not corresponding to the occupational change in many cases, and it is hard to collect income information due to instability and privacy sensitivity.

This research concentrates on the intra-generational social mobility while inter-generational mobility is served as a context. A simplified social mobility trajectory considering the objective and occupational-oriented Chinese social stratification standard is presented in the Appendix. The "parents' social status" refers to sojourners' father-side occupational-oriented social status. In two cases the interviewee's fathers were passed away during their childhood, and in three cases the interviewee's parents divorced and they grew up with their mothers. In these five cases, the mother's social status is adopted instead. The "previous occupation" refers to the primary income source or the latest occupation before they came to Dali, while the "current occupation" refers to the primary income source to support their sojourn life financially. The place of birth and the previous residential are defined as two critical nodes of the sojourners' mobile trajectory, and are categorized into "first-tier city," "second-tier city," "(under) third-tier city," and "the rural." Interviewees' family social status is scatted within the middle-low social stratum and relatively low social stratum. However, considering the relatively young age and frequently spatial mobility, the semi-jobless condition for many interviewees is temporary.

Table 3.4 Profiles of the Interviewees

	Category	*NO.*		*Category*	*NO.*		
Gender	Male	22			Birth	Prev.	Cur.
	Female	18	***Spatial dimension***	First-tier city	4	35	0
Marriage status	Married with the kid(s)	11		Second-tier city	10	5	0
	Married without the kid	3		(Under) third-tier city	17	0	0
	Unmarried	21		The rural	9	0	40
	Divorced	4			Family	Prev.	Cur.
Education	(Above) master's degree	1	***Social status dimension***	National and social supervisor stratum	6	2	0
	Undergraduate from key university	10		Professional manager stratum	0	3	0
	Undergraduate (ordinary university)	18		Private entrepreneur stratum	0	0	0
	Undergraduate (technic university)	5		Professional stratum	7	10	9
	High school	4		Clerical stratum	0	8	0
	(Under) Second school	2		Individual business stratum	6	4	28
Household	Ownership outside Dali	8		Commercial service staff stratum	0	1	3
	Ownership in Dali	9		Industrial workers stratum	12	0	0
	Using the right	13		Agricultural labour stratum	9	0	0
	None	14		Urban and rural jobless… stratum	0	12	0
Time dimension	Average sojourn Length	4	***Social mobility direction***	Upward social mobility		14	
	Average current age	31.3		Downward social mobility		20	
	Average age starting sojourn	27.2		Horizontal social mobility		6	

3.5.3 Semi-structured life history interview

IPA is an idiographic approach, which encourages to give voice to the individuals. Semi-structured life history interview provides the flexibility for collecting the detailed accounts from interviewees within the research framework (Bertaux & Thompson, 2017; Friedman, 2014, 2016; Nettle, 2010; Paulson, 2018; Wegener, 1991). Compared with the narrative, the semi-structured interview performs better in social mobility research. "The use of life-history notes, then, may have encouraged a version of mobility that privileged the individual's present feelings" (Friedman, 2014, p. 356).

In order to promote the efficiency of information collection, an interview schedule including the interview method, interview outline, interview location, time arrangement was prepared in advance and revised daily according to the actual interview process. The interview outline helps the researcher, on the one hand, frame the research scope explicitly before the interview, on the other hand, guide the process and follow the midline during the interview.

Specifically, with the aid of the interview outline, the researcher is aware of the difficulties and the priorities of the interview. Thus, corresponding interview skills to cope with different situations are equipped beforehand. For instance, in the current research, the concept of "social status" itself is a very sensitive topic for many interviewees. Based on the previous research experience, those who experienced upward social mobility may reluctant to talk about their past or depict a beatified version. Those who underwent downward social

mobility may describe their indifference about the so-called “status.” The approach to propose this topic should be skilful, instead of asking the social mobility condition directly, the topic is proposed with the question “could you describe the changes in your life since you moved in Dali (in comparison to previous residential places)?” After the interviewee described the changes, further questions about the change in materialistic condition, mental condition, worldviews, self-evaluation are inquired. The phenomenological questions are considered of vital importance in conducting a phenomenological inquiry. Accordingly, they are supposed to meet the requirements for heuristic clarity, evocative language, and veracity. Following the guidance, interview outlines are listed below.

- First, can you tell me the brief history of your change in residential places over the years?
- Second, can you tell me the main reasons you decide to sojourn in Dali?
- Third, could you describe the changes in your life since you moved to Dali (in comparison to previous residential places)?

  Prompt: materialistic condition, mental condition, worldview, self-evaluation, etc.
- Fourth, how do you perceive those changes?
- Fifth, could you describe your experience of sojourn in Dali over time?
- Sixth, could you describe your current social life?

  Prompt: social circle, social interaction, how do you perceive others? How do others perceive you?
- Seventh, can you describe the Dali sojourner society?

  Prompt: the social structure, social dimensions, core figure, etc.
- Eighth, if you had to describe what the sojourn experience in Dali means to you, what would you say?

  Prompt: what words come to mind, what images, do you have keywords?

The phenomenological inquiry is more than procedural, technical, repeatable questions. Instead, it explores nature, meaning, structure, uniqueness, or singularity as it gives itself in consciousness (Van Manen, 2016b). It can be interpreted as "a matter of attempts, bids, and hopeful risks" (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 29) that aims at collecting experiential materials. A well-prepared interview outline helps the researcher concentrate more thoroughly and more self-assuredly during the interview process. However, the interview is guided by the schedule instead of being dictated by it. The inquiry phase, sequence, and content are flexible.

Restoring the evocativity is one effective method to enter the subjects' psychological world as profoundly as possible. Through inquiring the specific lived relations (relationality), lived body (corporeality), lived space (spatiality), lived time (temporality), and lived things and technology (materiality), the specific human experience should be explored in a heuristic manner (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 302). By recalling the relationship between people and the environment, the interpersonal relationships, the bodily feeling, the perception of physical setting and circumstance, the subjective perception of time, the material thing, detailed experiential accounts with vividness and liveness are evoked.

To encourage the interviewee to provide more information, the researcher cultivated a casual, interactive, flexible atmosphere (Van Manen, 2007). Friendly relationships with the participants are helpful for the researcher to win their trust, mainly when the researcher works on sensitive topics. Additionally, the integral

narrative and complete logic are beneficial for stepping deeper into interviewees' psychological scope. Even if the interviewee immersed in irrelevant topics for a while, the researcher did not interrupt the narrative or switch the topic. Sometimes the most critical information follows the disseminated story-telling.

Interviews averaged three hours and were tape-recorded unless the participant rejected. The interviews were conducted in Chinese. All records were verbatim-transcribed by the author in Chinese and later translated into English text for further hermeneutic interpretation and thematic analysis. In addition, 340 pages of typed notes were produced after the interviews.

3.5.4 IPA thematic analysis

IPA thematic analysis is the proper information process approach for current research. Thematic analysis is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). In comparison to the information process approaches of other qualitative paradigms, IPA thematic analysis has its own characteristics. In grounded theory, themes emerge from a corpus of data through the systematic coding process including open, axial, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). In ethnographic research, by exploring and comparing related conditions, settings, styles, rituals, practices, meaning, and nuances continuously, themes are generated to comprehend the communication of meaning and verify theoretical relationships (Altheide, 1987). Content analysis is a process of verification, in which themes are selected before analysis and verified by the recurrence of relevant words,

phrases, or elements, where the thematic analysis is an unambiguous and mechanical application of word frequency statistics, semantic networks or structure analyses, multiple layer coding through comparison and induction, or breaking down of the textual materials (Aronson, 1995; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). However, IPA thematic analysis requires finding out different dimensions of human experience (Aronson, 1995), rather than systematic, standardized, and normalized strategies or techniques (Joffe, 2012). IPA thematic analysis is built on the IPA interpretation. Tesch (1990, p. 115) described the IPA interpretation as a process of "decontextualization and re-contextualization". The information is decontextualized when they are separated into fragments of meaning in order to be sorted and organized. Then they are recontextualized and reintegrated into themes that bring the fragment of meanings together with a new understanding. The recontextualized information generates a reduced data set drawn from across all accounts, based on which the researcher can interpret the accounts as a whole. Therefore, a wealth of contextual richness and the person-specific information is maintained.

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) proposed the "methodological principles" (p. 124) of IPA interpretation: 1) coherence, the interpretation should be logically consistent; 2) comprehensiveness, the interpretation as a whole should be integral and comprehensive; 3) penetration, the underlying and central problematic should be exposed; 4) thoroughness, all the questions raised by the accounts should be answered; 5) appropriateness, questions should be raised by the accounts rather than the interpreter; 6) contextuality, the interpretation should be

set into historical-cultural context; 7) agreement, the interpretation should be consistent with the author's original statement without distortions and agree with established interpretations of the text; 8) suggestiveness, the interpretation should stimulate the imagination; and 9) potential, the interpretation can be further applied.

The themes of IPA should meet the requirement of generalizability, a concept proposed by Ayres et al. (2003) to describe the "applicability of findings beyond the research sample" (p. 872). A theme captures the essential elements in the cases in relation to the phenomenon and represents the patterned response or meaning within the data set which reflects the essence of the experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Insights from the individual experience sensitize the researcher to parallel information as it arises in other accounts. When the insight appears repeatedly in multiple contexts, the researcher instantiates it as one theme. Therefore, the theme should explain the individual accounts, the across-cases account, and has the potential to be applicable beyond the sample (Brocki & Wearden, 2006).

Besides, considering the idiographic feature of IPA, the convergence and divergence of each case should be emphasized. Phenomenological thematic analysis requires the researcher a high degree of flexibility, innovativeness, and scepticism. Operationally, IPA thematic analysis requires the process of within- and across-case analyses. While within-case analysis refers to exploring the

individual account in its own context, the across-case analysis indicates the synthesis that captured the dimensions of experience across accounts.

The balanced application of the within- and across-case analysis synergistically and interactively via the hermeneutic spiral offers an idiographic generalization that both identifies the significant elements in the individual account and recontextualize the elements to constitute patterns of the phenomenon. Therefore, the individual accounts should be analysed from the perspectives of uniqueness and commonality, and the researcher has to distinguish between “information relevant to all participants” and “those aspects of the experience that are exclusive to particular informants” (Ayres et al., 2003, pp. 871-872).

The principle of phenomenological thematic analysis is to elicit the dimensions of the experience that are common to all, rather than to depict the individual variations. Therefore, the research makes sense of each individual account and compare across all the accounts to identify themes that can be generally applied to all the cases. The steps of IPA thematic analysis are shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.5 Within- and Across-Case Analytic Strategies for IPA

Strategy	Analytic Focus	Product
Analytic immersion in all interviews	Within all cases	The sense of the lived experience of the phenomenon
Immersion in each interview	Within each case	Identification of significant statements
Comparisons of significant statements	Across cases	Identify categories of statements common to all participants
Reconnection of important statements to interviews	Within and across all cases	Ascertain fidelity to original accounts
Intuiting, critical reflection	Within and across all cases	Identification of themes
Freewriting	Within and across all cases	Answer the question, "What would participants want the world to know about their experience?"
Organize categories of important statements by themes	Set of significant statements	Essential structure
Return analysis to participants	Essential structure, summaries of themes	Evocation and intensification

Source: Ayres et al. (2003)

3.5.5 Phenomenological writing

The essence of phenomenological writing lies not only in systematically displaying the structures of the phenomenon but also in evoking the empathy and resonation of the readers. Phenomenological writing aims to let the reader experience something that they haven't bodily experienced in an evocative manner (Van Manen, 1984). Therefore, it should be captured through non-rational examples, accounts, evocative expressions and poetic language.

Phenomenological writing is a process to transfer the factuality of the experiential materials into fictional accounts to seek for the experience in its

singularity. Van Manen (2016a) illustrated the phenomenological writing process: first, select appropriate experiential accounts that is representative for the experience; second, diagnose the underlying themes that emerge from the accounts within specific socio-cultural context; third, polish the original accounts by condensed and vivid expression; fourth, back to the source to check the polished accounts with the participants, ask questions such as "if the anecdote could authentically reflect your experience?" "is there any distortion of your expression?" and "do you have any supplementary information?"; fifth, refine the accounts to conform to the themes; sixth, self-doubt on whether the accounts are in line with the dimensions of the experience; and seventh, polish the textual tone and language over and over.

Phenomenological writing contributes to fictionalize an empirical account to generate a plausible description of a phenomenon and create a sense of nearness to the readers by adding to the vividness and liveliness. The phenomenological account must go through a polishing process from the original narrative to phenomenological contents. A polished phenomenological account should be a condensed narrative describing a single experience in concrete details. Direct quotes should be contained in order to maintain a sense of authenticity. To obtain the vividness and liveliness, multisensory descriptions such as what things look(ed) like, what things touch(ed) like, what things smell(ed) like, what things sound(ed) like, what things taste (d) like, and so on (Jones & Luhrmann, 2016; Joy & Sherry Jr, 2003). The tone of lived experience descriptions should be simple, understandable and natural to keep the authenticity.

3.6 Research trustworthy

The most frequently used techniques for methodological justification in social science analyses are systematic codification, conceptual abstractions, or empirical generalizations; triangulation of multiple co-workers or techniques; scientific counting or structuring facilitated by software. However, not all of them are applicable to IPA research. A more conceptual-level research trustworthiness criterion is required regarding the flexibility of IPA. Guba (1981) developed a model for assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative research. Because of its solidification in the conceptual foundation and applicability in the research process, this model was one of the most widely adopted models for qualitative researchers. Guba's model was built on four facets of the trustworthiness of both quantitative and qualitative research: credibility, applicability, consistency, and neutrality.

3.6.1 Credibility

Credibility, or truth value, indicates the researcher's confidence in the truth of the findings based on the research design, participants, and context. In IPA, the truth is perceived as multiple human constructions, which are attained from the meaning-making of the participants' meaning-making of lived experience from various perspectives. Different from the positivist paradigm that accepts single and objective truth, the credibility for constructivism-interpretivism research implies representing multiple realities discovered by participants as adequately as possible.

The first strategy adopted in current research to enhance credibility is prolonged engagement. The author had long term field trip experience since 2011 and developed the master's degree thesis on the same research population in the same research area. For the current research, the author spent seven months from December 2017 to June 2018 in Dali for data collection. The prolonged engagement allows the researcher to add on perspectives, compare participants' narrative with naturalistic living situations, and get familiar with the research population and context. The prolonged data collection allows the second strategy -- time sampling -- to conduct across different environmental settings in which the data are collected. The third strategy, reflexivity, means the "assessment of the influence of the investigator's own background, perceptions, and interests on the qualitative research process" (Krefting, 1991, p. 218). With almost seven years of accumulated knowledge about Dali and Dali sojourners, the author, on the one hand, has deep empathy on the research population, while on the other hand, involved too much into sojourners' private life. To a considerable extent, this experience facilitated the author to obtain a more profound meaning-making of the phenomenon under research. However, extensive knowledge and private connections also added to the risk of subjectivity. Thus, the researcher needs to reflective on herself consistently during the data collection and interpretation process. With the aid of the fourth strategy, triangulation, the research subjectivity is reduced to the minimum. Notably, triangulation applied in this research is not for the purpose to verify a single reality, but to adjust the idiographic interpretation to approach the multiple realities. Each interview tape

is reviewed timely, important statements are highlighted and checked with other participants before a subsequent interview is conducted. The participants also contribute to the interpretation process and added credibility to the meaning-making.

3.6.2 Applicability

Applicability means "the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or with other groups" (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). There are two perspectives of applicability to meet: the first one is generalization that means the findings in a study with confined spatial and temporal setting is applicable to a broader naturalistic situation; the second one is what Guba (1981) named as fittingness or transferability, which indicates the research findings can fit into other research contexts or research population. The applicability is associated with the sufficiency descriptive information that allows comparison.

Indeed, the meaning-making process is conducted under the framework of Chinese social structure and through the lens of Chineseness. However, the research applicability is not narrowed down to this specific socio-cultural context, or the precise population. Firstly, the IPA research as a comprehensive qualitative inquiry can be brought from physiological to sociological research, and to investigate the more intricate social process. Secondly, the social construction process can be explored in many semi-permanent residential destinations. Thirdly, as a case study, Dali sojourners' experience proves the possibility to bridge the spatial and social mobility, which can be extensively adopted in the

semi-permanent mobility practice. Fourthly, the gap between objective and subjective social mobility can be widely explained under a prudently constructed socio-cultural framework. Fifthly, the reflection upon the Chineseness can be widely used in various Chinese studies across disciplines.

3.6.3 Consistency

Consistency refers to "whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context" (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). Different from the applicability that emphasizes the research context and population, consistency stresses on the repeatability of testing procedures.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) described five potential outcomes of a social constructionist inquiry -- fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity. The validity of phenomenological reduction is measured by reduction proper, which emphasizes the uniqueness of human experience as it appears in its singularity. The phenomenological reduction is the meaning-giving the source of meaning (Johnson, 2000).

The reduction proper could be measured by five dimensions, respectively, eidetic reduction proper, ontological reduction proper, radical reduction proper, ethical reduction proper, and original reduction proper (Van Manen, 2016a, p. 228). The eidetic reduction means a reflection on the uniqueness or singularity of the phenomenon. The eidos implies a phenomenological universal which could be grasped through the research on the structure and essence of the

phenomenon that governs the specific manifestations (Hallett, 1995). For Husserl, phenomenology is the study to discover and describe the eidetic meaning and structure of a specific phenomenon. It aims at figuring out what gives itself in consciousness and how the phenomenon shows itself. The eidetic reduction can be achieved through varying its aspect thought the variation in imagination or empirical instances comparison. By applying the reduction technique of variation in imagination, patterns of meaning come into being, thus the thematic meanings of the phenomenon appear (Cornelissen, 2006).

3.6.4 Neutrality

Neutrality is defined as "the degree to which the findings are a function solely of the informants and conditions of the research and not of other biases, motivations, and perspectives" (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). The proper researcher positionality would reduce bias and guarantee research objectivity.

Epistemologically, phenomenology is a study that combines subjectivism with objectivism (Laverty, 2003). The epistemological subjectivism of IPA lies in the requirement to go deep into the private experiences of particular individuals in order to enrich the lived experiences from various vantage points (Martínková & Parry, 2011), while the epistemological objectivism of IPA is embodied in the rigorous phenomenological attitude and attentive awareness to guarantee the objectivity of the study (Lyotard, 1991).

Research signifies a shared space that is shaped by both the researcher and participants (Bourke, 2014). The researcher positionality requires the process

of reflexivity, which involves a self-scrutiny of the researcher, as well as a self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and participants (Pillow, 2003). The researcher is immersed into the cultural background, worldview, political stance, gender, race, education, just as the participant's experience is constructed in a socio-cultural framework, which may lead to research bias in terms of observations, meaning-making, and interpretations (Ganga & Scott, 2006).

Before inquiring into my reflections on my experience with the research process, the review of positionality is warranted. I am a female researcher who was born in the 1980s in Shandong Province, China, and I have immersed in Chinese culture for most of my life. I grew up in a middle-class community in a third-tier city and have been surrounded by middle-class peers. After graduating from university in a second-tier city in Fujian Province, I spent one year in Beijing, where I worked as a tourism planner and lived with peers with similar spatial mobility trajectories (from small city/town to the megacity). In 2016, I chased my Ph.D. studies in Hong Kong. Two and a half years later, I started my sojourn life in the UK as a visiting researcher. Prior to conducting this research upon which the thoughtful work is grounded, I went to the current research area Dali seven times for long-stay vocation and research since 2011. My Master's thesis, '*Home and Homelessness: The Cultural Identity and Place Attachment of Dali Sojourners'*, aimed to understand the construction of subculture and the multiple place attachment. I got to know many sojourners stayed in Dali and involved in many activities in the sojourners' community. Following the

completion of my Master Thesis, I began to reflect more deeply on the phenomenon beyond the completed thesis. My personal mobility history and the self-history narrative of diverse sojourners in their living scene ultimately result in my interest in further exploring the meaning-making of spatial and social mobility experience of Dali sojourners. For the current research, I entered Dali both as an observer and experiencer.

CHAPTER FOUR: IPA THEMES

In this section, individual accounts of participants are explored in its own context, and then decontextualized and fragmentized into multiple-meaning units. Based on principles of flexibility, creativity, and scepticism, the meaning units are recontextualized and reintegrated into themes with a new understanding. Through the comprehensive process of within- and across-case analyses, and the decontextualization and recontextualization procedure, IPA themes are elicited to elaborate the meaning-making of spatial and social mobility experience that applies to all Dali sojourners beyond the sample. Quotes of the accounts are fictionalized to demonstrate the structures of the phenomenon systematically in an emphatical manner. The polished accounts of participants are presented to exemplify the elicited themes.

4.1 Flee Bei, Shang, Guang

The Dali sojourn phenomenon echoes with the "fleeing Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou". As a result of the polarization of China's megacities, "fleeing Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou" has become an emerging trend for urban youth since 2010. The book "*Flee Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou*" Yuan (2011) noted, main reasons for this phenomenon are: the house price that is unaffordable for outsiders; the strict household registration system that lead to structural discrimination; the social exclusion that deprived immigrants' dignity;

the life expense that makes the youth into *Yueguangzu*[5] (Chinese: 月光族); the traffic congestion, fierce competition, work pressure, air pollution, etc.

Considering spatial mobility, interviewees were predominately born in the second-tier (10 interviewees), third-tier cities (17 interviewees), and the rural (9 interviewees), 36 interviewees' previous residential places were first-tier cities. It indicates, in a simplified manner, most interviewees firstly moved from less developed places to the first-tier cities in their early 20s, and then moved to fourth-tier city Dali after four- or five years working experience in megacities. Therefore, instead of going down, sojourn in Dali is more like a way going back.

The social and spatial mobility is the interrelationship of cause and effect. Along with the first stage of spatial mobility, sojourners experienced social mobility from their original family background to the middle class in megacities. The accumulation of economic, social, and cultural capital in the megacities provides the foundation for the second stage of spatial mobility – from megacities to Dali. The embodied experience of urban life prepared them for the rural lifestyle in Dali. This is reflected in the experience of S36 (female, 32, unmarried), who came to Dali many times, yet decided to sojourn in Dali only after she experienced enough in megacities. *"It's imperative to find a position that is suitable for you. During the past ten years, I travelled to Dali many times during the summer holidays. I considered to sojourn in Dali in 2012, however, back then*

[5]*Yueguangzu*, refers to a group of people who have their monthly income run out before the beginning of the next month. It is also used to describe a person who does not earn much and whose monthly income can only cover the basic expenses of each month.

I couldn't find a sustainable way to make a living. The feeling of emptiness swallowed me. That was the motivation pushed me back to Beijing. I wanted to experience something more challenging. I wanted to know my talent, my ability, my potential, and my desire. Now I don't have this anxiety anymore. The experience in Beijing made me realize that who am I and what do I want."

The development of technology promoted work mobility and loosed the geographical restrictions, which facilitates waves of counter-urbanized migration during recent years. Many Dali sojourners have multiple income sources that are not necessarily based on Dali. The art-driven industry also provides work flexibility. For example, S36's income mainly comes from writing for two WeChat account. *"Due to the improvement of technology, the social environment allows our social media to be less restricted by geography. My work content in Dali has no difference with my work in Beijing."* As photography, S15 (male, 25, unmarried) can work flexibly in several different cities over the year. *"The art-related work isn't chained by one place. The artists can enjoy more freedom, and they don't need to stay in one place for a stable job. Many young sojourners also choose to be freelance workers, they live in Dali while making money somewhere outside Dali."*

4.1.1 Urbanization

China is in an unprecedented stage of urbanization. As stated in *"China's urbanization process development report 2013"* (Liu, 2014b), the rapid pace of urbanization, heavy pressure and the high cost of living are eroding residents'

quality of life. Meanwhile, the vigorous urban expansion lagged social management, and an extensive industrial model leads to worsening eco-environment. "*International talent blue book: China international migration report (2014)*" (Liu, 2014a) pointed out, according to the situation of contemporary Chinese immigrants, the deterioration of China's environmental problems become one of the main reasons for the wealthy and elite immigration. The urbanization process brings about a high concentration of population, resources, and culture within a short-term and limited space, that profoundly impacts on the society, values, lifestyles, and even reshapes the forms of civilization. Therefore, the pursuit of a liveable eco-environment, slow life pace and a life of ease have pushed the young urban immigrants to leave megacities and sojourn in the periphery.

For instance, S1 (female, 35, married with two kids) attributed her motivations for spatial mobility to traumas from mainstream society. The sojourn life bought her a better life quality and more freedom. "*Actually, many sojourners were quite successful in the metropolis. The reason we gave up our previous life is that secular life purpose becomes meaningless for us. Megacities are materialistic societies where everyone is desperate to make money. I was not willing to fit in that pattern, but the living cost in the megacity was very high, and the only way to maintain our life quality was to continue working. I wanted to find a place where people don't need to worry about money all day long, a place with less living cost and better life quality, a place we don't need to force ourselves to do something we don't like just for survival."*

Similarly, after five years stay in Dali, S7 (female, 27, unmarried) cannot go back to the money-driven and mechanical urban life. Making a living by hand brought her the relaxation of mind and the simplified lifestyle. *"I don't think I can go back to Guangzhou to find an office job again. I get used to freedom in Dali. I can't tolerant someone who watches me and blames me every day; I can't appreciate the commercial atmosphere; I don't want to wake up early; I can't bear the prescribed daily life. I was born and grew up in Guangzhou, but it does not mean I feel at home in Guangzhou. It's hard for me to go back to urban life and adjust my mindset to city mood. I can't fit in the whole environment, system, and regulation. It's not a matter of if you are busy or not, but the fact that what you are busy with. Physical busy make people tired but not exhausted. Some people are busy with building the social network, for instance, finding the corporation, looking for investment, they may feel exhausted at the end of the day. I have a materialist desire, but life quality is more important. Money-making is not my life purpose."*

S13 (female, 28, unmarried) used the quote from the TV series 'Dwelling Narrowness' to describe the life in megacities, where the heavy living expense, high pressure, and fast life path crushed her idealistic life pursuit. *"Every night when I sit by the window and look at the lights outside. How wonderful this city is! There are so many people with so many life stories. But how about my life story? Every day when I wake up from the dream, countless figures emerge out of my mind. The mortgage for house is 6000 per month; food and clothing cost 2,500; kindergartens tuition fee is 1,500; the maintains of social network is 600;*

the transportation costs 580; the property management fee is 300 or 400; the mobile phone bills cost 250; the gas, water, and electricity bills are 200. From the first breath I wake up, I must earn at least 400. This is the cost of my living in this city. These figures have forced me not to dare to idle for a day, and I have no time to ponder over the next decade. How can I have any future? My future is now, in front of me. Every day we go shopping with my mother. We don't have to move. The crowd is pushing us forward. I can't stop even if I want to. Where are my dreams when I was still young? My dreams were crushed into powder. They faded into the crowd without a trace. What I once insisted on, the principle of the heart and the juvenile's determination were smashed by the child, the family, the work, and the house. Indeed, megacities offer the best education resource, medical level, shopping environment, the most fantastic human creations, however, did you really have the chance to enjoy them? All the fantasy is only mirage to push you forward. However, the fantasy of megacities is nothing more than dessert for those who born with a silver spoon. For our ordinary people, we have to queue for your whole life to wait for your hopeless chance."

The S15 (male, 25, unmarried) is a hostel manager. Born in the countryside of Guangzhou, he travelled across China after graduation. The aversion of urban life is reflected in his account. *"The crowd in the big city makes me feel anxious. After I settled down in Dali, I went back to Guangzhou only once. The moment I stepped out of the train station, I saw the ocean of people. I felt suffocated. The image was so impressive. Whenever people talk about the*

difference between city and Dali, that image emerges in my head. I never want to go back to the city again."

The long-lasting air pollution which started in 2010 and peaked in 2015 in north China was also an important motivation for sojourners' spatial mobility. As S20 (female, 35, married with a kid) recalled, *"In 2015, the air pollution in Beijing was too heavy. Considering the health of our baby, I booked the flight to Dali. Initially, I planned to stay in Dali for around one week, but two weeks passed, the fog was still heavy. My parents were in terrible health status, and my daughter coughed every day. What's worse, living in the polluted air, we are not allowed to have any outdoor activity. The fog lasted for the whole winter. After that, we didn't want our kid to go back to Beijing again. Therefore, we decided to leave Beijing and sojourn in Dali."*

4.1.2 Modernization

Modernity is an amorphization of its own by continuous breaking from the past. Therefore, modernization is a process of liquefaction, which is featured by mobility in its nature (Wu, 2006). Scientific and technological breakthroughs have made people detached from a specific place. The relationship between people and the place is remoulded, and the place attachment gradually collapses. Simmel emphasized the fragmentation and impersonality of the city caused by increasing modernization (Jensen, 2006). According to Simmel, mobility leads to the separation of time and space. Thus, the modern city acts as a highly complex organism based on the social accord of punctuality (Larsen et al., 2008).

Accurate time and location are emphasized in order to maintain the precise operation of the social machinery. “Relationships and affairs of the typical metropolitan usually are so varied and complex that without the strictest punctuality in promises and services the whole structure would break down into inextricable chaos” (Simmel, 1997, p. 177).

As is reflected in S20’s (female, 35, married with a kid) account, who accused the utilitarian and snobbish of urban socialization. *“Sometimes in life, you need to stop and think about your path of life. Otherwise, your life process will become the trial of error. My values were formed in my gap year of traveling. When I was away from the crowd, I was closer to my heart. When I changed my job and I found many people in my life disappeared. The so-called social network is based on resource exchange, when you can’t offer anymore, the network can’t last. But the real friends were still by my side. I realized that society is very realistic and fake. When I gave birth to my daughter, I knew it was a good opportunity to say goodbye to my previous life. I changed my contact number and disappeared from the previous Quanzi. My social relationship has been reduced rapidly. This is a process of Danshari (Chinese: 断捨, Refusal, disposal, and separation. It is closely related to minimalism and Zen-Buddhist ideals of detachment from possessions) to cut down things distracting you from the right path.”*

The structure of the highest impersonality can be traced in three aspects – the distance-keeping, mask-wearing, and standardization. Firstly, in the

interpersonal perspective, distance-keeping politeness is created to maintain a stable interaction (Simmel, 1997, p. 178). This leads to the "brevity and scarcity of inter-human contacts" (Simmel, 1997, p. 183). In order to survive in the urban space, a complicated system of sophisticated skills was required, which constituted the so-called "civility" (Bauman, 2013b, p. 95). This concept was comprised of a series of actions of engagement and participation, rather than a trick to hide the true self in the non-commitment social interaction. It was a technique to hold off the strangers, the different, and the unfamiliar, the effort to reject communication, negotiation, and commitment, the response to the uncertainty and latent threat, and the by-product of the fragility and fluidity of social bonds in modern society (Bauman, 2013b, p. 108).

All sojourners had the embodied experience of the impersonality of urban life. S1 (female, 35, married with two kids) touched on upon the distance-keeping strategy in megacities, which is deemed as one of the essential elements of urban civility, led to the delicate body-close and mind-far interpersonal situation. *"In mainstream society, although my friends were very close to me, I could not feel real communication nor emotional connection. Everyone seems to be satisfied with that type of communication. We talked a lot, but we talked about nothing. We were very close, but we knew nothing about each other. They formed this culture and lived according to this way. Everything was superficial, everything was fake, and everything was utilitarian."*

Secondly, in accord with the "distance-keeping politeness" (Simmel, 1997, p. 178), Bauman introduced the notion "wearing a public mask" in urban space as an effective strategy applied in social encounters with strangers. The rootless living state of the youth urban immigrants caused a pervasive sense of insecurity and led to difficulties in social integration and cultural identity, and the mask-wearing resulted in the desire for genuine relationships, which have driven young sojourners to return to the countryside, in the hope of retrieving a sense of attachment to the land and old-time neighbourhood social atmosphere.

S6 (male, 27, unmarried) reflected on the masking-wearing atmosphere in megacities. The high mobility and fluidity constructed the semi-anonymous sojourner society in Dali, which allows people to unmask and to be themselves. "*Dali is not replicable. People live in the mainstream society have a patterned behaviour, because of the fear of negative social influence. In the cities, you need to wear different masks in a different environment. Dali doesn't need anything fake. After all, most Dali sojourners don't have a life plan in Dali. They would like to have some crazy memories, and gossips will not follow them after they leave. In Dali, I am who I am, and I do not need to hide anything. After they return to cities, they can put on the masks and play social roles again."*

Thirdly, in the intrapersonal perspective, an individual's personality and uniqueness are suppressed. "Life is made infinitely easy for the personality in that stimulations, interests, uses of time and consciousness are offered to it from all sides," and people as an individual is simplified as "a mere cog in the

enormous organization of things and powers" (Simmel, 1997, p. 184). A person as an individual is impersonalized, and even life is standardized and framed. As S1 (35, married with two kids) criticized, *"People living in big cities have a standardized guideline of life, and everyone exhausts the whole life to approach the guideline infinitely. For instance, you must get a decent job after graduation, you must get married before 25, you must get a house and a car once you are married, you must have a kid before 30 and better to have the second one before 35, then it's time for you to get a three-bedroom apartment, your kids must perform well in the examination and attend various training courses. People are scared to be different. Your life is precisely designed by others, and you just need to live according to the guideline."*

The reflection of impersonality normally followed long-term travel experience – a break from the taken-for-granted life pattern. S6 (male, 27, unmarried) developed the incapability to communicate with friends in mainstream society. As Doctoroff (2013) depicted, KTV is the only off-line field for pressure release for Chinese people after one week's robot-like living. *"I was 'normal' before I have a long trip across China. But after the trip, my worldview became different. I couldn't understand those who live in the pattern of life anymore. Meanwhile, people around me also found I became weird. I had less and less common topics with my old friends. They repeated the same life every day, when they couldn't tolerant anymore, they go to KTV to release pressure. Everyone is like infused with chicken blood (a Chinese metaphor to describe people who are motivated irrationally)."*

"To be different" was adopted as a strategy to exert personal subjectivity. Simmel stated that being perceived in a particular way increased one's self-esteem (Simmel, 1997). Lasch (1980) proposed modern society cultivated a culture of narcissism. Individuals tried to distinguish themselves through symbolized expression, adornment, styles or fashion "encountering each other in brief moments of proximity" (Urry, 2007, p. 23), in order to seek attention and display one's internal and external uniqueness. According to Simmel, people became masters over the material "which they realize themselves" (Simmel, 1997, p. 232).

The sojourn life in Dali allowed the youth to escape from the patterned life in modern society as well as the blasé attitude. By choosing the diversified alternative lifestyle and reducing the dependence on materialistic life, sojourners obtained a sense of authentic existence. As one typical example, S15 (male, 25, unmarried) expounded, "*When you are in big cities, you may be marginalized because you are different, but in Dali, the whole environment encourages you 'to be different'. In mainstream society, there are many forces to shape you into a standardized gear in the big social machine. If an artistic soul is placed in the mainstream society, it may die, but if you put the soul in Dali, it will bloom. People think many Dali sojourners are abnormal, but I think megacities citizens are abnormal. I'm different from everyone, but I think different is normal, and everyone should be different. It is the different, not the similarity, defined us as a unique person."*

4.1.3 Postmodernism

Postmodernism deconstructs modernity and criticizes the authority, bureaucracy, and solidification of modernity. Postmodernists re-examine the human civilization and mainstream values of contemporary society with critical eyes, reveal the cultural and social contradictions, and have a significant impact on the mainstream worldview, philosophy, values, ideology, and ethics. Dali sojourners adopted spatial mobility as a strategy to deal with social manipulation and patriarchal control. Under the influence of Confucian since the Han dynasty[6], Chinese sticks to family and clan rather than the individual. The anti-individualism is enhanced by the communism-collectivism since 1949. Therefore, obedience to the authority and sacrifice individual for the collectively become Chinese virtue. In Dali, young sojourners not only detached from their parents but also detached from the patriarchal society. They fought with their parents' generation as an adult ritual for self-affirmation and constructed a youth enclave.

S16 (female, 33, divorced with a kid) gave a realistic depiction of the Chinese 1980s, who struggle between the parents' ambitious expectation and self-awareness. *"We are a generation of confusion. When we were kids, we received the traditional education. When we grew up, we witnessed the explosion of information. We are strictly controlled by our parents' generation. We are the slaves of our parents' desires and the trash of our parents' negative emotion."*

[6] Confucianism, also known as Ruism, is described as tradition, a philosophy, a religion, a humanistic or rationalistic religion, a way of governing, or simply a way of life. In the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), Confucian was the official ideology, while the emperors mixed both with the realist techniques of Legalism.

The postmodernism ideology is widely embedded in the sojourners in their early 20s and broadly reflected in the education philosophy of sojourners in their 30s. For example, S2 (male, 24, unmarried) considered the sojourn life in Dali as a victory in the battle with parents for self-autonomy. *"I'm the only child of my parents, so my whole family had very high expectations of me. I was self-motivated to live according to the ideal state of my parents. I took their ambitions as my life purpose since I have memory. They lived in my body, in my mind and controlled my whole life. At the beginning of my sojourn life, my parents called me back every day, but now they gave up the idea when they realized that they could not control my life anymore."* In the same line, S15 (male, 25, unmarried) complained, *"In our hometown, relatives involve too much in our private life and give us too much social pressure. They force us to find a stable job, get married, and have kids according to the 'standard'"*.

"*Guanxi*" and "*Mianzi*" are heavy burdens for Chinese people. *Guanxi* (Chinese: 關係) defines the fundamental dynamic in personalized social networks of power. "*Guanxi*" is like a social bank, people put credit in this bank, and take the credit out when needed. "*Guanxi*" plays a fundamental role within the Confucian doctrine. On one hand, "*Guanxi*" brought convenience in a private social network and added coherence to a collectivist society. While on the other hand, "*Guanxi*" became a heavy social burden to Chinese people and led to deep-rooted bureaucracy. Instead of simply living a happy life for oneself, Chinese people care no less about how people perceive their life.

As S1 (female, 35, married with two kids) lamented, *"In Chinese society, there is a lot of social pressure. For example, whenever I travelled to any place, I must meet friends in that city and bring souvenirs for relatives and friends back home. When I had a meal with friends, no matter how reluctant I wanted to pay, I have to fight to get the bill. My mother told me if I want to live in China, I must accept this and perform like this. But in Dali, the whole social atmosphere is relaxing and natural."* Similarly, S20 (female, 35, married with a kid) called to mind, *"In China, every exchange of gift links to complicated connotation. Each nice gesture has an expectation for return. In Dali, if someone gives you gift happily, you can receive the gift happily without consideration. We were all exhausted in the big cities, we don't want to be tired in Dali again."*

4.1.4 Social exclusion

While the increased spatial mobility pushed youth urban immigrants into megacities, the social exclusion mechanism of megacities, in the forms of the household registration system, social security, social welfare, and employment administration, has been a social barrier to their upward social mobility, which makes the urban immigrations marginalized in megacities. The discrepancy between the spatial and social mobility caused by social exclusion is the main determinant that pushed youth immigrants outside the megacities. As Song (2016, p. 130) claimed, "from the standpoint of achieving social equality and harmony, the positive relationship between spatial and social mobility will gradually counteract social inequality and conflicts in Chinese society."

According to Blue Book I (Lian, 2013) issued by the Beijing Academy of Social Sciences, there are three types of urban immigrants in contemporary China, the ant tribe, migrant labours, and urban white-collar workers. They were further classified regarding educational and occupational attributes as knowledge workers, labours, and investment immigrants. Most of Dali sojourners lived in megacities as the white-collar workers, or say, the knowledge workers. "The proportion of cross-provincial blue-collar migrants […] is declining, while white-collar migrants (e.g., state and party administrators, enterprise personnel, professionals and technicians, and commercial service personnel) increased from 28.9 percent of such migrants in 2000 to 41 percent in 2010" (Song, 2016, p. 126). However, while most of the research focuses on the rural-origin and low-educated migrant labours (Changfu, 2006; Li et al., 2007; Shi, 2008; Wong et al., 2007), the white-collar immigrant groups have received scant attention in the research literature (Lian, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014; Song, 2016).

Most of Dali sojourners experienced spatial mobility from less developed regions to megacities, where they experienced social exclusion caused by the non-local *Hukou*. As S15 (male, 25, unmarried) exposed, *"The life quality in big cities depends on if you are a local or not. Normally, the local people of megacities are reluctant to sojourn in Dali because they have enough resources and better opportunities in megacities. Those who sojourn in Dali are mainly Bei drift (Chinese: 北漂, the migrant worker living and working in Beijing without a residence permit) or Shang drift (Chinese: 上漂, the migrant worker living and*

working in Shanghai without a residence permit). Because of the poor living condition, the pressure from work, the low income, the high life expense, the cold interpersonal relationship, the snobbish urban culture, and the discriminations in each social sphere, drifters in megacities live in the bottom."

Although most of the interviewees received higher education, very few of them were satisfied with their living conditions in megacities. Even those who graduated from the best school in China also felt frustrations and unfairness on their career path. For example, S18 (male, 34, married with a kid) was proud of his hometown because of his academic performance, however, the working experience in a publishing house in Beijing taught him not everything can be achieved through the personal endeavor. "*The local people control everything. For the non-locals, there was no path to enter the system unless you have Beijing Hukou or strong 'Guanxi'*".

4.1.5 Class solidification

While the social exclusion constructed the castle geographically, the class solidification, which indicates the inter-generational inheritance and replication of social resources, constructed the castle of the privileged class. It is presented in the account of *S8 (male, 34, unmarried), who* criticized the limited social mobility channel and unfairness in mainstream society. *"In our society, your social status is not determined by your efforts. The family background is much more important than education. China is a society depends on Guanxi. People care more about who your father is rather than who you are."*

The hierarchical social structure and unbalanced social mobility opportunity in China led to the anger of youth, which is widely reflected in participants' accounts. As S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) lamented, *"In the big cities, many 80's and 90's generations are named as 'angry youth'. It is because society is unfair. The elite world is only open for the 'Guan second-generation (Chinese: 官二代, the second generation of government officers)', 'rich second generation (Chinese: 富二代, the second generation of government officers)', and 'red third-generation (Chinese: 紅三代, the third generation of CCP leaders)'. It is almost impossible for grassroots to enter an elite world. We are locked in a transparent cage since we were born, so we feel angry, we feel hopeless, and we feel suffocated."*

Many youth sojourners finally get rid of the feeling of living at the bottom and obtain a sense of equality in Dali. A representative account came from S10 (male, 33, married with two kids), *"The charm of Dali is that you can't feel the hierarchical social structure here. Dali is an inclusive society that can offer everyone a shelter. No matter you are rich or poor, it embraces you with Cangshan Mountains and Erhai Lake, with blue sky and fresh air. Although Dali is not an enclave that offers absolute fairness, it is like a big laboratory to break the existing structure and to offer new possibilities."*

4.2 Ideological communita

'*Communitas*' originated in Latin for mutual help, or gathering for the sake of the community. Turner (1969) defined *Communita* as the small and temporary community constructed by youthful travelers and emphasized the unstructured togetherness and in-group equality. In the tourism encounter, the youthful travelers' *communitas* is constructed spontaneously, normatively, ideologically to maintain an egalitarian social structure: existential or spontaneous *communitas*: the transient personal experience of togetherness; normative *communitas*: *communitas* organized into a permanent social system; ideological *communitas*: which can be applied to many utopian social models (*ibid*, p. 132). According to this clarification, Dali sojourn society is an experimental trial of a utopian social model – the ideological *communitas*.

The literature on the youthful travelers' *community* sheds light on the investigation of Dali sojourners' spatial mobility. According to Graburn (1983), people are allowed to interact with each other as individuals instead of performing according to expected social roles in the *communitas*. The *communita* has important functions for the youthful travelers: first, the long-term travelers can recover from physical exhaustion; second, travelers can recover psychologically after continuously exposed to new stimuli and return to normal life momentarily; third, the travelers can recover financially considering the less travel expense and opportunities for odd job; fourth, the travelers can generate a sense of belongingness and security from relatively stable connections with peers and a place (Vogt, 1976).

In the *communitas*, the brotherhood atmosphere of "each for all, and all for each" (Maoz & Bekerman, 2010, p. 428) permeates, which provides a sense of belongingness and minimizes the feelings of foreignness (Darya Maoz, 2007; Daria Maoz, 2008). Maoz and Bekerman (2010) observed a Chabad community is established in Israeli youthful travelers' gathering place to "help any Jew in a material and spiritual way." The Chabad community affords financial support, travel advice, psychological consultant, provides food, accommodation, and health care, and promotes mutual communications. Cohen (1982a) portrayed the non-institutional tourist destination as "marginal paradise," where youthful travelers congregate to generate "drifter communities" (Cohen, 1973, p. 97).

As a youthful sojourners' *communita*, Dali is not expected to have an attractive local culture, but an inclusive atmosphere that allows the co-existence of all forms of culture. It is utilized by passively and consumptively. As portrayed by Have (1974), *communita* is a blank canvas for youthful sojourners to paint the masterpiece of a wide variety of cultures and immerse into the multi-sensory stimuli. This argument is widely accepted by sojourners, S1(female, 35, married with two kids) indicated, "The uniqueness of Dali is the sojourners, not Dali itself. *Dali is a five-tier city and the local people have no big difference with residents of other undeveloped parts of China, Dali sojourners had minimal connections with the locals and constructed the isolated communities."* In the same vein, after traveling to many other similar places to seek a better opportunity, S3 (female, 29, married without the kid) still prefers the culture in Dali. For her, the core difference between Dali and other tourism destinations lies in Dali sojourner.

"There are many ancient towns in China, where there is also a good natural environment, beautiful landscape, old architecture, tourist attractions, and many interesting commercial elements. However, the best attraction in Dali is people—Dali sojourners." Similarly, S15 (male, 25, unmarried) stated, *"Nothing in Dali is created by Dali. We all have seeds in our minds. Dali provides water and sunshine."* Also, S12 (male, 39, married with a kid) commented, what makes Dali unique is the togetherness created by same mind peers. *"There are many other villages that have a similar natural environment as Dali. However, Dali is different. All human being needs the feeling of security, even though you are marginalized. If you are sent to a small village in Yunnan, you may feel isolated and lonely. Because you are too different from the residents, there is no way for you to be integrated into that society. But in Dali, no matter where you are come from, and no matter who you are, you can find your peers here and build your own Quanzi."*

According to Vogt (1976), a *communita* satisfies the following standards: first, socio-cultural elements such as the liberal atmosphere, the permission for drug, and the attractiveness for youthful travelers; second, the pleasant physical landscape and environment; third, the location and accessibility; fourth, the minimized living expense; fifth, expansive space for large population gathering. Summarized from participants' accounts, Dali, one of the most important hubs on the international backpack routes. Echoes with Vogt's criteria, Dali has a long-lasting hippie culture, the easy accessibility of marijuana, the low living expense. Besides, the broad plain provides space for large population gatherings and

buffers the rapid expansion of commercialization. As S9 (male, 30, married with a kid) summed up, *"The romantic and artistic elements, the lower living expense, the non-hierarchical social structure, freedom in life, and a better environment for the artistic career are the reasons we chose Dali."*

4.2.1 Cultural environment

Since ancient times, Dali has been a society where multiple religions and ideologies have accommodated each other. The diversification of cultural influx leads to the fragmentation of cultural power in Dali. Thus, there is no dominant cultural form that controls the sojourner society and excludes other cultural forms. The diversified and inclusive culture landscape constructed the liberal atmosphere.

Different from Hinayana Buddhism prevailing in western Yunnan, Dali Buddhism belongs to Mahayana Tantra and is named as Bai Tantra. Buddhism in the kingdom of Dali was extremely prosperous: Seven kings relinquished sovereignty and became monks; Monks and government officers interchanged social roles with each other; all population was Buddhists; Normal people are given Buddhism names; There were numerous monasteries and temples; Sanskrit[7] was one of the theological languages.

Taoism was also introduced into Dali during the Nanshao period in line with the ideological shift of central government – the Ming dynasty. Taoism temples such as Wenchang Palace, Guandi Temple, Three Holy Temple, Three

Official Temple, Chenghuang Temple, Mountain Temple, Earth Temple can be found in Dali. Influenced by the mainland culture, Confucian culture is also deeply rooted in Dali. Dali has Wenmiao Temples to worship Confucius and his disciples. The Gospel of Christ came to Dali in the Qing Dynasty (1875) by British Christian missionary Zhang Chenghui, Han Yongquan, Fu Youde, which marked as the starting point of international cultural interaction in Dali. In addition, Dali retains folk wizard of Shamanism, a male wizard called "Sezel", and the female is "Seyor". Witches and wizards can go to the netherworld to talk to the spirit of the dead. They can also perform "jumping god" or climb the "knife mountain" to cure people, dispel lousy luck and save suffering. Various temples are built in the same neighborhood and coexist in harmony.

In contemporary society, as depicted by Liang (2005), Dali has the ancestor worship and the big-family ideal under the ancestor's shadow, while a geographical social network coexists with the blood-bond network; The unique food, clothing, and religion of Bai nationality are kept, while traditional life rituals of the Han nationality are adopted as well; The international business thoughts coexists with closed traditional culture; The Bai-idol statues peculiar are all dressed in Han clothes; Women who burn incense and pray in the day time, often got together for disco at night; Penniless old temple guard use English to communicate with strangers; the examiner of local temple history was the Kuomintang general who studied aboard. If there is a Dali culture, it cannot be a single culture form, but a large group of relevant, irrelevant, or even opposed cultural forms intertwined together.

The artistic atmosphere consists of a foundational place image of Dali. "The Dali pattern is not replicable. The cultural environment of Dali is not constructed by tourism operators, but by generations of free-spirit sojourners from all over the world. S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) pinpointed, "*even now the commercial level increased dramatically in Dali, you can still find markets like Chaimiduo (Chinese, 柴米多, literally interpreted as 'plenty of firewood and rice', a series of events for creative handcraft) and Chuangdanchang (Chinese, 床單廠, An abandoned bed linen factory that is reconstructed to hold creative markets weekly), where you can witness the collision of multi-culture.*"

4.2.2 Natural environment

Dali is located in-between the eastern Tibetan Plateau (Chinese, 青藏高原) and the western Yungui Plateau (Chinese, 雲貴高原). The fertile plain is surrounded by Erhai Lake (Chinese, 洱海) between the Cangshan Mountains (Chinese, 蒼山) to the west and Mount Jizu (Chinese, 雞足山) to the east, at north latitude between 25°25' and 25°58', and east longitude between 99°58' and 100°27." Dali City covers a total area of 1,815 square kilometres, with mountain areas accounting for 70 percent, water area accounting for 15 percent, and dam area accounting for 15 percent. Historically, Dali City has been the main road connecting western Yunnan Province and Southeast Asia. It provides a clean and organic living environment in a heavily polluted country. As reflected in

participants' accounts, the large living and outdoor activity space, the comfortable climate, and the slow life pace also add happiness to sojourners' life.

4.2.3 Geographical accessibility

Dali is the west Yunnan transportation hub that connecting Myanmar in the west and Tibet in the north. It is known as "the ancient capital at the crossroads of Asian culture". The unique geographical location makes Dali into the intersection center of the road network of eight cities in northwest Yunnan and the throat to South Asia and Southeast Asia.

Dali has formed a transportation network with highways as the main body, railways, and air routes as a compliment, and water transportation as a supplement. The Chuxiong-Dali expressway was completed in 1999, and the driving time between Kunming and Dali was shortened to four hours; The Dali-Baoshan expressway was completed in 2002; Dali- Lijiang expressway was completed in 2013, the driving time between the two ancient cities of Dali and Lijiang is shortened to three hours, and the natural scenery and tourism resources such as Erhai Lake, Jianhu Lake, Laishihai Lake, Cangshan Mountain, and Yulong Snow-Mountain are connected; The Dali-Panzhihua expressway (phase I) was completed in 2018, as an essential inter-provincial corridor between Yunnan and Sichuan provinces. On July 1, 2018, Dali set the first bullet train D8660 from Kunming to Dali. The Dali bullet train reduced the travel time from Kunming to Dali from five and a half hours to two hours. On November 28, 1995, the Kunming -- Dali air route opened. In 2016, the tourist throughput was

750,487 passengers. Dali Erhai Lake currently has three-terminal, 12 ferries, and the navigable mileage is 232 kilometers. A water tourism and transportation system of Erhai lake, which centering on Xiaguan port, Taoyuan port, and Caicun port has been preliminarily formed. The geographical importance and accessibility contribute to the development of international tourism and the gathering of sojourners.

4.2.4 Living expense

Sojourners are impressed by the low living expense in Dali. In the author's previous research during 2012-2013, the price of vegetables in Dali was only around one-third of Beijing. Before 2015, with a monthly income of one thousand RMB (around 150 USD), sojourners could make a living in Dali including the accommodation. S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) recollected, *"Before 2015, life in Dali could be quite simple. Sojourners ate at Yirantang (Chinese,一然堂) for five RMB (around 0.7 USD) per meal and lived in a hostel for ten RMB (around 1.5 USD) per night. If they can earn twenty RMB (around 3 USD) per day, it is enough for them to support their life. It was meaningless to be a millionaire in Dali. There was no place to spend money, and no one would appreciate the rich. Young people didn't need to work hard to make a living, instead, they could spend time on spiritual improvement."*

4.2.5 Spatial vastness

The spacious space of Dali provides a more alternative living environment and lifestyle choice. S18 (male, 34, married with a kid) analyzed the difference

between Dali and Lijiang. *"Except for the more livable climate and altitude, Dali is large enough to contain and separate various people. In Lijiang, because of the geographical influence, the old town is isolated from the city, sojourners are locked in a small space, and they aren't allowed to create their own bubble. But in Dali, space is far-flung, the architectural structure of the old town is more open, and neither local cultural nor commercial cultural is the dominant culture. It provides fertile soil for the growth of multi-culture. Many artists, hippies, artistic youth, people with a sincere hope for an alternative lifestyle, gradually gathered in Dali. If you cannot tolerant the commercial atmosphere in the ancient city, you can move to villages around the ancient city, for instance, Caicun (Chinese:才村), Fengyi (Chinese:鳳儀), West Town (Chinese:喜洲), Yinqiao (Chinese:銀橋), Wanqiao(Chinese:湾橋). They all have a beautiful landscape and comfortable cultural environment."*

The spatial vastness is an important factor that frequently mentioned by participants. For instance, S8 (male, 34, unmarried) mentioned, *"Dali is a place that large enough to dissolve worries. If you are not happy in the ancient city, you can go to the mountains, or find a temple, or the Erhai Lake. It does not cost money. If you miss some urban life, you can go to Xiaguan (the center of Dali city with urbanized facilities). If you can not accept changes in the ancient city, you can find accommodation in many villages around."*

4.3 Legend of class climber

4.3.1 Going up versus going down

In terms of social mobility, regardless of the previous social status, after sojourning in Dali, more than ninety percent of interviewees relocated to professional stratum and individual business stratum. During this process, 14 interviews experienced upward social mobility, 21 experienced downward social mobility, while five interviewees had horizontal mobility. The income change is not necessarily in line with the occupational change, but it is hard to collect income information due to their financial instability and privacy sensitivity. Interestingly, although two-thirds of the participants experienced objective downward social mobility, all but one participant perceived subjective upward social mobility.

The discrepancy of subjective and objective social mobility is widely reflected in participants and sojourners beyond the sample. For example, S1 (female, 35, married with two kids) graduated from the University of Cambridge, where she met her husband and got a bachelor's degree in medicine. She worked in an Investment Bank in London for six years. Although she got the highest level of income for graduate students in England, the medical depression led to her suicidal trials. After rescued by the local police, she decided to move to her hometown Qingdao with her family, where she was deeply bothered by the social burden. In the next year, she brought her two kids to Dali, while her husband found a job in Kunming (the capital city of Yunnan province).

According to the objective dimensions, she experienced the typical "falling from grace" downward social mobility. However, she perceived upward mobility in terms of freedom, the social atmosphere, SWB, and spiritual improvement. *"I'm not escaping but pursuing. I'm searching for an idealistic lifestyle, which is not in line with the mainstream lifestyle. In mainstream society, people pay too much attention to materialistic achievement and other people's perceptions. In Dali, I can oversee my life, I can be accepted by peers, I'm much happier, and I improve myself through reading, practicing and experiencing. In this way, I think my social status is moving up, not going down".*

Another typical example is S20 (female, 35, married with a kid), who got her master's degree in Communication studies in the top School of Journalism in Shanghai. After graduation, she worked in Beijing as an editor. She had a "successful" life in Beijing, she got married to her colleague and had a healthy baby. They both had a high salary and a stable occupation. They bought an apartment in Beijing in 2012 before the house price went up dramatically. However, the marriage and birth of the kid postponed her career. She quitted her job and started her own media company in 2013. In 2015, in order to escape from heavy air pollution in Beijing, she brought her family to Dali for a short stay, which became the starting point of her sojourn life. Her husband moved to Dali with her and quitted his job half a year later. In 2017, they sold their apartment in Beijing and used the money to purchase an apartment in Hangzhou. With the money left, they invested in one coffee place and one homestay in Dali.

By the time of the interview, they invested another homestay in Tengchong (Chinese: 腾沖市, a county-level city of Baoshan City, western Yunnan province). Considering the occupational and economic dimensions, the couple experienced rigid objective downward social mobility, however, the couple perceived the opposite mobile direction. They defined dimensions of social status by themselves and got reassurance from each other.

Sojourn in Dali ended the husband's stable job in the system. The unlimited chance for social mobility that may happen in both directions brought him the fear of uncertainty. *"During the past year, my husband could not figure out who he is. When he was in the system, he thought he has a groundbreaking personality. However, when we set our own business, it's the first time he started to dominate his life. The anxious and insecure feeling brother him from time to time. This never happened in his life before. He wanted to give up many times. His life was set within a frame, where the system guaranteed lifetime security. Although there was a scarce chance that things could get much better, things could not get much worse either. But in Dali, all his life and all the future are handed over to himself. If you want to change your life, you must run the risk. I asked him why he wanted to give up, is it because of the fear of failure, or just because he doesn't like our current life. This makes a big difference. If he wanted to give up because of fear, he had to overcome the fear. But if he didn't like the life choice, there was no point to continue. He had a thoroughly self-reflection and decide to overcome his fear and hold on."*

If taken occupational or economical as the main dimensions, the couple's social status is at risk. However, if considering self-improvement as the primary dimension, their subjective upward social mobility will be achieved regardless of what will happen in the future. *"If your life purpose is self-growth, then even if you have the failure in business, you are still succeeded. For me, the development of the spiritual world and improvement in wisdom are much more important than the accumulation of wealth. Ten years of public system working experience distorted my husband, he became obedient and timid, his ground-breaking spirit was dead, and he got used to viewing the world through a layer of a filter, it was the most dangerous thing. Although many people feel sorry for his choice. For me, his social status improved after he sojourns in Dal in many senses. As the old thing goes 'don't befriend with a person has no hobbies, because he/she has no true feelings' (Chinese: 人無癖不可交，以其無深情也). Everyone should have some non-utilitarian hobbies. The natural passion and curiosity should be the root of the hobby, while the functional skills can be the by-product of the hobby. A hobby can light up your life in the darkest time. However, our Chinese made the order reversed. He used to play guitar, obsessed with photography and outdoor activities, but when he started to work in the system, he totally gave up his hobbies. In Dali, once again he picks up those hobbies. He regained the youth, he is so happy, and his eyes are shining."*

Due to the homogeneity in experience and values, the post-modernism thoughts permeate and become the collective value of Dali sojourner society. Although the self-defined social dimensions vary from person to person,

sojourners influence each other through continuous social interactions. *"One decided to sojourn in Dali because he/she has this potential, and during he/she sojourn in Dali, people have similar values influence each other. When we were in Beijing, we were filled with ambitions. After we moved to Dali, the previous abstract living experience became more realistic and specific. We need to arrange many details in life, such as taking care of the kid, hanging out at night, cleaning, selecting food material, talking to the customer, decorating, and so on. During this process, the demon of desire is pacified. We can't have everything we want in our life, we have to choose. We still think money is important, but we realized that there is something more important than money. Because I was in the media industry, people in my environment were more open-minded. But my husband's previous colleagues are very conservative. They think he should achieve success and build an economic foundation for me and our daughter. I was his window to a broader world. He always thought I was different from everyone, but in Dali, he became the one different from people around us. My husband had a shock in Dali. It was the first time he found so many people have totally different values from him. Therefore, he started to reconsider what is right and what is wrong."*

Most previous schoolmates of the couple are in the system when they met in Beijing, both sides feel sorry for each other. *"We both feel, 'they are still so young, and that's it". We felt sorry for them because their souls died at a young age. The more they get, the tighter they are chained. They felt sorry for us because we gave up our 'promising future'."*

The couple perceived the so-called “mainstream” and “non-mainstream” as man-made distinction, and the distinction will change with the development of society. *“We should accept the advantage and disadvantage of the current society, based on this, we can develop the relationship between society and the individual. The definition of mainstream and margin are changing over time. Ten years ago, people work in the public system were the mainstream, but now society is more and more diversified. Once I graduated, the only thought on my mind was to get an apartment in Beijing. But for the 1990s, when they graduate, the price of a house is unaffordable through their own effort, instead, they can dedicate to hobbies in their early 20s.”*

4.3.2 Real-artistic versus pseudo-artistic youths

In some cases, the subjective social mobility of the youthful sojourners only manifests as the improved self-perception and how people perceive them. There is not necessarily fundamental realistic change involved. While in other cases, because of changes in resources, there are sojourners who improved their social status objectively. Dali is named as the paradise for “WenyiQingnian” (Chinese: 文藝青年, literally translated as “literary and artistic youth,” which denotes youth who share a passion for culture and art in the broadest sense and has become a mainstream popular designation in the Chinese language (Menzel, 2016)). The breath-taking place image, the halo of artists, the multi-cultural history, and the art-driven tourism industry provide opportunities for the upward social mobility of youth with artistic talent.

Dali is full of legends of youths who were marginalized in megacities earned money and fame through their own effort in Dali. During six years of' sojourn life, S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) witnessed the class climbing of many artistic youths. *"Dali cultivates all types of culture. Decades of artists, musicians, philosophers, hippies, and backpackers added layers and layers of cultural accumulation. Because of the artistic image, the demand for culture in Dali is high, which is more suitable for people to have artistic skills. They can achieve their dreams through personal effort. For instance, I have my friend work on interior design. He was a non-mainstream style designer who lived at the bottom of Beijing, but he became very popular in Dali. People have to wait for several months to get an appointment. He won money and fame in Dali. Another friend of mine, who used to learn industrial design and was employed in a small company in Shanghai, where no one appreciated his talent. When he moved to Dali, he collected the old wood from the ancient house and redesigned it into artistic furniture. Now he has his own brand and become quite successful. A young musician who used to sing in bars in Nanjing and earned one hundred per hour. When he moved to Dali, he had the environment and motivation to create songs by himself. Now he became very popular, and many tourists came to Dali just to meet him. One of my friends has a special way of singing. He got very popular in Dali. He earned enough money to have four bars in the ancient city. There are too many legends in Dali, that penniless youth became the achiever through their effort."*

Tourism is the main industry in Dali and the primary income source of sojourners. Due to the limited aesthetic taste and high mobility of mass tourists, Dali provides the stage for artistic youths of varying abilities. *"The artistic level in Dali of Dali isn't world-class. Because of the best artists, the best artwork, the best concert, the best underground music always stays in megacities--the cultural centre and economic centre. Those so-called artists in Dali are just those who have a passion for art, and the pursuit of the artistic lifestyle. We shouldn't over-beautify Dali. The whole economy in Dali depends on tourists, which provides broader opportunities for the art-related industry. Different from other industries, art is abstract and fashion-driven. Because mass tourists have various art taste and they come and go every day, there are opportunities for the existence of poor-quality arts. As long as you are not lazy, you can make a living easily. After years of training in Dali, their artistic skills improved correspondingly"* (male, 34, married with a kid).

Dali provides a platform for mediocre artists to perform to mediocre audiences. Instead of criticizing this phenomenon, more sojourners perceive it as the equal right for cultural expression. As S18 (male, 34, married with a kid) commented, *"In the past, if you want to publish your own book, you should be a professional writer. Nowadays, no matter who you are, you can publish your writings through social media, online platforms, and many other channels. The same thing happened to the musicians, performers, and many other art-related industries. Many artistic youths stay in Dali because their skills can't support them in big cities. Dali provides the chance to improve their social status. Most*

of the bar owners in Dali used to be the penniless singers. They started from performing on the street, then they performed in the bar, later they had their own bar, and some of them own more than one bar in the ancient city. They stepped from the artistic circle into the capital circle. While the competition between performers increased, the whole performance level also improved. What's more, they can find audiences who appreciate their skills and their values as a human being. The self-confidence has the magic to change one's mindset and life path. In Dali, we can let ourselves become happy at first, then we can find a meaningful career, later we will find the resource and network to support our career."

However, while many real artistic sojourners are nourished in Dali, the anonymous environment, the touristic-driven art culture, and the sanctified artistic image also give a chance to pseudo-artistic youth, who took advantage of the halo of Dali and achieved social mobility through cheating. As S9 (male, 30, married with a kid) clarified, *"Many young tourists admire the lifestyle in Dali, but they don't have the chance to live in this way. Therefore, they are willing to fool themselves and believe in the fake artists. It depends on whether you are a master of camouflage or not. In Dali, because people have limited time to know each other, accordingly, people have little knowledge of each other."*

The differences between real-artistic youth and the Pseudo-artistic youth lies in the aesthetic taste, lifestyle, and mindset. The account of S13 (female, 28, unmarried) is representative of sojourners' common thought, *"Pseudo-artistic youths follow the low-quality popular culture. They are the hungry goldfish in a*

pond who swallow everything people feed them desperately. But the real artistic youth have independent thought and good aesthetic taste. Additionally, lifestyle also makes a big difference between real artistic youth and Pseudo-artistic youth. For the real ones, their aloof lifestyle is natural, but the Pseudo-artistic youth is staged to draw attention. What's more, the real artistic youth don't cater to the commercialized environment, and no matter what they went through, they still have a pure and innocent mindset."

Story-telling is a big part of street selling. Due to the high mobility and anonymous environment, the same story can be sold to different audiences repeatedly. In so doing, Pseudo-artistic youths can obtain more laugh, tears, or empathy, and thus to meet their vanity, format their self-affirmation, improve their social status, and ameliorate the financial condition. During the past six years, S13 (female, 28, unmarried) spectated the upward social mobility of many Pseudo-artistic youths. *"Only entertainers can draw great excitement from the audience. In the cities, there is a transparent and mechanized system to evaluate artists, so you earn on your skills. If you want to make money through cheating, you need to make a lot of effort to make up a coherent long story. However, in Dali, you can sell the same story to different tourists every day. Pseudo-artistic youths created a mysterious image by storing telling, in most of the cases, to attract girls. In some cases, they can also obtain more money and higher status. For example, there was one guy who gave himself a Tibetan name, dressed in Tibetan traditional cloth, and sold Tibetan style gadgets on the Renmin street. He started from a penniless to a millionaire. When I was a street staller in*

Renmin Road. The guy next to me was also a master. He shared his touching fake stories and fake jewelry to the tourists. In low season, I spent ten days to earn one hundred (around 15 USD), but he earned one thousand (around 150 USD) every day easily. Once, in 2013, when the online payment was not popular. After half an hour of chatting with a girl, the girl cried and gave all the cash to him. Later she went to the bank to get more money for him. In Dali, the whole environment allows his performance."

Commercialization acts as a double-edged sword for the development of the art industry. *"With the development of the society, the aesthetic taste of mass tourists will improve, and the competition of artistic youth will also increase, which may become a selection mechanism for the artistic youth. If you have no skills, no talent, and no aesthetic taste, Dali isn't your Utopian. The pseudo-artistic youth will be eliminated. Life is like a circle, the commercialization may dilute the artistic atmosphere of Dali nowadays, but in the future, it may lead to the improvement of Dali's whole artistic level"* S15 (male, 25, unmarried).

4.3.3 Deconstruction versus reconstruction

The social dimension is the collective social construction that defines one's social status in a hierarchical social structure. Improvements in social dimensions lead to upward social mobility, and vice versa. As aforementioned, the construction of alternative social dimensions is one of the paths of upward social mobility, which involves the process of deconstruction of mainstream social dimensions and reconstruction of the niche social dimensions.

The diversification of cultural influx leads to the fragmentation of cultural power in Dali. Equipped with the postmodernism, sojourners advocated individualism, anti-materialism, and naturalism. They deconstructed the social dimensions of mainstream Chinese society that are dominated by political, social, and economic capital, and reconstructed more diversified-formed, humane-driven, and individual-focused social dimensions. Dali sojourner society went through a bottom-up construction process. The homogeneity in values acts as a selection mechanism and promotes the self-defined social dimensions from the individual level to the collective level. Traditional occupational- and economic-focused social features are devalued, while dimensions such as the personality, talent, knowledge, insights, experience, even abnormal behaviour are endowed with higher social status in the countercultural enclave.

Although the specific dimensions vary from person to person, the core values of sojourners are consistent. As presented in the account of S1 (female, 35, married with two kids), *"There are many social dimensions to rank people in mainstream society. Those social dimensions are artificially defined. In the same way, the so-called moral principles, traditional virtues, and living standards are also artificially constructed. Those dimensions depict the social aspect of people, while our social dimensions are more humane. In mainstream society, people are shaped in the same pattern and refuse to accept differences. In Dali, however, you can be unique, and people can be different, but you are accepted and appreciated because of your uniqueness and difference."*

4.4 Collective construction of social dimensions

Drawn from the participants' narrative, seven social dimensions are extracted. With the freedom, autonomy, self-improvement, social acceptance, and living quality as five pillars, the youth road cultural, youth-subcultural, and mainstream social dimensions coexist in sojourner society. Those social dimensions are collectively constructed and accepted by sojourners beyond the sample. To avoid the flaw of generalization, there is a need to acclaim that dimensions listed in this section are not applicable to all Dali sojourners and cannot capture the whole picture of the existing social dimensions. The upgrading of dimensions is associated with higher social status in the sojourner society, and vice versa. Commonly, the higher social status in sojourner society manifests as better perception (both how individuals perceive themselves and how they perceive others) rather than stronger power or more resource. It also echoes with a shift from preindustrial factors (e.g. family origin, kin, ethnic ties, gender, or status group affiliation), to the industrial factors that characterized by one's aptitudes, qualifications, and accomplishments (Müller & Pollak, 2015).

4.4.1 Freedom

In a regime with severe control on freedom of expression, a society with strict social hierarchy, and a culture worships obedience, sojourners constructed a cultural enclave in Dali with the maximum amount of freedom that they have ever experienced. Through the comparison with their previous life framework, also with people living in mainstream Chinese society, sojourners perceived

upward social mobility in terms of the freedom of expression, freedom to choose an alternative lifestyle, and freedom to be different.

Although the personal experience of S5 (male, 46, divorced) cannot be claimed as a representative, the eager for freedom, to a large extent, is widely reflected in a vast majority of sojourners. As one of the iconic figures of Dali sojourners, S5 is a 46 years old poet who has sojourned in Dali for 11 years. Born in an ordinary family in a small city, he went to Beijing to pursue his dream as a musician. Influenced by the political environment and social discrimination, most of his art-work is underground music with a revolutionary spirit and anger towards society. Utterly penniless, he lived in a temple for three years before sojourning in Dali. His life was full of frustrations, which lead to his appearance is twenty years older than his real age. Dali is the first and only place where he can settle down and make a living. He was shown in a documentary about Dali[8]. The documentary is marked as the turning point of his life. He transferred from a jobless nomad to a famous poet. He married once with a young tourist from Taiwan who travelled to Dali. His wedding was a big event in Dali, many famous sojourners gathered for him. Unfortunately, the marriage didn't last long. Now he sells CDs on Renmin Road, where we conducted the interview.

During the interview, several tourists came to greet him and asked for taking photos. *"When I was young, every time when I took the bus, no one dared*

[8] The documentary 'Living Elsewhere' (生活在别處) is directed by Zhangyang (張楊) in 2012, the leading cast includes Yang Liping (楊麗萍), Ye Yongqing (葉永青) and Han Xiangning (韓湘寧). Refer to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_f71jHDqDZ4.

to sit next to me." He took off his sunglasses, and the author was shocked by the fierce gaze. *"Why? I had the 'murderous face' out of tremendous anger. No one understood that I was not angry at someone, but angry about the whole society. I loved society and I wanted to make it better, but I was powerless. I had a lot of friends play underground music in Beijing. The government named us 'social instability factors. In Dali, I could get the most valuable thing in China — freedom. Even though freedom is also limited, but it's more than many other places in China. When freedom is suppressed, people become angry. Incredible things have happened. Now I'm more like a hermit who lived in the cracks. If now I'm 80 years old, I can do whatever I want, but I'm not, I have to be 'smart'. I experienced too much."*

Similarly, S36 (female, 32, unmarried) used to be a journalist. After witnessed the dark side of society and the media industry, she quitted her job and started to challenge the values in mainstream society. *"The reason why I was fascinated by the media was the idealist thought that I could discover the unfairness of society and make society better. However, it turns out to be a game of political and economic power. All reports have to go through severe censorship. Within our media circle, everyone knows, but no one dares to speak. After witnessed too much darkness in society, I felt it was hard for me to survive in the media industry. I perceive my social status is higher than before, but it's not a matter of money, at least I can speak freely."*

In the same vein, S20 (female, 35, married with a kid) reflected, *"Chinese people are willing to choose security rather than freedom. Because we are frightened. The generations of class conflicts, we want to find a shelter in the crowd to prevent us from being victims of the aimless conflicts. Although our generation didn't grow up in that environment, the fear is in our blood. Our Chinese are dying for security and have no idea of freedom."*

In Dali, youth sojourners are detached from the control of patriarchy society, and free to make life choices that are unacceptable for mainstream society. A very typical case, S36 (female, 32, unmarried), went through a long-lasting conflict with her parents. *"Young sojourners came to Dali on their own will to dispose of the control of the family and tradition. For instance, there are many dink families in Dali. If a couple wants to be the dink in Chinese mainstream society, their relatives and friends will persuade them, people around them will assume they either have mental issues or sexual dysfunction. While in Dali, like or not, no one will try to disturb their lifestyle. I'm the same. I never think marriage is compulsory for me. My parents call me back every month to attend blind dates. They asked people around them, paid money for the blind date website, and went to 'blind date corners' in the city parks. They just wanted me to form a functional family based on 'matched' social attributes.* Ironically, *they wanted me to go to the best university, get the best score, find the best job, live in the best city, however, regarding marriage, they think 'not too bad' is enough."*

4.4.2 Autonomy

Instead of considering the hierarchical ranking, related resource, and power range, for Dali sojourners, the work autonomy, creativity, and flexibility are defined as more important dimensions.

A representative case, S6 (male, 27, unmarried), is a young chef works in a small café in Dali Ancient Town. He was born in the countryside of Guangdong. Before he sojourned in Dali, he traveled around China and spent several years working in Guangzhou, Beijing, Suzhou, and Zhuhai. His *Quanzi* in Dali is comprised of unmarried young sojourners under age 30. Although he works more than twelve hours per day in Dali, he is happy about his job. He perceived upward social mobility in terms of work autonomy and creativity, people's image of the chef, the employer's attitude towards the employees, and the freedom to keep individual features. *"When I worked in a Japanese restaurant in Beijing, everyone was fixed to a specific position with specific responsibilities. Every day I stayed in the kitchen from 9:00 AM to 17:00 PM to cut the same food materials into the same shapes, measure the soil source to the same gram and put the food in the same place according to the same order. I lived like a robot in the city, and I doubted my value. It's not only about work but about everything. However, in Dali, whenever I had a good idea, I can talk to my colleagues, and we can discuss the idea together and try to make it work. I defined my experience as upward mobility. I enjoy my life in Dali, and I like the restaurant I'm working on now. I can learn a lot and turn the new knowledge into my skill. My thought and I are respected and appreciated."*

Another example, S15 (male, 25, unmarried) is a photographer who has been a sojourner in Dali for two years. Before he came to Dali, he worked in Beijing and Shanghai. He has an independent photography studio in Dali, where he served as both a tour guide and photographer. The interviewee's spatial mobility experience is associated with his social mobility experience. He defined work creativity, work autonomy, self-improvement and reputation as essential dimensions for his improved social status. *"When I was in Shanghai, I always had a feeling that I was useless, and I could feel people's disrespectful attitude, all of this made me very frustrated. Additionally, the working procedure was like a factory assembly line with standardized sales packages, standardized dress up, standardized makeup, standardized background, standardized pose, and standardized Photoshop process. Photos are fake and de-personalized. But in Dali, I can be an independent photographer I work freer and more creative. The independent job brought me more autonomy. Not only my photographic skills are improved, the intellectual and aesthetic level is also upgraded. I have over one hundred thousand fans online. I feel my social status improved."*

Similarly, the couple S20 (female, 35, married with a kid) and S21 (male, 35, married with a kid) considered the flexibility in work time and autonomy in work content as upward social mobility. *"For us, the highest social status is we can live a life that we are happy with. The first step to achieve a happy life is to get rid of things that make you unhappy. My husband's previous job was a very mechanical job without creativity. Maybe many people are satisfied with this job because of the stable future, the high salary, and great potential for promotion,*

but we always asked ourselves: is this the picture of our whole life? The work time isn't flexible, and the work content isn't autonomy. The work in the public system is against human nature. Now we can walk on our own path. Every day for us is a new experiment. Although we lost the stability and welfare in the system, we feel our social status is higher, and our lives become more meaningful."

4.4.3 Self-improvement

Self-improvement, in terms of the experience, spiritual enhancement, aesthetical upgrading, emotional balance, and development of hobbies, is perceived as a path to achieve upward social mobility by Dali sojourners.

Dali has a long history of the development of spirituality. As early as the eighth century AD, there were cultural exchanges between Dali and India, Tibet and Sichuan. Therefore, Buddhism, in its primary form of Esoteric Buddhism, was introduced in Dali in an early stage. In the middle period of Nanzhao, Buddhism has been prevailing in the Erhai region. It was recorded that Indian monks spread Buddhism to Dali, among them, Zantori was an eminent Indian monk who was highly respected by the king of Nanzhao and named as the "National Master". The ancient Dali Buddhism thriving portrayal was found in the poems, such as "Yeyu (Dali) has 360 temples, temples all ring bells at midnight" (Chinese: 葉榆三百六十寺，寺寺半夜皆鳴鐘) and "There are 3000 royal Gamma halls, and 800 Prajna palace rooms" (Chinese: 伽藍殿閣三千堂，般若宮室八百處). Nowadays there are still many Buddhist temples with

significant historical and cultural significance in Dali, such as three pagodas of Chongsheng temple (Chinese: 崇聖寺三塔), Gantong temple (Chinese: 感通寺), Wuwei temple (Chinese: 無為寺), and one pagada of Hongsheng temple (Chinese: 宏聖寺一塔). The Bai nationality in Dali has their local religion belief. During the period of Nanzhao and Dali, the Esoteric Buddhism was mixed with the local belief s and local culture, thus formed a belief called *Acaviya*, or the Yunnan Esoteric Buddhism (Lan, 1992, 1994). In addition to Arabiya, the hymnology of the Han religion was introduced to Dali as well.

The historical multi-religion expansion in Dali constructed a space for spiritual cultivation. The pristine natural environment inspires spiritual reflection. As S36 noted, *"The breath-taking landscape, the continuous mountain range, the plateau lake in Dali are full of aesthetic sense, which inspires the spiritual thought naturally. It is like what Kawabata Yasunari*[9] *experienced in Kyoto. Surrounded by the Higashiyama-Ku Mountains, the spiritual reflection came into being naturally. There are hundreds of temples in Dali. Some are big, some are small. Some are popular, while some are hidden deep in the mountain. The mountain and temple constitute a complete artistic concept which is harmonious with the spiritual improvement. For instance, when sojourners in Dali meet on the street, it is normal to ask each other 'which book are you reading now?' rather than typical Chinese greeting 'have you eaten?'"*

[9] Yasunari Kawabata (川端 康成 Kawabata Yasunari, 11 June 1899 – 16 April 1972) was a Japanese novelist and short story writer who's spare, lyrical, subtly-shaded prose works won him the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1968, the first Japanese author to receive the award.

S12 (male, 39, married with a kid) criticized the values and social dimensions of mainstream society and perceived the experience as a more important social dimension. *"People are confused. For example, there is a ceramic cup made of clay. If one day someone found out the cup belonged to Kangxi (Chinese: 康熙，a king of Qing dynasty), millions of people will worship it in the glass box. But one day, by accident, someone broke it, that's the time people realized the cup is nothing more than clay. Money, house, career, fame is all empty. It's hard to find the purpose of life. The answer is floating in the wind. If life really has a purpose, then the purpose should be the experience—to experience love, experience happiness, experience craziness, and experience pain. When I was very young, I let the cigarette butts burn my skin on purpose, because I wanted to experience pain. Experience is the only thing that can never be taken away."*

The low living expense in Dali, especially before 2015, allows youths to spend time on non-pragmatic self-development without struggling for a living. After quitted her job as a music editor, S13 (female, 28, unmarried) stayed jobless in Dali for more than one year. Although frequently judged by other people, she perceived upward social mobility in terms of self-improving. *"In Dali, Life becomes more spiritual and more realistic at the same time. Dali is a place when I open the door it is the business street, while when I close the door, I hide into the remote mountain. My idealistic pursuits, for the first time in my time, become something that I can touch. In many people's eyes, I'm just a useless person. I*

don't have a job, and I don't have money. But I'm happy about my life status. My mind is keeping on improving. I'm fascinated with music since I was a kid. In Dali, I spend my whole time to improve my music aesthetic and skills. I've learned how to create lyrics, and I'm going to learn how to compose. I read a lot of books. I never walked backward. I'm very passionate about the thing I love. I don't have the intention of quick success, and I will fulfill myself step by step. Remember where I started, and I will make my journey complete. If I can make a song that can satisfy myself before I die, I will have no regret in my life."

Another representative case, S22 (female, 28, married without the kid), origins from a small town in Hunan province. The author met her in 2013 and witnessed her life trajectory during the past five years. She met her husband in 2012 at an international youth hostel in Dali. After sojourned in Dali for almost three years, they travelled around the world together and got married in Taiwan. Many friends thought she had the 'best' marriage in this world. However, after this Chinese New Year of 2018, the couple broke up, and the lady came back to Dali again. By the time of the interview, she lives in a hippie community in a village near Dali Ancient Town. Her room was built on a tree with pieces of wood. There was no window, no door, no wall, and no furniture. All her belongings are one cover, a few clothes, several books, an African drum, and a half pack of weeds. A rough ladder connected the little room with the ground. In the middle of the garden, there was a public sauna house built by a Russian musician, where sojourners nearby had nude steam baths together.

Her first sojourn experience in Dali started in 2012. She perceived this experience as her first stage of the spiritual journey -- to perceive herself. *"The most meaningful thing for me at that stage is to perceive myself. The perception of self is unlimited. Dali was a perfect place to connect nature. I fell asleep deeply on the ground with the smell of soil in dew; I ride the horse on the immense prairie to the end of the horizon; I witnessed the sunshine in the snow-covered plateau where time was frozen; I ran in the desert where wind washed traces of the history; I cooked in the tranquil forest where ancient trees blotted out the sky and covered the sun. In the state of mind created by myself and nature, I thought I was in search of the world. In the end, I found myself."*

The first sojourn in Dali brought her an aloof lifestyle and a beautified version of the world. After three years sojourn, she left the utopian for her second stage of the spiritual journey-- to experience the real world. *"I lived in Dali for so long that my life was becoming more and more aloof, and I didn't have a connection with a broader range of human beings. When I narrowed down my field of vision artificially, everything I choose to see was idealized. Therefore, I choose to give up the idealized life in Dali and experience the real world. I went back to where I started -- the bottom, the most concentrated place for secular people. I went back to my hometown to meet my mother and relatives. I wanted to know the most common values and perceptions of Chinese. I lived with the 'majority' and had the embodied experience of their delight, anger, sorrow, or happiness. I learned that life is hard, and I knew that everyone chooses his or her life path for reasons. There is no so-called better or worse, right or wrong, and*

those are just different paths of life. I believe in the Saṃsāra[10]*. Everyone has a different accumulation in the previous life, and it is reasonable for people to have a different fate. After experienced the whole process, I was better connected to the world."*

The experience of mundane life results in her deeper understanding of people. *"My parents divorced, and I grew up with my mother. I never had a strong connection with my parents. When I started to travel, when I saw the amazing world, I wanted my mother to experience what I experienced. I wanted to give her a thorough 'shower' to wash off all the stains in her mind. But the result was very frustrating. Now I realized that different people have different approaches to life, it is unreasonable to assume what I love is good for others. She experienced what she was meant to experience, and I shouldn't force her to experience more."*

After the journey to the mundane, she came back to Dali again and started the third stage of her spiritual journey – to achieve composure in the chaotic energy exchange. *"When I came back from Taiwan to sojourn in Dali this year, the first thought was I should live in this community. Sometimes the community is as quiet as a temple, while other times it is filled with music and parties all day long. I want to live with all types of people, to train my composure. It is a Buddhism spiritual practice to solid faith, pacify heart, suppress desire, adapt*

[10] Saṃsāra (/səmˈsɑːrə/) is a Sanskrit word that means "wandering" or "world", with the connotation of cyclic, circuitous change. It also refers to the concept of rebirth and "cyclicality of all life, matter, and existence", a fundamental assumption of all Indian religions. In short, it is the cycle of death and rebirth. Source: Wikipedia.

the environment, enlighten wisdom and interpret truth. People in this community have powerful personalities. I had many conflicts with old friends before. When I came back, I solved conflicts one by one and we became closer friends based on a deeper understanding. Step by step, the tension surrounded me was disappearing. I learned that I should not have any expectations of anyone, no matter who they are. The moment I can accept everyone with all their advantages and disadvantages is the moment I can accept myself. When I live in a community, there are many subtle energy-exchanges every day, and everyone's emotion has an influence on me. Everyone has a unique form of energy. For instance, my neighbour, every time I think of him, I can feel the gentle sea breeze over my skin. He is a 'one-hundred-year-old kid', the most informative and pure soul I have ever seen. In the transitional phase of my life, all types of chaotic energies move in my body. When I meet people with a high spiritual level, they can trigger all the negative energy hidden in my body. They will not comfort me, instead, they unearth my demon, let me face my weakness, and lead the way to self-awareness. This is the aim of my current life stage. When I fulfilled it, I will move on to the next life stage naturally."

The unique social interaction in this hippie community is built on natural expression, which leads to a genuine social bond and freedom in mentality. *"People live in this community don't have typical ways of communication. No one has the thought that I have to take care of others. In this way, I learned how to get along with people in the most natural form. I brought my best friend to Dali once. No one talked to her, and no one treated her like a guest in this*

community. She was annoyed and left the next morning. However, I feel very comfortable in this social environment. This is the most natural mood of interaction between human beings. The fake greeting is the reflection of your restless and worries. The best social interaction should be out of genuine pleasure."

She perceived upward social mobility in terms of self-improvement, the primitive lifestyle, self-affirmation, self-awareness, and emotional balance. *"I perceive myself experienced upward social mobility. It is not a matter of money or fame. Instead, it is more about self-improvement. Before I experienced the secular world, I felt anxious when I lived a primitive life. I had plans based on my social attributes, but my intuition knows about me better than my cognition. The pressure that I put on myself is the panic of social life. It thought pushed me forward for many years and exhausted me. Now I know the value of my life -- experience. I'm not influenced by other's compliments or discrimination. We should be aware of the status and the aim of each life stage. Without acknowledging the current situation, it is impossible to overcome the limitations in life. I learned to get along with my emotions rather than control my emotions. I can feel the emotional fluctuation every day. Sometimes I'm delighted, while other times I'm extremely depressive. I'm susceptible to the interaction between my energy and celestial operation, so I feel anxious when the moon is full. All the old mental scares come back to torture me one more time. I found an effective way to deal with this situation—using the physical balance to balance my mood. I practice Yoga or dancing in the wild during the full-moon days."*

4.4.4 Social acceptance

Unlike the urban immigrants' perception of "living in the bottom" in megacities, many sojourners experienced subjective upward social mobility in Dali because of social acceptance.

For example, the social acceptance brought the meaning back to S6 (male, 27, unmarried), who was deprived of self-esteem by the snobbish urban culture. *"When I was in megacities, everyone who knew I was a chef, their first reaction was 'dirty'. My families are ashamed of my job, so I also felt shame about myself. I treated myself as useless waste. Everyone has a pair of coloured glasses. Everyone was judgmental. Even when I got promoted, I still couldn't feel self-fulfilment. I muddled along aimlessly and got into the chaotic existence. But in Dali, people around me think it's cool to be a chef. They think my job is skillful and unique. I also feel better about myself and become more confident."*

Dislike megacities with single-dimensional values, in Dali, people are appreciated based on multi-dimensions. S15 (male, 25, unmarried) looked back upon his urban life, *"When I lived in the city, I felt I was a loser. I'm not a very out-going person, so I had no friends, no money, and no achievement. I was always at the bottom. Sojourners in Dali don't judge me because I'm introverted. Instead, they understand and respect the different personality and life choice. I also become more confident in myself. Happiness is very subjective. My previous friends live a happy life according to their perception, while I live a happy life according to my definition."*

Another typical case, S17 (female, 25, unmarried) is a girl graduated from medical school. After one year's internship in Shenzhen as a nurse, she gave up the medical career and sojourned in Dali for nearly two years. She was an active member of the handcraft *Quanzi* who used to sell hand-made staff on the Renmin Road. After the street stroll was banned, she found a job in a dyeing cloth store and sold hand-made bags online. The interview was conducted during a private dying tutorial. With downward mobile in terms of occupation and income, however, the perception of social acceptance brought her subjective social mobility. *"I and my friends have the same feeling that we were totally useless in the big cities. I felt very nervous and embarrassed in social occasions because I didn't know how to cater to others. I had a strong sense of inferiority in my whole life. Especially during my internship in Shenzhen as a nurse. The chief-nurse blamed me every day no matter how hard I tried. Her harsh sarcastic words were like the pouring rain. I couldn't open my eyes. My colleagues told me it is a necessary process for every new nurse. I felt life was so hard and hopeless. When I went to Dali, gradually, I become confident because people can appreciate my work and respect myself. In our craftsman Quanzi, we share our experience with the manuscript and learn new skills together. The social rules become simpler. If you work hard and you can make a good artwork, people will appreciate you, and your social status will become higher."*

Dali is one of the largest gathering places for "Home-schooling Alliance" in China. Hundreds of children who cannot be accepted by the exam-oriented education obtained a life of dignity in Dali. S29 (female, 38, divorced with a kid)

came from Xiamen to Dali in 2012. She defined herself as a full-time mother. Education is the main reason for her spatial mobility. Her son rejected to go to school at 14 years old, which forced her to seek alternative education. She joined in the 'Home-schooling Alliance' online platform and met many parents with a similar situation. Dali is the biggest gathering place for 'education at home' families. There are many education exploration organizations, small educational communities, and alternative schools. Although her son already left by the time of the interview, she still lives in Dali. She perceived upward social mobility in terms of social acceptance. The humane educational philosophy brought her son, a child who was defined as a "trash" in school, a life of dignity. *"I used to hate my son. I was so angry every time when I saw him. He rejected to go to school at 14 years old and I beat him up every day. I forced him to go to school and waited for him for the whole day outside his school. I realized that was a torture for both of us. The teacher also hated him. He had zero self-esteem at school. He was humiliated by teachers, students, realities just because he couldn't perform well in the examination. Everyone treated him like a rat crossing the street. I was sad, but instead of protecting him, I released all my anger on him. I blamed him for all frustrations in my life. I divorced my ex-husband because of the endless arguments. I taught my son at home, but I became more anxious. When I moved to Dali, I found there is a large group of people facing the same situation as me. I assume there were at least five hundred families live in Dali for education. They recommend many books about education and there were a lot of public lectures. I finally calmed down and reflected on myself. I had so much regret. When my*

son played basketball, I wanted him to win the prize, when he played the piano, I wanted him to get level ten, and when he played Lego, I was angry. I was too eager for quick success and instant benefits. I distorted my son and destroyed his happiness. Luckily, his energy was stronger than me. Now, whenever I saw my son, I'm so happy. I love his vitality. It is the most beautiful thing in this world. He didn't receive higher education. It was hard for me, but sometimes in life, we can't get all the good things, so we need to choose. For me, happiness is more important than everything. We achieved our upward social mobility. My son lives a happy and dignified life, and I become a better person."

4.4.5 Living quality

As a result of social exclusion, a large number of urban immigrants live in poor living conditions and are marginalized socially, economically, and geographically in megacities. The notion "Ant Tribe" (Chinese: 蟻族), proposed by Lian (2010), is a vivid metaphor of the highly educated graduates who moved from small city or rural areas to the metropolis for better opportunities. The "Ant Tribe" is featured by high education, low income, low social status, and poor living condition. In order to reduce the living expense, they lived gregariously with hundreds of peers, and this is the reason why they gained the name 'Ant Tribe." Lian found out there were more than one million "Ant Tribes" in first-tier cities in 2010, and the total number has been rising dramatically. Among them, 49.8 percent of the "Ant Tribe"acquired the bachelor's degree; 52.3 percent came from ordinary colleges and universities, while 28.9 percent were from

critical universities. Their average monthly income was 1903.9 Yuan (around 283 USD), which was lower than the average wage for urban workers. Most of them worked without legal labor contract and liability insurance. After graduation, they lived in the apartments located in the rural-urban continuum, rural suburbs, or squeezed in the basements of the city. The average monthly rent was lower than 500 Yuan (around 74.4 USD), and the living space was less than ten square meters per capita. The accommodation conditions were rudimentary, uncomfortable, and insecure.

A similar situation has been found in current research, many sojourners experienced the poor living condition in megacities, and felt the dignity of a human being is deprived. S5 (male, 46, divorced) recalled his memory about instant noodles and the dark years he lived at the bottom of Beijing. All the traumas turned into his constant anger. *"I grew up in an ordinary family of workers. I left home when I was 15 years old. I have always lived at the bottom of society. Beijing residents were very unfriendly to outsiders. We posted to ask for equal rights, but they tore the posters into pieces in front of us. Till now I can't understand why we have to experience such discriminations, we are all Chinese people live in our own country. I just heard about the Beijing government cleared away the low-end population. It's so sad. Even nowadays it's not easy for young people to live in megacities. I couldn't have enough money to buy food, so I have to eat instant noodles to survive for many years. Nowadays I feel disguised even just thinking about instant noodles."*

The basic life needs, such as the air quality, drinkable water, food material in Dali provide sojourners an organic living environment in a heavily polluted country. The large living and outdoor activity space, the comfortable climate, and the slow life pace also add happiness to sojourners' life. As a chef, S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) felt the organic food in Dali was happy and healthy. *"The quality of food material in Dali is very high. The vegetables and fruits are very fresh and natural. You can seldom find a plastic greenhouse in Dali. All plants grow up in the sunshine. Because of the geographical factors, the sunshine in Dali is rich and the temperature difference between day and night is large, so the vegetables and fruits are sweet. I can feel the vegetables and fruits are very happy. Money is not the only measurement for the statues, living a good life is more realistic."*

Similar in the account of S12 (male, 39, married with a kid), Dali satisfies the most basic needs of a human being: sleep well and eat well. *"Many sojourners came to Dali with mental or health issues. We were not happy in big cities, because we made simple things complicated. If a person can't eat well during the daytime, and can't sleep well at night, how come he/she can be happy? Because of the enormous pressure, we focus only on career, success, money, house, kids, but we forgot our most basic needs. In Dali, when you see people around you are talking about arts and philosophy, drinking tea, playing music, or just lying down to enjoy the sunshine, you can feel relaxed naturally. Additionally, the food and water quality are good in Dali. The environment pollution in Dali is not heavy, and the farmers don't use pesticides and fertilizers. You can see the cattle and*

sheep eat grass and ramble in the field; the chickens eat insects; the ducks eat small fish and shrimps. Everything is just natural and happy. The food ingredients became part of yourself. You eat healthy and happy food. Therefore, you are healthy and happy." He invited the author to the rooftop of his house. It was the moment of sunset, the rooftop has the perfect view for the Cangshan Mountains on one side, and Erhai Lake on the other side. There was no tall building around except for the Three Pagodas. He brought a lounge chair for the author. *"Stay here for one hour, and you will understand everything about Dali."*

4.4.6 Youth road culture dimensions

Dali sojourner society is characterized by its diversification and comprehension. Therefore, various social dimensions systems based on different value systems coexist in Dali and apply to different sojourner *Quanzis*.

Literature about youth travelers revealed how travel-related parameters are constructed as hierarchical social dimensions. Mobility is a field for expressing social identity and for playing with social status. "There was an actual need to trip drop, to create envy and to engage in status battles with others" (Dann, 1977, p. 190). In the youthful travelers' society, a unique hierarchical social structure is constructed by the travelers. Tradition parameters of social stratification are deconstructed, and new social dimensions are constructed by youthful travelers. For the youth travelers, the longer they travel, the less money they spend, the harder of the trip, the higher the social status they may gain among their peers. "Initiation into the society of the traveler is through personal hardship

endured while traveling as inexpensively as possible for as long as possible" (Teas, 1988, p. 36). In mundane life, people may gain the status of one-upmanship through symbolized consumption behaviors. However, an inverted ethic is found in the travelers' society, and the pain is acted as the unit of measurement instead of money. "Anything that is cheap and uncomfortable is better than anything that is expensive and comfortable" (Teas, 1988, p. 36). Low-cost and even free transportation and accommodation associated with higher status in comparison with flight and luxury hotels. According to Riley (1988), the ability to obtain cheap food, lodging, and transportation influence one's social status in the youthful travelers' society. The cost/benefit is served as a direct and standardized measure of travel experience. Specifically, more protracted than nine months of travel experience to bring youthful travels supreme status among peers (Teas, 1988).

Trips are also symbolized and hierarchized. The autonomy and independence of action, the exoticness of the trail, and the non-touristic travel pattern are important social dimensions among youthful travelers. The independent travel experience of "hitchhiking through Africa, canoeing between Indonesian islands, or cycling through the Alps" (Vogt, 1976, p. 28) is the basic requirement for prestigious youthful travelers. "The less-traveled route and more difficult way of getting there have a high degree of mystique and status conferral" (Riley, 1988, p. 321). If the tourists go to a prestige destination, they can perceive themselves and be perceived as a superior social status after they come back home. If they get to a remote and undeveloped destination, the one-upmanship is

stimulated through the comparison to local communities (Dann, 1977). “The development of the new vogue for play with social identity through travel was probably grounded in new cultural idealizations of individual social mobility and of the character type that was adept at managing it” (Adler, 1985, p. 347). The youthful travels participant in the embodied practice of mundane cosmopolitanisms (Germann Molz, 2008; Molz, 2006; Skrbis et al., 2004) that permeate into the consumption of romanticized exotic elements.

As an extension of road culture, travel-related parameters also considered as social dimensions among Dali sojourners, especially among the young backpackers’ *Quanzi*. Because of the inaccessible natural environment and mysterious image, Tibet, Nepal, and India become the sacred places for Sojourners, which is considered as a dimension of social status among backpackers’ *Quanzi*.

4.4.7 Youth subculture dimensions

Youthful travellers are historically linked with drug culture (Peel & Steen, 2007) and stigmatized for deviant behaviours such as abnormal appearance, drug addiction, criminal, and promiscuous sexual relations (Cohen, 2003). Have (1974) found four most popular drugs among the youth travellers: the hashish and marihuana; trips (e.g. LSD); speeds (e.g. amphetamines); opiates. “Of the other drugs, opium is fairly common. LSD and mescaline are the most prized, but the least available. Cocaine is very expensive, and heroin is uncommon but not unknown” (Teas, 1988, p. 39). Teas (1988) discovered that the most common

crime within youthful travels is theft. Some travels are willing to develop a sexual relationship to support their journey financially. Combined with their hippie appearance and gregarious behaviour, the stereotype of moral decay came into being.

Rules and regulations of mundane society are deconstructed, and many deviant behaviours are endowed with cultural significance by the youth sojourners. Historically, marijuana has been adopted in an entheogenic context—a chemical substance used in a religious, shamanic, or spiritual context in virtually every religious tradition, such as Chinese Taoists, Hindus from India, Tibetan Buddhists, the Gnostics, and Essenes of Judaism (Bello, 2007). Smoking opium was an indispensable cultural element of hill tribes in Thailand (Riley, 1988). "Group smoking of marijuana became a kind of secular sacrament which served as a collective bond by hippies" (Andriotis, 2013b, p. 9). As is portrayed by Teas (1988), Hashish, the most popular drug within the youthful travellers in Nepal, was a communion ritual. "The shared chillum is raised to the forehead, a prayer is uttered, and then the pipe is smoked" (Teas, 1988, p. 39). Rigorous processes are created by youthful travellers to sanctify this ritual with a spiritual connotation. Before one of the interviews, the participant provided marijuana to the author, "without this, we cannot on the same page".

Deviant behaviours of youth subculture, such as drug use and Carnalism, are also associated with higher social rank within some young and low-educated sojourner *Quanzis*. Marijuana is one of the cultural symbols of Dali sojourners.

Marijuana as the nettle marijuana hemp genera dioecious plant, mainly divided into wild hemp, cannabis, and three kinds of cultivation of marijuana. It contains four hydrogen cannabinols (tetrahydrocannabinol, THC), one of 483 known compounds in the plant, which can lead to addiction. Cannabis has mental and physical effects such as creating a "high" or "stoned" sensation, a change in perception, heightened status, and an upsurge in appetite (Green et al., 2003; Sussman & Ames, 2001). According to China's law, it is under severe restriction. Till now, there are still patches of wild marijuana growing in Tibet, Yunnan, Taihang Mountain and Xinjiang (Tang et al., 2013).

There is a large amount of wild marijuana growing in the Cangshan Mountains area of Dali. The THC levels above 3.0 g/kg - 1 (DW) of marijuana is defined as the drug, and THC content under 3.0 g/kg - 1 (DW) of marijuana is defined as industrial hemp. Besides, the remote geographical location, complex topography, high proportion of migrant populations add difficulties to government administration. Marijuana becomes an open secret in Dali.

In Dali, the youth sojourners' social deviant behaviour is not only symbolically displayed, but it is also reproduced via social interaction. In the interpretation system of some sojourners, marijuana becomes a symbol of freedom, bravery, and rebellion. It is a symbolized emotional bond to integrate into some *Quanzi*. Some artists believe marijuana can stimulate the sensors and inspire innovative thinking.

During field trips since 2011, the author witnessed the trade of marijuana in Dali many times. Without considering consequences, the usage of marijuana brought young sojourners sensory pleasures, especially among the younger sojourners. As S9 (male, 30, married with a kid) depicted, "*There are many youths Huyezi (Chinese: 呼叶子, literally means "breathing weeds", indicates heavy marijuana usage) together. Usually, smokers make the weeds into a cigarette and share it with friends. In Dali, because it is easy to find wild marijuana, some young sojourners stay in a small room and put a whole pile of marijuana into a fire bowl, they jump together to smoke and then lie down on the bed for days. Of course, it is happy. Many young people came to Dali just for weeds, especially foreigners. It is something you can't experience in big cities."*

Some sojourners (usually male) also attribute sexual achievement as one dimension of upward social mobility. S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) ferreted out *"Dali is a territory for freedom, but this freedom may also cause troubles. Because of the high mobility, people can get to know each other very easily, so there are no clear boundaries between people. The sexual relationship is also very chaotic. In Dali, as long as you can make some sounds from an instrument, you can attract many Guos (Chinese: 果，literally means fruits, a slang used in Chinese Rock and roll groups to materialize girls). Many people take advantage of this and promote a sexual image of Dali. You can easily find a lot of sexual slogans in shops. Indeed, more and more sojourners come to Dali just for sex. They are proud of their behaviour and defined it as an achievement."*

4.4.8 Mainstream dimensions

Different from the gradual process of commercialization in a rational society, the soaring commercialization caused by the explosive growth of the tourism industry caused the differentiation of values among sojourners. Consequently, the political, economic and social capital oriented social dimensions of mainstream Chinese society have rekindled since 2015.

With eleven years of sojourn life in Dali, S5 (male, 46, divorced) witness a more comprehensive image of Dali. While acknowledging the advantages of Dali, he also disparaged the emerging snob culture in Dali with anger. *"In Dali, there are many rogues, liars, frauds, many people extremely realistic and snobbery. I am particularly sensitive, and my self-esteem is particularly strong. I was struggling with hopelessness to face the fickleness of human nature. I was humiliated in front of people many times in Dali because of poverty, and when I became famous, those people who humiliated me before, now they post photos with me online to show off."*

The foreign origin or background is also a social dimension among sojourners, which is associated with upscale social status. *"There is an interesting phenomenon that, if some foreigners or Chinese people had overseas experience, there would be more sojourners supporting their business. Their income is several times higher than us, even though we have the same business or products. Especially those young sojourners in their early 20s who want to get to know some upscale people to show off in front of others."*

A representative case, S13 (female, 28, unmarried), has been the author's close friend since 2012. Due to the poor family condition, she dropped study and lived on herself since high school. She worked in many megacities and lived at the bottom of society. In her early 20s, she lived in Tibet for one year and moved to Dali in 2012. Being a big fan of underground music, she got to know a few musicians and employed as their assistant in Dali. In 2014, she left Dali and worked as a music editor in Nanjing for one year. Then she quitted her job and came back to Dali once again. When the author met her again in 2018, she hasn't worked for one year and almost run out of money. Different from many other interviewees' narratives, she exposed the snobby of sojourners. *"Not all social interactions between Dali sojourners are aloof. Many sojourners are very snobbish. Six years ago, the friends of my ex-boyfriend treated me very rude. Because I was poor and came from rural. When I lived in his friend's hostel, for the whole month the smell of coffee floated in the air, but they never invited me for a cup of coffee. When I tried to talk to them, they just pretend they didn't hear and rejected to talk to me. Today when we went to their hostel together. The girl used a very subtle way to ask me about your background, and this is the first time I finally know the taste of their coffee. Although I knew them for five years, today is the first time that they sat down and talked to me."*

She perceived the highest social status when she was a music editor in Nanjing. *"Because our company is big and influential. Many musicians had a close personal interaction with me. Getting in touch with celebrities every day brought me an upscale feeling. I could feel people's respect through their attitude,*

facial expression, and body language. Everyone enjoys other's attention; everyone wants to find a way out; everyone desires proof of his/her existence; and everyone eagers for the feeling of being respected. Being appreciated and respected by society are the basic emotional needs of every human being. When I quitted my job and went back to Dali, I can feel the changes in people's attitudes. Sojourners who did not talk to me ever suddenly behaved like old friends."

Not only money matters to Dali sojourners, but fame is also important to them. *"With the development of technology, many mass tourists get to know Dali through social media. The most successful homestay's owners used to work in the media. They had rich media resource and promotion skills. In comparison to their previous city life, they have better social status in Dali. That's why the media Quanzis in Dali have very high status. I used to work with a famous musician in Dali. Because of his special physical condition, some NGOs wanted to invite him to charity events to encourage disabled kids. He rejected them because he can't earn money and fame."*

Every *Quanzi* has its entry criteria to guarantee the homogeneity of group members. *"If you look deep into Quanzi, you may find they are not actually in the open state. Every Quanzi has certain entry requirements. For instance, in the Quanzi of my ex-boyfriend, they are all middle-class from Guangdong. Their Quanzi works as a network for social exchange. If you can't reach their requirement, you can't be accepted, but you surpass their requirement a lot, instead of staying in their Quanzi, you may want to find your higher Quanzi."*

She criticized the aloof version of Dali. Like mainstream society, money acts as one of the dominant resources that define people's social status, especially in a society where shortcuts of quick success still exist. *"Not everyone came to Dali for spirituality pursuit. As the saying goes, 'the way towards the Holy Scriptures is in your heart, why need to walk ten thousand miles to search it?' (Chinese: 取经之路在身边，何必西方万里遥). If you want to improve your spirituality, you can have the reflection everywhere. There is no need to sojourn in Dali for spiritual improvement, correspondingly, sojourn in Dali can't guarantee your spiritual improvement. The artistic image of Dali is an illusion. For example, there is a girl in Dali. In other's eyes, she is living a very idealistic life. But in reality, she is unscrupulous without any values. She has one of the dirtiest souls I've ever seen. Nevertheless, she has thousands of fans online who support her financially and spiritually."*

4.5 The influences of mobility experience on SWB

SWB is one of the main topics in social mobility research. As aforementioned in section 2.3.5, four patterns are found in existing literature, respectively, pattern one: upward social mobility is positively linked to SWB, while downward social mobility has adverse effects; pattern two: upward social mobility has positive influence on SWB, while downward social mobility is non-relevant to SWB; pattern three: upward social mobility is non-relevant to SWB, while downward social mobility has adverse effects; and pattern four: social mobility, regardless of the mobile direction, has negative impact on SWB. None of the patterns shows

a positive connection between downward social mobility and SWB. However, in Dali, a unique pattern has been found. Regardless of the range, speed, direction of social mobility and individual characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and class origin, all the social mobility lead to improved SWB.

4.5.1 Recovery of depression

There is a popular saying among sojourners that "more or less, every sojourner has some mental scars". There are two typical cases that participants recovered from medical depression and mental trauma. Both of them came from Beijing, graduated from the best universities in China, have artistic talent and sentimental personality, sojourned in Lijiang for a short time, and education was considered as the main reason to sojourn in Dali.

The S16 (female, 33, divorced with a kid) is a single mother who graduated from the top art school in Beijing. After graduation, she lived in Beijing for ten years as an assistant professor. Triggered by the frustration of marriage, she got into medical depression. In order to recover from the emotional stress, she moved to Lijiang, where she had several cloth shops. In 2016, she moved to Dali for the kid's education. She attributes her previous stressful and depressive living mode to the whole social environment in China. *"In Chinese society, money is the only thing that can bring you security. We don't have a good welfare system and even stable policies, no one knows what will happen in the future. The whole country is exhausted and breathless, it pushes all of us running forward. Maybe it's better for us that we work harder and think less."* The gender

inequality also led to her emotional breakdown. *"This society has very high requirements for women. This society pushes the woman out. Women are more tired than before. No one may consider how hard I am to raise the kid by myself. They just treat me as a parasite of the family. When I go out of the family and find a job, all the house works are still my own duties."*

The sojourn life in Dali helped the lady to recover from medical depression. *"I came to Dali for many years, in other words, I've been myself for many years. I hate the feeling that I have to force myself to communicate with others. I feel I was mentally abused by society. My ex-husband used to accuse me of childish, 'as an adult, you should not make a clear distinction between black and white'. If this is the definition of adulthood, I don't want to grow up. After I moved to Dali, I found that I can live as pure as possible, and I can work on something that I really like. After we divorced, my ex-husband went to Tibet, and I take care of my kid in Dali. Dali is a better place that helps me to calm down and balance my emotions. After my ex-husband left, I started to reflect on my emotion, my mindset, and my behaviour from the bottom of my heart. Additionally, the kindergarten also helped me a lot. It's not only an educational organization for the kid but also a psychological consulting for the parents. The education I received from this kindergarten is more than the kid received. Through the education of the kid, I had a thorough self-reflection."*

The S18 (male, 34, married with a kid) graduated from one of the best universities in China. In the 2003 national college entrance exam, he ranked the

first in his city, which made him the proud of his family and hometown. He lived in Beijing for seven years, and the frustrations in the megacity led to his medical depression. He perceived his sojourn experience as a long process to heal his depression. With clear logic, he recalled the leading roots and the recovery process of his medical depression.

The interview started with his three leading causes for depression experience: the unfortunate childhood, the frustration at the university, and the bureaucratic working environment. *"The first root reason for my depression was my unfortunate childhood. My father passed away by accident when I was eleven years old—the critical period for the construction of a boy's personality. My mother married another guy soon, but the marriage wasn't happy, my mother changed a lot. The sudden change in life and the unfriendly family environment took my trust in this world away. Intense anger and unbalanced energy accumulated in my mind.*

The second reason for his depression was frustrations at the university. *"This is related to China's distorted educational system, I received too much pressure and control before I went to university, while when I entered the university, I couldn't receive enough guidance and supervision. In my whole life, I got used to following what the adults told me to do. When the external pressure from the teachers and my mother was disappeared, I lost control and all negative energy accumulated started to release. I became a slacker student who seldom attended the class, and I couldn't submit my bachelor's degree thesis, which*

caused the postpone of my graduation. I had a strong interest in literature, arts, and philosophy, but the depression paralyzed me. The conflict between the high expectation of myself and frustration in real life caused the vicious circle. I hid in the blanket every day in the student hall and I was reluctant to wake up until all my roommates are left."

Additionally, the work experience in Beijing pushed him to the edge of desperate. *"When I graduated in 2008, I got a job at a national publishing house for more than two years. I felt living pressure. I couldn't fit into the working environment and the income was quite low. The publishing house struggled between the needs for market operation and the bureaucratic system. We weren't free to choose new topics, but the outdated content couldn't attract readers and financially support the whole organization. Many old people worked there. They arrived at the working place around eleven o'clock every day. After drinking tea for one hour, it was time for lunch. They brought the folding bed into the office, so after lunch, they had a nap until three o'clock in the afternoon. You could hear the snoring from each direction. When they woke up, it was the perfect time for taking their grandchildren back from school. The young colleagues were under the charge of the old people. Those old people were 'in the system'. They received a salary from the government, and they didn't care about the sales."*

He further analysed the factors for his recovery of depression. His supportive wife, the change in the living environment, the religious belief, and the birth of their daughter. *"My wife was the fundamental reason for my*

emotional recovery. She was always beside me and filled my empty heart with love. The root of my depression was insufficient love and scant social identification. Therefore, I didn't have the ability to deal with an unsatisfactory situation. My emotion operational mechanism controlled my mind and separated me from the real experience. Once when I complained about life in Beijing again, she told me if I wanted, she would like to leave Beijing with me. We put all our saving together, it was less than ten thousand. We quitted our job and moved to Lijiang together."

The change in the living environment was the second reason for him to heal the depression. *"I found a job to play guitar in a bar. I was born in the countryside and grew up in a small town. I had so many fantasies about megacities, but when I really lived in Beijing, I could not fit into the environment. During my seven years of living in Beijing, my biggest wish was to buy a house and get a Beijing Hukou. The society put the idea in my mind--I wanted to live like a Beijing local. On the one hand, I could not accept the life path happily, while on the other hand, there was no alternative choice. In mainstream society, people's consciousness is unified. It is so solid that there is no way to shake it by an individual. However, when I met various people in Lijiang, and I heart many stories, my focus in life diverted. We lived in a compound with international backpackers, penniless drifters, people who wanted to trace back themselves, millionaires who lost life purpose. One day, there was only one customer in the bar, and I invited him to have dinner together. He told me he was an engineer, then he started the entrepreneurship with his friends. Twenty years past, his*

company listed on the overseas stock market, he got hundreds of millions and sent his families to the US, but after he fulfilled his duties, he had no clue what he should do next. It was Chinese New Year, my song triggered his emotion, and he cried like a homeless kid. I met a lady who raised her son by herself till five years old, however, one day after beaten by a mosquito, her son died. I met a girl who was raped by her own father for many years. After witnessed all of this, I found life became more realistic. I realized the unified values and lifestyle in mainstream society are nothing more than illusions, and the innumerable ways are the real face of life. With the development of tourism, the social atmosphere of Lijiang became impetuous and indulgent. Influenced by the changed social atmosphere, the values and lifestyle in Lijiang also became increasingly unified. That was the reason that we left Lijiang and sojourn in Dali. Dali can provide a special artistic relationship between human being and the earth."

The religious belief is the third factor that led to his positive life attitude. *"We met our mentor, a monk. I started to read books about religion and philosophy, and I finally brave enough to face my real self. Now I and my wife still have Zen-meditation every day. We can observe ourselves as outsiders and ask ourselves why? Why I' m unhappy? Why I get angry so easily? Why I feel anxious? Why I feel jealous? It is a practice toward your heart, and it really solved a lot of my issues."*

The fourth reason for his psychological recovery is the birth of his daughter. *"My wife is very rational, she doesn't have the 'common issues of*

women', and I don't have the 'common issues of men'. Her mindset is more masculine, while my mindset is more feminine. I wasn't in the mood of father-role, while she was well prepared for a mother. My wife oversaw all practical issues, while I emerged in my spiritual life. During the process of raising a kid, many of our issues emerged. Fortunately, the teacher of our daughter told us, with the growth of the kid, our previous supporting relationship came to an end. Now she has to pay a lot of attention to the kid, worry about the financial issues, and deal with her own emotion, she is going to be exhausted, so she can't offer more. It's time for me to grow up.

The kid's education process is also a self-education process for him. *"In order to support my family, I started my tea business. The business is in good condition, I get many fans online, and all this effort also brought me a sense of self-fulfilment. Several years ago, our relationship was like I always ran away from her, and she just chased after me. Now she doesn't chase after me anymore, but she knows how to make me feel comfortable. Luckily in Dali, we got the time and atmosphere to communicate, to read, and to share our life with friends. She developed her own theory to deal with different relationships. She defines each relationship as a project, she knows how to separate different projects, and she is aware of her responsible boundaries in each project. We learned to make the decision by ourselves and be responsible for our decision. All the relationships, problems, responsibilities become clear."*

The spatial mobility brought him the idealized life status. He started to reflect on his weaknesses and find ways to solve the issues. *"Now I'm delighted with my status. Every day after I send my daughter to kindergarten, I come back home reading, writing, and tasting the tea. Because of my unfortunate childhood, I had a cold heart. I don't have a proper demand for love as normal people do. I read books, I have reflections, and I try to figure out what elements are absent in my life, and I try to fill them in gradually. When I grew up mentally, the issues are solved step by step. I have an apparent self-consciousness and I witnessed the change in myself. In other words, it is the process to warm up a cold heart."*

4.5.2 Extension of youth

Known as the Utopian of youth, Dali is a place to resurrect sojourners' early-dead youth. A representative account came from S36 (female, 32, unmarried), who used to work on an entrepreneurial project of social media. She lived four years in Shanghai to received education, and six years in Beijing to work in the media industry. The severe pressure and the darkness of the media industry left her mental trauma. She quitted the job and moved to Dali in the winter of 2016. Now she bought an apartment in Dali and lived a chill life. Her income mainly comes from writing for two WeChat account. The author met her twice and the whole interview lasted for almost ten hours.

The leisure environment in Dali unloaded her anxiety. *"My previous colleagues always made fun of me 'while everyone is busy picking money from the floor, you still seem to be very leisurely'. Life in Dali is a process of self-*

deconstruction and self-reconstruction, and a rational choice based on consistent values and lifestyle pursuit. Our team used to work on the project 'urban anxiety' together. Through investigation, we found out the universal anxious in megacities is a big social issue in China. After moved to Dali for one year, I found the feeling of anxiety has gone. The environment in Dali helped me a lot to block the anxious atmosphere. Now when I observe those people's life, I have the feeling of 'watching the fire across the river bank'".

Sojourn in Dali contributes to the extension of youth. *"Youth is the best life stage, and youth culture is the most beautiful human culture. Youth isn't a matter of physical condition, but the spirit. Youth is a life stage that after you have dreams and before you enter a stable period. The so-called 'middle-age crisis', to be honest, is the conflict between objective stability and subjectively dissatisfaction. It is the gap between real life and the ideal life. In this sense, many people's youth starts to count down once after their graduation. In Dali, sojourners' youth life is extended because they extend their life stage of uncertainty and willingness to build ideal life."*

Dali allows alternative lifestyles, diversified values, and de-standardized social norms. Therefore, it provides an opportunity for the growth of life vitality. *"I appreciate people with the vitality of life. You can feel the vitality from many sojourners, the aboriginal attraction, maybe not sexual-related. People with the vitality of life are passionate and pure, their life vitality grew from the earth and emanated from their body. They are as happy as a human being should be. The*

life vitality is rare in China, but it is growing in Dali. People in cities are still indulged in the miracle of the industrial age, but in Dali, the intimate relationship between the human being and the earth wake us up. I used to be the same as millions of youths worked in the office. But now, I feel I'm unique. I can feel many people accept my values and lifestyle. They admire my life decision, and some young people even treat me as their role model. The reassurance from my fans made me more confident about my life choice."

Dali was romanticized as the Utopian society and became the pilgrimage site of artistic youth. S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) recalled the Utopian image of Dali. *"Renmin Road used to be the cultural centre of Dali Ancient Town, while the ancient city used to be the cultural centre of Dali. Some painters and poets improvise on the street during the daytime. At night, sojourners light up candles and put their stalls on the street. There were not so many tourists back then, but the quality and the manner of the tourists were much better than nowadays. Many hippies used to perform fire-dance and many high-skilled guitar players and drum players gathered at night. There were many exotic musical instruments that you might never see before. The whole environment was very artistic and romantic, and the first thought came into your mind naturedly—this is Utopian."*

S10 continued, *"Especially during 2012-2013, there was a lot of talent, interesting, amazing, insane, special people in Dali. There was an Italian outdoor climber who has a climbing club in the Cangshan Mountains and*

sojourned in Dali for more than ten years. There was a couple travelled around the world, who had the first baby during the trip and the second one in Dal. There was a guy rode a horse from Cangshan Mountains all the way down to Renmin Road every day. He had a farm in Cangshan Mountains and raised pureblood Mongolia horses there. There was a famous old poet who used to write on Renmin Road. He has a small house in the field and goes to the river to carry water every day. There was a brilliant and thoughtful homestay owner in Caicun who was graduated from the Shanghai Film Academy. He was one of the leading figures of China's NGO environment protection program. There was a lady from Taiwan who specialized in Yoga and was very popular among Yoga practices. There was an influential best-selling author. He has a club in Dali ancient town, many people gathering in his club to exchange their life stories and encourage each other. He was very good at cooking 'chicken soup for the soul'[11]*, so many of his fans come to Dali to pay homage to him*."

Dali is the fantasy of youth. Sojourners created a youth society that far away from patriarchal control and enjoyed the unconstraint and carefree lifestyle. The disappearing of the Utopian atmosphere is not the end of Dali, but the end of youth life stage. A representative account came from S9 (male, 30, married with a kid), who reflected on the Utopian atmosphere in Dali and provided an alternative explanation. *"It's not the fantasy of Dali, but the fantasy of youth. Dali is crazy, Dali is indulgent, Dali is absurd, Dali has everything that young*

[11] 心靈雞湯, Chinese slang to describe words full of knowledge, wisdom, and emotions

people dream about. Everyone wants a romantic and carefree life experience in his or her youth wherever they are. The beautiful landscape, exotic culture, and international atmosphere of Dali make their dream more unforgettable. When we were in Beijing, we also had Utopian. But as time goes by, people are forced to become realistic wherever they are, and Utopian dissolved by itself. Dali is not an exception. People have a different form of existence in a different life stage. Most of the young people have similar desires. Some went to Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou to work in the office for a better future, while some came to Dali to enjoy a relaxed life. It's nothing more than different life choices. If you want to figure out sojourners in Dali, you should recall your life in early twenty's. We were all passionate, we were all rebellious, and we all had a crazy time and unrealistic dreams no matter where we were. This is the happiness only belongs to youth. Now I still admire that carefree lifestyle, but I can't go back to that life stage. The accumulation of age, experience, and life encounters changed us."

4.5.3 Strengthen of family-bond

In contrast to the career-driven social values, many sojourners are satisfied with a small wealth (Chinese:小富即安) and focus more on the harmony of the. As S20 (female, 35, married with a kid) observed, *"Most sojourners have a very limited desire for the social-defined successes. For us, family is the most important thing. When we have some family activities, it's obvious that many fathers are very family-oriented. They carry the belongings, take care of the kid, cook for the family, and wash the dishes, while many mothers sit together*

drinking and chatting. This is very different from mainstream society. The "widowed-style parenting" is quite normal in Chinese family, where the mother takes care of the child while the father's role is absent. The companion of the father is also very important, especially after the child is three years old when the kid must detach from the mother and enter society. The father is the bridge connecting the kid and society. The companion of the father has a significant impact on the kid's relationship with the world"

4.6 Commercialization – the golden bulldozer

4.6.1 Sudden rich

Dali went through a dramatic tourism development since 2015. The rapid commercialization acted as a golden bulldozer that demolished the social, cultural, economic and ecological environment of sojourner society.

There are several key events led to the sudden commercialization in Dali. In 2014, the movie 'Breakup Buddies' (Chinese: 心花路放) attracted lots of mass tourists to Dali. In 2015, China's chairman visited Dali, and many investors sensed business opportunities. 2013-2015 were named as 'Carcinogenesis of Dali', which indicates the increase in commercialization and decrease in value and cultural uniqueness. Millions of mass tourists came to Dali, along with them, businessmen started to occupy resources in Dali. The spiritual and cultural pillars of Dali have been corroded. Previous sojourners were either squeezed out of the

ancient town or involved in the business. The population composition of new sojourners demonstrations the tendency of reduction in age and decay in quality.

The first change lies in the leisure time. Leisure time refers to the time spent after working hours, excluding the time spent on family labour physiological needs. The value of leisure time can be divided into two parts: use-value and non-use value. The use-value of leisure time is obtained through the shadow price of social marginal benefits and the marginal cost of the balance of supply and demand, while the non-use value of leisure time is the time value that not relevant to capital creation, such as physical and mental recovery value, self-improvement value, social and family value (Cesario, 1976). According to the author's investigation, the leisure activities of Dali sojourners were mainly relaxation and socialization, outdoor explorations, and hobbies. Their leisure time was featured by long leisure time and a broad spectrum of leisure time; low use-value of leisure time; and high non-use value of leisure time. However, with the commercialization, sojourners leisure time has been shortened, and the value of leisure time has been transferring from non-use value to use value.

Changes are widely reflected in the participants' accounts, such as S12 (male, 39, married with a kid), who moaned at the commercialization in Dali. *"Dali has been decaying since 2013. The investors are like sharks, when they smell money, all types of investors came to Dali and bit each other. Because of the low entrance barriers, many low-quality investors gathered in Dali. They borrowed money from all of the possible sources for investment. When they can*

make money, they are as unscrupulous as ravenous dogs. Those people disturbed the order of the market and destroyed the image of Dali. Dali should belong to the sojourners rather than the investors. The image of Dali is built on the image of sojourners, when the sojourners are forced to leave, the soul of Dali will dead."

In the same vein, S18 (male, 34, married with a kid) commented, *"Since 2013, wherever you go, you could hear people talk about real estate. However, the investment was risky because the market wasn't mature enough. The capital concealed in Dali and waited for an opportunity. In 2015, the tourism market suddenly broke out, and the rent increased nearly ten times. Many local owners broke the contract and took the house back. The local people demolished the old houses and rebuilt bigger houses. Consequently, the first batch of speculators are forced to leave, and Dali entered a new stage of commercialization. People with economic capital and social capital followed. They are just blind followers who simply driven by inexplicable impulse. If we define the spirit of Dali as a type of resource, now the population base is too big, so the resource isn't enough for everyone. The whole artistic atmosphere and the free spirit of Dali are diluted."*

S10 (male, 33, married with two kids) has been living in Dali for six years. After graduated from a military school, he worked in the Shanghai government. In 2008, he volunteered in the rescue of the Wenchuan Earthquake. This experience changed his worldview. He quitted his job and lived in Tibet for four years. He had a hostel and a climbing club in Lhasa, where he met his wife and

got married. The couple moved to Dali for a better natural environment and education condition. Now he has two daughters. He bought two apartments in Dali for his two daughters in Xiaguan, the center of Dali city. He is both the manager and the chef of the restaurant, while his wife takes care of two daughters. Talking to the customers is part of his job. Therefore, his restaurant acts as an information hub among the sojourners.

Over the years, S10 witnessed many sojourners left Dali as a result of commercialization. *"There was a boy who used to write poems on Renmin Road. He lived in a free and unfettered lifestyle. He left Dali three years ago and went to Jingdezhen (Chinese: 景德鎮). A girl who travelled around the world and brought many pieces of jewellery from other countries to Dali also left at a similar time. A young photographer who took photos in the film went back to Beijing. There was a Spanish photographer who used to carry a huge camera on Renmin Road. He redesigned the photography device by himself to take Daguerreotype photos. This Spanish photographer, a French, a Brazilian and I was all fascinated by cooking, so we got together and did our experiments in the kitchen frequently, but now they all left. There are very few people can stay in Dali for six years. We planned to leave Dali in 2014 because the rent suddenly increased several times and we were not prepared. Meanwhile, my business went down. We missed the lifestyle in Tibet or the earlier years in Dali."*

The commercialization disturbed the cultural environment in Dali. *"The most visible change is, when strangers meet on the street, they don't look into*

each other and smile anymore. Before 2015, it was very natural that you talk to strangers on the street." He stopped for a few seconds and got into deep thought. *"Very warm memory."* He continued, *"But now sojourners are busy with the business. The whole atmosphere in Dali became money-driven and utilitarian. I was a street staller in front of a local house when people came out, they talked to me very friendly and invited me for dinner if they saw me didn't earn much money. But nowadays even if you put your stall in a corner, the owner will ask you to leave forcefully. They want to make full use of every space to make money and avoid competition. I want to rent a house outside the ancient city. I and my wife have chosen an old house with nice big trees inside. We plan to live in the village and make money in the ancient city. Life is a circle. It seems we will go back to the city status."*

During the first interview, S10 expressed his limited materialistic desire and high satisfaction in life. *"I do not need too much money. Every month I need 50 Yuan (around 7.44 USD) for the telephone bill, I never buy new clothes. Two thousand Yuan (around 298 USD) per month is more than enough for me. I spend most of the time in the kitchen, so I don't have time to spend money, and I don't think money is important."* However, in the following interviews, he confessed his financial burden, which is contradictory to the previous interview. *"To be honest, I have two daughters, so I bought two apartments for them. I just bought a new car for my wife. I'm too busy. I feel very numb, but I can't stop because I have to earn money for my family. Influenced by the social atmosphere, my wife spends a lot of many to earn 'Mianzi'. There is no space to negotiate with her,*

and I don't want her to lose face because of me. This month our total income is 120 thousand RMB (around 17,830 USD), but we spent more than 190 thousand (around 28,233 USD). Now we are planning to start another restaurant with my friend. This restaurant has a good income, but still not enough for us to get rich. I need to be responsible for my family. Their happiness is my happiness. I don't know why I became so anxious and depressive. I am becoming a lamentable donkey, and I'm willing to cover my eyes. During the past several years I lost a lot of hairs. I think this is so-call 'middle-age crisis'. It's horrible. The stress doesn't come from the two apartments, the new car, or the new business. It is not financial stress, but the state of living."

The responsibility for the family marks the end of his youth. *"Before I had the kids, I liked photography, I like climbing, I had no stress and lived in a very idealist status. But now every day when I open my eyes, I must go to the market, and when I close my eyes, it's time to sleep. Day after day, and year after year. Youth is the only time that I was alive, and I had dreams and hopes. After this life stage, I'm nothing more than a walking machine. My wife is the same. Maybe shopping is her last joy. So, whenever I tried to talk with her about our financial budget nicely, she became angry and started to complain. There is a popular saying that 'Chinese youths die after 25 years old'. I'm still lucky, my youth 'died' at age thirty. Even though, my father-in-law still underestimates me. Several days ago, he made a phone call to ask how much I earned this year. He told me that he earned three hundred thousand Yuan (around 74.4 thousand USD)*

since the spring festival and mocked at me. He thinks his daughter should marry someone better."

Many sojourners, like the S10, live in between the idealistic pursuit and realistic burden, as a result of the commercialization of Dali and the influence of mainstream values. *"I talked to my friend last night. He told me now he has absolutely no hope in life. His investment in Dali was totally a failure. He owes a lot of money to the bank and his friends. This is the real Dali. It is only sparkling on the surface. We got used to the mindset that when we are young, we should be very hard-working. Thus, when we are old, we have enough savings to guarantee the good life of offspring. Generations of Chinese people live in this way. We took it for granted without considering right or wrong."*

4.6.2 Social division

Unlike most societies that experienced economic development through a gradual process of capital accumulation, a tremendous amount of capital influx into Dali within a short time. The economic explosion led to a sudden division in sojourners' values and life trajectories.

The S7 (female, 27, unmarried) and S8 (male, 34, unmarried) are a couple came from Guangdong province. Now while the lady is still in her 20s, her boyfriend is more than 40 years old. In 2013, the couple met in the Renmin Road as street sellers. They had a restaurant in the ancient city for two years. Because of the increased rent, they moved out and rent a house two kilometers away from

the ancient city, where they have two rooms as a hostel, and a small restaurant only serves one group of guests for each meal.

The lady, on the one hand, enjoys their relaxed lifestyle, while on the other hand, has a mixed feeling of envy and self-blame. *"Dali is a magic place for capital aggregation. In 2012, my friends showed us some cottages with a big balcony and a garden. It was only around 300 thousand Yuan (around 44.6 thousand USD) for sale. We hesitated, but two years later the price went to 600 thousand Yuan (around 89.3 thousand USD), and now it is more than one million (around 148,597 USD). I regret a lot that we didn't buy one. Now we rent this house, but I don't feel secure. The owner can break the contract when the rent increased. We made many friends in Dali through street selling five years ago. Back then everyone had no money and no worry, but now everyone suddenly became very hardworking expect for me and my boyfriend, and they are all richer than us."* It's hard to generalize Dali sojourners' attitude towards money. Every sojourner has a different attitude towards money, and for each sojourner, the attitude toward money changes at a different stage of life. *"Many friends criticized us that we are too lazy. Sometimes I felt embarrassed to contact them, and we don't have so many common topics anymore. I want to work harder and become richer, but my boyfriend thinks if we have no time to enjoy life, then our original intention of sojourning in Dali is distorted."*

After interviewed the lady, the author talked to her boyfriend separately. During the interview, the lady came over many times, and after the interview, the

lady asked the author to show her the voice record. She confessed that because of the divergence in values, the couple argued many times recently. She was curious about his real thoughts.

In comparison to the inner struggle of the lady, her boyfriend showed a strong attitude. The interview started with his sojourn life experience. "*Five years ago, one of my best friends wanted to invest in a hostel in Dali, so I came here to help him. We found an old house in Renmin Road with two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a small garden. We settled down in that house and set several bunk beds for backpackers. The rent was only 250 Yuan (around 37 USD) per month, so we named it '250'*[12]*. Because the rent was cheap, we didn't charge the penniless backpackers. All of us had no proper job nor a stable income, and we were just chill and relaxed. After I had a girlfriend, I should become more responsible, so I had a restaurant in Dali Ancient Town. But the rent increased like crazy until I couldn't afford it anymore. Now the rent of '250' increased to two thousand Yuan (around 297.6 USD) per month and the signboard '250' was also removed."*

The commercialization in Dali changed sojourners' lifestyle, destabilized the root of 'Dali street stall culture', and changed the local people. *"The living expensive in Dali nowadays is similar to big cities. In order to maintain the basic living condition, I have to work harder. No one in our Quanzi lives like a backpacker or street stallers anymore. 2013 was a watershed for Dali. The*

[12] 250 is a self-sarcasm term in Chinese slang, which has an insulting meaning of stupid person or simpleton.

relationship between local people, shop owners, and street sellers became terrible. Many conflicts happened, the government involved, the romantic atmosphere and spirit of 'Dali street stall culture' have gone entirely."

4.6.3 Vicious cycle

With mass tourists as the primary economic source, sojourners' career in Dali is generally around the tourism industry. The entry barrier is relatively low, and the income level is also lower than megacities. The career of Dali sojourners is closely linked to their sojourn duration. The short-term sojourners tend to involve in the occupations with low skill and economic investment, such as street stroll and volunteer work. With the accumulation of economic and social capital, the long-term sojourners gradually transfer to the homestay, bar, restaurant, coffee shop and other self-management activities, in the hope that they can enjoy the leisurely and romantic lifestyle while making a living. With the progressive advance of commercialization, sojourners have to face the pressure of business, adjust work schedules in accordance with institutionalized tourists, and accept the social exchange rules of commercial society.

The costs of business have risen sharply in recent years. According to the author's investigation, in 2012, the most common architectural style in Dali Ancient Town – a traditional house with ten well-decorated rooms, around 300 square meters' living area, and 50 square meters' courtyard, were rented for an average price of 25,000-30,000 Yuan/year (around 3,720-4,464 USD/year), and the average rent of ten-room house in Cangshan Mountains district was about

15,000-20,000 Yuan/year (around 2,232-2,965 USD/year). The price of a double room was about 40-70 Yuan/day (around 6.0-10.4 USD/day), and the price of a bed in a dorm was about 8-15 Yuan/day (around 1.2-2.2 USD/day). When the author revisited Dali in September 2014, the average annual rent of a house in the ancient city rose to around 50,000-150,000 Yuan (around 7,440-22,321 USD/year), and the "lake-view room" around Erhai Lake was above 200,000 Yuan/year (around 29,723 USD/year). The proportion of dorm rooms decreased, and the price of a double room increased to about 100 Yuan/day (around 14.9 USD/day). The price of a "lake-view room" in the off-season, on average, was about 300-400 Yuan/day (around 44.6-59.5 USD/day), and more than 1000 Yuan/day (around 148.8 USD/day) in the peak season. In 2018, the average annual rent of a house in the ancient city was 200,000-400,000 Yuan/year (around 29,761-59,523 USD/year), while the price of homestay rooms was slightly declined since the Erhai Lake Remediation. Accordingly, the living expense increased with the rent, the average price of a residential compound Shanshuijian, which is named as the "the state of Beijing in Dali" has increased from 6,000 to 20,000 Yuan (around 893-2,976 USD) per square meter since 2013.

However, the tourism industry in Dali shows a strong seasonal pattern. The peak seasons in Dai are concentrated upon the Summer Holiday (July and August), the Spring Festival holiday, the May Day holiday, and the "National Day golden week", during the rest of the time, there were fewer tourists with lower consumption power. Many sojourners travelled to Dali in the peak season and were fascinated by the fake prosperity. When they rented and decorated the

house for business, the peak season was past. In order to reduce the loss, they added more transaction costs and passed the business to the new sojourner who came in the next peak season. Therefore, the vicious cycle is formed. Shops in the ancient city changed frequently, and the rent and transaction cost has been increasing.

Like most of the sojourners, S9 (male, 30, married with a kid) was attracted to the beautiful landscape and promising business opportunity of Dali during a trip. Once he settled down and started the business, he experienced many frustrations. *"Back then the rent was much cheaper, and we arrived at the peak season, so the business seems very promising. However, after we invested a lot of money to decorate the house, the peak season was past. Besides, because of the 'Erhai Lake Remediation', the number of tourists dropped a lot. It is hard to maintain our business during those years. The income can barely cover our basic living expenses. Now my whole families are here, we invested a lot of money, and we signed a ten-years rent contract, so we are not free to leave anymore. We are trapped here."*

A similar story happened to many participants. For example, S3 (female, 29, married without the kid), a lady who owns a hostel in Dali for four years. Because of the fragile financial condition of her family, she was forced to give up education at the age of 14, and to live on herself. Like many other sojourners in Dali, the initial motivation for her was living a better life rather than making more money. However, with the commercialization of Dali, her life got into a

vicious cycle. The interview was conducted in her homestay, which was interrupted every ten minutes because of her homestay business.

Owning a homestay in Dali is a cliché in China about the ideal lifestyle, however, with embodied personal experience, the lady criticized the stereotype. *"Most of my friends are homestay owners. They had a 'facing the ocean, spring, and blossom' (Chinese: 面朝大海，春暖花開) type of fantasy, but when they really started the business, things are totally different. In the beginning, my imagination was 'planting some flowers, walking my dog, and enjoying the sunshine' (Chinese: 養花，遛狗，烤太陽). However, when I rented a house and started the business, I have to do a lot of laundry, clean the toilet, mop the floor, as well as deal with all types of complaints and countless trivial details. I found my life is tough and uncomfortable. There is a saying among homestay owners, 'if you are not omnipotent, you cannot be an eligible homestay keeper'."*

During the past four years, she went through a lot of hardships. She tried to look for better opportunities in other tourism cities, but most of the cities were the same. Considering the income has been going down during the recent two years, she took over another homestay to balance the income, which led to a double workload. When the author met her, she was in eight months' pregnancy. However, there is no time for her to relax. After four years of industry experience, the lady is very sensitive to market change. *"The commercialization brought enormous pressure on us. Four years ago, the most expensive rent for a store was around 170,000 Yuan (around 25,296 USD) per year, but now it's more than*

400,000 Yuan (around 59,520 USD). I wonder what kind of business can support such high rent. The turnover rate of stores on Renmin Road and Fuxing Street is very high. Every one or two months, a lot of old stores disappear while many new stores emerge. Besides, the business types in Dali are very monotonous. There is nothing other than homestays, restaurants, bars, or souvenir shops. Consequently, the competition is very fierce. The occupancy rate of homestays was high, especially during the spring festival month, the occupancy rate was always 100 percent. The average occupancy rate of my homestay throughout the year was higher than 90 percent. After 2016, although I deducted 30 percent of the price, the occupancy rate during peak-season went down to 88 percent, while the occupancy rate dropped down to 70 percent during the off-season. Many of my friends gave up the homestay business, but then still live in Dali because they are reluctant to leave."

Many sojourners left in recent years. She perceived this change as the result of both the commercialization of Dali society and the increased materialistic demand of sojourners themselves. *"Initially, many Dali sojourners were motivated by their unrealistic fantasy. However, as time goes by, when they need to face reality, they gave up and left. Or maybe people become more materialistic when they reach a certain age. Actually, there are cases that our guests told me they want to run their own homestay in Dali. I didn't persuade them, and I just told them to live in my attic upstairs for one or two months. I wouldn't charge them rent, and then they could make the decision later. In the end, all of them gave up without exception."*

4.6.4 Utopian disillusion

The commercialization was perceived by sojourners as an evitable development stage of Dali. Echoes with the study on youth *communitas* in tourist destinations, youth travellers spearheaded mass tourism and modified the gathering place into tourism use. With the influx of mass tourists, youthful travellers are marginalized due to economic pressure and cultural penetration, and the subcultural atmosphere will dissolve inevitably (Teas, 1988). As Riley (1988, p. 322) lamented, the *communitas* for the youthful travellers is "destined to disappear."

A representative account that reflected the mindset of a vast majority of sojourners came from S8(male, 34, unmarried). Although he expressed his disappointment about the changes in Dali, he perceived changes as a natural and spontaneous result of social development. *"The romantic utopian feeling of Dali was not sustainable under the background of China society. The romantic-style street stalls and all our romantic dreams are hard to survive. In China, money is more powerful than everything."* Similarly, S14 pointed out, *"I read a book before. It portrayed a happy territory where it is warm enough to let the homeless sleep on the street, it is rich enough to prevent everyone from starvation, and it is kind enough to provide everyone a shelter. However, the story doesn't have a happy ending. Dali was a place like this. But there is no utopia in this world, and the previous Utopian image of Dali was nothing more than a temporary illusion, what we are facing now is the most realistic life."* (S14, female, 27, unmarried)

In the same vein, S16 (female, 33, divorced with a kid) considered the "golden age" of Dali as a co-constructed illusion. *"Dali is a place that one can live a better life, not a place that to escape from life. Since 2000, I travelled to Dali frequently. I witnessed the 'golden age' of Dali, but I think it was abnormal. Back then, my friend warned me that I would 'die for hunger and laziness' in Dali. The responsibilities that I escaped were like unpaid debt. If I immersed in that mood, the harder I tried to avoid my own issues, the bigger my issues would be. I must work and face real life. That was the reason why I didn't move to Dali at that time, instead, I went to Lijiang. If someone tells you that Dali is a Utopian, he/she must have some misunderstandings about Dali, and he/she must have some misunderstandings about life."*

4.6.5 Erhai remediation

The tourism industry, especially the homestay sector, has long been the vehicle driving the local economy forward. In 2011, Dali government proposed to develop the tourism industry into the pillar industry, and strongly supported the construction of the homestays around Erhai Lake. In 2017, the tourism industry generated 26.4 billion Yuan (around 3.93 billion USD) in revenue, accounting for 70 percent of Dali's annual GDP. Among this, homestay was the main section. The middle-class sojourners turned Dali into an upscale residential zone. Many sojourners sold their properties in megacities and invested in homestays around the Erhai Lake. According to the interviewees, the average investment in the homestay was around five million Yuan (around 743,085 USD).

However, in 2016, the central environmental supervision group pointed out that the tourism development around Erhai Lake was not well controlled, and the water quality of Erhai Lake declined. As part of the Cangshan-Erhai National Nature Reserve and the drinking water source of Dali city, the ecological management of Erhai Lake has been put on the government's agenda[13]. In March of 2016, in order to protect the environment of Erhai Lake, The People's Government of Dali City issued the "*Notice on the Special Renovation of the Hospitality Industry in the Core Area of the Water Ecological Protection Area of Erhai Lake Basin*" (hereinafter referred to as the notice). According to the official statistics, 2468 homestays and restaurants (around 1900 homestays) were forced to shut down temporarily. The government started to work on the construction of sewage purification systems, illegalization of the homestay industry, and restoration the natural landscape and eco-system.

Because of the Erhai Remediation, homestay owners around Erhai suffered tremendous losses. On the one hand, from April 2017 to June 2018, the 15 months shutdown caused homestay owns to lose revenue ranging from two to four million Yuan (around 297,590-595,180 USD), while they've been looking forward to reopening at some point. While on the other hand, the homestay owners have been doing a lot of work on their own environmental devices. From the initial self-built level five and level seven septic tanks, to the sewage access to the village treatment system, to the self-built sewage treatment equipment, the

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sewage treatment requirements issued by local government have been changing, thus new facilities put into use while the old facilities abandoned. Each homestay owner has spent hundreds of thousands of sewage disposal[14].

When the author travelled around Erhai Lake from mid-March to the beginning of July 2018, there are all types of rumours about the future of the homestays. A mixed anxious and desperate atmosphere permeated in the homestay owners' *Quanzi*. On May 30, 2018, the Dali government announced "The 'Three Lines' Plan for Ecological and Environmental Protection in Erhai Lake", set up the "third line" headquarter which was responsible for demolition the homestays. According to the above plan, the "blue line" (the boundary of the lake area) was an altitude of 1966 meters, the "green line" (the boundary of the lakeshore zone) was 15 meters from the blue line to the land, and the "red line" (the boundary of the water ecological protection zone) was 100 meters along the blue line. By July 2018, only around 170 homestays outside the green line got the legal permission and resumed their business, while the future of others hung in the middle.

From October to December 2018, more than 1,800 homestays in Dali have been demolished due to Erhai remediation, among which more than 540 are lake-view homestays with "zero distance" from Erhai Lake. The action was non-negotiable and unstoppable. Bulldozers roared from Longkan village to Caicun village, Xichengwei village, Majiuyi village, Panxi village, Taoyuan village, etc.

[14] Source: Malin, Tear Down Erhai Homestay: The Struggle and Contradiction Behind the Environmental Protection Order, Caixin Media, January, 2019.

Many homestay owners carried massive bank loan, they could neither get the already paid twenty-year-rent back from the landlords nor received sufficient compensation (the compensation was less than a tenth of the actual losses) from the local government. The Erhai Remediation, in the name of environmental protection, become thousands of middle-class sojourners' nightmare and led many families to bankrupt. It reflected unstable policies, inadequate legislation, undemocratic enforcement, and fragile private property in Chinese society.

CHAPTER FIVE: IPA REFLECTION

"Move through the world, and we witness a frantic geographic restlessness, wild swings of upward or downward social mobility, or a compelling psychological need to identify with the highest and the lowest, the most distant and apparently alien"

-- (Teas, 1988, p. 35)

Based on themes extracted from the IPA inquiry, the main topics related to the research question and objectives are discussed in the current section. Existing studies about spatial and social mobility are brought in for the comparison and interpretation of research findings.

5.1 One acquaintance-stranger society

The neo-patterns of social mobility are products of Dali sojourner society's unique social construction: a stranger – familiar society where the face-to-face Chinese tradition encounters the stranger-meet-stranger urban culture. Sojourners have emerged in a semi-anonymous atmosphere, where they live in the same place with close daily interaction without knowledge about the past or concern about the future connection.

5.1.1 Face-to-face society

Fei Xiaotong, China's most exceptional social scientist, portrayed in his fundamental work "From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society",

traditional Chinese society by its very nature is an acquaintance society, where people interact face-to-face. Different from western society, Chinese society is rooted in an agricultural society. Chinese people are attached to the soil and dwelled in the same place from generation to generation. The formation of Chinese communities is built on concentrated settlements, as a result of: first, the high density of population and limited space; second, the cooperation and sharing for water conservancy; third, the consideration for military defense; fourth, the principle of equal inheritance of land and properties. Consequently, Chinese society is featured by localism, which led to, on the one hand, different communities were isolated from each other, while on the other hand, within the same community, a society of acquaintance was formed. Local people witnessed the growth of each kid, people were familiar with each other, with every inch of the earth, and with the never-changed living skills inherited from ancestors. An acquaintance's society, time was perceived as circulatory rather than linear, information was delivered face-to-face, and people were attached to social circles based on consanguinity and geography (Fei, 1992).

5.1.2 Strangers-meet-strangers society

The face-to-face acquaintance society ended up with the industrialization era which requires mobility. Along with the increased fluidity of modern social life, the "strangers-meet-strangers" became "fundamental to the world order" (Bauman, 1990, p. 150). Urban space becomes "a human settlement in which strangers are likely to meet" (Bauman, 2013b, p. 94). Unlike the traditional

community, the urban space was designed to cater to consumption, which emphasized action rather than emotion (Bauman, 2013b). Therefore, the balance between mental and physical distance was disturbed. People become "physically near while remaining spiritually remote" (Bauman, 1990, p. 150). The meeting of strangers was "an event without a past," and "an event without a future" (*ibid*), where there was no emotional attachment, no shared memories, no clues to trace back, and no expectation for an encounter in the future.

To integrate all kinds of people into the city organism, a strategy of impersonality is applied to construct a modern society with "all its colourlessness and indifference" (Simmel, 1997, p. 178). Owing to the liquid essence of modernity, the interpersonal bonds nowadays became more and more fragile and ephemeral (Bauman, 2013c, p. 2). As a consequence, the "terrifying experience of a heteronomous, hapless and vulnerable population" (Bauman, 2013c, p. 7) became the common fear of urban citizens. The "togetherness," the "standing invitation to a meaningful encounter, dialogue, and interaction" (Bauman, 2013b, p. 105), or what Simmel names co-present, was minimized. The sense of togetherness dismantled, and people became suspicious in social interaction. "A spectre hovers over the planet" (Bauman, 2013a, p. 119).

5.1.3 Acquaintance-stranger society

Dali is an eclectic social form of the face-to-face acquaintance society and the strangers-meet-strangers urban society. On the one hand, sojourners are released from the suffocating Chinese social ties and obtained the autonomy of their lives,

while on the other hand, the old-time intimate neighbourhood warmth is traced back. In Dali, the spatial arrangement and architecture landscape is built on the agriculture inhabitation communities to draw the interpersonal distance closer. Street selling as the main production model became the shrine for social interaction. Young souls traumatized by the ice-cold concrete jungle are warm up by the intimate connection with people and land. Sojourners' second generations grow up in the same neighbourhood and eat the "hundred family meals" (Chinese: 百家飯, literally means meal from one hundred families. The Chinese folk custom of helping babies grow up. On the first day of the first lunar month, grandpa pretended to be a beggar, holding a broken bowl and begging in the street. It is said that in this way children can stay from disaster and protected by hundreds of families. In this context it refers to kids to eat at the neighbours' and friends' homes).

5.2 Twice separation from home

"Home and homelessness" is one of the fundamental concepts of socio-cultural anthropology. The concept "home" is loaded with three layers of connotations: physically, it refers to a relatively stable place in which time and space constitute a unified organism economically, aesthetically, morally and functionally; socially, "home" is a social origination based on consanguinity and affinity; while identically, "home" is a social construction which is closely linked to memory and identity. "Home" goes beyond the physical space and social bond,

and becomes the cognitive *Habitus*, which is cultural by its very nature and encompasses the most mundane aspects of life.

Historically, "home" and "non-home" are divided to avoid the variability and ambiguity of multi-identities and frame the fundamental human identity, which includes self-identity, social identity, and cultural identity. Defined through the exclusion of "non-home" and "outsiders", the "home" surrounded by the intangible wall is built to satisfy the needs of belongingness and security of Human beings. However, modern mobility practice has changed the traditional perception of "home and homelessness." Heidegger predicted that the ultimate fate of the world would be homelessness (Young, 2000). At the same time, humans will acquire a new sense of being, and the concept of "home and homelessness" will exist independently from the concepts of "dwelling and mobility."

Mobility can lead to the multi-identities of home. What's more, mobility itself may eventually become the existence form of home. Consequently, the identical, social and physical homes may split from each other. As mentioned above, Dali sojourners are not necessarily born and raised in big cities. After reached adulthood, they immigrated into megacities with the attempt to integrate into urban socio-cultural *Habitus*. The urban experience leads to the unbridgeable gap between urban immigrants and their original *Habitus*. Due to the changed values, explanations, and expectations, youth immigrants who developed the

urban mindset are hard to communicate with friends and family in the previous *Habitus*.

There is nothing new about this phenomenon. According to Fei et al. (1992), in the 1940s, the rustic students who graduated from urban schools "couldn't go home anymore" (p.299). Before they left their hometown, it seemed that a force pushed them out. Their father and brother also tried their best to realize their dream of leaving their hometown. Some even sold their properties and borrowed money to support them. When they graduated from college, they found that the years of exile had cut them off from their homeland. At school, even if no knowledge or skills were acquired, essential changes in lifestyle and values were bound to occur, which were enough to make them feel different from the country people. For them, the rural speech became tasteless, and pastoral faces became abominable. Even if the graduates condescended to the country, others would perceive them differently and treat them as guests, and the gap between the graduates and their previous habitas is inevitable.

The "*Habitus* Clive" (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 161) provides the theoretical explanation for sojourners the first separation from "home". The mental cost of social mobility is conceptualized by Bourdieu (2004) as the fundamentally divided class environment that "torn by contradiction and internal division" (p. 161). With embodied personal experience as a class-climber, Bourdieu (1998) accused the painful double isolation brought by upward social mobility. The class transfuges, on the one hand, are excluded by the destination class where people

were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, while on the other hand, as Bourdieu depicted, could never "erase their nostalgia for reintegration into their community of origin" (p. 107). The mobiles had secret guilt about abandoning the class origin and couldn't completely enjoy the upgraded social status.

Given the complex nature of *Habitus*, Lee and Kramer (2013) proposed the changed *Habitus* created a newfound social distance from the previous *Habitus*. Even a seemingly innocent speech or behavior may lead to misapprehension between two incompatible *Habitus*. Friedman (2014) conceptualized the mental trauma of upward mobility as "culturally homeless", which he explained as "dislocated from a recognizable cultural habitat, permanently caught with one foot in two different taste cultures" (p. 363). Although the mobility trajectory provided the change to bridge socio-cultural boundaries, upward social mobiles are fully aware of the prevailing external hierarchies of value and their trivial precarious situation. In the influential article "*The Price of the Ticket: Rethinking the Experience of Social Mobility*," Friedman examined the influence of social mobility experience on the kinship ties, intimate relationships, and on the ontological coherence of the self under the theoretical lens of Bourdieusian. He elucidated that the durable class culture was moving with the individual through the social mobility process. Social mobility results in "a sense of uneasiness and cultural dislocation between the individual and their ties of origin and destination" (Friedman, 2014, p. 363). In this sense, the urban immigrations experienced the first separation from their identical home

from physical and social home. Therefore, in the places there were born and raised up, the sense of the homeless comes into being.

While the “culturally homeless” (Friedman, 2014, p. 363) caused by “*Habitus* Clive” (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 161) eventually result in sojourners’ first separation from home, the social exclusion led to their second separation of their identical home from physical home, and result in the unbalanced spatial-social mobility. Suffered from the institutional discrimination and social exclusion, sojourners set on the journey to look for an identical “home” through the switch of spatial location and cultural background. This identical “home” should be a complex that satisfies non-urban environments, urban culture, intimate interpersonal relationships, and inclusive social atmosphere. Through the arduous exploration, sojourners established China's largest youth sojourner’s enclave in Dali, a multicultural field for rural cultural, ethnical cultural, religious culture, youth culture, and cosmopolitan culture, and found the identical “home” in a physical “homeless” place.

5.3 Three key concepts

5.3.1 Quanzi

Different from the concept of *communita* which emphasized the geographical aspect of social construction, the concept of *Quanzi* accentuates the social network based on interpersonal interaction. *Quanzi* (Chinese:圈子, literally

means “circle” in the Chinese Language). It is the basic unit of socialization and the building brick of sojourner society.

Quanzi, a Chinese-style network, is deeply rooted in Chinese ethic, a closely related concept was proposed by Fei et al. (1992), who adopted the metaphor of a stone thrown into a lake to visualize Chinese *Quanzi*, “Social relationships in China possess a self-centered quality. Like the ripples formed from a stone thrown into a lake, each circle spreading out from the center becomes more distant and at the same time more insignificant” (P. 65). Therefore, traditional Chinese *Quanzi* has three features: first, the formation of *Quanzi* is centered on the individual -- “there is always a self at the center of each web” (p. 67) -- as a result of egocentrism rather than individualism; Secondly, hierarchical difference exists within each *Quanzi*, the closer to the center indicates the greater power; Thirdly, *Quanzi* is stretchy, and the elasticity of each *Quanzi* is determined by the center power.

Different from the traditional Chinese *Quanzi*, *Quanzi* in Dali has its own characteristics: Firstly,the formation of Dali sojourners *Quanzi* is centered on function rather than individual; Secondly, Dali sojourners *Quanzi* presents a de-hierarchical inner-structure; Thirdly, the position of individuals in each *Quanzi* is dynamic, the distance from center is temporary and depends on specific event; Fourthly, the elasticity of each *Quanzi* is built on the function or group members as a whole, rather than the center power of an individual. There are countless *Quanzis* of different sizes co-exist in Dali sojourner society as a result of

heterogeneity. The abundant leisure time endorses sojourners' engagement in *Quanzis*. *Quanzi* not only fulfilled sojourners' quest for the old-time neighborhood and community atmosphere but as served as a platform for information and resource exchange.

As a solution for modern impersonality, *Quanzi* promotes co-presence. Co-presence is the "primordial site for sociality" (Urry, 2007, p. 24), which indicates the fundamental form of interaction and socialization. Simmel underlined the importance of multi-sensorial social interaction when referring to co-presence, a reciprocal interaction that conveyed the "most direct and purest interaction that exists" (Simmel, 1997, p. 111). Co-present was an end in itself, which asked for nothing more than a simple interaction (Simmel, 1997, pp. 9-10).

Simmel proposed the desire for co-presence was one of the primary obligations for people to initiate a journey. Abundant social interactions during travel provide the opportunity of socialization that was not restricted by content, essence, ulterior end, and inspire pleasures in the non-cognitive processes. "Patterns of movement involve an intermittent face-to-face relationship with other people, places, and events" (Urry, 2007, p. 37). This explains sojourners have less suspicious and more trust in Dali than in the urban environment and reveals their high engagement in the social interaction. Drawn from interviews and observation, *Quanzi* is spontaneously formed among sojourners who "feel comfortable with each other". Most of *Quanzis* was built on pure friendship. The formation of *Quanzi* is like the accumulation of snowball. Most *Quanzis* are

based on hobby or occupation for people in a similar life stage. As stated by the participants, standards of choosing friends in Dali went back to childhood status.

Although sojourners acclaimed *Quanzis* are open to everyone equally without prejudice, the class homogeneity can be found in most of the *Quanzi*. This phenomenon can be explained by people from different social classes have different mindsets, identities, behaviours, consumption patterns, aesthetics, *Habitus* languages and accents, tastes and manners, and styles of dressing (Henry, 2000; Simandan, 2018). Therefore, even though the class itself is not set as the entrance requirement for *Quanzi*, the elements shaped by the class are the evitable factors for sojourners to "feel comfortable" with each other.

5.3.2 De-hierarchization

Dali sojourners *Quanzi* presents a de-hierarchical social structure. The inner structure of a *Quanzi* is like a plain circle with a fuzzy boundary, and sojourners are relatively equal within their *Quanzi*. Some sojourners move to the centre stage, associated with metaphysical benefits such as people's respect, trust, appreciation, rather than control power or material benefits. However, the centre position is dynamic, temporarily and event-based. The existence of *Quanzi* atomizes the sojourner society into small units, and the interest exchange within a *Quanzi* or between different *Quanzis* rarely happens, which contribute to a subjective perception of de-hierarchical social structure and help many marginalized urban sojourners to get rid of the feeling of "living in the bottom".

Objectively, class differentiation also exists in Dali. However, homogeneity within each Quanzi contributes to the subjective de-hierarchical perception. The minimal interest exchange between individuals and among Quanzis contributes to the de-hierarchization. The high mobility also reduces the possibility to construct a hierarchical social structure. However, the general de-hierarchical social structure does not mean absolutely equal within sojourner society.

5.3.3 Harmony in diversity

Unlike the social entity based on the "extrusion of alterity, in order to bask in the warm glow of self-confirming homogeneity," Dali is a society built on "community-in-difference" (Morley, 2001, p. 441), which embraces the ineradicable differences and "the construction of more open and porous forms of 'publicness' as the basis for living together with strangers in the present" (p. 441). There are three main reasons for the inclusive atmosphere.

Firstly, the inclusive cultural atmosphere in Dali is rooted in its multicultural history. Historically, there was no one form of dominant cultural that controls the cultural field and exclude other culture aggressively. Multiple forms of culture coexist in Dali in harmony. Secondly, the inclusive social atmosphere is associated with the various population composition and subculture of sojourners. As the heterogeneity of sojourners upsurge, the tolerance of various social phenomena also increased. Thirdly, the anonymous society also adds to an inclusive atmosphere. Once left Dali, sojourners merely have contact

with each other anymore. Things happened in Dali sojourner society can hardly have a long-lasting influence on each other. Therefore, for what happened in Dali, people, in general, have the mindset of "none of my business". As a result, the acceptance of diversified cultural forms leads to the broad-mindedness of alternative life paths.

5.4 Four sojourn ages

According to cultural characteristics and demographic features, the influx of sojourners in Dali has experienced four waves. The first wave started from the 1990s, with artists as the main force, which laid the cultural foundation and constructed the core values of Dali sojourners. The second wave began in the early 21st century, which was dominated by the youthful backpackers, who added the hippie travel culture into the sojourner society and turned Dali into the laboratory of the international youth culture. The third wave began in the early 2010s, which promoted Dali as the middle-class residential area. The fourth wave emerged after 2013 when many speculators swarmed into Dali. The speculators are depicted as bulldozers of the landscape, culture, and economic order, and lead to a massive spatial reconstruction of Dali.

By the aid of the Roman poet, Ovid's myth of Four Ages in Book 1.89–150 of the Metamorphoses, the influx of sojourners are categorized into Golden Age, Silver Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age. The four sojourn ages indicate an increase trend in economic capital, as well as a decreasing tendency in the cultural uniqueness. For each era, there was one dominant but not exclusive

group. With the change of their population size, economic strength, cultural influence, geographic distribution, and social status, they switch between the "leading role" and "supporting role" in the stage. Currently, as a result of power negotiation, four waves of sojourners coexist in Dali. While the speculators occupied the optimal location of resources, other sojourners either transferred their social roles in the tourism industry or moved out from the white-hot competition area.

5.4.1 Golden age: artistic utopia

The first batch of Dali sojourners moved in Dali in the 1990s. After the Lijiang earthquake in 1996[15], many artists moved from Lijiang to Dali. The artists laid the cultural foundation and constructed the core values of Dali sojourners. Dali has been closely associated with "art," "literature," "seclusion." It was a paradise for artists to escape from secular society and seek artistic inspiration. The first wave of Dali sojourners became the cultural label of Dali, such as the painters Han Xiangning (Chinese: 韩湘宁)[16], Ye Yongqing (Chinese:叶永清)[17], Xiayang

[15] February 3, 1996, Lijiang M=7.0 Earth quake, Yunnan Province. The earthquake caused severe casualties and economic loss. 309 people dead, 4070 seriously injured, 12987 slightly injured, and 185321 left homeless.

[16] Han Xiangning, born in 1939, is a well-known photorealistic oil painter in Taiwan. The early paintings were mainly abstract paintings, with more emphasis on modeling and space. In 1967, Han moved to New York City. In 1970, the style changed to photographic realism, and a large number of airbrush techniques and features were blended with the point-drawing style of the impressionist painter seurat, making the painting quite vivid. After 1985, his style increased the use of digital images, and gradually began to create ink painting. Han has served as a visiting professor at several art schools in the United States, including the art Institute of New York University and the Art Institute of Chicago. He is also a visiting professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the City University of Hong Kong.

[17] Ye Yongqing, born in 1958, graduated from the painting department of Sichuan Academy of Fine Arts in 1982 and is now a professor. He has held solo exhibitions in Beijing,

(Chinese:夏陽), Shen Jianhua (Chinese:沈见华), Gang Lijun (Chinese:方力钧)[18], Tang Zhigang (Chinese: 唐志冈)[19], Yue Minjun (Chinese: 岳敏君)[20]; dancer Yang Liping (Chinese: 杨丽萍)[21]; director Zhangyang (Chinese: 張揚)[22]; folk musicians Zhou Yunpeng (Chinese: 周云蓬)[23], Zhang Weiwei (Chinese: 张

Shanghai, Singapore, London, Munich, Augsburg and Seattle. His works have been collected by the National Art Museum of China and other art institutions.

[18] Fang Lijun, born in 1963 in Hebei province, graduated from the Department of Printmaking of the Central Academy of Fine Arts. Important exhibitions include: the sixth national art exhibition, China modern art exhibition, China new art exhibition, China avant-garde art exhibition, the eighth and ninth new Chinese art exhibition, Oriental road, Oriental road, China new art exhibition, the fourth Asian art exhibition, China new art exhibition, China avant-garde art exhibition, etc.

[19] Tang Zhigang, associate professor of College of Fine arts, Yunnan University of Art, member of Chinese Artists Association, vice President of Yunnan Oil Painting Association.

[20] Yue Minjun is born in Hei Longjiang in 1962. Personal exhibition: 2011, “Yue Minjun: Road”, Pace Beijing, Beijing, China; 2009, “Archaeological Discoveries in AD 3009 -- Yue Minjun 's Solo Exhibition”, Today Art Museum, Beijing, China; “Yue Minjun: Iconic Smile”, Queens Art Museum, New York, USA; “Yue Minjun: I love to laugh”, Asia Society, New York, USA; “Yue Minjun: Dealing with Series”, Enrico Navarre Gallery, Paris, France; 2005, “Post-Orotik Self-Portrait -- Yue Minjun”, Jakarta, Indonesia; 2004, Yue Minjun: Sculpture and Oil Painting Exhibition, Shaoli Gallery, Hong Kong; 2003, “ Yue Minjun's Works Exhibition”, Mailer Gallery, Switzerland; “Yue Minjun: Irony in Beijing”, Pruss & Ochs Gallery, Berlin, Germany; 2002, “Bathing in a Giggle”, Simin Art Court, Singapore; 2000, “Red Ocean -- Yue Minju's Works Exhibition”, London Chinese Contemporary Art Gallery, UK.

[21] Yang Liping, born in Yunnan province in 1958, is a Chinese dance artist, vice President of the Chinese dancers association, and a first-class national actress. She enjoys the “special government allowance” granted by the state council. Famous for the “peacock dance”, Yang is Member of the expert committee of Chinese folk-dance grading examination.

[22] Zhang Yang, born in 1967 in Beijing, graduated from the directing department of the central academy of drama. He is a mainland Chinese director, screenwriter and producer. In 2017, his fake documentary “krinpoche” was released and won the best picture award at the 2nd Italian Chinese film festival.

[23] Zhou Yunpeng, born in 1970, an independent folk singer and poet, was born in Shenyang, Liaoning province. An eye disease at an early age caused blindness at the age of nine. He began his singing career in 1995 at the old Summer Palace in Beijing. He traveled almost all of China before returning to Beijing, where he wrote poems and ballads to illustrate his thinking. He has published two publications, “Life and Gate” and “Low Shore”. At the beginning of 2005, it was nominated as the best ballad artist of the year by the fifth Chinese music media awards of southern metropolis daily.

玮玮)[24], Li Daiguo (Chinese: 李帶果)[25], Huanqing (Chinese: 歡慶)[26]; and the performance artist XieDeqing (Chinese: 谢德庆)[27]. In addition, the studios and homes of artists from the scattered art fields and important tourist attractions, for instance, the residence Qinglu (Chinese: 青廬) of painter Zhaoqing (Chinese: 赵青) in Shuanglang (Chinese: 雙廊), the studio Erju (Chinese: 而居) of painter Han Xiangning (Chinese: 韩湘宁) in Caicun village (Chinese: 才村), the studio Shuanglang Farm and Folk Painting Society (Chinese: 雙廊農民畫社) of painter

[24] Zhang Weiwei, born in 1976 in Gansu province, is a famous folk singer and artist. He has played guitar and accordion for many famous bands in China. In 2012, he released debut album "Silver Hotel" together with her friend Guolong.

[25] Li Daiguo, Chinese American born in Oklahoma. He began to learn piano and violin at the age of 5. More than ten years old began to learn erhu, pipa, cello. After graduating from high school went to San Diego, California state university to study literature, and music (professional is poetry in the 20th century, and played the violin), to study in the university the Finnish folk music, classical Chinese music and western classical music, jazz, improvisation music, new classical, Indonesian gamelan in karnataka, India "music. Good at Musical Instruments: a violin, cello, erhu, pipa. Use instruments: viola, hu, Mongol four-stringed instrument, pan-hu, mandolin, guitar, bass, gore silk, pau, human beatbox, wheat, voice/rap, jouhikko, piano, MBIRA, kouxian, clarinet, suona, na Yin pipa, Vietnam single-string instrument, Chinese guqin, stone drum.

[26] Wu Huanqing, stage name Huanqing, pioneer experimental musician. In 2000, Huanqing began an eight-year collection of music in southwest China. He has successively produced albums of Yi nationality "crossing the Yellow River", Hani nationality "under the Sky", Naxi nationality "Dogs Chasing Red Deer", Nu nationality and Wa nationality "Double OARS Picking Rhyme", Susu nationality "Luo Madi Ancient Tune", Tibetan "Zaxi Father and Son", Han nationality "Xiao & Xiao" and Yangtze river folk song "Chuanjiang Buzi", etc.

[27] Xie Deqing, a Taiwan-American artist who works and lives in New York. Xie Deqing is best known for his five one-year performances. 1978-1979 (Cage) Xie Deqing spent one year alone in a wooden cage 11.6 x 9 x 8 feet in his studio in Tribeca. During this time, he did not talk, read, write, listen to the radio, or watch TV. 1980-1981 (Clocked) Xie Deqing clocked this work once an hour, 24 times a day for a year. 1981-1982 (outdoor) he lived outdoors for one year without entering any buildings, subways, trains, cars, planes, ships, caves, or tents. Performing a year 1983-1984 (rope) Xie Deqing and artist Linda mottano tied an eight-foot rope around their waists without touching each other for a year. One-year performance 1985-1986 (no art) Xie Deqing does not talk, do not look, do not read art, do not enter galleries or museums, just live for one year. The work began on his 36th birthday - December 31, 1986 - and ended on December 31, 1999. On the first day of the millennium, Xie Deqing made a public announcement at the Johnson Memorial Church in New York, declaring, "I am alive."

Shen Jianghua (Chinese: 沈见华) in Shuanglang, and the “Sun Palace” (Chinese: 太陽宮), “Moon Palace” (Chinese: 月亮宫), and “Xianguo Nunnery” (Chinese: 仙果庵) of dancer Yang Liping (Chinese: 杨丽萍).

5.4.2 Silver age: international youth cultural laboratory

The second batch of Dali sojourners arrived at Dali in the early 21st century. They are predominantly backpackers and hippies in their early 20s. Silver age sojourners constructed Dali into the laboratory of the international youth culture. Back then, Renmin Road was the cultural centre of Dali Ancient Town, while Dali Ancient Town used to be the cultural centre of Dali. Street stall in Renmin Road was the most common way for sojourners to make a living. As one of the unique cultural labels of Dali, handicraftsmen, artistic youths, and backpackers from all over the world gathered in Renmin Road to sell paintings, poetry, music, acrobatics, dirty braid weaving, tattoo and other skills, handmade postcards, ornaments, woodware, clothing and other handicrafts, as well as gadgets from other countries. The diversified art forms were displayed and sold in a living form. For the young sojourners, the meaning of street stroll went far beyond a matter of money-making. It constituted the essential ritual of socialization, expressed youth cultural appeal, displayed the backstage of sojourn life, provided the field for multi-cultural interaction. The street stall became one of the main tourist attractions in Dali and manifested as the symbolic image of Dali sojourners.

Echoes with Zhang (2017), who defined the creative market as a new youth subculture phenomenon from the perspective of subculture capital theory.

Renmin Road is a field for the youth to construct the de-hierarchical social order, as well as display hobbies, leisure, and skills. As a sub-cultural production field, young sojourners invest in this field in the form of embodied and institutionalized capital, consistently produces the subcultural capital form and achieves the equal interaction between the actors according to the logic of consumption social power theory. It is also a field of cultural consumption, which constitutes a symbolic landscape composed of commodities and their representations, beyond which consumers get symbolic meanings such as life attitude and aesthetic experience.

The creative market gathers a new sub-cultural social group, constructs their group identity by means of harmonious “carnival”. It is the retreat from modernity and urbanization. Young people made the silent revolt in the everydayness of urban life and found shelter in art. Renmin Road was symbolized as a cultural field, where Dali sojourners produced and represented culture, while the mass tourists also achieved their cultural pursuit through consumption.

Similar to sojourners, mass tourists who financially supported the Renmin Road street stroll is also youth from the cities, who chose a different life path. Suffered from the monotonous and impersonalized urban life, the youth tourists would like to believe in the adventurous stories, the crazy life choice, the unfortunate accident, the landslide, the avalanche, the earthquake, the debris flow, the everything that will never happen in their withered life. The souvenir they

purchased became their symbolized connection with "poetry and distance"[28], while the money they spent could travel with the sojourners to experience every exciting moment. In the same vein, the demand for ballads, the most popular music form in Dali, reflected the social mentality of Chinese youth. What was portrayed in the lyrics was what the youth couldn't experience in real life? Many young people who live in megacities can find empathy and emotional comfort in the lyrics. The rhythm of the ballads is usually languid, which forms a significant contrast with the fast-paced life.

Since 2013, the tourism industry in Dali has entered a period of rapid development, and many "professional stallholders" also entered Dali. They bought cheap tourist souvenirs from the online wholesale website and occupied the most advantageous stall positions of the Renmin Road. By virtue of the lower cost and rich sales experience, professional stallholders expand their social and economic capital. After September of 2013, the stalls in Renmin Road have increased to more than 800 during the tourist season. Due to the deterioration of the city's appearance, local people's life quality, traffic congestion, and safety situation, Dali Ancient Town Protection Bureau issued a regulation for street stalls. The stallholders are required to get the "Dali Ancient Town Renmin Road Cultural Stall Permit" which was valid for one month. There were more specific regulations, such as the section of the stalls were restricted to the area from

[28] "The poetry and the remote" refer to the ideal life, from the famous sentence "the world is not only the immediate comfort, but also the poetry and the remote. This sentence has become a famous Internet saying because it touched the hearts of many people born in the 1970s and 1980s.

Renmin market to Yeyu Road intersection; the size of the stall should be less than 1.5 square meters; possession of the road was prohibited; fire access should be unobstructed; performing activities in the vicinity of the school was forbidden; the stall owner should maintain the order of city management and appearance, etc. In October 2014, there was a large-scale conflict between the urban management officers and the stallholders. More than 100 stallholders organized a demonstration to protest the violent law enforcement of the urban management officers. What's more, the relationship between residents and sojourners in the Dali Ancient Town became increasingly strained. In 2016, the street stall in Renmin Road had been banned, and the international youth cultural laboratory went to an end.

5.4.3 Bronze age: middle-class residential area

The third batch of Dali sojourners gathered in Dali around 2010. They are mainly middle-class from the first-tier cities and promoted as the poster image of Dali sojourners by the propaganda. In comparison to the second batch of Dali sojourners who arrived Dali in their early 20s, the third batch of Dali sojourners was around age 30, when they reached the mental maturity, had steady financial accumulation, and some formed families.

The heavy smog in Beijing was one of the push factors of their spatial mobility. China has one of the heaviest of air pollution worldwide (Liu et al., 2017). Since 2013, PM 2.5 has been exposed by the media and become a social concern for Chinese. As Ban et al. (2017) discovered, the smog risk perception,

in terms of the physical health risk perception, mental health risk perception, and government control perception is significantly associated with the skilled workers' migration intention in the Jing-Jin-Ji region[29] of China. Since the winter of 2013, many sojourners, especially those with kids or in poor health condition, came to Dali from Beijing. Some of them are "seasonal air-pollution refugees", some purchased the house in Dali and became the second homeowners, some are retirement migrants, some are lifestyle migrants, etc., in general, they adopted one of the inter-mingled and inner-heterogeneous mobility forms and became Dali sojourners.

Besides, a considerable number of middle-class sojourners came to Dali for the kids' education. In 2018, the "Southern People Weekly" covered, In the immigration circle of Dali, the name of many education innovation schools have been spread among the parents: Maomaoguo (Chinese: 貓貓果), Waldorf (Chinese: 华德福), Cloud (Chinese: 雲朵), Zhiyou (Chinese: 稚游), Taoxigu (Chinese: 桃溪谷), Education community of vegetables (Chinese: 蔬菜教育社區), Cangyin school (Chinese: 銀蒼學堂), Zhuhetian (Chinese:竹和田). In Dali, one can find all genres of new educational experiments. Whether they are looking for ideal education, or solely for the blue sky and fresh air of the Erhai Lake, young parents in Dali choose to jump out of the systematic education, for their kids and themselves to choose a different life path. They redefined education in their own Garden of Eden. […] Beyond the theoretical debate in education, the

[29] The Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei area.

new education experiments have one thing in common: trying to bring education back to life and humanity. Therefore, Dali is named as the Utopian for innovative education. Many organizations rejected the official textbooks and developed various projects to teach kids through problem-solving. In comparison to the exam-oriented educational system in mainstream Chinese society, innovative educational organizations are more humane and more inclusive.

The educational preference for the kid is the reflection of the values of their parents. Although there are a variety of organizations of different scales, principles, and approaches, their core values are consistent: they value the individual's happiness more than the socially defined achievement; they prefer the freedom in thoughts and actions than the restrict regulations; they encourage critical thinking rather than the obedience to authority; they perceive the individual development more important than collective solidarity. As the victims of the exam-oriented system, the middle-class sojourners started to reflect on the uni-dimensional value in mainstream society and adopted more diversified dimensions to evaluate their kids. Therefore, kids who are marginalized in the mainstream educational system can live a life with dignity and obtain more complete self-awareness.

5.4.4 Iron age: speculative playground

The forth influx of sojourners arrived Dali after 2013, which marks an important historical node of Dali sojourners. With the development of tourism and the deepening of commercialization, a large number of speculators from all over the

country were attracted to Dali. The real estate industry entered the peak period, and a series of high-quality tourism sites represented by Shuanglang became “big construction sites.” The ancient and modest Bai nationality architectures were demolished and rebuilt into modern homestays to cater to urban aesthetics and improve plot ratio. The landscape of Dali was trampled. Merchants from all over the country have turned Renmin Road from the laboratory of the international youth culture into an off-line Taobao[30] stall. Craftsmen encountered severe competition for survival, and their leisurely lifestyle came to an end.

The arrival of the fourth batch of sojourners led to large-scale changes in the spatial distribution of sojourners' residences and activity places. The first batch of sojourners gradually moved from Dali Ancient Town and Shuanglang to the villages in the Cangshan Mountains area. The second batch of sojourners moved from the central area of Dali Ancient Town to peripheral areas of Dali Ancient Town such as Guoziyuan Village, Dayuanzi Village, Yuexi Village, and Sanyuejie street, some moved out of Dali Ancient Town to villages with lower rent. The third batch of sojourners was concentrated in the upscale modern residence zones and moved from Dali Ancient Town towards Xiaguan. While the fourth batch of sojourners occupied the centre area of Dali Ancient Town and around Erhai Lake.

[30] Taobao is a Chinese online shopping website, headquartered in Hangzhou, China, and is a subsidiary of Alibaba Group. It is the world's biggest e-commerce website, as well as the ninth most visited website in the world according to Alexa. In Chinese socio-cultural context, Taobao also refers to the cheap and unoriginal products with varied quality.

5.5 Five neo-patterns of social mobility

The current study brings together spatial and social mobility in the context of Chinese society. China offers a good case for investigating social mobility. As Zhao et al. (2017) summarized, firstly, China experienced a high rate of social mobility over the past several decades due to the rapid industrialization and marketization process on an unprecedented scale. Meanwhile, social inequality and disparity come along with the structural change. Secondly, since the social transformation is an on-going process, the class boundaries have not been consolidated. China's social mobility phenomenon is still a dynamic, conflicting, uncertain process (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe & Jackson, 2007).

This view is supported by Rarick et al. (2018), "China has undergone dramatic social and economic […] Yet these improvements have also been accompanied by drastic rises in social inequality, rapid urbanization, and demographic shifts" (p. 390). Despite the considerable research potential, few writers have been able to draw on any systematic research into social mobility research in China context. As Chen and Williams (2018) lamented, "although contemporary China provides a sociologically interesting opportunity to explore the distribution, determinants, and discordance of self-rated status during a period of rapid social transition, studies are scarce" (p. 407).

Five neo patterns of social mobility are exposed within the Chinese framework: firstly, the objective downward social mobility is out of voluntary choice; secondly, subjective social mobility involves a deconstruction and

reconstruction process of social dimensions; thirdly, a large discrepancy between objective and subjective social mobility has been found; fourthly, regardless of the range, speed, direction of social mobility and individual characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and class origin, in general, social mobility predominantly lead to the improved SWB; fifthly, from the individual perspective, changes in values and self-defined social dimensions result in the change in perceived social mobility continues to transcend spatiality and temporality.

The desire for enhancing ego and obtaining higher status is universal, however, in the home society, people are assigned to fixed status, and paths for upward social mobility are limited. In the fantastic tourism encounter, youthful travelers escape the social expectations and daily humdrum. "Alternative strategies are employed to enhance the ego […] One such strategy is that of travel. A tourist can go to a place where his social position is unknown and where he can feel superior by dint of this lack of knowledge" (Dann, 1977, p. 187). Ultimately, tourism constructed a liminoid encounter where the standard social structure is deconstructed, and social roles can be reversed (Turner, 1977). More precisely, it is an anti-structural encounter where the normality, hierarchy, and distance are diminished. Similarly, there is a tenancy of deconstructing steady class-bound and touristic hierarchy in western countries, especially within the young generation (Cohen, 1979b).

As aforementioned, the upward social mobility for Dali sojourners was achieved via two paths: the changed openings and opportunities and the changed social dimensions. The multi-cultural environment and art-driven industry provide upward mobility channels for youth with artistic talent, which allows the alternative career development and lifestyle choice. Although disturbed by the pseudo-artistic youth, the changed openings and opportunities of the artistic resource created legends of social climbers in Dali. While the objective upward social mobility happened to a small group of sojourners, the subjective upward social mobility due to changed social dimensions are applicable to a vast majority of sojourner beyond the sample. While the social status in China's mainstream society is built on political, social, economic, and cultural capital, in Dali, the anonymous social environment, the hypermobile social composition, and the post-modernism social culture lead to the deconstruction of the existing pragmatism social dimensions. More diversified, humanitarian, non-materialism-driven, and individualism-oriented social dimensions are reconstructed inconsistent with the neo-Chinese youth worldview. Five main social dimensions, accordingly, freedom, autonomy, self-improvement, social acceptance, and living quality, are extracted from IPA interviews, which are complemented by the youth road cultural social dimensions, youth-subcultural social dimensions, and mainstream pragmatic social dimensions.

The second and dominate mobile path explains the discrepancy between objective and subjective social mobility and voluntary downward mobility. Different from the existing research on downward social mobility that

predominantly caused by the economic crisis, occupational frustration, and domestic calamity, Dali sojourners made the choice of objective downward social mobility actively and voluntarily, as a result of changes in values and social dimensions.

5.6 Six snapshots of Chinese youth

The double hermeneutic process, under the framework of Chineseness, enables the participants making sense of their experience, while the researcher making sense of what the participants experienced. It allows the researcher to draw interpretive and critical conclusions about each character's sense-making process, and more importantly, contribute back to the understanding of the socio-cultural framework. Specifically, the research on the Dali sojourners, on the one hand, proposed a possibility to bridge the spatial and social mobility in Chinese context, while on the other hand, reflected on the issues in Chinese society that influence a vast majority of Chinese youth who experienced the spatial and social mobility confliction, and probed further into the value, moral, mindset, lifestyle that framed the Chineseness.

5.6.1 Castle society: class solidification and social exclusion

A considerable literature has grown up around the theme of China's class solidification, such as the theory of social breakage (Chinese: 社會斷層論)

proposed by Sun Liping[31], the theory of social stratification (Chinese: 社會層化論) of Lu Xueyi[32], and the theory of social fragmentation (Chinese: 社會碎片論) of Li Qiang[33]. In Chinese society, the reproduction mechanism of each social class has been developed, the opportunities for social mobility have been deduced, and the class solidification has been reinforced. The inherent factors in terms of political, social, economic and cultural capitals of the family increasingly

[31] Sun Liping (孫立平) is a professor of the Sociology Department of Tsinghua University. In 2002, Sun presented the report 'New Trends in the Evolution of China's Social Structure since the 1990s', in which he systematically discusses the evolution of China's social structure since the 1990s; in 2003, Sun published the book 'Breakage ----Chinese Society since the 1990s', in which the developed the concept of 'Social Breakage'; in 2004, Sun published 'Imbalanced---The Logic of a Fractured Society' and 'Transformation and Breakage---Changes of China's Social Structure since Reform'. Sun proposed that the main cause of social breakage is the imbalanced distribution of social rights; in 2005, in the book 'Social Transformation: A New Topic in the Development of Sociology', the concept of modernization theory, development theory, and transformation theory in the sociology of development were proposed. The book 'Negotiation: Conflict of Interest and Harmony in a Breakage Society' was published, in which Sun pointed out the interest negotiation has become the main theme of contemporary Chinese society and a vital mechanism for shaping the map of interests; in 2006, Sun published 'Guarding the Bottom Line - The Basic Order of Transforming Social Life', proposing to guard the bottom line of social life and rebuilding the basic order of the society; in 2009, Sun published 'Reconstructing Society - Re-engineering the Order of a Transforming Society'. Sun argued to replace stable thinking with order thinking. Sun believes that the conflicts in Chinese society are based on conflicts of interests, and conflicts of interest are rational and normal social phenomena. Our task is not to eliminate this phenomenon, but to establish rules for the occurrence of such phenomena and to provide an institutionalized approach as resolution. Source: Wikipedia.

[32] LuXueyi (陸學藝), former director of academy's Institute of Sociology, was known for his research into China's social transition and the consequent social conflicts, and for boldly calling on the Communist Party leadership to pay attention to the problems of rural people, including migrant workers. Lu was one of the few mainland scholars publicly express fears that China might fall into what economists and sociologists call the 'middle income trap', which has been experienced by some Latin American nations. He called on central government to speed up mainland social development to help create a middle class that could cushion increasing social conflict. Lu said the fundamental reason for China's growing and sharpening social conflicts and difference was that the development of its social structure lagged behind its economic development. Lu said the country's widening wealth and income gaps were posing a serious threat to its social stability and that policies should focus on nurturing the middle class and lifting more people out of poverty, as well as regulating vested interests. Source: South China Morning Post, https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1237855/sociologist-lu-xueyi-dies-aged-79

[33] Li Qiang (李強) is currently dean of the School of Social Sciences at Tsinghua University, Professor of Sociology. He published 'Chinese Social Stratification', 'Social Stratification and the Difference between Rich and Poor', 'Social Stratification and the social mobility', etc.

influence the social status of the kids, which results in massive gaps between classes. The offspring of the rich are rich, the descendants of scholars are scholars, and the children of the poor are still poor.

According to Sun et al. (1994), the social structure of China has been continuously differentiated, evolved, adjusted and shaped into the fractured social structure of the upper-class oligarchy and the lower-class populist. In other words, the membership of the upper class has been limited to a certain amount of interrelated families, while the proportion of the lower class is increasing. The formalization of institutional reform has lagged the formalization of social structure, while the regulation of social distribution is lagged the practice of social distribution. Ten years later, Sun (2004) conceptualized the breakage society, which refers to the severe polarization between rich and poor. People almost live in two completely different societies, and the two societies are primarily closed to each other. In the same vein, Xiong (2013) stated, in contemporary China, the class solidification of youth generation mainly manifests as the hereditary of the upper class, the downward mobility of the middle-class, and the marginalization of the lower classes.

The class solidification is predominantly the class solidification of youth, as a result of metropolitan polarization, problematic education system, unbalanced change of social structure, and the solidification of social hierarchy (Xin et al., 2011). By analysing the network buzzwords from 2010 to 2013, Wang et al. (2014) discovered the main themes of the Chinese youth: social

anxiety, the discontent of the privileged, and the class solidification. The highly educated youths migrated to metropolis suffer from economic, social and institutional exclusion (Zhang, 2006). Besides, the highly educated youth has undergone the transformation from social elite to the underprivileged. As a result of class solidification, the Chinese youth are under tremendous pressure of employment, entrepreneurship, house purchase/ rental, and marriage (Hu, 2011, 2014). Cheng (2016) found highly educated youth migrated to metropolis lacks cultural belongingness, thus are marginalized in between original culture and urban culture. This is the production of social class reproduction, which indicates the downward-socialization of highly educated youth, and the increased class solidification (Lian, 2009, 2010).

Regarding the spatial distribution, the unbalanced *Hukou* (Chinese: 戶口, household registration system) lead to the social exclusion in megacities in terms of resource distribution and interest allocation, and the mismatched spatial and social mobility of urban immigrants (Lu, 2008). Traditionally, the research on the household registration system focused on the discrepancy between urban and rural *Hukou*. For instance, Yan (2011) stated that the institutional elements, which including the restrict binary urban and rural division census register system, the unbalanced public service system, the unsound employment system of government departments and public institutions, as well as the unfair income distribution system, are the leading causes of class solidification. Li et al. (2015) exposed people with rural registration have limited opportunities to acquire

educational, occupational, and material resources. More recently, Rarick et al. (2018, p. 392) emphasized, "*Hukou* status should also be considered a marker of social-economic status in China because it dictates the social benefits a person receives, with non-city status garnering a lower social position in society." Rarick also found *Hukou* was significantly associated with depression. In contrast to the urban citizens, the migrant workers in the city reported seven percent higher depression symptoms.

With the polarization of megacities, the social exclusion caused by *Hukou* not only lies in the urban-rural discrepancy but also the different hierarchies within urban *Hukou*. "The difference in the middle-class ratio between urban residents, migrants and rural residents is shrinking, and regional development disparities have gradually transferred to differences between cities of different ranks within the urban system" (Chen & Qin, 2014, p. 533). Based on the China General Social Survey, Yilong revealed that "China's social stratification is characterized by the simultaneous existence of differentiation between urban and rural *Hukou* and hierarchy within urban *Hukou*" (Lu, 2008, p. 56). Higher *Hukou* grades and father's experience of *Hukou* transfer is positively linked to the chance of upward social mobility regarding political resources, economic income, and occupational acquisition. The conglutinative nature of *Hukou* leads to social disparities and inequality. "There is an unbalanced allocation of resources between town and country and among cities of different levels; that *Hukou* still serves as a basis for gaining access to important resources; and that the household registration system gave rise to a relatively closed hierarchical structure" (Lu,

2008, p. 73). *Hukou* is the fundamental factor of capital accumulation and social mobility for young urban migrants in China. *Hukou* system limits their accessibility to the attainment of housing, and subjects migrants to significant limitations, income uncertainty, and inconvenience. “The household registration system has increasingly served as an obstacle to social mobility. […] In China' s megacities, the *Hukou* system prevents non-natives from entering upper-level jobs. This acts to steer migrants away from megacities toward smaller cities where opportunities are actually more limited” (Song, 2016, p. 129).

The new urban immigrants brought remarkable cultural capital to the city, however, due to the social exclusion, their access to social welfare and security is limited, and the upward social mobility is narrowed down. Resonated with Song (2016), “Their cultural capital gives them some of the characteristics of the middle-class population, but they remain unable to settle permanently in the cities and thus are unable to achieve true social mobility through spatial mobility” (p. 129).

The class solidification and social exclusion are transferring China into a castle society, which is reflected both in the social structure and spatial distribution. The upper class, as well as megacities, are becoming castles for the elite, and the paths for the normal people to enter castles are full of impediments. This phenomenon is mirrored by the vast majority of the Dali sojourners in this study who were washed up on megacities with the tide of urban polarization

development and was squeezed out of megacities due to the marginalized living situation and the cracked upward mobility path.

5.6.2 Cracked sky-ladder: Tianzhi Jiaozi and lapsed education

College students used to be a privileged social group called "*Tianzhi Jiaozi*" (Chinese: 天之驕子, literally means the proud kid of heaven). For the youth from the workers' and peasants' families, education afforded the most likely choice for upward social mobility. However, the education reform in the 1990s turned the publicly-owned colleges and universities into market-oriented institutions. In order to upsurge revenue, China's higher education went through a pervasive massification process during the late 1990s and early 2000s. This, on the one hand, promoted college accessibility, especially for students with limited social and economic capital (Mok & Wu, 2016). However, on the other hand, it led to a sharp devaluation of graduates' bargaining power in the job market. The employed college graduates receive the minimum income that can barely cover their actual living expenses. In the capital with sky-high house prices, on average starting salary for Beijing college graduates in 2014 was only around 400 US dollars per month. "About 30 percent of college graduates depend on *ken Lao* (Chinese: 啃老, adults still living on their parents) to survive. Nearly 40 percent of college graduates have no savings at all" (Li, 2016a, p. 33). Economies cannot fulfill the capability that education has promised (Lauder, 2014). As a result, "Since the 1990s, many of China's college graduates have seen their 'middle-class dreams' smashed and have undergone a process of proletarianization" (*ibid*).

The traditional notion that education endorses social equality became questionable, and the slogan "education can change the fate" lost its magical power. Education as the sky-ladder leading to upward social mobility was cracked, instead, family background became the dominant factor to the youth's future (Li et al., 2015). "compared to family background, higher education plays a less important part in enhancing upward social mobility for youth in the ever-intensifying globalization and expanding higher education settings" (Mok & Wu, 2016, p. 80). The Research Team at Peking University observed that among the top-tier universities in China, students with better family background share a remarkable proportion (Wen 2005). Several years later, through the National College Graduate Survey led by Peking University between 2003 and 2009, Bao and Li (2014) exposed the family status, academic disciplines, and position of institutions to determine graduate employment. This is further proved by Lauder (2014), "the higher the father's occupational status and the level of education, the greater the propensity of college graduates to become successfully employed" (p. 48).

Following their steps, a series of investigations in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Taipei revealed, the channels available for college students to have upward social mobility is becoming narrower. The increased access to higher education has not meant increased upward social mobility. Instead, this period of social transformation has been characterized by severe social stratification. Even though higher education credentials might indeed increase the social mobility of college students from poor families who have smaller social networks and less

social capital, the expansion of higher education in China does not seem to have created more chances to move into the upper social class (Li et al., 2015).

Ironically, education is adopted by elite class as a tool to guarantee class reproduction (Chen et al., 2015). As is shown in the phenomenological portraits, most of the participants received higher education and lived in megacities with the high hope of the whole clan. However, those who actually enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle are either graduated from the very few top universities or supported by an abundant family. For the majority, a series of frustrations crushed their middle-class dreams in the megacities. The Tianzi Jiaozi fell from heaven to the bottom of the society, and the sense of useless added to the guiltiness towards their family and clan.

5.6.3 China puzzle: anxious middle-class and satisfied loser

Chinese middle-class, as Hsiao (2013) defined, is a group with internal differentiation and diversification that located separately from capitalist class and working class. “Members of this class receive a higher income, more education and greater occupational prestige in cities, particularly from the beginning of this century” (p. 5). Hsiao categorized three subgroups of Chinese middle-class: the old middle-class that consists of the small employers and the self-employed; the emerging new middle-class that covers the non-supervising professional class; and the marginal middle class that indicates the low level and routine clerical white-collar class. “By 2006, it is estimated that in urban China, the new middle-

class accounted for 18.8 percent of the population, the old middle-class for 19.6 percent, and marginal middle-class for 25.4 percent." (p. 5).

The boundary of the middle-class can be defined flexibly (Li, 2006). Considering large variations in the social prestige, education, and income within the same occupational category across Danweis (單位, work units), industries, and regions in contemporary China, "The boundaries of the middle-class are inherently fuzzy and theoretically controversial" (Chen & Qin, 2014, p. 529). Chen and Qin (2014) defined the middle-class as a group of people ranking in the middle in economic position. Specifically, $4 and $20 in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) are defined as appropriate boundaries for middle-class in China context. While Doctoroff (2013) considered " household earnings of RMB5,000 per month (about $1,400 on an adjusted purchasing-power parity [PPP] basis) is considered the lower edges of the middle class. The core middle class starts from RMB 20,000 a month ($ 5,700 on an adjusted PPP basis)" (p.75). Based on the field investigation, the majority of Dali sojourners fit in the middle-class range. While those who are married or in their early 30s have already entered the core, those are single or in their early 20's still hanging around the entrance level.

Chinese middle-class tend to undervalue their class status and suffer from status panic. Although many sojourners received higher education and obtained ordinary income, before their sojourn life in Dali, they perceived themselves as "living in the bottom". The findings of the current research echoes with the devaluated class identity of the Chinese middle-class. Song (2016, p. 126)

described, “Migrants are referred to as a ‘marginal middle-class’, with the potential to join the actual middle-class.”

While in western societies people from various social classes tend to perceive themselves as middle-class (Gudmundur, 2010; Hout, 2007), a constant tendency of a downwardly socio-psychological force of Chinese middle-class was witnessed by Chen and Williams (2018). Drawing on the data from 10 nationally representative surveys from 2003 to 2012, “the marginal middle-class has experienced the greatest degree of suffering and feelings of deprivation” (Hsiao, 2013, p. 12). If there is any prominent “socio-psychological force” in China, it is a downwardly one (Chen & Williams, 2016, p. 420).

The downwardly socio-psychological force of the Chinese middle-class is partly due to their economic susceptible and fragile social status (Song, 2016). “many Chinese urban youths have seen their ‘middle-class dream’ smashed” (Li, 2016a, p. 171). This statement was reinforced by Banerjee and Duflo (2008), who found Chinese middle-class is more susceptible to the economic crisis and possesses particular consumption patterns. Through a close examination of China’s middle-class, Chen and Qin (2014) also proved that China's middle-class was vulnerable to economic disruption and exhibited a unique consumption pattern. To sum up, “the ethnic Chinese middle-classes have experienced a higher degree of class anxiety and uncertainty, and a greater sensitivity to the security of their job and life over the years” (Hsiao, 2013, p. 12).

Based on the China General Social Surveys of 2006, Zhao et al. (2017) explored the influence of inter and intra-generational social mobility on SWB in

mainland China. Interestingly, the upward social mobility indicates better SWB in term of both inter- and intra-generational mobility trajectories. While the SWB is not obviously influenced by inter-generational downward social mobility because they can still enjoy privileged backgrounds and inherit valuable resources, the downward inter-generational mobile leads to psychological traumas. This work was complemented by Chen and Williams (2018). Drawing on the data from 10 nationally representative surveys from 2003 to 2012, Chen and Williams (2018) portrayed the temporal trends in SSS in China. The findings showed the average SSS has ascended over time. However, the acute status anxiety is permanent in contemporary China as a result of the distended social inequality during the past two decades.

Zang and Dirk de Graaf (2016) proposed the concept "China puzzle" (p. 780), which indicates rapid economic development deepens people's dissatisfaction and relative deprivation in China. By investigating the relationship between social mobility (both intra-generational and inter-generational) and happiness based on the General Social Survey in 2003, 2006, and 2008, interestingly, the satisfied losers -- the short-distance intra-generational downward social mobiles – turned out to enjoy a higher level of happiness as a result of a reduction in status panic.

In the present research, the positive connection between social mobility and SWB is neither related to the individual's personal characteristics, nor the range, speed, direction of social mobility. The improved SWB is a result of the

destination status rather than the mobility process itself. Although it is questionable to sort sojourners into satisfied losers considering their subjective upward mobility experience. Indeed, the adjusted values and lifestyle contribute to the relief of sojourners' class panic. The Erhai Remediation perfectly proved the class fragility and political powerless of Chinese middle-class, and rapid commercialization disturbed the sojourners who finally acquired a little respite from the constant and universal class anxiety.

5.6.4 Confucianism syndrome: anti-individualism and emotional suppression

Decades ago, Smith (1989) summarized the essence of Chinese culture as: "[…] an obsessive concern with social order and ideological orthodoxy; a powerful urge to 'serve society'; a highly developed, patriarchal family system based on the principle of filial piety; the subordination of the individual to the larger social group, and the corollary principle of mutual responsibility and mutual surveillance; a highly refined status-consciousness and authority-dependency; and a bureaucratic administrative mentality" (p. 433).

This statement is widely resonated with the most influential Chinese study literature. "Under the Ancestor's Shadow" (Hsu, 1948) is based on the Chinese anthropologists' ethnographic research in West Town, Dali. Since then, Dali became a window for western society to understand Chinese society and culture and one of the most important ethnographic research areas for Chinese anthropologists. According to Hsu, residents in West Town symbolize the big-family ideal culture. Instead of the individual, a family is set as the basic social

unit, where they live together, share wealth, and pursue the big-family ideal. This ideal makes families attach importance to father-son identification internally and compete with other clans externally. "Continuation of incense" (Chinese: 延續香火，giving birth to boys to continue worshiping their ancestors) has become the first priority of the family, and inter-clan competition has become the source of family cohesion. Inside the family, patrilineal inheritance and order of seniority in the clan are essential principles of kinship system, while outside the family, people are eager for power and fame. The vast heritage house and the splendid grave stand for the family's status, and the donation for public welfare extended the family's influence and power to a broader range. People never forget to publicize their ancestors' achievements. Consequently, for the glory of the family, the perception of the individual is replaced by the perception of the family; the individual's value is determined by one's contribution to the family; the family is built on functionality rather than emotional bond; the concern about inner SWB is surpassed by eternal evaluation or so-called "*Mianzi*"; instead of affection, properties, especially fortune, house, and land, are deemed as more real and silent love.

In the same vein, 'The Golden Wing' is a novel-form sociological study that portrayed the typical Chineseness through the fiction of two families living in a Fujian village as neighbours and related by kinship and business interests. As one of the most influential Chinese anthropology, Lin (2013) mourned at "Throughout all this analysis one becomes more and more conscious how unreal

is the conventional view of Chinese family and other institutional life as a placid affair, rigidly restrained from personal exuberance by rules of politeness, filial obedience, respect for the old, and other social and ritual conventions. These rules do operate, but side by side with the expression of individual personality takes a very definite and sometimes even violent form" (p. XIII).

The family, not the individual, is the primary productive unit of society. The clan is the elemental unit of Chinese civilization, and the individual identities are inextricably associated with the nation and clan. With ten years of embodied lived experience in China, Doctoroff (2013) revealed the Chinese mindset to the western world, "In ambitious China, self-driven identity is an exotic, alluring aspiration, but it is also dangerous." (Doctoroff, 2013, p. 17). Paternal authority is almost absolute, the Chinese youths are characterized by the "submission to parental expectations on matters ranging from what car to buy to whom to marry" (p. 16). Career, success, money, house, kids are the only focuses of life, the basic needs as an individual are defined as selfish.

Based on mental disorder cases of the Confucian families, Slote and De Vos (1998) gave an explanation to the motivation, psychodynamics, interpersonal relationships, intrapsychic procedures, character structure of Confucianism. "The three predominant psychological processes that derived from Confucian authoritarianism were fear, dependency, and hostility" (p. 46). Filial piety and ancestor worship are the pillars of the Confucian ethic. The dissociation of antagonism not only prohibited the expression of hostility but more importantly, it verboten the conscious awareness of hostile impulses.

“Historically, it made for a stable society; psychologically, it was the source of inner turmoil” (p. 47). “Harmonious human relations are seen as the ultimate goal of life, as if they alone represent the wholeness of life.” (p. 291).

The pervasive spiritual communications in Dali created a variety of thoughts that reflected on Chinese-style education, morals, tradition, rituals, and social networks. Actually, in many cases, the seeming astonishing statement for Chinese could be the common sense to the western world, such as the neutral reflection of their original family, the criticize of the inhumane education, the rationality to chase individual happiness and the necessity for showing affection. Although presented in various forms, sojourners are calling for a more humane and individualism treatment in essence. The taken for granted values for the westerners, cost sojourners’ whole childhood or even youth, to be conscious of and brave enough to speak out.

5.6.5 Monochrome life: supreme stability and cheap freedom

Politically, China is an oppressive regime. Although removed from Communist orthodoxy in the economy, “China fully retains the monopoly of power of the party and the strictly hierarchical organization and discipline associated with democratic centralism.” (Brown, 2009, p. 605). The guiding principle is "stability trumps everything".

The structural needs of stability have been internalized to the consciousness of the individual and became a crucial part of Chinese moral. Equipped with the political conservatism and a pro-status quo mindset, Chinese

middle-classes are willing to exchange freedom for stability. “A morally relativistic universe in which the only absolute evil is chaos and the only good is stability” (Doctoroff, 2013, p. 16).

“In the system” is crucial for the class stability of the Chinese middle class. Chunling (2013) revealed the new middle-class, the core of China’s urban middle class, is closely associated with the government as most of them are employed in the public sector, which results in their political conservativeness. Especially the new middle-class subset who works in the public system fits in the most conservative camp that indifferent to political change and barely has any contribution to China’s democratization. “The most striking overall political orientation of today’s urban middle-class in China is its conservatism and favourable attitude to the status quo” (Hsiao, 2013, p. 11). For the Chinese youth, the influence of western mentality and post-modernism culture led to the increasing eager for freedom. While being fully aware of the risk of an open challenge, Dali sojourners adopted a Daoism approach to construct their own ideological *communitas* and negotiate for freedom in a silent way.

5.6.6 Happy SOMA: early-dead youth and materialism obsession

The rapid economic development is the determining factor to maintain stability. “Unless a fast pace of economic development can be sustained, ‘factors damaging social stability will grow” (Brown, 2009, p. 613). However, the fast economic growth is at a heavy cost (Abram et al., 1997). “To maintain economic and political stability, it is necessary for the Chinese capitalist economy to grow

rapidly" (Li, 2016a, p. 171). Being shrouded by this national value, money-driven became the prime value of contemporary China. The enthusiasm for economic development deprived of all the colours of life and targeted of the whole society at money-making. Consequently, hardworking became the ultimate virtue for the honour of the country, the party, and the family. Many sojourners who lived in megacities felt the youth dead as soon as they graduated from the university. In the name of the glory of the family, clan, party, and country, precisely targets for the youth are set at each specific time node to standardize the life trajectory. Any step late would lead to acute anxiety and self-blame.

The materialism obsession is the happy Soma for Chinese youth who lives in the monochrome misery and an effective way to stimulate domestic demand at a country level. SOMA is a fictional drug mentioned frequently in the "Brave New World" (Huxley, 1932). In the "new world", SOMA was created as a replacement for the religion that makes people to think less critically and to escape from the bitter reality. It was claimed to possess "all the advantages of Christianity and alcohol; none of their defects" (p. 51). In a dehumanized regime, SOMA is a hallucinogen to maintain political stability by defeating feelings of discontent, terror, and antagonism, and providing a sense of SWB and calmness. By the aid of the SOMA, all the pleasure and leisure of human beings are deprived, and people are turned into "work robots" with emotional drama pre-programmed -- no hormones, no overtired crankiness, no rebellious, no threatening.

The money worship and materialism obsession were far from Chinese tradition. In contrast to the economy of abundance in industrial societies, one of the characteristics of China's traditional society is the economy of scarcity. Due to a limited amount of resources, in the economy of scarcity, people learned to control their own desire to cope with nature. However, in the economy of abundance, people are capable of controlling nature to satisfy people's desires. In 1992, Deng Xiaoping acclaimed "To get rich is glorious!" during his Southern Tour. Instead of calling for a free-market individualistic ethos, Deng cleared the contribution to the motherland's glory is the ultimate accomplishment. Pulled by the pervasive "Confucian conflict" (Doctoroff, 2013, p. 16) -- the tension between regimentation and ambition, Chinese people are obsessive with the *Mianzi*, thus the emotional and financial investment in luxury consumption indicates the hierarchical achievement. "Face, the respect or deference from others a person can claim, is the fuel of forwarding movement." (P. 17).

Benumbed by the happy SOMA, the new Chinese middle-class are emerged into the joy of material sufficiency, and thus possess the high-level political conservatism and a pro-status quo mindset. "The middle-class in China shares a collective sentiment of political conservatism and a pro-status quo mindset." (Hsiao, 2013, p. 12). Consumption is not only a process for consumers to pursue individual utility maximization in the sense of economics, but also a process for consumers to construct "meaning", distinguish interests, classify cultures and reproduce social relations in a sociological sense. Consumption is not just an economic phenomenon, but a complex and comprehensive economic,

social, political, psychological and cultural phenomenon (Wang, 2001). Consumption developed into the rare bliss to light up the monochrome life and the flower to console the early-dead youth. Whether the "full to the brim" for the suddenly rich or the normcore (Chinese: 性冷淡風, a unisex fashion trend, which is literally translated as sexual apathy style) for the urban elites, consumption is categorized to symbolize specific class. Every purchase resembling a higher class is recorded and carefully polished by Meitu (Chinese: 美圖, the most popular Chinese photo process App). Through the lens of social media, the silent battle for *Mianzi* goes beyond time and space. For sojourners in Dali, the moment they perceived luxury-branded bag as nothing more than a bag, the moment they deleted social media from their latest iPhones, the moment they decided to Danshari, is the moment they clearheaded from the happy SOMA and started a sober life.

House purchasing, one of the pillars for China's dramatically boosting GDP, is the highest form of consumerism and most conspicuous class symbol. As for non-local residents in megacities, the house purchasing is the cornerstone for the new urban migrants to set roots in megacities. "Homeownership is a prerequisite to joining the middle class […] 'You are where you live' appears to be a measure of class division" (Hsiao, 2013, p. 7). However, due to the high price of houses in China, youth urban immigrants had to rely on financial assistance from the parents' generation for house purchasing. Therefore, the

social mobility chance of the urban migrants highly depended on their family background and class origin (Song, 2016).

By visualizing the snakes and ladders, Liu and Hamnett (2017) schematically illustrated cohort effects in China post-1950. Those who were born between the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s were defined as the "lucky generation". The "lucky generation" obtained the real estate ownership before the speedy upsurges of house prices in recent years. For the 1990s, the situation became tougher. It is almost impossible for the youth to purchase a house through their own effort. The house is secure, the house is *Mianzi*, and the house is the achievement of current life and the future for the next generation. During the sojourn life, they retrieved the basic joy as a human being before they lost in the endless pursuit of materialistic achievements.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Discussions

This research revealed the Chinese youth issues caused by the mismatched social and spatial mobility in megacities and explored how mobility provided a solution for those issues. Dali city as the largest sojourner gathering place in China is chosen as the current research area. Built on the new mobilities paradigm, an eclectic of Sedentarism and Neo-Vitalism that critically reflected upon the dialectic relationship between mobility and immobility.

Under the (post-) positivist epistemology, existing research on social mobility was predominant by the large-scale quantitative-driven survey for the convenience of international comparison. In so doing, however, the complication of the social mobility process was over-simplified as a once-in-life linear movement and social status was standardized into universal applied dimensions. By adopting IPA as the primary research methodology, this research perceives social mobility as a dynamic social construction. Thus, the constructivism nature of social status is revealed and interpreted through the socio-cultural framework. Based on the lived experience of forty Dali youthful sojourners, IPA themes are elicited to elaborate the meaning-making of spatial and social mobility experience that applies to sojourners beyond the sample.

China offers a good case for investigating social mobility. Over the past three decades, China has experienced profound and comprehensive social

transformation, including political system reform, social system evolution, social development stage transition, social class differentiation, and reconstruction, as well as urban-rural structural changeover. As a result of the urbanization, modernization, postmodernism, social exclusion, and class solidification, the youthful Urban immigrants flee from Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou. They sojourn in Dali and build the sojourner *communitas* out of balanced considerations of cultural atmosphere, natural environment, geographical accessibility, living expense, and spatial vastness.

An interaction of social and spatial mobility has been discovered. On one hand, the social movement represents an elevator effect: previous upward social mobility leads to the accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital, thereby facilities their relocation in Dali. While on the other hand, by the aid of the spatial mobility experience, a vast majority of sojourners achieved subjective upward social mobility. Pragmatism mainstream dimensions are deconstructed, while the more diversified-formed, humane-driven, and individual-focused dimensions that centre on freedom, autonomy, self-improvement, social acceptance, and living quality are reconstructed by sojourner society. Nevertheless, not all subjective upward social mobility comes along with objective improvement. Although subjective upward social mobility is widely perceived by sojourners, most of them experienced typical “falling from grace” downward objective social mobility as a result of changes in resources and opportunities.

Quanzi is the basic unit of socialization and the building brick of sojourner society. Heterogeneous cultural elements coexist in Dali and construct a harmony society in diversity. Countless *Quanzis* atomize the sojourner society into fragments, thus contribute to the de-hierarchical social structure and equilibrium social atmosphere. The diversified population composition, the high mobility rate, the anonymous social environment, and the limited interest exchange create unique social rules. Interestingly, regardless of the range, speed, direction of social mobility and individual characteristics, all the social mobility leads to improved SWB in terms of recovery of depression, the extension of youth, and strengthen of family-bond. Social mobility might not be the main purpose for spatial mobility, nevertheless, sojourners indeed achieved upward social mobility in many senses. In this regard, social mobility is a socially constructed concept that yields to subjective interpretation.

6.2 Theoretical implications

Firstly, this study reveals a youth issue raised from mobility that is also solved by mobility. The conflict between increasing spatial mobility and decreasing social mobility lead to the marginalization of educated mobile youth in the megacities and "Chinese puzzle". Dali sojourners are silent rebels of this harsh regime and the distorted social value. Unlike their counterparts in the west who participant in the petition, boycott, or demonstration, Dali sojourners adopted a more Daoism approach and constructed a cultural enclave from bottom to up.

Secondly, this study challenged the traditional definition of tourism that based on fixed dualisms. “Much early theory defines the nature of tourism through some rather fixed dualisms: leisure as opposed to work, away as opposed to home, authenticity as opposed to inauthenticity, the extraordinary as opposed to the ordinary, and guest as opposed to hosting” (Larsen et al., 2007, p. 246). Tourism is conceptualized as “man away from his usual habitat, of the touristic apparatus and networks, and of the ordinary and non-ordinary worlds and their dialectic relationship” (Jafari, 1987, p. 158). Cohen (1972) defined tourism as “essentially a temporary reversal of everyday activities -- it is a no-work, no-care, no-thrift situation” (p. 181). Urry (1995) deemed tourism as escaping from the ordinary and seeking for a more desirable consumption place. The contradiction between the extraordinary environment of tourism encounters and the ordinary of everydayness was conveyed in the binary ambiance of secular-sacred (Graburn, 1977, 1983). Corresponding to the concept of liminality in religious research, Turner proposed the conception liminoid to illustrate an extraordinary state involved with intense feelings during travel in tourism encounters (Turner & Turner, 1978).

However, sojourn as a trending tourism type will gradually blur the fixed boundaries. “Recent work has begun to challenge the traditional distinctions between home and away, the ordinary and the extraordinary, work and leisure, everyday life and holidays, by arguing that in transnational times tourism moves into less obviously touristic places” (Larsen et al., 2007, p. 248). It criticized previous studies built on fixed dualisms and proved tourism can be a de-

differentiated phenomenon of modern social life that progressively blurs the boundaries (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Edensor, 2007; Uriely, 2005). “The notion of tourism is open to multiple conceptualizations which rest on the ontological, epistemological, and paradigmatic assumptions of the viewer” (Lew et al., 2008, p. 7). Similarly, with the emergence of those germinal mobility forms, tourism gradually involved into ordinary daily life in terms of subjects, activities, geographical locations, and time quantum (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Therefore, tourism has been de-exoticized into part of the ordinary rather than the opposite side (Edensor, 2007; Larsen, 2008). Tourism should be considered in the backdrop of the entire spectrum of multi-pronged and interrelated mobilities, as part of mundane life, as the existence of being.

Thirdly, the investigation of the sojourn phenomenon in Dali revealed a new stage of tourism paradigm – the existential turn. The guiding paradigm for tourism research has undergone twice transformations. According to Prentice (2004), the first transformation was from the romantic paradigm to the mass tourism paradigm. The romantic paradigm portrayed tourism as a journey to obtain individual enlightenment and self-education through the consumption of exotica. The second stage – mass paradigm -- criticized the collective chase after inauthenticity. In a loop of the empty-headed vicious circle, mass tourists stepped on the journey to escape from routine life and obligations. Accordingly, the target market shifted from the elite class to the middle-class, while the purposes of tourism transferred from spiritual improvement to sensory indulgence. The second paradigmatic transformation was from the mass tourism paradigm to the

lifestyle paradigm. Centred on the consumer culture, the third stage -- lifestyle paradigm -- illustrated a de-differentiation of the everydayness and tourist extra-ordinariness, a process that Uriely (2005) identifies as characteristic of tourism in late modernity (Cohen, 2011).

Research on the Dali sojourner calls for the fourth stage of tourism research – the existential turn. Existential tourism refers to a chosen endeavour to convey the fundamental existence through spatial mobility. This understanding is consistent with the argue: "Tourism is no longer a specialist consumer product or a mode of consumption" (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 7). In his works of enlightenment, Cohen defined the existential tourism experience mode as the "characteristic of traveller who is fully committed to an 'elective' spiritual centre, i.e. one external to the mainstream, of his native society and culture" (Cohen, 1979a, pp. 189-190). Wang defined the existential authenticity as: "a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities' (Wang, 1999, p. 352). In the same line, Lew and Wong (2003) stated, "In a time when many nationalities (defined herein cultural terms) can claim to have their diasporic populations scattered across the world, the potential for existential tourism is greater than ever" (P.2). Tourism is no longer just a luxury experience, an escape from routine, a consumption mode, but becomes life itself – a form of existence.

Fourthly, this research may contribute to the understanding of tourist typologies and tourism patterns by conceptualizing sojourn and sojourner. Sojourner is defined as a mobility form can be anchored in the mobility spectrum

between tourism and migration. It contains a collection of inter-mingled and inner-heterogeneous mobilities, which are differentiated according to the spatial dimension, temporal dimension, and a number of trips, motivations, activities, and encounters. Accordingly, the concept sojourner is defined as individual who involves in a voluntary semi-permanent stay outside of the traditional socio-geographical milieu.

Fifthly, this study bridges spatial and social mobility in the context of tourism. While social mobility facilitates spatial mobility, spatial mobility also helps the construction of social mobility. On one hand, the social movement represents an elevator effect: previous upward social mobility leads to the accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital, thereby facilities their relocation in Dali. While on the other hand, sojourners' spatial mobility leads to an objective-downward and subjective-upward social mobility, as a result of changes in recourses and opportunities and changes in social dimensions.

Sixthly, this study identifies five neo features of social mobility and provides an empirical narrative of "Chinese puzzle". All downward social mobility is out of voluntary choice; an objective subjective social mobility discrepancy has been found; there is a process of deconstruction and reconstruction of social dimensions; all social mobility lead to better subjective well-being; change in social dimension results from changes in value, moral, mindset, lifestyle, therefore, it can transcend time and space.

Seventhly, IPA is experimented in this study as an innovative approach to understanding mobility experience, and interpreting its meaning making. Different the large-scale survey that perceive social mobility as occupational, economic, and educational success. IPA captures the subtle experience of social mobility as a form of cultural identity.

Eighthly, this study reflected upon the socio-cultural framework, thereby deepens the existing body of knowledge about Chinessness. The upward social mobility of Dali sojourners is a result of changes in value, moral, mindset, lifestyle. Instead of seeking upward social mobility, their main motivation lies in a request for a life of tranquillity and dignity, a society of equality and humanity, and the possibility of diversity. This research deepens the understanding of the essence of up-to-date Chinese socio-culture and reveals the roots of contemporary Chinese youth issues.

6.3 Managerial implications

Practically, subcultural sojourners have considerable social influence that adds to the attractiveness of tourist destinations and upgrades the tourism image. It is a cultural capital producing and reshaping process, especially in contemporary China where “Wenyi” (artistic) become the most popular tourist attraction for generation Y. Therefore, the importance of sojourner society should be acknowledged and well protected. When the competition increases with the commercialization, economic capital should not be considered as the only entrance barrier for the cultural tourism industry. Individuals’ abilities,

demographic characteristics, and consistency with the overall environment are also important measurements. Besides, instead of completely ignoring sojourners' interests and treating them as outsiders, the local government should guarantee the property safety and SWB of sojourners through consistent and transparent legislation and administration.

More importantly, as Song (2016, p. 130) claimed, "From the standpoint of achieving social equality and harmony, the positive relationship between spatial and social mobility will gradually counteract social inequality and conflicts in Chinese society." Youth issues have the potential to aggravate class hostility, which may lead to structural contradiction and social revolution (Wang et al., 2014). When channels of upward social mobility are blocked, there are two alternative strategies for disadvantaged social groups to improve their conditions. The first approach, social creation, is available when the relationship between social classes is still reasonable and stable. It involves re-evaluating and redefining existing dimensions, or changing the reference group(s) to compare with. This strategy is well reflected in the Dali sojourner phenomenon. However, when the relationship between classes is beyond social acceptability, another strategy, the social competition will be taken by the disadvantaged groups to fight for equal rights. Similar to the social function of ritual or carnivals, the sojourner *communita* provides a field to release the irrationality regularly under control, and grow diversification within surveillance. Dali sojourner society, possibly, demonstrated an applicable model of social governance.

6.4 Limitations and future research

Despite the effort to conduct robust research, several limitations can be found in the current study. The first limitation lies in the limited research sample and research time for such a broad topic. Due to the research depth addressed in IPA research, the data collection and interpretation process is time-consuming. Although the research credibility, applicability, consistency, and neutrality are systematically guaranteed by research techniques, based on forty samples to discuss a topic about Chinese youth, social issues, and Chineseness is challenging. The second limitation is the research perspective. As the Chinese poem, "I cannot know the real face of Lushan Mountain, because I'm standing inside the mountain" (不識廬山真面目, 只緣身在此山中). This is a study about China conducted by a Chinese researcher from Chinese participants. Emerged in the Chineseness for decades may lead to the taken-for-grantedness mindset. The third limitation lies in the on-going phenomenon under research. For instance, during the research process, rumours about Erhai recommendation permeated among Dali sojourners. Although each government action might lead to an unpredictable butterfly effect, the action of local government is somehow beyond the ability of scientific prediction. The fourth research limitation lies in participants' struggle to enhance ego. Therefore, they might lie to the researcher, or even lie to themselves. It is important to dig deeper and deeper as the investigation goes on, but the journey to consciousness and unconsciousness is endless.

Drawing on the findings and limitations of current research, longitudinal studies can be conducted to understand the process of mobility experience. The methodological replication of IPA in mobility studies is applicable. Quantitative modelling and testing of mobility and wellbeing, as well as mobility and multi identities are encouraged. It is also suggested to collaborate with non-Chinese researchers with new and additional perspectives. Systemic reviews about Chinese society research should be conducted to provide more solid research background. More advanced psychological research approaches can be adopted as complements of IPA.

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APPENDIX ONE: SELECTION AND LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

No.	*Gen.*	*Age*	*Soj. Length*	*Education*	*Marriage*	*Household Condition*	*Spatial dimension*		*Social status dimension*			
							Birth	*Prev.*	*Family*	*Prev.*	*Cur.*	*Direction*
S1	F	35	1.5	Undergraduate from key university	Married with two kids	Ownership of houses in 1st-tier city and Dali	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	Financial Analyst	Tourism Organizer	Downward
S2	M	24	0.5	Undergraduate from technic school	Unmarried	None	The rural	2nd-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Semi-jobless	Homestay manager	Upward
S3	F	29	4	Secondary school	Married without the kid	Using right for two houses in Dali	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Decoration company owner	Homestay owner	Horizontal
S4	M	28	2	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Married without the kid	Using right for two houses in Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Clerk in a foreign company	Homestay owner	Downward
S5	M	46	11	High school	Divorced	None	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Jobless	Poet	Upward

S6	M	27	3	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	None	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	Individual business stratum	Chief	Chief	Horizontal
S7	F	27	5	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	1st-tier city	1st-tier city	Individual business stratum	Clerk in a foreign company	Homestay owner	Downward
S8	M	34	5	Undergraduate from technic university	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	1st-tier city	1st-tier city	Individual business stratum	Small business owner	Homestay owner	Horizontal
S9	M	30	3	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Married with a kid	Using right for a house in Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Clerk in a state-owned company	Homestay owner	Downward
S10	M	33	6	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Married with two kids	Ownership of two houses in Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Governme nt officer	Restaurant owner	Downward
S11	F	32	6	Undergraduate from technic university	Married with two kids	Ownership of two houses in Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Individual business stratum	Small business owner	Restaurant owner	Horizontal
S12	M	39	7	High school	Married with a kid	Using right for a house in Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Semi-jobless	Musician	Upward

S13	F	28	6	High school	Unmarried	None	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Semi-jobless	Music editor	Upward
S14	F	27	4	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	3rd-tier city	2nd-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Journalist	Homestay owner	Downward
S15	M	25	2	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	None	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Semi-jobless	Photographer	Upward
S16	F	33	2	Undergraduate from key university	Divorced with a kid	Ownership of a house in 1st-tier city	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	Lecture in university	Cloth store owner	Downward
S17	F	25	3	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	None	3rd-tier city	2nd-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Semi-jobless	Craftsman	Upward
S18	M	34	4	Undergraduate from key university	Married with a kid	Using right for two houses in Dali	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Journalist	Homestay owner	Downward
S19	F	33	4	Undergraduate from key university	Married with a kid	Using right for two houses in Dali	1st-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	Actress	Homestay owner	Downward

S20	F	35	3	Master-degree from key university	Married with a kid	Ownership of houses in 1st-tier city and Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	Journalist	Homestay owner	Downward
S21	M	35	3	Undergraduate from key university	Married with a kid	Ownership of houses in 1st-tier city and Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	State-owned enterprise executive	Homestay owner	Downward
S22	F	28	2	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Married without the kid	None	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Real estate sales	Craftsman	Downward
S23	M	26	2	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	None	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	Individual business stratum	Semi-jobless	Homestay employee	Upward
S24	M	31	5	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Semi-jobless	Homestay owner	Upward
S25	F	30	5	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	National and social supervisor stratum	Governme nt officer	Homestay owner	Downward
S26	M	32	6	High school	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Semi-jobless	Homestay owner	Upward

S27	F	25	2	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Using right for a house in Dali	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	National and social supervisor stratum	Clerk in governme nt	Craftsman	Downward
S28	F	29	6	Undergraduate from key university	Unmarried	Ownership of a house in Dali	2nd-tier city	2nd-tier city	National and social supervisor stratum	Journalist	Craftsman	Downward
S29	F	38	5	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Divorced with a kid	None	3rd-tier city	2nd-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Small business owner	Small business owner	Horizontal
S30	M	31	7	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Married with a kid	Ownership of houses in 1st-tier city and Dali	1st-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Clerk in a state-owned company	Homestay owner	Downward
S31	M	27	5	Undergraduate from technic university	Unmarried	None	The rural	1st-tier city	Agricultural labour stratum	Semi-jobless	Poet	Upward
S32	F	26	2	Undergraduate from technic university	Unmarried	None	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	Individual business stratum	Semi-jobless	Craftsman	Upward
S33	M	34	6	High school	Unmarried	None	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Clerk in governme nt	Painter	Upward

S34	M	39	5	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Ownership of two houses in Dali	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	National and social supervisor stratum	Lecture in university	Homestay owner	Downward
S35	M	36	5	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Unmarried	Ownership of one house in the 1st-tier city	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	National and social supervisor stratum	Lecture in school	Homestay owner	Downward
S36	F	32	3	Undergraduate from key university	Unmarried	Ownership of one house in Dali	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	Journalist	Independent writer	Horizontal
S37	M	35	0.5	Undergraduate from key university	Married with one kid	Ownership of one house in the 1st-tier city	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Professional stratum	Journalist	Bar owner	Downward
S38	F	33	3	Undergraduate from ordinary university	Divorced	Ownership of one house in 1st-tier city	2nd-tier city	1st-tier city	National and social supervisor stratum	State-owned enterprise executive	Homestay owner	Downward
S39	M	33	5	Undergraduate from key university	Unmarried	None	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Semi-jobless	Musician	Upward
S40	M	26	3	Undergraduate from key university	Unmarried	None	3rd-tier city	1st-tier city	Industrial workers stratum	Clerk in company	Painter	Upward

APPENDIX TWO: APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL REVIEW FOR TEACHING/RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY
香港理工大學

To Xiao Honggen (School of Hotel and Tourism

Management) From SONG Haiyan, Chair, Departmental Research

Committee

Email hmsong@ Date 06-Jan-2019

Application for Ethical Review for Teaching/Research Involving Human Subjects

I write to inform you that approval has been given to your application for human subjects ethics review of the following project for a period from 01-Feb-2018 to 31-May-2019:

Project Title: Not all wanderers are lost: A phenomenology of Chinese sojourners in the periphery

Department: School of Hotel and Tourism Management

Principal Investigator: Xiao Honggen

Project Start Date: 01-Feb-2018

Reference Number: HSEARS20190106003

You will be held responsible for the ethical approval granted for the project and the ethical conduct of the personnel involved in the project. In case the Co-PI, if any, has also obtained ethical approval for the project, the Co-PI will also assume the responsibility in respect of the ethical approval (in relation to the areas of expertise of respective Co-PI in accordance with the stipulations given by the approving authority).

You are responsible for informing the Human Subjects Ethics Sub-committee in advance of any changes in the proposal or procedures which may affect the validity of this ethical approval.

SONG Haiyan
Chair
Departmental Research Committee