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EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES IN RED TOURISM: AN AFFECTIVE PRACTICE APPROACH

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PhD

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Emotional Experiences in Red Tourism: An Affective Practice Approach

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 2023

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Heritage and heritage tourism are highly political since they serve nation-building and support state-sanctioned interpretations of the past (Henderson, 2007). Red tourism is a specific form of communist heritage tourism promoted by the Chinese government as a nationwide patriotic education campaign since 2004. One of the social functions of red tourism is to sustain and reinforce an ideal form of collective memory, which is commonly known as red memory, and to enhance national solidarity (Xu, 2016). Although red memory is central to red tourism, scant literature explores how it is mediated and transmitted via tourism (Tang et al., 2021).

In view of existing knowledge of communist heritage tourism, most studies employed a post-communist lens, focusing on the tensions between the supply and demand of communist heritage tourism and the politics of heritage representations in Central and Eastern Europe (Ivanova, 2017; Light, 2000a). Our understanding of communist heritage tourism in existing communist states remains limited. Although red tourism has been studied widely in China, most studies only contribute to tourism planning, marketing, and management issues from a macro perspective. There remains a need to unpack tourists' red tourism experiences.

The study of emotions in heritage tourism is becoming more popular, but many of these studies employed a psychological approach. In fact, emotions are not something we have but something we *do* (Scheer, 2012). Emotions are embodied human practices and are interlinked with the way we understand and experience the world (Smith & Campbell, 2017). Furthermore, heritage is a place where people's emotions and memories are evoked. However, scholars seem less attentive to the interplay between collective memories and emotions in the tourism context (Smith & Campbell, 2016; Zhang et al., 2019). This study aims to theorize tourists' emotional experiences in red tourism through a practice-based perspective. Wetherell's (2012) idea of affective practice and Schatzki's (2002, 2010b) framework of practice are being employed as

sensitizing concepts to guide the whole study. In particular, this study aims to unfold the "doings and sayings," "practical understandings," "general understandings," "teleoaffective structures," and "rules" that constitute the emotional experiences of Chinese tourists.

To address these research questions, this study applied an ethnographic approach to research design. The majority of data were curated during a four-month period of fieldwork, spanning from the middle of September 2022 to early January 2023. The Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders (NMMH) located in Nanjing and the Jinggangshan Revolutionary Museum (JRM) in Jiangxi Province are the two red tourism sites chosen for fieldwork. Data was collected through a range of techniques, including semi-structured interviews, walking interviews, participant observations, and casual conversations with tourists.

Using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019) for data analysis, the complexities of red tourists' emotional experiences were unfolded. The findings illustrate that tourists partake in different tasks and projects that require an investment of emotional labor. Through performing these different emotional works, tourists prepare themselves to be emotional, becoming emotional, and eventually being emotional. The findings also suggested that an emotional red tourism experience could be theorized as an affective practice of pain and suffering. It unpacks how red tourism offers a familiar yet new context for Chinese tourists to "*yiku sitian* (*忆苦思甜*)" - a unique cultural and emotional practice in China popularized since the Mao era.

This research project makes significant theoretical contributions to red tourism scholarship by taking a practice-based approach to theorizing red tourism experiences. Furthermore, it sheds light on the need to reconceptualize red tourism. Methodologically, this thesis employed a relatively novel data collection method and incorporated the researcher's

reflexivity and emotionality into the research process. These are the missing toolkits within the red tourism scholarship.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter is the introductory section of this thesis. It gives an overview of the red tourism development in China and issues pertinent to red tourism experiences. The problem statement is then elaborated to illustrate the gaps in the study of red tourism. Research questions, objectives, and contributions are also outlined in this chapter.

1.1 Research Background

1.1.1 Red Tourism in China

China has become a highly relevant case for researchers in heritage studies and tourism studies since it has experienced a dramatic heritage boom and social-economic changes (Li & Hu, 2008; Svensson & Maags, 2018). It is evident that government policies significantly influence tourism development and the use of heritage in China (Sofield & Li, 1998; Wang & Bramwell, 2012; Yan & Bramwell, 2008). Owing to its ability to convey beliefs, values, and social norms, heritage tourism is often employed as an ideological tool to achieve political and social ends (Henderson, 2007a)[1]. Red tourism is a prime example of politicizing heritage for legitimating the ruling of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), strengthening social solidarity, and promoting the beliefs of nationalism and patriotism.

There are several underlying reasons for developing and promoting red tourism on a national scale. Although the pace of China's economic development has been magnificent in the last two decades, two major problems are becoming more prominent. The widening

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[1] Heritage tourism and cultural tourism are sometimes being treated as interchangeable and similar terms (Poria, Butler, et al., 2006; Timothy, 2020; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). In contrast, Richards (2003, 2018a) considered heritage tourism as an entrenchment of cultural tourism. The term heritage tourism will be employed in this thesis for ease of communication. However, it does not imply whether heritage tourism is under the purview of cultural tourism or vice versa.

development gap between different regions and the gradual fade-out of national morale induced by modernization are the two issues haunting the CCP and diminishing its influence in Chinese society (Li & Hu, 2007, 2008). Many rural developing areas are the former revolutionary bases of the CCP. If tourism could be developed in these rural areas, it would help to narrow the development gaps (Li & Hu, 2007). In this regard, communist heritage and tourism are perfect tools for achieving the economic, social, and political goals derived by the CCP. Since 2004, red tourism as a unique form of communist heritage tourism in China has been initiated deliberately to serve the economic purpose of reducing the regional development gap in China and also sustaining the legitimacy of the CCP through (re)constructing national identity as the political goal (Li & Hu, 2008).

Red tourism first appeared in the late 1990s in Jiangxi Province. Then, similar tourism phenomena emerged in places that have a close tie with former CCP leaders and iconic revolutions led by the CCP, such as Yan'an and Jinggangshan. In 2004, the Chinese government turned red tourism into a nationwide patriotic education campaign and issued the National Red Tourism Planning Outline 2004-2010 (referred to hereafter as the *First Outline*). The First Outline covers communist heritage sites related to Chinese revolutionary history from 1921 to 1949, representing the period of history from the birth of the CCP to the establishment of the People's Republic of China. During this stage, the Chinese government identified 12 major red tourism regions with distinctive themes, 30 suggested red tourism routes, and 100 classic red tourism scenic sites (Xinhua News Agency, 2005). The year 2005 was entitled "the year of red tourism" to celebrate this megaproject. It was reported that 20.3 billion yuan (US$2.4 billion) were generated by red tourism in 2005 (Xinhua News Agency, 2005). In May 2011, the National Red Tourism Planning Outline 2011-2015 (referred to hereafter as the *Second Outline*) was issued. The Second Outline slightly shifted the rationale of red tourism interpretation and directed toward a more nationalistic perspective (Zhao, 2020). A more

extended period of China's revolutionary history from 1839 to the present day was covered, as reflected by the extended official register of red tourism heritage sites. Significant historical events that happened before the birth of the CCP, such as the First Opium War (1839-1840), the Second Opium War (1856-1860), and the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), were featured in the promotion of red tourism. In addition to the designated red tourism sites in the First Outline, 130 new sites were further added. In 2016, the government issued the National Red Tourism Planning Outline 2016-2020 (referred to hereafter as the *Third Outline*). The total number of classic red tourism scenic sites increased to 300. Mafengwo, a popular Chinese travel service and social networking platform, conducted a large-scale survey and found that 41.7 percent of respondents visited red tourism sites more than three times in 2021 (China.org.cn, 2021).

1.1.2 Red Tourism Experience: An Assemblage of Memories, Discourses of the Nation, and Rich Emotions

When it comes to the inquiry about tourists' experiences in heritage tourism, collective memories, ideas of nation and national identity, and emotions are some of the crucial topics. Memory is one of the essential components of tourism activities (Cary, 2004; Larsen, 2007; Wood, 2020). On the one hand, memories are created through tourism. These precious travel memories are what tourists often bring home with them. On the other hand, tourists bring memories into a trip or confront memories. Heritage tourism is one of the examples. Heritage is a place where collective memory is stored, crystallized, and transmitted (Immonen, 2012; Nora, 1989). Collective memories are socially constructed and are actively elicited and transmitted across different generations instead of given or passively inherited (Wertsch, 2002). Heritage tourism provides space and materials for tourists to (re)construct collective memories. Different versions of memories exist within a society and become relevant when we are

interpreting the past for the present needs (Halbwachs, 1992; Middleton & Brown, 2005). When we participate in heritage tourism, these collective memories are (re)constructed and interpreted based on our associations with diverse social classes, institutions, and identities.

The development of communist heritage for tourism in China is distinctive in terms of its unique social and cultural context (Li & Hu, 2008; Xiao, 2013). Apart from the economic goals to rejuvenate rural areas through tourism development, the Chinese government is using red tourism to achieve political goals. "Red memories" are the collective memories central to red tourism. It represents the revolutionary history related to the CCP and its success in offering national independence, liberation, rejuvenation, and prosperity (Tang et al., 2021). It is believed that red tourism can preserve and instill red memories in tourists (Xu, 2016). By evoking and implanting red memories, the government wishes to enhance its political legitimacy by strengthening the myth that the CCP rescued the Chinese nation from a century of national humiliation and led its people to a prosperous life.

The second issue pertinent to heritage tourism is nationhood or national identity. The notion of nation and nationhood, which encompass a particular set of ideas about what a nation is and who belongs to a nation, are discourses that guide most members in any given national community to think and make sense of the world in terms of (Calhoun, 1997; Smith, 1991). Among various theories concerning nationalism, such as primordialism and modernism, it appears that commonly shared stories, myths, or collective memories are the most prominent element in contributing to the notion of nationhood and propagating nationalism (Bell, 2003; Wang, 2018).

It is commonly agreed that tourism is a vehicle to promote the culture of a nation to both domestic and international tourists (Palmer, 1999; Pretes, 2003). Mainly, tourism facilitates the mobilization, expression, negotiation, and (re)affirmation of various kinds of collective beliefs. For instance, previous studies showed the power of tourism for tourists to

affirm and negotiate their national identity (Palmer, 1999; Yang et al., 2020; Zuo, 2014) and political identity (L. Brown & Arriaza Ibarra, 2018; Zuo et al., 2016). Scholars identified that myths related to China civilization in ancient times and the collective memory of national humiliation, which represents the history of China from 1839 to 1949, are the main ingredients of nationalist beliefs in China (Carrai, 2021; Wang, 2008). Interestingly, many of the red tourism sites are closely linked to historical events or figures representing these myths and collective memories (Wang, 2012). In this sense, it is logical to conclude that red tourism is being mobilized as a political apparatus to sustain red memories and strengthen people's national identity (Tang et al., 2021; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b).

Red tourism, as a form of heritage tourism, provides opportunities for tourists to learn about the history and legacy of the CCP. Apart from cognitive learning, red tourism sites are heritages that could emotionally affect tourists. Research asserted that tourists go to heritage sites not only for learning but also for *feeling* (Poria, Butler, et al., 2006; Poria et al., 2004a; Smith, 2021). Similarly, red tourism experiences could be emotionally rich. However, there has been limited discussion about the emotional experience in red tourism literature (Jin et al., 2017). It is recently suggested that a mix of negative and positive emotions could be evoked through red tourism (Hu et al., 2022; Wang et al., 2023). There is a possibility that when tourists reflect on the humiliating past of China, they might encounter grief, anxiety, and sorrow. On the contrary, China's contemporary achievements and the heroic acts of CCP martyrs could evoke emotions such as gratitude, pride, and excitement.

Evidently, red tourism is inseparable from issues of collective memories, nationalist discourses, and emotions. Heritage tourism, including red tourism, allows space for tourists to (re)create and (re)construct collective memories, nationhood, and emotions. As the logic goes, it is imperative to think of how these issues entangle in the context of red tourism. If red tourism is a social construction, as advocated by previous research (Xiao, 2013; Xu, 2016), then how

do tourists construct their red tourism experience? What are the ingredients involved in the construction of red tourism experiences?

1.2 Problem Statement

For decades, heritage tourism has been a major topic of discussion within tourism studies and heritage studies. However, only since the 1980s tourism scholars have started to acknowledge heritage tourism as a specific type of tourism, accompanied by a rapid increase in academic interest in the 1990s (Timothy, 2018). Academic outputs in the 1980s and 1990s are pre-dominantly descriptive studies of supply, demand, and management issues (Millar, 1989; Silberberg, 1995; Smith, 1994). Since the early 2000s, this field has begun emphasizing theoretical and conceptual development. Nowadays, there has been an escalating focus on identity reinforcement, tourism experiences, and the relationship between tourists and heritage (Timothy, 2018).

Tourism researchers have explored tourism phenomena associated with a wide range of heritage, such as natural, man-made, intangible, and World Heritage Sites. Although heritage tourism is evolving into a mature field, tourism researchers are just beginning to understand heritage tourism as a complex research field that encompasses issues of increasingly complicated human experiences, supply and demand, the politicization of places, interpretation of the past, heritagization of vernacular culture and marginal people, marketing and branding, resource management and so on (Timothy, 2018).

To begin with, some subsegments in this field did not catch much attention in academia. Communist heritage tourism is probably one of these neglected subsegments. The study of communist heritage tourism only started in the late 1990s. Most existing studies are conducted in Central and Eastern Europe, such as Bulgaria (Ivanov, 2009; Ivanova, 2017; Poria et al., 2014), Poland (Knudsen, 2010), and Romania (Light, 2000a, 2000b; Light & Dumbraveanu,

1999; Young & Light, 2001). Communist heritage in these countries is associated with the former socialist/communist regime, representing an unwanted past for its present government and local community (Light, 2000a; Sima, 2017). As a result, some scholars approached communist heritage tourism as dark tourism (Isaac & Budryte-Ausiejiene, 2015; Mileva, 2018). Indeed, communist heritage tourism also includes visiting communist heritages in countries that are currently governed by socialist/communist regimes (Ivanova & Buda, 2020). Therefore, as a unique form of communist heritage tourism, red tourism in China might offer us novel insights into communist heritage tourism.

Secondly, the study of red tourism is still in its infancy. On the one hand, international researchers seem less interested in red tourism. Nowadays, there are only around 40 published journal articles and book chapters focusing on red tourism. On the other hand, although a considerable body of research has been conducted and published in Chinese, most of these studies lack theoretical deepness, focusing on red tourism planning strategies and resource management (Liu & Luo, 2020). There remains a gap in our knowledge of the red tourism experience from tourists' perspective (Zhao & Timothy, 2017b). Some studies on red tourism experiences could be found, but most embrace a supply-demand perspective and neglect the agency of tourists. Tourism studies should not take a non-critical, conservative, and value-free stance (Zhao & Timothy, 2015). In particular, heritage tourism results in an emotion-rich experience (Chronis, 2006; Poria et al., 2004a). In heritage, emotions influence the way we understand and experience the world, especially our interpretation of narratives about the past (Smith & Campbell, 2017). Further investigations into red tourists' emotional/affective experiences are needed (Jin et al., 2017; Zheng, 2016).

Thirdly, heritage is never value-free. Ideas, values, beliefs, and images are being produced and provided within the heritagescape (Ivanova, 2017). Heritage is the production and presentation of a selected version of history, while tourism is the consumption and

experience of that constructed past (Hartmann et al., 2018). Heritage and tourism are both closely tied to issues of representation, and they offer a space for tourists to consume, internalize or negotiate ideas and beliefs related to their community and nation. However, it is naïve to believe that visitors and tourists will uncritically receive the ideas and beliefs presented in heritage (Smith, 2006). Tourists are capable of creating their own understanding of the past and meanings of a heritage. The Chinese government has put enormous effort into developing red tourism sites and solidifying its power by wrapping patriotic education as tourism offerings (Li & Hu, 2008). However, whether tourists experience the sites in the Chinese government's intended way remains unclear. Scholars have called for more empirical work to examine tourists' responses to the official discourses intended to be transmitted through red tourism (Li & Hu, 2008; Zhao, 2020).

Fourthly, memories are at the core of tourism activities (Cary, 2004; Larsen, 2007; Wood, 2020). Heritage is a place where collective memory crystallizes (Immonen, 2012; Nora, 1989). Heritage provides collective memories for its visitors to consume, while visitors might bring with them other collective memories during the consumption process. Heritage, memories, remembering, and forgetting are highly political in nature (Han, 2020; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Verovšek, 2020). Researchers called for further examination of the process of red memory construction through red tourism (Tang et al., 2021; Xu, 2016). What is more, the meaning-making process of tourists is not just cognitive but, most importantly, emotional in nature (Smith & Campbell, 2016). It is suggested that our emotional engagement with the past is linked to our cognitive understanding of the past, and they influence each other in reciprocal ways (Bareither, 2021b; Smith & Campbell, 2016). Tourism scholars may not have enough understanding of the complex relationship between emotion and collective memory (Zhang et al., 2019).

Even though tourism research has examined emotions, our understanding of emotions in heritage tourism is still insufficient (Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). Often, emotions are being treated as an end of tourism experiences (Tucker & Shelton, 2018). Scholars observed that tourism research is shifting to the study of emotions in consumer behavior from a psychological perspective (Cohen & Cohen, 2019). Psychology alone is insufficient to understand emotion because emotions are socially constructed (Ahmed, 2004; Buda, 2015). Emotions are not only mental constructions or bodily states but also human practices (Scheer, 2012; Wetherell et al., 2018). Scholars argue that human emotions could be analyzed from a practice theory perspective (Reckwitz, 2017; Scheer, 2012; Wetherell, 2015). In particular, Wetherell (2012) developed the notion of affective practice as well as provided researchers with some possible orientations to unpack human emotions. However, there is a lack of concrete frameworks that offer researchers a systematic way to theorize emotional experience from a praxeological standpoint (Wiesse, 2019). Thus, the development of an appropriate framework is needed.

To conclude, it is necessary for tourism studies to focus on the social and cultural construction of affect/emotion (Tucker & Shelton, 2018). Besides, there is scant literature about tourists' emotional experiences in red tourism. Based on the above discussions, it is urgent to explore the following issues: (1) how could we theorize emotional experience from a practice theory perspective, (2) what are tourists' emotional experiences in red tourism, and (3) how might collective memories of tourists influence their emotional experience.

1.3 Research Objectives and Research Questions

In order to address the knowledge gaps as stated in the problem statement, this study is to describe and unpack the complexities of emotional red tourism experiences. There are two theoretically informed objectives for this study. The first objective is to understand the emotional experience of tourists in red tourism sites from a practice theory perspective.

Secondly, it attempts to advance practice theory by developing a framework that integrates theories of practice and affect theory. In line with the research gaps and objectives outlined, the main research questions guiding the entire study is, "What are Chinese tourists' emotional experiences in red tourism in terms of a practice theory perspective?" Based on this research question and theories of practice, five sub-research questions are derived:

Q1: What practical understandings do visitors need to enact an emotional red museum visit?

Q2: What general understandings are involved in the performing of an emotional red museum visit?

Q3: What rules are involved in the performing of an emotional red museum visit?

Q4: What teleological ends are related to the performing of an emotional red museum visit?

Q5: What doings and sayings are involved in enacting an emotional red museum visit?

1.4 Significance of the Study

There are a few theoretical aspects to which this study offers contributions by its completion. First, this study fills the theoretical gap in red tourism literature. There is scant English tourism literature in the field of red tourism. Even though Chinese scholars have produced a massive body of research written in Chinese, most research outcomes either exhibit limited engagement with theories or are heavily reliant on marketing and management theories. This study uses a practice-based perspective to theorize emotional red tourism experiences. In this vein, it contributes to the recent "practice turn" in tourism studies by exploring a relatively novel version of practice theory. Second, red tourists being studied in most previous literature are being treated merely as consumers or passive recipients of state-sanctioned interpretations of the past. This thesis gives voices and agency back to tourists by taking a bottom-up approach

to explore tourists' emotional experiences in red tourism. Third, this study bridges collective memory literature, practice theory, and affect theory in the context of tourism. Applying these novel theoretical perspectives helps to open a new line of academic inquiry in red tourism literature.

In terms of practical contributions, this study provides insights for the government and heritage managers. Understanding the emotional experience of red tourists will facilitate the future design of red heritage products and experiences. This understanding is crucial for maintaining tourists' interest in red tourism and improving their on-site experience. Moreover, exploring tourists' responses to ideas, beliefs, and political messages in red tourism helps the government in evaluating the outcomes of red tourism development.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis contains seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the research background, problem statement, and objectives of this study. Chapter two reviews crucial concepts and theories that form the theoretical backbone of this endeavor. It also provides a critical evaluation of extant literature that leads to the identification of research gaps. Chapter three describes and explains the chosen philosophical perspectives that guide this study, the ethnographic data collection process, and data analysis procedures. The fourth chapter documents and delineates methodological reflections in relation to the pursuit of fieldwork and the use of a novel ethnographic interviewing technique - walking interview. Chapter Five and Chapter Six report empirical findings with reference to the research questions correspondingly. The last chapter provides discussions based on the findings. It also concludes this whole study, highlighting the theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions, followed by a brief discussion of limitations and future research directions.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The entire literature review chapter aims to set the theoretical foundation for this study. It is divided into five main sections. The first section discusses various perspectives existing research employed in understanding the nature of heritage. A critical evaluation of the predominant definitions of cultural heritage in tourism studies and associated research approaches is also provided. It is argued that a novel approach to the theorization of heritage tourism is necessary. The second section focuses on a niche area of heritage tourism, which is communist heritage tourism. First, it reviews existing communist heritage tourism literature and identifies gaps based on the context and theoretical approach employed. Then, it moves to the review of red tourism literature published in Chinese and English tourism journals. Synthesis and identification of research gaps specific to the study on red tourism are given. The third section turns to discourses, narratives, and values embedded in red tourism and communist heritage sites in China. A detailed discussion of the idea of nationhood, which is germane to heritage tourism, is first given. Chinese identity discourses, political discourses, and collective memory discourses are then introduced. The fourth section introduces the concept of collective memory and collective remembering. In particular, the relationship between collective memory and emotional tourism experience is being illuminated. The last section covers practice theory and introduces the concept of affective practice as a theoretical lens to study emotional experience in red tourism.

2.1 Zooming into Heritage Tourism Studies

2.1.1 Understandings of Heritage

Heritage tourism, sometimes considered a subsegment of cultural tourism, has become one of the most widespread types of tourism (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). The study of heritage

tourism has long been a major line of research in tourism studies. Heritage is undoubtedly one of the significant resources for tourism (Ashworth, 1995; Timothy, 2020). Nowadays, different types of heritage have been explored by tourism scholars. Previous research encompasses material objects such as architecture and buildings (Day et al., 2015; Li & Qian, 2017; Yue et al., 2019), historical cities (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2021; Mahadevan & Zhang, 2022), archaeological sites (Saipradist & Staiff, 2008), rural landscape and villages (Zhao et al., 2018), museums (Errichiello et al., 2019; L. Jin et al., 2020) and historic gardens (Ryan et al., 2009). Studies also covered non-material aspects of culture, including festivals (Hannam & Halewood, 2006; Lau & Li, 2019), food (Staiff & Bushell, 2013), music (Su, 2011), dance (Wall & Xie, 2005), ceremonies (Yan & Bramwell, 2008; Zhu, 2012) and so on. Undeniably, the theorization of heritage tourism has extended from tangible to intangible heritage over the past two decades (Su, 2018; Timothy, 2020). It seems that tourism scholars are familiar with the concept of heritage and its intersection with tourism. However, this is not necessarily the case.

Indeed, many tourism studies assumed tangible and intangible cultural heritage as merely *things* or *resources*. For instance, Dallen Timothy (2018), the chief editor of the Journal of Heritage Tourism, wrote, “Heritage is the modern-day use and valuation of the past for tourism and other purposes, such as education, community development and scientific exploration” (p. 3). Heritage is an inheritance from the past that is utilized and valued in the present day (Timothy, 2018, 2020). In other words, heritage is being understood as *things* received from our ancestors. These inheritances could be tangible or intangible, concrete or abstract, mundane or extraordinary (Timothy, 2018). A large number of studies presumed heritage tourism as a business activity (Hughes & Carlsen, 2010; Vong & Ung, 2012). Cultural heritages are being conceptualized as things or resources to sell and consume. For example, researchers commented, “Cultural heritage is one of the most pervasive tourism products throughout the world” (Timothy, 2018, p. 179), as well as “heritage tourism uses the shared

heritage of localities to develop products that may draw visitors to an area" (Jolliffe & Smith, 2001, p. 149). Additionally, Ho and McKercher (2004) asserted, "In theory, treating cultural heritage assets as products for tourism consumption is reasonable and logical" (p.256). Recently, heritage tourism is increasingly being theorized as an experience. Even though heritage tourism is being framed as experiential, it is still being assumed as an *object* - an experiential product (McKercher, 2020; Zhang & Xie, 2019). Even if heritage is not being taken for granted as a product to sell, it is a thing or resource that should be carefully conserved and protected (Su et al., 2020; Xu & Sofield, 2017).

In contrast, Laurajane Smith (2006), who is the chief editor of the International Journal of Heritage Studies, argued that heritage "is not a 'thing', it is not a 'site', building or other material object" (p. 44). She did not deny the materiality of heritage, but argued that framing heritage as only a site, an object, or a product fails to picture the full story of what heritage is. Although heritage has long been considered as things and traditions inherited from the past, there are many alternative definitions and understandings (Harrison, 2013b). It is observed that the field of heritage studies has experienced several shifts in paradigm (Harrison, 2013b; Svensson & Maags, 2018). These shifts led to the theorization of heritage as both cultural processes and social practices framed by particular heritage discourse (Smith, 2015b, 2021). For instance, Smith (2006) suggested heritage is "a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process" (p. 44). Apart from understanding heritage as a cultural process, heritage is also inevitably discursive in nature. It is not only invented or suppressed by the authorities, but also linked to memories and pasts that are purposely chosen (Ivanova, 2017; Poria & Ashworth, 2009). In later studies, Smith (2015b) further delineated the notion of heritage as "a discourse that frames

a set of cultural practices that are concerned with utilizing the past for creating cultural meaning for the present" (p.459).

In light of the critical heritage studies approach and to embrace the idea of discourse, cultural process, and practice, the concept of heritage could be defined as a set of values, identities, and meanings that are continuously (re)constructed, engaged, and transmitted by present-day people in the process of heritage-making (Harrison, 2013b; Smith, 2006, 2021; Su, 2018; Waterton & Watson, 2013). In particular, the concept of heritage in this thesis adopts the definition given by Wetherell et al. (2018) as "a practice of meaning-making, draws heavily on affect/emotion to legitimate the meanings and narratives that are produced and propagated" (p. 10).

2.1.2 Troubling with Heritage Tourism: From the Perspective of Definitions

There are various directions in demarcating the boundary of heritage tourism (Du Cros & McKercher, 2015; Mckercher & Du Cros, 2002; Richards, 2018a, 2018b). Four common ways to define heritage tourism are supply-driven, motivational, experiential, and operational dimensions. The different preferences in adopting a supply or demand perspective and the level of tourists' engagement in defining what heritage tourism is and who should be classified as heritage/cultural tourists are well documented (Timothy, 2011, 2020). These four dimensions will first be discussed to show that these commonly applied perspectives in understanding heritage tourism might be insufficient nowadays.

At times, there were vigorous discussions on the definition of heritage tourism among tourism scholars. For example, Garrod and Fyall (2000), in a study of sustainable development and management of heritage tourism from the perspective of heritage experts, described heritage tourism as "tourism centered on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings, to art works, to beautiful scenery" (p. 683). Similarly, Millar (1989)

conceptualized heritage as the "natural, cultural and built environment of an area" (p. 9), and the presence of tourists in such a space suggests the happening of heritage tourism. Early heritage tourism research tends to take heritage as material *things* or *resources*. Besides, some studies suggest the existence of heritage attractions motivates tourists to travel, which treats heritage as a pull factor. Laws (1998) commented, "The built heritage of a place contributes to its appeal as a tourist destination" (p. 545). Glasson (1994) shared a similar understanding that a "historic built environment in its various forms provides the attraction for visitors" (p. 139). These early definitions of heritage tourism vividly reflect the supply-driven perspective in delimiting heritage tourism.

Some researchers criticized that supply-driven definitions mistakenly assume heritage tourism as a type of tourism phenomenon driven predominantly by the supply of historical sites while neglecting tourists' motivations, perceptions, and engagements with these historical sites. Scholars argued that tourists' motivations and engagements with the sites are major contributing factors to the emergency of tourism phenomenon in heritage sites (Poria et al., 2001, 2003, 2004b). Poria et al. (2001) proposed historic tourism and heritage tourism as two different terminologies to highlight the different levels of engagement and emotional connections between a heritage site and tourists. Historic tourism refers to a form of tourism in which "the motivation for visiting a place is based on its historic attributes" (Poria et al., 2001, p. 1048). In contrast, heritage tourism represents "a subgroup of tourism, in which the main motivation for visiting a site is based on the place's heritage characteristics according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage" (Poria et al., 2001, p. 1048). Scholars who prefer using the term cultural tourism over heritage tourism also observed that tourists exhibited different levels of engagement with cultural heritage (McKercher, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2003). Based on the perceived importance of cultural tourism opportunities in travel decision-making and the depth of sought cultural experience, McKercher and du Cros (2003) proposed

five different types of cultural tourists. These works reflect the use of motivational and experiential approaches to define and research heritage tourism.

There is also an operational dimension to define heritage tourism, which usually tries to indicate the possible range of activities or experiences regardless of the level of involvement and motivations related to cultural heritage (Mckercher & Du Cros, 2002; Richards, 2018a). In order to provide a remedy to the diverging perspectives employed in defining heritage tourism, Timothy (2020) defined heritage tourism as:

> Travellers seeing and experiencing built heritage, living culture or contemporary arts. Its resources are tangible and intangible and are found in both rural and urban settings. Visits are motivated by a desire to enhance one's own cultural self, to learn something new, to spend time with friends and family, to satisfy one's curiosity or simply to use up excess time. (p. 4)

Obviously, one of the strengths of Timothy's definition is that it takes a step to go beyond the conventional supply-and-demand perspective rooted in tourism management study by incorporating tourists' different engagement levels with cultural heritage and also the possible range of activities involved.

To date, the profile of tourists is becoming more culturally diverse. The boundary of culture is increasingly blurred (Richards, 2018a). Ashworth (2000) observed that "heritage tourism is no longer confined to the high art of the established classics but is offering a widening range of heritage products and broadening out the definition of heritage to include the 'everyday' heritage of ordinary people" (p. 24). Richards (2018a) criticized that neither the supply-demand definition nor the operation-experiential definitions fully explain heritage tourism as a cultural phenomenon in the contemporary age. He asserts that most of the definitions identified earlier failed to capture the notion of *meanings* embedded in the phenomenon of heritage tourism and overlooked heritage tourism as a *human practice*.

In this regard, turning to a practice approach is argued to be a promising way to understand heritage tourism. Skills, materials, and meanings are the three most essential components that need to be considered (Shove et al., 2012). Richards (2018a) explained that a tourist could not become a heritage/cultural tourist without cultural materials to consume, and this consumption must *mean* something, while the use of cultural materials requires a certain level of competence. Some scholars shared similar observations and clarified that heritage visitation is an active process involving various cultural practices (Dicks, 2016; Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2015b). Meaning is being made and remade by both tourists and heritage experts concurrently (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011; Smith, 2006, 2012). It is clear that employing a practice-based approach to heritage tourism offers a converging perspective for many stakeholders involved. Besides, it also considers the (in)tangible materials that form the basis of heritage tourism (e.g., artifacts, intangible cultural heritage, heritage sites). Most importantly, the meanings associated with different human activities common in heritage tourism (e.g., identity affirmation, learning) and skills involved in conserving or experiencing heritage (e.g., interpretation, emotional response) could be considered simultaneously under the practice-based approach (Richards, 2018a).

2.1.3 Diagnosing Theoretical Approaches in Heritage Tourism Studies

Heritage tourism has been one of the most proliferating topics in tourism studies (Smith, 2012; Timothy, 2020). Undeniably, burgeoning research studied heritage tourism, especially within the China context. Although heritage tourism has been widely studied, it appears that a number of tourism scholars simply consider heritage tourism as an economic activity based on production and consumption. For instance, scholars hold that heritage tourism relies on a destination's cultural heritage assets and transforms these assets into products for tourists to consume (Du Cros & McKercher, 2015; McKercher et al., 2005).

I argue that many tourism scholars failed to scrutinize and appreciate the essence and the very nature of heritage and heritage tourism as both a concept and a social phenomenon. Waterton and Watson (2013) distinguished three categories of theories in heritage studies, which are *theories in*, *theories of,* and *theories for* heritage. The following parts are framed using *theories in*, *of,* and *for* to demonstrate the urgency to incorporate the notion of discourse and human agency simultaneously as a more meaningful theoretical approach for theorizing heritage tourism.

Theories in represents research approaches that emphasize the materiality of heritage, including issues of conservation, authenticity, site interpretation, and heritage and visitor management (Waterton & Watson, 2013). Several problems could be observed in the stream of *theories in* heritage. First, in terms of theorizing, *theories in* heritage assume that practical problems created by tourism and tourists await solutions. For instance, As Ashworth (2009) noted, tourists are being perceived as problem creators for fragile heritage sites. Research is then conducted to address the matters of conservation and visitor management. In other words, *theories in* are "'dealing' with the problems generated by heritage at an operational level" (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p. 549). These studies often examine heritage and heritage tourism from a nearly pure managerial perspective. Staiff et al. (2013) also commented that there is "a complacency around the received wisdoms that circled our field, from visitor management and interpretation to destination management and planning, marketing and operation" (p. 3). The study of heritage tourism, which is the interaction between heritage places and tourists, was often simplified by researchers as mere operation and management issues (Staiff et al., 2013; Waterton & Watson, 2013). It is criticized that tourists' engagements with heritage were naively equated as a need to identify the profile of consumers (Waterton & Watson, 2013). The work of McKercher (2002), McKercher and du Cros (2003), and Vong (2016) are good examples that represent *theories in* approach.

Secondly, studies in the range of *theories in* heritage continue to flood the study of heritage, particularly rampant in heritage tourism literature that concerns marketing, finance, hospitality, and management (Waterton & Watson, 2013). Even in recent literature, the recognition of heritage as an *object* to manage and heritage tourism as a management issue is still being privileged in the academic discourse. It is reflected that the rationale of the research is to resolve management issues of heritage sites in tourism, such as conflicts between stakeholders (Su & Wall, 2015; Yang & Wall, 2022), deficiencies in management structures (Su et al., 2017; C. Zhang et al., 2015) and failures in service (Su & Teng, 2018), to name a few.

Thanks to heritage tourism management literature, some key concepts highly relevant to heritage have been developed and remain influential nowadays. These concepts are, for example, authenticity, identity, and commodification (Waterton & Watson, 2013). Despite their relevance to examining heritage on an ontological level, most tourism studies of heritage drawing on these concepts are constrained by a managerial gaze. Many of these endeavors applied notions of authenticity and identity to discuss consumer behaviors such as satisfaction, loyalty, and behavioral intention. These studies heavily depend on the "scientific" and positivistic paradigm. Most of them are framed by business ideology, which assumes tourism is a product that sells and improving tourists' loyalty is vital. For instance, various types of authenticity are found to be positively influencing heritage tourists' (re)visit intentions (Carreira et al., 2022; X. Yi et al., 2023), word-of-mouth intention (Deb & Lomo-David, 2021; Karagöz & Uysal, 2022) and loyalty (Fu, 2019; Zhou et al., 2013). A similar research approach could be found regarding using the concept of identity (Gursoy et al., 2019; X. Yi et al., 2023). Similar statistical approaches are applied to examine nearly identical questions, such as factors and psychological mechanisms influencing tourists' attitudes, perceptions, satisfaction, loyalty, behaviors, and intentions. These observations ironically confirm previous findings that the field

of tourism is being dictated by a specific knowledge production mode (Tribe, 2001; Xiao & Smith, 2006). Studies based on imitation or reproducing old knowledge in a new context contribute only marginally to our understanding of tourism (Chambers, 2018; Franklin & Crang, 2001). Therefore, a knowledge gap exists in the study of heritage tourism owing to this dominant mode of knowledge creation. The approaches in critical tourism studies and an interpretive paradigm are considered possible remedies to fill this gap (Chambers, 2018; Tribe et al., 2012; Xiao & Smith, 2006).

Approaches under *theories of* heritage address the discursive nature of heritage better than *theories in* approaches. *Theories of* heritage unpack the political nexus of heritage by applying representational theories (Svensson & Maags, 2018). *Theories of* heritage typically include the use of semiotics and discourse analysis (Waterton & Watson, 2013). In contemporary heritage studies and heritage tourism studies, the politics of representation in heritage has become one of the dominant themes (Harrison, 2013b; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Watson, 2013). *Theories of* heritage are studies that first moved away from conceptualizing heritage as objects. This stream of theories analyzes heritage as a cultural process or cultural phenomenon (Waterton & Watson, 2015). *Theories of* heritage address the "cultural work" heritages perform (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p. 551). These studies aim to question the representation of heritage meanings and unravel how the past is being utilized and displayed in the present, especially hegemonic ones. Academic work interrogating the official construction of identity using heritage sites (Henderson, 2001; Zhang et al., 2018) and the use of heritage to construct the image of destinations (Yoshida et al., 2016; C. X. Zhang et al., 2015) are research that belongs to *theories of* heritage.

The use of *theories of* heritage has been increasingly called into question since it focuses mainly on ideas like cultural and power differences and politics of identity. *Theories of* heritage fall short of addressing questions rather than linguistic- or visual-based meaning-

making. These thoughts lead us to consider *theories for* heritage. *Theories for* heritage emphasize "questions that ask us about our very being … what happens to our bodies, ourselves" (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p. 551). *Theories for* heritage concern "the role played by the personal, the ordinary and the everyday, *within* spaces of heritage, whether they are physical, discursive or affective" (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p. 551). People in heritage sites are never passive recipients (Packer & Ballantyne, 2016; Waterton & Watson, 2013, 2014). Using our own bodies, we know the heritage through sensuous, discursive, or affective experiences. Meanings are made when we *experience* the heritage. Tourists and visitors of heritages actively engage with and *feel* the heritage (Poria & Ashworth, 2009; Smith, 2021). Most studies of heritage tourists have tended to emphasize the economic and physical impacts generated by tourists on the host community and the heritage site. Relatively few studies address "what it is that tourists do, think or feel" (Smith, 2012, p. 210). This criticism somewhat echoes the observation of Cohen and Cohen (2019) that many tourism studies provided "disembodied and business-focused accounts of tourism" (p. 158). In fact, recent studies show that emotional engagement with heritage could trigger critical reflections and transformative experiences (Bull & De Angeli, 2021). In particular, Waterton and Watson (2013) suggested that theories such as mobilities theory, actor-network theory, and affect theory are better theoretical approaches to studying heritage and heritage tourism. These are also increasingly being applied in tourism studies (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Cohen & Cohen, 2019).

2.2 Communist Heritage Tourism and red tourism

2.2.1 Communist Heritage Tourism

Although it is beyond the scope of this section to give an extensive review of literature that intersects at the nexus of socialist/communist studies and heritage tourism studies, the development of the following sections anchors on these two fields of studies. Heritage is an

asset of both economic and non-monetary values (Ashworth, 2000; Henderson, 2007b). Tourism is well recognized as one of the uses of heritage (Ashworth, 2000; Smith, 2006). Undoubtedly, heritage is an important resource to attract tourists (Ashworth, 1995). More importantly, heritage and heritage tourism are powerful in creating and reinforcing a state-sanctioned collective identity (Palmer, 1999). Often, elites and politicians in post-communist states use heritage and heritage tourism to strengthen national pride in citizens and attract foreigners (Ivanov, 2009).

Communist heritage tourism is being regarded as a form of special interest tourism and also a subsegment of heritage tourism (Ivanov, 2009; Light, 2000b). Even though scholars started to research communist heritage tourism at least two decades ago, our understanding of communist heritage tourism is still in its infancy (Ivanova, 2017; Ivanova & Buda, 2020; Sima, 2017). Existing communist heritage studies primarily examined how heritages are being used, unused, or misused in terms of their economic and social-political values (Adie et al., 2017; Henderson, 2007a; Smith & Puczkó, 2012). It is suggested that the sensitive nature of communism as a political ideology, the scattered geographical distribution of communist heritages, the negative image of communism, and the emotional burdens of individuals are some of the possible reasons why communist heritage tourism has been largely untouched by tourism researchers (Ivanova, 2017; Sima, 2017). Regarding the existing literature on communist heritage, several issues and gaps were identified.

2.2.1.1 Issues of Definitions

First, there is a lack of consensus in its terminology. It is undoubtedly that communist heritage tourism is related to studying tourism phenomenon happening in heritages of communism/socialism as suggested by its name. However, how the term is understood and defined varies among scholars. Light (2000a) defined communist heritage tourism as "the

consumption of sites and sights associated with the former regime and its downfall … a distinctive form of special interest, post-modern tourism among Western visitors" (p. 148). Two underlying assumptions of his definition could be identified in his writings. Firstly, it defined communist heritage from a post-communist lens. That is, the touristic consumption of communist heritage is characterized by a desired experience of the *other*, such as a fascination and/or nostalgia with a communist past (Light, 2000b, 2000a). Secondly, it implies that the consumers/tourists are Westerners who have limited or even no experience of communists' ruling (Light, 2000b, 2001). In brief, his definition is widely taken up by scholars, and communist heritage tourism has become a term that is often used when studying tourism activities related to communist heritage in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (Sima, 2017).

In contrast, there are several current communist countries, such as Vietnam, China, Cuba, Laos, and North Korea. The study of communist heritage tourism in East Asian countries is usually referred to as red tourism (Henderson, 2007a; Li et al., 2010; Li & Hu, 2008; Sima, 2017). Some Chinese researchers believe that red tourism is similar to communist heritage tourism but not totally identical (Li & Hu, 2008; Zuo, 2014). As time has passed, scholars have started to argue for a broader definition of communist heritage tourism, which is not specific to a CEE context (Adie et al., 2017; Ivanova & Buda, 2020). Some scholars do not distinguish communist heritage tourism from red tourism and categorize red tourism as a subsegment of communist heritage tourism (Kim et al., 2021; Xu, 2015). Nevertheless, the disagreement in terminology is still obvious in this stream of literature.

It is acknowledged that red tourism is a form of communist heritage tourism. However, communist heritage tourism and red tourism are slightly different tourism phenomena in terms of their characteristics (Caraba, 2011; Sima, 2017; Zhao, 2020). The differences between communist heritage tourism in CEE and red tourism will be reviewed later (see section 2.2.2.2).

To reduce possible confusion, the term communist heritage with no specification of geographical locations in this thesis refers to the types of heritages found specifically in countries that are currently ruled by a communist/socialist government or were previously under a communist/socialist regime. In this way, communist heritage tourism could be understood as tourism activities associated with communist heritages in any geographical location. Xu (2016) believes that red tourism is "the social phenomenon or activities in which people visit destinations where the most important events transpired during modern Chinese history (1840-present)" while "these events demonstrate the Chinese people's pursuit of the great dream of building a prosperous and powerful country, notably led by the Communist Party of China (CPC) since 1921" (p. 42). Accordingly, red tourism can be understood as a contemporary Chinese version of communist heritage tourism in which those communist heritages of the CCP, such as historical events, venues, monuments, and relevant objects, are promoted and consumed for the purpose of commemorating past revolutionary events, heroes, and leaders of the CCP, as well as recalling and celebrating the "red spirit" [2] (Li et al., 2010; Li & Hu, 2008).

2.2.1.2 Issues of Research Contexts

The fall of communism/socialism resulted in transitions in the economic and political systems of post-communist countries in CEE. There is a shift from a centrally planned economic system to a market-orientated capitalist one in these countries (Adie et al., 2017). Besides, the new governments attempted to construct a new political identity by introducing new lifestyles to their citizens and transforming the city landscape through a demolishment or relocation of the communist-related built environment (Light, 2000b; Sima, 2017). Since 1990,

[2] Red spirt refers to a set of virtues infused with a range of communist ideologies, tradition Chinese moral values and patriotism (Y. Li & Hu, 2008).

a slowly growing academic interest in communist heritage tourism has been observed (Ivanov, 2009; Long, 2012). Most communist heritage tourism studies are produced with a strong geographical focus. Existing research published since the 2000s mainly covers communist heritages in CEE (Ivanova, 2017). The research context includes, for instance, Bulgaria (Ivanov, 2009; Ivanova, 2017; Poria et al., 2014), Poland (Knudsen, 2010), Romania (Light, 2000a, 2000b; Light & Dumbraveanu, 1999; Young & Light, 2001), Budapest in Hungary (Rátz et al., 2008; Smith & Puczkó, 2012) and Yugoslavia (Iveković Martinis & Sujoldžić, 2021; Putnik, 2016). Although researchers discussed communist heritage tourism in East Asia, such as North Korea (Henderson, 2007a; J. S. Kim et al., 2021), Vietnam (Henderson, 2007a; Long, 2003), Cambodia (Henderson, 2007a) and China (Zhao & Timothy, 2017a; Zuo et al., 2017), our knowledge of communist heritage tourism is still in its infancy (Caraba, 2011; Ivanova & Buda, 2020).

2.2.1.3 Over-Reliance on a Post-Communist Lens

Owing to the strong focus on post-communist countries, most existing research on communist heritage tourism usually anchors on post-communist countries and starts from the idea of an unwanted and problematic past (Sima, 2017). The first stream of literature looks into tourism development in relation to the changing social-economic and political systems. Some earlier studies give snapshots of tourism trends and identified challenges to tourism development in some former communist countries in CEE, such as Germany (Coles, 2003a), Budapest (Rátz et al., 2008), and Romania (Light & Dumbraveanu, 1999). Previous studies analyzed the potential of developing tourism using communist heritages in various countries (Ivanov, 2009; Mileva, 2018). For instance, Ivanov (2009) identified several potential resources for the promotion of communist heritage tourism in Bulgaria, such as monuments related to communist leaders and the communist party, iconic buildings that represent

communism, memorabilia, and art and media culture. Some attention has been given to governance (Coles, 2003b; Smith et al., 2018) and locals' attitudes towards communist heritage tourism development (Ivanov & Achikgezyan, 2017; Poria et al., 2014).

The second stream of literature focuses on destination marketing strategies and their tensions with a negative communist history. The study of communist heritage tourism is more or less linked to issues of destination marketing and heritage interpretation (Sima, 2017). Some authors analyzed the representation of communist heritages in CEE by looking at tourism promotion materials and tourist blogs (Ivanova, 2017; Iveković Martinis & Sujoldžić, 2021; Sima, 2017). It is generally agreed that post-communist countries desire to be perceived as global, modern, and cosmopolitan, which is totally different from their image related to communist history (de Rosa & Dryjanska, 2017; Iveković Martinis & Sujoldžić, 2021; Smith & Puczkó, 2012). These previous studies commonly emphasized the significance of investigating identity politics in communist heritage tourism. Communist heritage is a distinctive tourism resource, but post-communist countries demonstrate different attitudes towards it (Light, 2000b; Smith & Puczkó, 2012). Some countries chose to capitalize on communist heritage for foreign exchange, while some decided to isolate themselves from the unwanted past (Hughes & Allen, 2005; Light, 2000a). Smith and Puczkó (2012) observed that built communist heritages are central to tourism promotion of Budapest after the collapse of the socialist regime. However, the government seems unwilling to promote the heritage of socialism and is trying to market Budapest as a place for Hungarian culture and arts.

A third research theme, which is an emerging line of research, examined tourists' experience in post-communist destinations and their engagement with communist heritages. Previous research suggested that tourists who seldom travel to post-communist countries long for an experience of communist heritage (de Rosa & Dryjanska, 2017; Light, 2000b). A study of diaspora tourism experience among different generations of Australian-Hungarian shows

that first-generation see dirt and backwardness as a symbol of cultural trauma, but younger generations consider experiencing decay and dirt as exotic and authentic (Andits, 2020). Although this might be true for people who have little experience of the communist era, this claim might not be applicable to those who previously lived or are now living in communist countries. Ivanova and Buda (2020) suggested communist heritage tourism "is not a simple inversion of the past as ascertained within a post-communist lens" (p. 9). For instance, communist heritage tourism in China might give domestic tourists a pilgrimage experience (Hunter, 2013; Xu, 2015). Some tourists are not motivated by a fascination with the communist past but could be driven by a diverse spectrum of recreational, historical, or spiritual reasons (Xu, 2015). Besides, Chinese tourists who travel to North Korea are motivated by their desire to learn about past revolutionary incidents and heroes (Kim et al., 2021). Various authors advocated that scrutinizing red tourism could be a productive line of research that enriches our knowledge of communist heritage tourism (Ivanova & Buda, 2020; Li et al., 2010). While we are gaining more insight into the communist heritage tourism experience, extant literature fails to address how tourists negotiate collective memory and ideologies of communism when they encounter communist heritages (Li & Hu, 2008; Stach, 2021).

To conclude, there is increasing endeavor to examine the touristic uses of communist heritage, particularly in post-communist countries (Alonso González, 2016). However, most existing communist heritage tourism studies are carried out in CEE countries (Ivanova & Buda, 2020). In other words, there is a dominance of studies situated in a post-communist context (Alonso González, 2016; Forest & Johnson, 2002). Research should be carried out in current communist countries. Most importantly, the employment of a post-communist lens should be avoided.

2.2.2 Progress of Red Tourism Research: From the Perspective of Chinese and English Literature

2.2.2.1 The Emergency of Red Tourism Literature

Prior to the announcement of the first National Red Tourism Planning Outline in 2004, the concept of red tourism was first coined by the Jiangxi Provincial Government in 1999 (Liu & Luo, 2020; Zhu et al., 2016). Jiangxi province is well known as the "red cradle (*红色摇篮*)," and it is said to be the first province that promoted red tourism thanks to its abundant communist heritage sites associated with the revolutionary events and leaders of the CCP, especially those located in Ruijin City. Places such as Yan'an, commonly regarded as "the holy site of China's communist revolution," and Jinggangshan, called "the cradle of the Chinese revolution," followed the footsteps of Ruijin in becoming some of the pioneers in developing red tourism products (Zhu et al., 2016).

Even though red tourism emerged as a new tourism product in 1999, it initially did not capture much attention from the Chinese academia, as reflected by the limited number of Chinese literature produced between 1999 and 2004 (Liu & Ming, 2012). Thanks to the announcement of the First Outline, red tourism drastically developed since 2004. It is being promoted by the Chinese central government for the purpose of reducing the regional development gap and instilling a national identity embedded with communist ideologies to reinforce the political legitimacy of the CCP (Li & Hu, 2007, 2008). The proliferation of red tourism research in China started concurrently with the announcement of the First Outline (C. Yu et al., 2008; Zhu et al., 2016). The emergency of various review articles written in Chinese in the past two decades shows that red tourism has become an important research topic among Chinese academics (Liu & Ming, 2012; Liu & Luo, 2020; C. Yu et al., 2008; Zhu et al., 2016).

Among existing English literature, tourism researchers have started to study tourism development in post-communist countries (Muresan & Smith, 1998) and noted the emergency

of communist heritage tourism (Light, 2000b; Light & Dumbraveanu, 1999). However, the international academic community comes late in examining red tourism. The first English publication of red tourism is a book chapter written by Li and Hu (2007). Li and Hu's (2008) study is the first English journal article introducing red tourism, to the best knowledge of the author.

2.2.2.2 Differences Between Red Tourism in China and Communist Heritage Tourism in CEE

Before proceeding to discuss the progress of red tourism research, it is imperative to understand how red tourism in China is similar to or distinctive from communist heritage tourism in the CEE. First, both communist heritage tourism and red tourism use communist heritage sites as the main tourism resources. Battlefields, cemeteries, monuments, and museums are heritage places being utilized for both forms of tourism. On the one hand, communist heritage tourism in CEE is associated with sites that link to a country's past communist regime (Light, 2000b; Sima, 2017). On the other hand, red tourism is based on places and objects associated with past revolutionary history of the current political regime (Caraba, 2011; Sima, 2017). In China, these communist sites are linked to, for instance, the birth of the CCP, the anti-Japanese war, the Chinese civil war, and the founding of the People's Republic of China (Li & Hu, 2008; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b).

Communist heritage tourism in CEE and red tourism are highly politically charged types of tourism (Ivanov, 2009). Communist heritages are inseparable from the communist/socialist ideology they represent. However, the treatments of these heritages employed by the government differ between post-communist countries in CEE and China (Sima, 2017). In Romania, for example, the government attempts to disassociate itself from the *unwanted* communist past (Light, 2000a). For current communist states, tourism is a tool to

promote the success and legacy of communism (Kim et al., 2007). Similarly, red tourism serves to evoke a collective nostalgia for the communist past among the Chinese and sustain CCP's supreme political position in China (Li & Hu, 2007).

Regarding the major driving force for red tourism development, governments at different levels play a significant role in planning, promotion, human resources training, and price management (Li & Hu, 2008). Group tours to red tourism sites are officially organized and afforded by schools, government departments and state-run companies (Li & Hu, 2007). These group tours, which are also referred to as "red tours," function as "a compulsory out-of-school course to ideologically brain-wash the tourists" (Li & Hu, 2007, p. 284). In contrast, communist heritage tourism in CEE emerged due to the existence of external demand (Caraba, 2011). Foreign tourists seek to visit communist heritage sites specifically in order to obtain an unusual tourism experience (Sima, 2017). Moreover, travel organizations and related external actors promote communist heritage sites to foreigners (Light, 2000a, 2000b). Even though governments in CEE might not want to promote their undesirable communist past to tourists, they can only exercise limited control (Light, 2000b). Table 2.1 summarizes some of the selected differences. A more detailed account and related explanations could be found elsewhere (see also Caraba, 2011; Li & Hu, 2008; Sima, 2017).

Table 2.1 *Differences Between Communist Heritage Tourism in CEE and Red Tourism in China*

Dimensions	Communist heritage tourism in CEE	Red tourism in China
Point of emergence	Since 1990	Since 2000 and has developed drastically since 2004
Heritage sites	Related to the downfall of communist regimes and their legacy	Primarily related to the revolutionary history, heroes and leaders of the CCP
Demand	Mainly market-driven (both external and internal)	Government-led and centrally planned
Heritage representation	Communist history is undesired and negative	Communist past and present are highly glorified
Purpose	Recreation, remembrance, nostalgia, cultural motivated	Nostalgia and enhance the legitimacy of the CCP; Recreational motivations are deemed inappropriate
Main target groups	Westerners Locals Residents	Younger Chinese generations CCP members
Patriotic education elements	Tend to be dismissed	Abundant
Problems	Dissonant heritage	Disneyfication

Adapted from Caraba (2011), Li and Hu (2008), Sima (2017), and Zhao and Timothy (2017b)

2.2.2.3 Existing Red Tourism Review

Although previous review articles published in Chinese advanced our understanding of red tourism literature to different extents, there are several problems identified. First, many of these available reviews of Chinese red tourism literature are descriptive in nature without clearly stating their process of article identification and criteria for article inclusion or exclusion (Jin et al., 2017; Liu & Ming, 2012; C. Yu et al., 2008). The major findings of these articles are research themes identification. For instance, C. Yu et al. (2008) conducted a narrative review and summarized eight major research themes of red tourism. These themes included the development and usage of red tourism resources, market structure, attraction development models, design of red tourism products, marketing and management strategies of red tourism attractions, red tourism planning, destination collaboration, and sustainability of red tourism.

Another review article was written by Liu and Ming (2012). The authors provided eight dimensions with some themes identical to the work of C. Yu et al. (2008). Among the two articles, common themes are red tourism resources, sustainability of red tourism, development models, red tourism planning, and marketing and management issues in red tourism. More recent reviews illustrated that scholars started to discuss the economic, social and political function of red tourism (Jin et al., 2017; Liu & Ming, 2012). Second, even though more updated reviews rely on visualization of bibliometric data, such as co-occurrence of keywords (Liu & Luo, 2020; Zhu et al., 2016), they are limited in discovering the theoretical deepness and research approaches employed in red tourism literature. Lastly, most of these reviews included only existing literature in Chinese and did not attempt to synthesize research outputs of both Chinese and English literature.

2.2.2.4 Locating Relevant Red Tourism Literature Published in Chinese and English

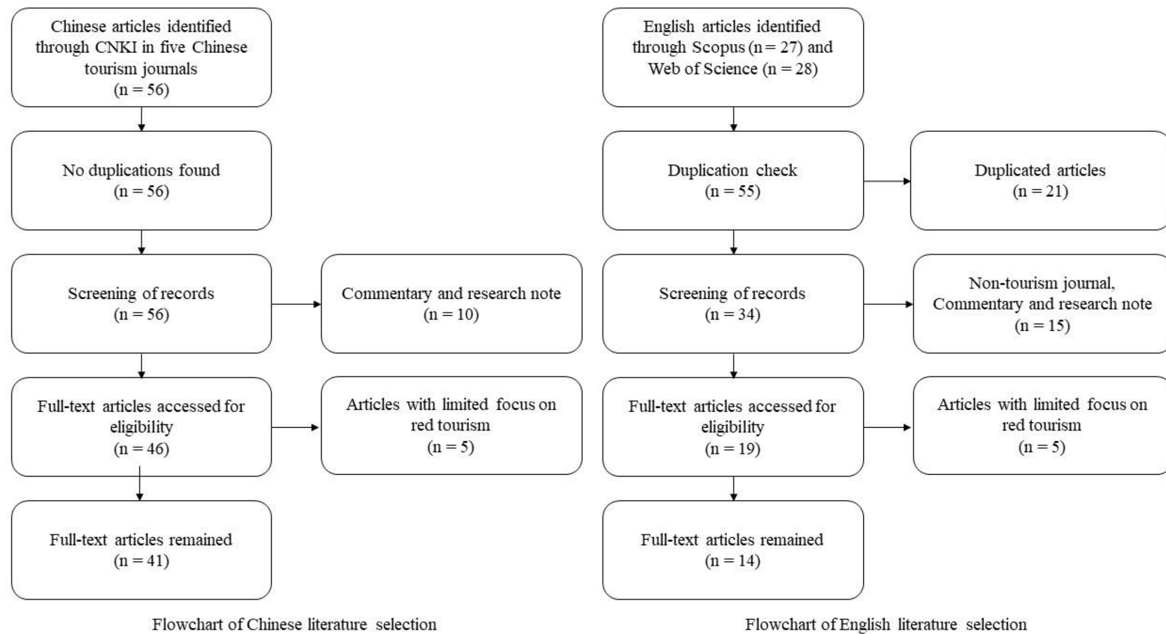
In order to gain a better understanding of the current state of red tourism literature in the field of tourism studies, a systematic review is conducted. To search for appropriate Chinese literature, the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) is used. CNKI is the most comprehensive search engine for locating academic publications published in the Chinese language. Previous studies that reviewed publications in Chinese often only included articles published in Chinese Social Science indexed (CSSCI) journals. Since one of the aims of this section is to examine the research outputs in the field of tourism, five Chinese journals with a specific focus on tourism research were chosen. These five journals are Tourism Tribune (*旅游学刊*), Tourism Science (*旅游科学*), Tourism Forum (*旅游论坛*), Tourism and Hospitality Prospects (*旅游导刊*), and Tourism Research (*旅游研究*). These five journals were selected since they are classified under the field of tourism studies accompanied by impact factors. As

a side note, only Tourism Tribune and Tourism Science are being indexed under CSSCI among the five selected journals.

"Red tourism" in Chinese is used as the keyword to search for appropriate articles. Articles with the designated keyword appeared at least once in the field of title, topic, or author-indexed keywords were retrieved. Only articles published from 2004 to October 2021 in these five Chinese tourism journals are included. A total of 56 articles were initially identified and checked for possible duplications. Based on a further examination of the whole content of each article, five articles were dropped due to their limited relation with red tourism. Ten commentaries and research notes were further excluded. As a result, 41 articles published in Chinese tourism journals remained.

Regarding the English literature, both Scopus and Web of Science have been used. Similar steps were applied in filtering the search outcome of English-written articles. The search in Scopus resulted in 27 English-written articles with the keyword "red tourism" appearing in the article title, abstract or keywords. From the Web of Science, 28 articles were retrieved using the same criteria for searching relevant research outputs. Twenty-one articles were found duplicated and removed. The remaining 34 articles were screened to remove articles published in non-tourism journals and to ensure only full articles were included. Accordingly, the full texts of 19 English-written articles published in tourism journals were subjected to eligibility assessment. Five articles were further excluded, which consisted of one article that is unrelated to red tourism (Yang, 2018) and four articles only briefly mentioned red tourism or discussed communist heritage tourism in a non-China context (Adie et al., 2017; Handayani & Costa, 2021; Ivanova & Buda, 2020; Sima, 2017). Figure 2.1 presents the systematic procedures applied in locating relevant articles for this section.

Figure 2.1 *Flowcharts of Articles Inclusion and Exclusion*



Each article was coded for the research type, themes and methods employed. Research types include conceptual, review and empirical. Conceptual research refers to articles that explicitly aim to advance the conceptualization of red tourism or articles that discuss and advocate the application of new theoretical approaches without empirically applying them. Review articles include any forms of review, such as critical review, systematic review and bibliometric review. The remaining articles fall into the empirical research category. Methods are coded for qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. Following previous studies, qualitative studies were categorized into Level 1 and Level 2 (Huang et al., 2019; Huang & Hsu, 2008; Wu et al., 2019). Level 1 qualitative studies often do not specify clearly the research methods applied and arrive at narratives and descriptive findings/discussions based on authors' own expertise and/or their own interpretation of related pieces of literature (Huang & Hsu, 2008). Level 2 refers to studies that describe the qualitative methods employed clearly (Wu et al., 2019).

2.2.2.5 Existing Knowledge in Chinese and English Red Tourism Literature

The following section covers the preliminary results of this systematic review. Among the 41 Chinese written articles, three of them are review articles, four articles are classified as conceptual papers, and the remaining 34 articles belong to the category of empirical research. Table 2.2 shows the research themes and sub-themes of each article.

Table 2.2 *Research Topics in Chinese Literature*

Themes	Sub-themes	Articles
Conceptual paper (4)	Comparison of dark tourism and red tourism (2)	He (2012), Wang et al. (2020),
	Theoretical framework development (2)	Xu (2016), Feng (2012)
Review (3)		Liu & Ming (2012), C. Yu et al. (2008), Zhu et al. (2016)
Tourist behavior and experience (7)	Political and social impact (2)	Zuo (2014), Zheng (2016)
	Travel motivations, attitudes, and behavioral intentions (5)	Liu & Mao (2018), Xu et al. (2016), Cao (2020), Feng (2008), Zhang & Peng (2010)
Tourism/destination planning (27)	Destination evaluation and index development (4)	Zhou & Xu (2019), Tang & Feng (2011), Fang & Deng (2013), Tang (2010)
	Tourism resources spatial distribution (1)	Xu & Li (2015)
	Problems, solutions and strategies (11)	Yu & Lu (2005), Zhang (2008), Wen (2004), Lin (2005), Lian & Long (2005), Liang (2005), Su & Zhou (2005), Qiao et al. (2006), Xie et al. (2006), Chen & Li (2007), Tong (2010)
	Development model (5)	Zhu (2011), Dong (2012), Zhang (2004), Yao et al. (2007), X. Yu et al. (2008)
	Destination image (1)	Zhang & Peng (2011)
	Online public attention (2)	Zhang et al. (2021), Cai et al. (2016)
	Market competition between destinations (1)	Zhang & Chen (2008)
	Economic impact and demand forecasting (2)	Dong & Fang (2006), Li et al. (2012)

Over 60% (27/41) of these articles relate to red tourism planning in different scales of destinations. These include discussions of red tourism development strategy at the national level (Lin, 2005; Tong, 2010), provincial level (Chen & Li, 2007), city/county level (Qiao et al., 2006; Zhang, 2004; Zhou & Xu, 2019), and in specific red tourism attractions (Tang &

Feng, 2011; Tang, 2010). Most of the articles under the theme of tourism and destination planning were published within the first decade after the appearance of red tourism in 1999. Among the themes of tourism and destination planning for red tourism, “problems, solutions and strategies,” “development model,” and “destination evaluation and index development” are the three major sub-themes.

The category “problems, solutions and strategies” denotes articles that usually start by describing the settings and challenges of tourism development in a particular context, followed by a set of suggested solutions with limited or even absence of empirical data. This specific descriptive problem-solution mode of research approach has limited contributions to theory development (Liu & Luo, 2020). Additionally, the majority of these articles employed a level 1 qualitative approach and were published in or before 2010. “Development model” refers to articles that propose frameworks or dimensions for the production of tourism products or destinations. Some of these proposed models are inspired by theories (Dong, 2012; Yao et al., 2007), while some are not (Zhang, 2004; Zhu, 2011). Destination evaluation and index development are articles that attempt to construct a scale for evaluating tourism development. Tang and Feng (2011) constructed a scale for evaluating the cultural heritage value of red tourism resources by applying fuzzy mathematics theory. More recently, an evaluation scale for the symbiotic development level of different industries in a red tourism destination was developed by Zhou and Xu (2019). They employed a mixed-method research design with a dominant quantitative component, which comprised in-depth interviews and an analytic hierarchy process. In general, research that aims to construct a scale for tourism development evaluation appeared after 2010 and is more scientific than articles categorized under “problems, solutions and strategies” in terms of the research methods applied.

Tourist behavior and experience are less researched themes in Chinese literature. Most research outputs focused on the supply side of red tourism, which is reflected by the small

number of articles that study tourist behavior. A recent review article also pointed out that there are insufficient investigations of red tourism from a demand perspective (Liu & Luo, 2020). The study of tourist behavior in red tourism context applied common concepts in marketing literature, such as motivations and behavioral intentions. Research published earlier compared motivations for visiting particular red tourism attractions or destinations among different tourists (Feng, 2008; Zhang & Peng, 2010). Later studies usually utilize structural equation modeling to test the relationship between behavioral intentions and other marketing concepts, such as atmosphere (Xu et al., 2016), destination brand personality (Liu & Mao, 2018) and satisfaction (Cao, 2020; Liu & Mao, 2018). Even though more complicated statistical methods were applied, these studies are considered using *theories in* heritage, which are studies framed by managerial discourses and only barely advance heritage tourism knowledge (see also Section 2.1.3).

The study of tourism/destination planning and tourist behavior similarly draws on marketing and psychology. These articles approach red tourism as an economic activity. In fact, red tourism is a specific form of tourism at the intersection of economic, political and cultural activity (Liu & Luo, 2020; Zheng, 2016; Zhu et al., 2016). Although many articles acknowledged or mentioned red tourism is promising in bringing social and political benefits (Zhang, 2004; Zhu, 2011). There is scant literature that interrogates and validates these assumptions. Articles categorized under the sub-theme "social function and impact of red tourism" are some of the exceptions. Different findings have been reported on whether red tourism influences people's political beliefs and attitudes. For instance, Zheng's (2016) study suggested that red tourism could increase tourists' identification with the ruling party and national happiness. In contrast, Zuo (2014) showed that red tourism does not directly affect tourists' attitude towards the CCP, yet could evoke positive emotions about the CCP and strengthen individual's knowledge about CCP.

The research approaches employed by the 34 pieces of empirical research are shown in Table 2.3. More sophisticated quantitative methods have been employed by researchers in recent years (Cao, 2020; Zheng, 2016; Zuo, 2014). It is evident that the quality of research outputs has been increasing in the past decade. Additionally, a relatively large number of articles that employed a qualitative level 1 approach were published from 2004 to 2009. Previous reviews commonly point out that a majority of existing red tourism literature published in Chinese took this approach and failed to provide significant theoretical advancement to the field (Liu & Luo, 2020; C. Yu et al., 2008). Although the number of qualitative level 1 articles gradually reduced from 2010 to 2021, qualitative studies barely exist, especially those that are mindfully crafted and demonstrate high research quality.

Table 2.3 *Research Approaches Employed in Chinese Red Tourism Literature*

Approach	2004-2009	2010-2015	2016-2021
Qualitative Level 1	13	4	/
Qualitative Level 2	/	/	/
Quantitative	4	6	6
Mixed	/	/	1
Total	17	10	7

Nevertheless, it is imperative to reconsider what has been achieved in the existing red tourism literature published in Chinese, what knowledge has been accumulated, and what ends these articles are serving. It seems a “critical turn” bundled with the introduction of interpretive or critical theory informed qualitative research is urgently needed. Qualitative studies attempt to make sense of or interpret social phenomena regarding the meanings people internalize and construct (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This is one of the ways to deepen our understanding of the meaning tourists construct and ascribe to red tourism.

Regarding red tourism literature published in English, Table 2.4 shows the existing research themes. The first red tourism journal article published is a narrative review conducted by Li and Hu (2008) based on government documents, newspaper articles and selected

communist heritage tourism research. The authors introduced red tourism to the international audience by conceptualizing red tourism and highlighting its distinctive characteristics against communist heritage tourism in CEE. Overall, there has been scant literature published in English with a keen focus on red tourism. Noticeably, there is one special issue published in the International Journal of Tourism Cities in 2017, which is themed on communist heritage tourism and red tourism studies.

Table 2.4 *Research Topics in English Literature*

Themes	Sub-themes	Articles
Review (1)		Li & Hu (2008)
Tourist behavior and experience (7)	Political and social impact (3)	Zuo et al. (2016), Tang et al. (2021), Zhong & Peng (2021)
	Travel motivations, attitudes, and behavioral intentions (4)	Zhao & Timothy (2017b), Zhou et al. (2022), Hartmann & Su (2021), Kim et al. (2021)
Heritage interpretation (2)		Li et al. (2010), Zhao & Timothy (2017a)
Tourism/destination planning (4)	Destination image (1)	Hunter (2013)
	Tourism governance (1)	Zhao & Timothy (2015)
	Residents' support for tourism development (1)	Zuo et al. (2017)
	Problems, solutions and strategies (1)	Wall & Zhao (2017)

Most articles fall into themes similar to those identified using Chinese literature. Some different sub-themes could be observed, such as issues of governance and residents' support for tourism development. Two studies that investigated heritage interpretation could be found. Based on a case study of the Ge Le Shan Revolutionary Memorial in the Chongqing City of China, it is found that the official interpretation of this red heritage is framed by a dichotomy of values and discourses (Li et al., 2010). On the one hand, the communist party is being glorified with positive values such as sacrifice and devotion. On the other hand, opponents of the communist party are depicted as cruel and inhumane. Zhao and Timothy (2017a) also investigated heritage interpretations but examined the interpretations given by official site

interpreters and tour guides working for private companies. Official site interpreters are strictly regulated and trained by the central state to enforce ideological indoctrination, while private tour guides are not. From their findings, it is discovered that although official narratives are highly codified and controlled, the interpretations given by tour guides were intertwined with superstitious stories that go against the official narratives and political goals established by the government.

In brief, the research focus among English literature does not lean toward tourism/destination planning as compared to the Chinese literature. From Table 2.5, qualitative level 1 studies do not exist. Somewhat similar to the trend observed in Chinese literature, an increase in quantitative studies is found. Since the dominant qualitative approach employed by researchers in Chinese and English literature is drastically different, it is difficult to compare the data collection and data analysis methods for qualitative studies. In terms of quantitative approach, English literature mainly utilized structural equation modeling, while Chinese literature also harnessed data analysis such as network analysis, regression and econometrics.

Table 2.5 *Research Approaches and Data Collection Methods in English Red Tourism Literature*

Approaches	2010-2015	2016-2021
Qualitative Level 1	/	/
Qualitative Level 2	*3*	*4*
Interview/focus group	2	4
Observation	1	3
Secondary data	2	3
Quantitative		*4*
Questionnaire		4
Mixed method		*2*
Questionnaire and interview		2
Total	3	10

2.2.2.6 Research Gaps in Red Tourism

In summary, there are several areas in red tourism which need further investigation, regardless of whether it is published in Chinese or English. Firstly, although tourists'

experience of red tourism and their behaviors have been studied, most of these studies measure tourists' cognitive evaluation of the experience (Kim et al., 2021; Tang et al., 2021; Xu et al., 2016) and use marketing concepts such as satisfaction and loyalty as a proxy to tourist experience (Hartmann & Su, 2021; Liu & Mao, 2018; Zhou et al., 2022). The subjective experience of red tourists needs to be examined urgently. Heritage tourists are never passive recipients or simple consumers (Waterton & Watson, 2014). Heritage tourism allows tourists to have an embodied contact with the past, resulting in an emotion-rich experience (Chronis, 2006; Smith, 2021). Some tourists who participate in heritage tourism want to feel emotionally involved and have a sense of belonging to the site rather than just being educated (Poria et al., 2004a). Since red tourism is a special form of heritage tourism, further investigations into the emotional/affective experience of red tourists are needed (Jin et al., 2017; Zheng, 2016).

Secondly, red tourism is not only a form of economic activity. It is simultaneously a cultural and political project in its own right (Li & Hu, 2007; Zhu et al., 2016). However, most red tourism research published in Chinese and English to date mainly researched this social phenomenon as an economic or business activity, which is evident in the proportion of studies that focused on tourism/destination planning, motivations and tourists' behaviors. Limited efforts have been seen in understanding the influence of red tourism on tourists' political beliefs (Tang et al., 2021; Zuo, 2014; Zuo et al., 2016). The meaning-making process of red tourists requires further investigation.

Thirdly, the agenda to (re)construct a unified national identity is explicit in red tourism. However, most of the existing literature only demonstrated and unpacked the issue of national identity construction in red tourism from a top-down approach by decoding the official messages embedded in red tourism (Li et al., 2010; Wall & Zhao, 2017; Zhao & Timothy, 2017a). As Bianchi (2009) noted, it is important to move beyond the investigation of discourse and representation, as well as find ways to address both discourse and tourists' agency to put

forward the study of tourism. Research that seeks to understand the experience from tourists' perspectives needs to acknowledge the agency of tourists (Bianchi, 2009). If not, it turns out to be another piece of work that concerns only the supply and demand of tourism (Zhang & Smith, 2019). Tourists' opinions on whether red tourism experience enhances their own sense of patriotism are divided (Zhao & Timothy, 2017b). Zhao (2020) calls for more empirical work to examine how far the political goals set up by the ruling party have been achieved. Specifically, tourists' responses to the official interpretative messages and meanings constructed through participation in red tourism, as advocated in previous research, are still largely understudied (Li & Hu, 2008; Xiao, 2013).

2.3 Discourses, Narratives and Values in Red Tourism

This section aims to offer a brief introduction to the discourses, narratives and values that Chinese tourists encounter in red tourism. The first sub-section orients readers to the conceptualization of nationhood, which is a crucial concept in heritage tourism. In the second section, the discussion extends to the discursive materials associated with red tourism, such as Chinese national identity, Chinese collective memories-related discourses, and core socialist values in China.

2.3.1 Nationhood

As Calhoun (1997) has noted, nationalism is a discourse, which means:

> The production of a cultural understanding and rhetoric which leads people throughout the world to think and frame their aspirations in terms of the idea of nation and national identity, and the production of particular versions of nationalist thought and language in particular settings and traditions. (p. 6)

Therefore, the concept of nation(hood) could be understood as a discursive formation and nationalism as a way of speaking that shapes our mindsets. They enable and disable particular ways of sayings and doings. In a similar vein, Smith (1991) has asserted that nationalism could be regarded as "a form of culture," "an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness," and "a type of identity whose meaning and priority is presupposed by this form of culture" (p.91-92). Anderson's (1983) idea of imagined communities shows that for an individual to identify with any community, it must involve a certain way of thinking. These particular ways of thinking about issues such as collective identities are crucial for the "production of nationalist self-understandings and the recognition of nationalist claims by others" (Calhoun, 1997, p. 4).

National identity is an expression of a person's sense of belonging to a nation. Although national identity and nationalism are different concepts, it is difficult to discuss one without encompassing another one due to their relatedness (Palmer, 1999). Besides, people's understanding of national identity might resonate with underlying assumptions among various theories of nationalism (Šulíková, 2018). There are several principal theories concerning nationalism and the construction of national identity, such as primordialism, perennialism and modernism (Bell, 2003; Smith, 2010). In order to scrutinize the concept of nationalism, an overview of different mainstream theories of nationalism is provided.

2.3.1.1 Primordialism and Perennialism

It is widely recognized that Edwards Shils first coined the term primordialism, and Clifford Geertz draws our attention to *primordial attachments* (McKay, 1982; Özkırımlı, 2017). Smith (2010) summarized primordial accounts of nations as "a primordial category, or one founded upon primordial attachments" (p. 2). These primordial attachments could be rooted in common blood and certain genetic indicators, as Van den Berghe (1995) stated. Another

version of primordialism, indeed more influential, views attachments as “cultural givens” or “cultural markers,” such as kinship, language, race, cultural practices and religion (Smith, 2000; Van den Berghe, 1995). Primordialism does not reject the claim that nations can have a long history. More precisely, primordialists see nations as natural units of human society (Triandafyllidou & Ichijo, 2002). Nationalist movements frequently deploy the primordialist perspective because of its ability to evoke emotions and mobilize actions of people (Bell, 2003).

Some authors distinguished perennialism from primordialism based on the beliefs in antiquity of nations (Smith, 1995). Others might regard it as a milder form of primordialism (Özkırımlı, 2017). There are two main forms of perennialism, which are continuous perennialism and recurrent perennialism. According to Smith (2000, 2010), the first form of perennialism pointed out that some nations are associated with a long history since time immemorial, and some of their origins can be dated back to antiquity. The second form of perennialism sees the nation as a form of recurring human association. Although particular nation rises and fates, the notion of nationhood has been a universal feature that could be found among different nations. In general, perennialists asserted that nations are a kind of social organization that can be found at different points of human history, but nations are definitely not consequences of modernity (Triandafyllidou & Ichijo, 2002).

Both primordialism and perennialism have been criticized for treating nation and national identities as given. The view of seeing national identity as fixed or static entities is incapable of accounting for social change and the socially constructed nature of identities (Özkırımlı, 2017; Scott, 1990; Smith, 2010). Besides, the assumed given nature of primordial traits overlooks humans’ ability to resist or manipulate identities (McKay, 1982).

2.3.1.2 Modernism/Constructivism

The emergence of the modernist approach to nation and nationalism is considered a reaction to primordialism. Different schools of modernist approach vary in terms of their emphasis on deploying economic, cultural and historical factors respectively to explain nationalism (Özkırımlı, 2017). Despite the differences, the belief that nations and nationalism are the products of specific modern processes, such as capitalism, industrialization and urbanization, is the key tenet of modernism (Smith, 2002). Constructivism stresses the importance of studying nation identity as a socially constructed, historically bounded and culturally contingent human behavior (Carrai, 2021).

Among many modernists' analyses of nationalism, the popular theories proposed by Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawn and Benedict Anderson concur with the modernist-constructivist perspective. Both theories similarly see nations as a concept that could not be defined objectively. Nations are artificial, constructed and contingent since they are propelled by people with power (Gellner, 1983). Scholars embracing this version of nationalism describe it as the apparatus of nation-building which is deployed by nationalists (Levinger & Lytle, 2001; A. D. Smith, 2000).

Two thoughtful statements were given by Gellner (1983): "Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture," and "Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation" (p. 7). To identify oneself with a nation, one needs shared culture and self-recognition with a nation. It is argued by a majority of modernists that people could identify themselves as a member of a particular nation even if they do not share common religious beliefs, culture, history, genetic traits and so on (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990).

Hobsbawn (1983) considered the emergence of nation and nationalism as a form of politics that inevitably involves a process of formalization and ritualization. He draws our

attention to what he termed *invented traditions*. It refers to “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawn, 1983, p. 1). It is argued that invented traditions, such as the use of flags, images, ceremonies, music and history, legitimize the authority of a nation (Hobsbawn, 1983; Özkırımlı, 2017).

Benedict Anderson published his *Imagined Communities* in 1983, which was the same year Hobsbawn released *The Invention of Tradition*. Anderson considers nationalism as a form of discourse or narrative that provides people with an imagination of the political community (Smith, 2010). People do not need to have physical contact with other members in order to identify themselves with the nation. From the perspective of Anderson, the invention of printing technologies and the mass production of vernacular books provide the most basic conditions for people to imagine communities that we call *nations* (Anderson, 1983). Print capitalism facilitates people’s learning of their group history not only within the family, but also from history books, schooling and the mass media (Wang, 2012).

2.3.1.3 Performative Perspective

Both Smith and Anderson’s formulations of national identity are insightful in the macro-process of national identity formation. However, one must not neglect the fact that individuals do not solely take up national identity, but they are actively involved in the daily production of it (Edensor, 2002). Billig (1995) proposed a bottom-up approach to the understanding of national identity by focusing on the individuals and micro-level of national identity acquisition. Calhoun (1997) posited that national identities are created and sustained through the ways in which we talk and make claims about the nation.

Edensor (2002) explored how national identities are continually performed and enacted in both formal occasions and mundane activities. For instance, national symbols such as national flags and anthems are being utilized to produce and legitimize national solidarity in formal ceremonies. In our everyday lives, our collective routines in relation to what and when to eat, work, and play are often unquestioned (Edensor, 2002). These unreflexive habits or enactions tell us something about our collective identities. The performative perspective on national identity suggests that everyday human practice seldom involves critical reflection, and these routinized human practices contribute to the creation of nation and nationhood.

2.3.2 Red Tourism Related Discourses, Narratives and Values

2.3.2.1 Authorized Heritage Discourse in Red Tourism

Heritage is both a device for mythmaking and a space for displaying the authorized myth (Oakes, 2016). Red tourism destinations usually involve red heritages that are designed as museums. It is observed that many museums in contemporary China are officially designated as patriotic education bases (Vickers, 2007). Most previous tourism studies also focus on museum attractions to study red tourism (Li et al., 2010; Wall & Zhao, 2017; Zhao & Timothy, 2017a). Macdonald (2013) points out that heritage and museums are examples of the "memory complex" that enables the manifestation and seeking of identity. In this vein, heritage is a powerful resource, and its ability lies in representing an authorized identity for its visitors (Smith, 2021).

Authorized heritage discourse (AHD) is an idea founded by Smith (2006). First, AHD represents things or ideas that are deemed crucial and good about the past, being sanctioned by governments or heritage experts. Governments aim to pass on those things labeled as *heritage* to future generations to create a shared identity by conveying AHD to its people (Roppola et al., 2021). In this sense, heritage could be a political apparatus for state-sanctioned cultural

institutions and political leaders to popularize a consensus version of history for the purpose of regulating present cultural and social tensions in society (Smith, 2006). The idea of AHD suggests that heritage visitation, in the view of the government, is not being treated as an active process or experience. The official interpretative messages in heritage are something "visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with more actively" (Smith, 2006, p. 31). In other words, governments attempt to exclude competing discourses and wish visitors to consume the messages in any heritage uncritically and passively by delivering an official interpretation of the past. The promotion of AHD aims to appropriate and neutralize certain narratives for defining a nation (Roppola et al., 2021).

Svensson and Maags (2018) summarized the shift of AHD emphasis in China. During the era of Mao Zedong, there was an unprecedented emphasis on revolutionary heritage. Then, in the 1980s, it shifted to emphasize China's imperial past and included more patriotic messages with a cultural lens (Svensson & Maags, 2018). After 1990, AHD in China started to embrace the concept of intangible cultural heritage and celebrate more diverse heritage. Now, a re-emphasis on the revolutionary heritages of the CCP could be observed because of ideological reasons and its function to appropriate narratives for patriotic education (Long, 2012; Svensson & Maags, 2018; Wang, 2012).

Nation-building is often identified as one of the purposes that drive governments to conserve heritage and promote heritage tourism (Li & Hu, 2007; Light, 2017; Zhu, 2023). Red tourism as a state-sanctioned political apparatus reflects and reinforces political discourses propagated by the government (Li et al., 2010). Scholars observed that political discourse in China is constructed by drawing from a range of supporting sources, including both ancient past and events that happened in the last two centuries (Carrai, 2021; Perry, 2015). Callahan (2004) believes that Chinese nationalism is not only about celebrating the glory of Chinese civilization but is also about commemorating the past weakness of China. In China, the

manipulation of history for patriotic education is the most obvious and extensive. Patriotic education in China is characterized by "a combination of past glory and humiliation, and a balance between the CCP's achievements and the country's historical constraints, or backward national conditions" (Guo, 2004, p. 32). This constructed master narrative serves as the official story of a nation in Anderson's (1983) sense. The master narratives and discourses include notions such as *Zhonghua minzu*, the Chinese Dream and the century of humiliation. These will be discussed in later parts.

Interestingly, the narratives of national cohesion and century of humiliation, which are components of the official AHD commonly found in red tourism, are also widely observed in non-red tourism contexts. In a study of heritage interpretation in *diaolou* (*碉楼*), which is a designated World Cultural Heritage site, the authors reported that the content of heritage interpretation given by tour guides highly follows the AHD promoted by the central state (Gao et al., 2020). Tour guides in this heritage site stressed the narratives of the century of humiliation during guided tours. In the case of a diasporic heritage museum, the Chen Cihong residence, the narratives in the museum depict overseas Chinese as unified patriotic subjects who made great contributions to China's revolution and modernization (Wang, 2020).

Regarding red tourism literature identified, nearly all authors agreed that participating in red tourism and visiting red heritages would definitely lead to the strengthening of nationhood and patriotism, while only a few authors raised questions about this belief (Zhao, 2020; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b). Although most Chinese authors commented positively on the social functions of red tourism, only a limited number of works examined the influence of red tourism on people's beliefs and identity. These studies include examining the influence of red tourism from the perspectives of identity formation (Zuo, 2014), support toward the ruling party (Zuo et al., 2017), and the development of red memory (Tang et al., 2021). The proclaimed influential social function of red tourism, which is supported by limited empirical

evidence, seems to show that the Chinese academia might also be contributing to the AHD of red tourism.

It is important to note that visitors of heritage are never passive recipients of the official AHD (Gao et al., 2020; Smith, 2006; Zhu, 2015). Instead of directly challenging or recognizing the AHD, visitors construct their own meaning about heritage through different forms of engagement and participation, which are cultural practices (Smith, 2021; Zhu, 2015). These practices will sustain, contest or silence the AHD of heritage. Therefore, an investigation of visitors' responses to the AHD in the Chinese context is needed (Gao et al., 2020). To the best knowledge of the author, there is limited literature exploring visitors' responses to the state-sanctioned interpretations of the past in the red tourism context.

2.3.2.2 Identity Discourse: *Zhonghua Minzu*

Even though China[3] is associated with more than five thousand years of history, it is never a self-conscious nation (Zheng, 2019). It is interesting to note that the Western concept of nation did not exist in China until it was introduced by modern nationalists in the late nineteenth century (Fei, 1999; Huang, 2002). At that time, the terms "*zhongguo* (中国)" and "*zhonghua* (中华)" were revigorated by elites, and new meanings were given to these two terms (Hayton, 2020). Since then, *zhongguo,* as a term only used in the distant past, became the new name of China today. The rationale behind this is to claim that China has been a long-established nation for over five millennia (Hayton, 2020).

The word "Chinese" becomes problematic when it is used as a national or ethnic identity category. Chinese can be further specified as "*zhongguoren*, *zhonghua minzu*, *huaren*, *huaqiao*, *tangren*, *hanren*, and so on" (Liu, 2020, p. 399). The term "Chinese" is the most

[3] China in this single paragraph refers to the geographical area only, instead of the People's Republic of China.

commonly used term to describe the nationality of Chinese people living in China and other countries. It also refers to ethnic Chinese of other nationalities or emigrants who reside outside of China (e.g., *huaren* and *huaqiao*). Moreover, it can represent the Han ethnicity and inheritance of Chinese culture as suggested by the terms *tangren* and *hanren*. It seems tempting to interpret the word "Chinese" to be denoting an ancestral and cultural connection. Conversely, Zhong (2016) questioned why some people who are de facto Chinese, in ethnic and cultural terms, "deny their Chinese identity if they speak Chinese, write Chinese, eat Chinese food, practice Chinese religions and celebrate Chinese traditional holidays" (p. 340). For instance, some Taiwanese who share identical ethnic and cultural backgrounds with Chinese in China are having problems identifying themselves as Chinese (Chen, 2012; Zhong, 2016).

It remains largely ambiguous to define Chinese national identity along the ethnic and cultural dimensions. Studies have shown that some people living under the political boundaries of China are becoming more incompatible with the ethnic and cultural definition of the Chinese nation that is actively trumpeted by the Chinese central government (Veg, 2017). Similarly, if the assumption of Chinese national identity as purely ethnic, cultural and territorial bonds holds, it would be impossible to observe the recent shifting national identification with or rejection of Chinese national identity by Hong Kong residents (Lowe & Tsang, 2018; Steinhardt et al., 2018; Yew & Kwong, 2014). As it might be obvious enough, these people identify themselves with the cultural, ethnic, and historical dimensions of Chinese identity but seem to deny or reject identifications with the political regime in China.

The meaning of "Chinese" is demonstrated to be highly flexible and changeable because the term itself incorporates issues of race, culture, ethnicity and politics (Harrell, 1996; Y. Liu, 2020). It also denotes different meanings, which include *zhongguoren*, *zhonghua minzu* and *huaqiao*. It is argued that *zhonghua minzu* as a discourse concerning people's identity,

usually translated as the "Chinese nation," is extremely relevant as compared to the use of "Chinese" or other alternatives.

Zhonghua minzu, as an identity discourse, is highly relevant and often made explicit in red tourism context. For example, *zhonghua minzu* is often mentioned in public speeches or messages publicized by the Beijing government. In August 2019, President Xi Jinping visited the Chinese Red Army Memorial Museum in Gansu and made the following speech:

> The founding of New China was not easy, and the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics was not easy either. The heroic spirit of the Red Army's Long March … is an integral part of the red genes of the CCP and the precious spiritual wealth of the *zhonghua minzu*. We must speak for the stories of the Party, the Red Army, and the West Route Army well and pass on the red genes effectively. (Xinhua News, 2019)

In another inspection of a newly built Museum of the Chinese Communist Party in June 2021, President Xi addressed another important speech:

> The history of the CCP is the most vivid and convincing textbook.... It is necessary to study and review the Party's history, carry forward its valuable experience, bear in mind the course of its struggles, shoulder the historic mission, and draw strength from its history to forge ahead… (We must) work together to build an all-rounded modern socialist country and actualize the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation of the *zhonghua minzu*. (Xinhua News, 2021)

Zhonghua minzu is a term prevailing in China that refers to the modern notion of Chinese national identity, which transcends ethnic divisions. Scholars suggest that *zhonghua minzu* is a fundamental concept within Chinese nationalism that appeared in the late 19th century (Hayton, 2020; Sigley, 2021). Some scholars raised questions about whether *zhonghua minzu* denotes a broader understanding of nationality encompassing all Chinese people in the

world, which includes the diaspora population. However, at this moment, *zhonghua minzu* seems to be only referring to Chinese people who are currently living in China (Carrai, 2021).

According to scholars, *zhonghua minzu* as a discourse serves the ideological needs of the Chinese government in assuring the political loyalty of its people regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, as well as enforcing the beliefs that the historical and cultural attachment between the nation and its people is a long-established and immutable one (Chu, 2018; Harrell, 1996). There are two central ideas about the term *zhonghua minzu* since it emerged in the late 19th century. First, it is assumed that Chinese culture is much superior to foreign cultures because of its splendid civilization. Civilization narratives involve those reflect China's great history and fine culture, as well as the contemporary achievements of Chinese people (Wang, 2012). This assumption was also observed when President Xi declared China to be a great power with an exceptional civilization of five thousand years long (Hayton, 2020). Second, *zhonghua minzu* is associated with a sense of national humiliation that Chinese people have been in danger of Western countries' invasions since the early twentieth century (Zhao, 2000). The Chinese government propagated the identity discourse of *Zhonghua minzu* by skilfully interweaving the two distinctive ideas of humiliation and civilization (Chu, 2018).

2.3.2.3 Chinese Dream, Rejuvenation, and Century of Humiliation

The notion of the "Chinese Dream (*中国梦*)" was first announced by President Xi during his first month being the chairman of the CCP in November 2012. Since November 2012, Chinese leaders have repeatedly called for Chinese people to achieve the Chinese Dream (S. Zheng, 2014). Although the phrase was formulated by elites a few years before his commencement, President Xi embraced this term and repositioned it as a discursive resource that informs both domestic and international policies (Rowen, 2019). The Chinese Dream, which is a popular political discourse in China, plays a critical role in evoking the imagination

of a common identity and subsequently legitimizing the ruling of the CCP (Perry, 2015; Wang, 2017).

However, what is Chinese Dream? Scholars believe that there is no single definition of the Chinese Dream. Yet, its strong linkage to the contemporary history of China is perhaps its most prominent feature (Carrai, 2021; Wang, 2014). President Xi exclaimed that the greatest aspiration for the whole nation should be the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation (Wang, 2014). Some scholars considered Chinese Dream as a national goal to promote economic prosperity and the rejuvenation of the nation (Feng, 2015). If the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is the ultimate goal for the nation-state and its people, then why is there a need for rejuvenation? Scholars discovered that the rejuvenation narrative is an extension of the national humiliation discourse, which has been embraced by Chinese leaders since the late 19th century (Wang, 2008, 2014). A great sense of China's humiliation was deep-rooted in Chinese leaders in the twentieth century, including Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong, Chiang Kai-shek, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin (Zhao, 2000). All these former leaders were determined to restore the image of China as a great power (Zhao, 2000).

The national humiliation narrative is referred to as the "century of humiliation" (Carrai, 2021; Wang, 2014). The century of humiliation covers the period of time between the First Opium War (1839–1842) and the end of the Sino-Japanese War in the late 1940s (Carrai, 2021). Many Chinese people consider this century as a period of time when their nation was attacked and bullied by foreign enemies, such as the Japanese (Wang, 2012). Wertsch and Roediger III (2008) reminded us that the construction of a shared national identity often draws on a narrative encompassing heroism, a golden era and victimhood. Many scholars also agreed that the master narrative provided by the Beijing government contains selective elements of national traumas and glories (Callahan, 2004, 2017; Gries, 2004; Guo, 2004). The century of humiliation creates a sense of trauma that significantly shape the national identity and collective memory of the

Chinese people (Gries, 2004; Wang, 2018). Some tourism scholars have started to pay attention to the concept of Chinese Dream (Rowen, 2019; Weaver, 2015; Weaver et al., 2015), but not much progress has been made in tourism studies.

Wang (2012) noted the connection between red tourism and the "century of humiliation" narrative in his book *Never Forget National Humiliation.* He categorized a hundred national level patriotic education bases and found that these education bases reflect four themes, which are internal conflicts, external conflicts, the civilization of China and the heroes of CCP (see Table 2.6). Although the list of national-level patriotic education bases is not entirely identical to the one hundred red tourism scenic spots announced in the First Outline, many of the sites are the same (Wang, 2012). Furthermore, the red tourism sites listed in the Second Outline have expanded not only in numbers but also the historical timespan. The officially enlisted red tourism sites in the First Outline cover sites related to revolutionary events from 1921 to 1949. However, the new list of red tourism scenic spots was enriched with sites that represent important national history ranging from 1840 (the first opium war) to the present time. It shows that red tourism has a close tie with the narratives of the century of humiliation, rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and the Chinese Dream. Therefore, these narratives are possible materials for Chinese tourists' meaning-making in red tourism.

Table 2.6 *The Hundred National Level Patriotic Education Bases*

Category		Subject
Century of humiliation	External conflicts (40 sites)	Anti-Japanese War, 1931-1945 First Opium War, 1839-1842 Second Opium War, 1856-1860 Korean War, 1950-1953 Russian invasion, 1858 China-India War, 1962 War with the Dutch over Taiwan, 1662 Invasion of the Eight Nation Alliance, 1900 Other general anti-imperialism museums/sites
	Internal conflicts – Civil war (24 sites)	Civil wars between the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang, 1927-1949
Great Civilization of China	Myths (21 sites)	Wonders of ancient architecture and civilizations Relics of prehistoric civilization
Heroes	Heroes of CCP (15 sites)	Chinese Communist Party leaders Model workers Patriots

Note. Adapted from Wang (2012)

2.3.2.4 Core Socialist Values in Contemporary China

The CCP and its leaders promised to deliver a "Chinese Dream" with the goal of rejuvenating and securing the prosperity of the Chinese nation, as well as fostering the happiness of the Chinese people (Callahan, 2017; Feng, 2015). For the Chinese Dream to be actualized in a socialist way with Chinese characteristics, a set of values has been promoted. At the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2012, a list of state-sanctioned expositions of Chinese socialism was promoted. This set of values is coined as "core socialist values" (*社会主义核心价值观*). There are a total of twelve values being divided into three dimensions, entailing national, societal, and personal levels (Perry, 2015). Each value is a noun composed of two Chinese characters. The first dimension, which is the national level, consists of prosperity (*fuqiang, 富强*), democracy (*minzhu, 民主*), civility (*wenming, 文明*), and harmony (*hexie*, *和谐*). The societal level of values covers freedom (*ziyou*, *自由*), equality (*pingdeng*, *平等*), justice (*gongzheng*, *公正*), and rule of law (*fazhi*, *法治*). The personal level encompasses patriotism (*aiguo, 爱国*), dedication (*jingye, 敬业*), integrity (*chengxin, 诚信*), and friendliness/friendship (*youshan, 友善*). These twelve values are being extensively promoted

in everyday life. Related displays and posters could be easily spotted in public areas, such as pedestrian streets, parks, and public transportation (See Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 *Examples of Displays and Posters Promoting Core Socialist Values in China*

Note. Photo by author.

Some traditional Confucian values, such as harmony and integrity, are being purposefully integrated into the core socialist values to serve state nationalism (Wang, 2017). The interpretation and meaning of these words could be quite different from the commonplace understandings in Western liberal society (Gow, 2017). For instance, "democracy" is interpreted in a way that "seeks to elide the fundamental contradiction between Enlightenment values and illiberal politics" (Perry, 2015, p. 903). In a Chinese context, democracy has multiple meanings, which might refer to something that is quite different from what is commonly understood by Western social scientists (Gow, 2017). Scholars suggested that the CCP version of democracy might mean a range of politics from the dictatorship of the proletariat to enlightened authoritarianism or benign autocracy (Feng, 2015). In addition, the rule of law in the mind of CCP refers to rule by law (Gow, 2017). Other scholars supported similar interpretations that the Chinese's "rule of law" equates to "rule of the country by the law" (Feng, 2015, p. 169).

2.4 Memory-Tourism-Emotion Nexus

2.4.1 Memory in Collective Forms

Wertsch and Roediger III (2008) observed that collective memory is often used interchangeably with other terms. Collective memory is a slippery term that frequently appears in the media, everyday conversations and even in academic discussions. Although it has been widely used, it seems that it is difficult to clearly define what it is and how it works (Hirst & Manier, 2008; Wertsch, 2009). Perhaps what is commonly agreed is that collective memory is a form of memory shared by members of a group (Stone & Hirst, 2014; Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). Similarly, it seems tourism scholars have employed terms such as collective memory (Franklin & West, 2010), social memory (Winter, 2009, 2015), cultural memory (Zakos, 2015) and historical memory (Cheng & Wong, 2014; Russo & Bertelle, 2020). There are different terms that can be used to understand the nature of collective memory as an umbrella term and the processes of collective remembering. The following sections will introduce these terms separately.

2.4.1.1 Collective Memory

Contemporary use of the term collective memory and the study of memory in various disciplines are said to be influenced by Maurice Halbwachs. The term collective memory has become an umbrella term for many other terms like social memory, national memory and cultural memory (Assmann, 2008). Generally speaking, collective memory is a set of beliefs and ideas about the past that facilitate a group to make sense of its past and future (Halbwachs, 1980). Halbwachs (1992) believes there is a collective framework of memory being used as an instrument to construct an image of the past that is consistent with the thoughts within present society. It is believed that when memories are being elicited, common memories of the past among a social group (e.g., religious group, family group) associate individuals with social

identities (Johnson, 2004). In reverse, group memberships provide materials for collective memory and facilitate the recalling of specific memories. It is observed that there are two different perspectives regarding how collective memory should be approached. The two are individualist and collectivist understandings of collective memory. The individualist perspective, which is called “collected memory” by Olick (1999), refers to the “aggregated individual memories of members of a group” (p. 338). Research that takes the individualist perspective examines culturally and socially framed individual memories. In contrast, the collective perspective treats collective memory as collective representations, common narratives or images of the past (Olick, 2007).

2.4.1.2 Social Memory

Halbwachs sometimes interchangeably used both collective memory and social memory in his writing. Social memory is a term favored by sociologists (Jedlowski, 2001; Olick & Robbins, 1998). The concept of social memory is highly similar to Halbwachs’ notion of collective memory, but the study of social memory concerns processes that shape, contest or maintain collective memory.

As Olick (1999) noted, “There is no individual memory without social experience nor is there any collective memory without individuals participating in communal life” (p. 346). He asserted that the study of collective memory could not only rely on the individualist or collectivist perspective of memory. In order to reconcile the individualist and collectivist approaches, Olick (1999) suggested using the term collective memory as “a sensitizing term for a wide variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective” (p.346) and to start *social memory studies.* Olick and Robbins (1998) believed we should pay attention to “the varieties of forms through which we are shaped by the past, conscious and unconscious, public and private, material and

communicative, consensual and challenged" (p. 112). In short, studies of social memory aim to theorize mnemonic practices and ways of remembering in society rather than treating collective memory as things or mental constructions.

In tourism studies, the term social memory is understood as a synonym for collective memory (Craig Wight, 2020; Winter, 2015, 2016a). Tourism studies that employ social memory theories emphasize the processes of how collective or social memory is being shaped through tourism rather than studying the content of collective memory. For example, tourism scholars describe social memory as the way in which people remember the past together as a collective or shared experience (Das & George, 2018; Winter, 2009). Studies have been conducted to examine tourists' involvement in creating and maintaining social memory (Winter, 2015, 2016a).

2.4.1.3 Cultural Memory

According to Assmann (1995), cultural memory is a term that stems from Maurice Halbwachs and art historian Aby Warburg. The idea of cultural memory suggests that collective memory is not only about a shared past, but also includes representation of the past embodied in various cultural practices, especially those commemorative practices (Misztal, 2003). Thus, collective memory becomes a meaning-making tool for a cultural group (Misztal, 2003). Assmann (1995) distinguished cultural memory from what he called communicative memory. Communicative memory refers to the collective memory that is being used in everyday communication, such as conversations between a couple and a joke (Assmann, 1995). The meanings and contents of communicative memory are highly flexible, and almost everyone has equal rights to the interpretation of the past (Erll, 2011). In contrast, cultural memory is distant from mundane life, purposefully commemorated and established. Its cultural meanings and contents are quite fixed (Assmann, 1995). The cultural memory of a society is usually

based on public institutions such as museums, archives and monuments, as well as festivals, cultural practices and commemorative events (Assmann, 2008).

2.4.1.4 Historical Memory

Halbwachs (1980) and Nora (1989) both used the term historical memory to refer to history. Smith (1991) believes history is one of the fundamental elements in defining national identity. In international relations studies, historical memory does not mean merely an understanding of history (Wang, 2012). It could only be defined by the government. Moreover, historical memory is powerful because it specifics the rules and norms that define group membership, as well as guides the way group members make sense of the world (Wang, 2018). Political elites often use it to legitimize their rule (Carrai, 2021).

2.4.1.5 Red Memory

Red memory is regarded as a form of collective/social memory prevailing in China (Liang, 2010; Pan, 2018; Xu, 2016). According to Tang et al. (2021), red memory refers to historical and emotional memories about the revolutionary past related to CCP and their success in offering independence, emancipation, resurgence, and prosperity to the Chinese nation. As Pan (2018) has noted, red memory is a form of social memory and a representation among members of *zhonghua minzu*, which is constructed based on the revolutionary history of the Chinese Communist Party. It is important to note that *zhonghua minzu* is a concept that transcends ethnic and cultural definitions of national identity in China (Chu, 2018). Red tourism sites play an important role in depicting a selective past related to the CCP as a symbol of the *zhonghua minzu* (Li et al., 2010). The Chinese central government observed that red memory naturally fades over generations. Since younger generations usually lack first-hand experiences of the revolutionary past of China, it results in insufficient transmission and

maintenance of red memory in China (Liang, 2010; Pan, 2018). Red tourism is considered one of the significant ways to transmit and strengthen red memory (Tang et al., 2021). Xu (2016) proposed that red memory could fulfill its social functions in three different dimensions. In the first dimension, which is the micro level, red memory offers Chinese citizens a sense of belonging and ontological security. Regarding the meso level, red memory enforces core socialist values, enhances Chinese tourists' trust in the ruling party and promotes national solidarity. The same author also asserted that red tourism could actualize global values, such as justice, integrity and autonomy, at the macro level.

2.4.2 Collective Remembering

According to Anderson (1983), a nation is an imagined community in which its members might not know each other but are united by a sense of belonging. Collective memory provides the material for creating a sense of national solidarity. However, an active process that helps to create and sustain the collective memory is required, that is, collective remembering (Wertsch, 2002).

Olick and Robbins (1998) delimited the study of collective memory as "a general rubric for inquiry into the varieties of forms through which we are shaped by the past, conscious and unconscious, public and private, material and communicative, consensual and challenged" (p.112). In other words, researching different mnemonic practices in various social settings is crucial to the study of collective memory. "It is only through an active engagement with the pasts we produce in the present that we can generate the individual and collective memories that will bind us together in future," wrote (Harrison, 2013b, p. 203). Visiting heritage sites is one of the mnemonic practices as people recollect what happened in the past. The processes of remembering and forgetting are embedded in the contemporary practice of meaning-making in heritages (Harrison, 2013a).

How societies or members of a social group remember is a question that has been asked for a long time. Although it is explicitly reflected in his book *How Societies Remember*, Connerton (1989) is probably not the first one who ask this question. For instance, Burke (1997), who is a famous cultural historian at the University of Cambridge, asked, “What are the modes of transmission of public memories and how have these modes changed over time?” (p.46). Maurice Halbwachs produced two important works, which are *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Social Frameworks of Memory) and *la mémoire collective* (The collective memory). His analysis of collective memory points to the socially constructed nature of memory. He argued that individuals acquire and recollect memories based on their identification with a social group. Frederic Bartlett, who is considered the father of modern psychology of memory, also discussed similar questions in his book *Remembering*. Back in the time of early 20th century, Bartlett strongly rejected the view of treating memory as a socially isolated mental faculty and questioned the belief that memories carry the same meaning regardless of social context (Wagoner, 2013). In contrast, Bartlett (1932) asserted that remembering is an active and socially situated activity. Remembering is also commonly conceived as always in the process of becoming, through continuous reconstructions and negotiations. As written by Bartlett (1932),

> Remembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions or experience, and to a little outstanding detail which commonly appears in image or in language form. (p. 213)

Regarding the characteristics of collective remembering, Wertsch and Roediger III (2008) provided us with some important conceptual foundations. First, collective memory is contrasted with collective remembering. According to Dudai (2002), collective memory refers

to three notions, which are “a body of knowledge, an attribute, and a process” (p. 51). Collective memory as a body of knowledge or attribute represents the way it could be used by a social group to define themselves. In this regard, it is similar to Bar-Tal’s (2000) notion of societal beliefs, which is defined as “enduring beliefs shared by society members, with contents that are perceived by society members as characterizing their society” (p. xiii-xiv). In contrast, collective remembering is an active and contested process, which reflects the third way of approaching collective memory, treating it as a process rather than a body of knowledge or an attribute (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). Collective remembering is a space for contestation, where members of different social groups negotiate with or even compete against state authorities for the interpretation of the past (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). In this regard, collective remembering is a process that gives opportunities for individuals to challenge power and social structures.

Secondly, collective remembering is distinctive from historical memory or history. In normal circumstances, history aims to provide a relatively accurate and objective interpretation of the past and include different perspectives (Roediger III & Abel, 2015). History could be revised if new evidence is found, but collective remembering usually rejects and ignores counter-evidence in order to sustain a state-sanctioned version of the past (Wertsch, 2008a; Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). In contrast, collective memory is often based on a biased, single point of view in order to create a shared identity (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). The notion of collective remembering and forgetting is crucial to the identity formation of a community (Middleton & Edwards, 1990). Shared identity is often created by drawing on a narrative of heroism, a golden era and victimhood (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008).

Lastly, socially situated individuals are the agents involved in collective remembering (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). The practice of remembering cannot be separated from the wider social-cultural context. Episodic memory, individual memory and autobiographical

memory are terms psychologists used in studying individuals' memory (Wertsch, 2002). For collective remembering, although it is individuals who remember, shared collective memory is distributed through the use of common *cultural tools* among members of the same group (Wertsch, 2002). Cultural tools mean narrative structures or templates (Wertsch, 2008a). Language is one of the cultural tools. Shared narratives, which are also cultural tools, play a significant role in maintaining the process of collective remembering (Wertsch, 2002, 2008a). Wertsch and Roediger III (2008) believed that different cultural tools might result in different versions of collective memory.

2.4.3 The Importance of Narrative Structures for Collective Remembering

Collective memory is a representation of the past shared by individuals belonging to a social group (Wertsch, 2008c). Wertsch's (2008c) understanding of collective memory shares the same tradition with Halbwachs (1980) that the memory recalled by an individual more or less involves identifications with a particular group, such as the nation-state and ethnic groups.

According to Wertsch (2002), memory could be socially distributed through the interaction of group members and the use of various cultural instruments. If members share the same cultural tools, it could be asserted that people remember collectively (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008). For memory to be instrumentally distributed and become collective memory, it needs the involvement of active agents and cultural tools such as calendars, written records and narratives (Wertsch, 2009). The instrumental distribution of memory within a group through the use of shared narrative structures is the focus of the following discussion.

Following Bartlett's (1932) notion of schemata, James Wertsch has advanced the development of collective memory by conceptualizing narrative as a cultural tool that individuals draw upon in the process of collective remembering (Smith, 2021; Wertsch, 2002, 2008b, 2008c). Schema refers to "an active organization of past reactions, or past experiences,

which must always be supposed to be operating in any well-adapted organic response" (Bartlett, 1932, p. 201). Schema exhibits several characteristics. First, it is constantly developing and affected by newly encountered sensational experiences. This characteristic is in line with the constructive nature of collective memory. Second, it activates automatically, and individuals might not be aware of its activation. Third, perhaps the most important is that, schema depicts actively developing patterns of human actions which are informed by similar past experiences, both physically and mentally. Researchers agreed that people's recalling and remembering of the past is a schema-guided (re)construction (Burke, 1997; Hirst et al., 2018; Wertsch, 2008b). In this way, human responses are somewhat constrained by previously developed and culturally shared schemata.

Individuals remember or recall memory through schemata, which are the general mental representations of similar past experiences, narratives and cultural conventions (Boyer & Wertsch, 2009). Wertsch (2008b) pinpointed that what makes collective memory collective depends on whether similar narrative structures are being taken up by members of a social group. It is asserted that narrative is crucial in organizing collective memories, and the power of narrative lies in its ability to shape the representation of the past (Hirst et al., 2018; Wertsch, 2008c). Wertsch (2002, 2008a, 2008b) posited that there are two types of narrative templates, which are *specific narrative template* and *schematic narrative template*. Understanding the features of these two types of narratives helps to illuminate how people remember the past collectively. Firstly, each specific narrative template deals with just a single concrete event that happened in the past, which contains concrete and detailed dates, settings, and actions (Wertsch, 2008b). One of the examples of specific narrative templates is those passages of history in textbooks. However, it does not imply that there is only one specific narrative template for a single event in the past. The second form of narrative structure, schematic narrative template, is more generalized and abstract than the specific narrative template (Wertsch, 2008b). A

schematic narrative is an abstract plot, pattern or storyline that forms the basis of many specific narratives (Wertsch, 2008a). Schematic narrative templates are so deeply embedded in our minds that we seldom realize our recalling of history is a schema-guided action (Hirst et al., 2018). Schematic narrative templates are relatively stable and long-lasting. Most importantly, they are commonly upheld by several generations. However, schematic narrative templates are not some kind of omnipresent archetype because narrative traditions differ between different cultural settings (Wertsch, 2002).

The idea of these two types of narrative templates is further illustrated by Wertsch in his studies of Russians' memories of the Second World War (WWII). He gathered short essays about WWII written by Russians across different age groups and educational backgrounds (Wertsch, 2008b). It is found that these short essays vary in terms of detail, but they share a common narrative structure, which he termed "Expulsion of Foreign Enemies" (Wertsch, 2008a). The schematic narrative template that shapes the collective memory of many Russians is a general storyline containing the following elements:

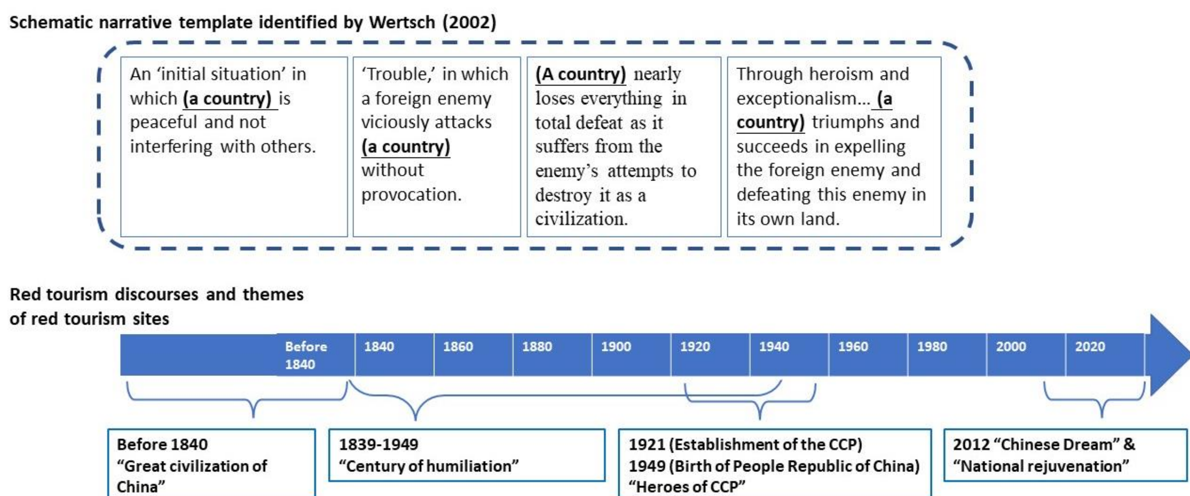
1. An "initial situation" in which Russia is peaceful and not interfering with others.
2. "Trouble," in which a foreign enemy viciously attacks Russia without provocation.
3. Russia nearly loses everything in total defeat as it suffers from the enemy's attempts to destroy it as a civilization.
4. Through heroism and exceptionalism, against all odds, and acting alone, Russia triumphs and succeeds in expelling the foreign enemy and defeating this enemy in its own land. (Wertsch, 2008b, pp. 142–143)

Related studies suggested that this narrative template is not only specific to WWII but is also found in various versions of the Great Fatherland War in Soviet and post-Soviet Russian history textbooks (Wertsch, 2002; Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009). Wertsch (2009) also believed that by replacing the word "Russia" with "America" in the above template, it seems to fit the

American collective memory of the Japanese's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. These arguments show how a schematic narrative template serves as a cultural tool for emplotting our remembered past in a way that most of the social memories we recall take on similar storylines but different characters (Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009).

Perhaps Wertsch's (2002) schematic narrative template does not only fit Russians' and Americans' collective remembering of their national history but is also applicable to the case of Chinese people. As discussed in earlier sections, red tourism sites are closely linked to significant historical events that happened between 1839 to the present day (see Section 1.1.1 and 2.3.2.3). The selected narratives and discourses relevant to red tourism sites seem highly compatible with the notion of schematic narrative template. A comparison of Wertsch's (2002) schematic narrative template with themed discourses embedded in red tourism sites is made visually (see Figure 2.3). The distinctive and well-organized master narrative of contemporary Chinese history, which entails narratives of national humiliation, heroism and rejuvenation chronologically, are the collective memories that construe Chinese tourists' meaning-making in red tourism.

Figure 2.3 *Schematic Narrative Template of Contemporary Chinese History*



2.4.4 Sites of Memory

Sites of memory (*lieux de memoire*) is a notion developed by (Nora, 1989). According to Nora (1989), collective memory is attached to sites of memory, and the symbolic elements of a place remind a group of their past. This concept successfully pointed out that particular places, such as cemeteries and museums, could be important places where collective memories are articulated, transmitted, or sometimes erased (Winter, 2004). When people engage in public activities that take place in sites of memory, they inherit authorized meaning attached to the event, as well as create new meanings (Winter, 2008).

Visiting sites of memory, including memorials, cemeteries, battlefields and disaster sites, is often categorized as a dark tourism activity (Brown, 2015; Lennon et al., 2017; Stone, 2006, 2013) and sometimes as an example of secular pilgrimage (Brown, 2016). When tourism scholars come to study commemoration practices and commemorative heritage sites, most existing knowledge is generated from the realm of dark tourism (Lennon et al., 2017), not excluding battlefield tourism, post-conflict tourism and commemorative events in tourism. Some common themes identified from the literature are discussed in the following sections.

Sturken (1997) wrote, “Cultural memory is a field of cultural negotiation through which different stories vie for a place in history” (p. 1). Even though his understanding of cultural memory is being criticized as overlooking the agency of people, the notion of contestation and negotiation is significant to the study of mnemonic practices. The politicization of remembrance and the interpretation of tragedy in commemorative sites have gained much academic attention (Stone, 2013). In tourism studies, some of the earlier studies that discussed heritage representations in commemorative sites emerged before 2010. The representation of slave plantations in America is criticized by Buzinde and Santos (2008) for unproblematizing the nation’s shameful past. The problematic selective interpretation and presentation of human tragedy in heritage sites have also been highlighted (Lennon, 2009; Wight & Lennon, 2007).

Recent studies continue along a similar vein. Chen and Xu (2018) examined the contentious process of dark heritage development in China. Their study revealed how the representation and commemoration of death are entangled with political, social, cultural and religious issues. Related studies were carried out in different geographical locations, including Cyprus (Farmaki & Antoniou, 2017), Japan (Sharpley, 2020; Yoshida et al., 2016), South Africa (Berg, 2018), America (Buzinde, 2010), to name a few. Undoubtedly, a large number of works addressed the nature of heritage by discussing the representational function of sites of memory (Waterton & Watson, 2013). However, scholars criticized that studies of sites of memory are often limited to focusing on the discursive representation of identity while overlooking how these sites facilitate visitors' embodied practices of remembering (Lehrer, 2010).

Besides, questions have been raised regarding the role of commemorative sites in building peace and facilitating reconciliation (Giblin, 2014; Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008). It has been argued that commemorative sites open up spaces and opportunities to facilitate contact between two groups in post-conflict contexts. Yousaf (2021) demonstrated the opening of religious sites in Kartarpur to Indian tourists allows both Pakistans and Indians to remember and affirm their shared past, which lays the foundation for reconciliation. In contrast, Poria and Ashworth (2009) pointed out that heritage interpretation could increase the conflicts between groups. Others suggested that considering heritage heals or hurts the society might not be a generative research agenda (Giblin, 2014). Nevertheless, the debate surrounding whether heritages heal or hurt seems to continue (Matthews et al., 2020; Yousaf, 2021).

Another stream of study focuses on the reasons why tourists or visitors visit commemorative sites. Commemoration is the most frequently mentioned tourist motivation (Prayag et al., 2021). Although the motives for tourists to visit commemorative sites are different, especially for death-related sites (Stone & Sharpley, 2008), it is generally agreed that visiting these sites encompasses a duty of remembrance (Farmaki, 2013; Isaac & Çakmak,

2016; Winter & Wiley, 2010), learning and education of next-generation (Farmaki, 2013; Hartmann, 1989), identity (re)affirmation (Brown & Arriaza Ibarra, 2018; Dunkley et al., 2011), and entertainment (Winter & Wiley, 2010). Participating in ceremonies to commemorate a war is suggested to be one of the reasons tourists take part in battlefield tourism (Hall et al., 2010; Winter, 2016b) and elements of commemorations contribute to overall visitor satisfaction (Hall et al., 2010, 2011).

Museums, memorials, and other nationalistic sites help visitors to learn about national history (Pretes, 2003; Timothy, 1997). In terms of red tourism, most of the attractions are also museums and memorials (Hartmann & Su, 2021; Li et al., 2010). Heritage is often thought to be a place for learning or education of authorized values and meanings (Smith, 2006). In a similar vein, red heritages and museums are explicitly used to serve the purpose of patriotic education (Hartmann & Su, 2021). Red tourism invites Chinese people to know about the revolutionary spirit and glorious history of the CCP (Li & Hu, 2008). It appears that Chinese people come to red heritage for education. Also, previous research often reports that the main motivation for traveling to red tourism sites is to learn about revolutionary incidents and heroes. For instance, the main motivation for Chinese visitors who go to the Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance against Japanese Aggression is found to be learning about the part of history related to Japanese invasions (Hartmann & Su, 2021). In the study of Zhao and Timothy (2017b), the authors showed that tourists visit red heritage sites for various purposes, but the main reason is political and historical learning.

In the realm of visitor studies, which has a long history in museology, a focus on researching learning experiences could be identified (Price et al., 2021). Indeed, thinking of heritage as a place for education or recreation could be quite peripheral. The idea of learning could not completely account for how tourists engage with heritages and museums (Smith, 2015a). Museums and heritage sites do not only offer education, but they are also places that

allow people to unfold their emotions in relation to the past (Bareither, 2021b). Understanding the emotional/affective nature of heritage visits could unpack the meaning-making process undertaken by visitors (Smith, 2014, 2021).

2.4.5 Emotions in Sites of Memory

Scholars commented that there is a paucity of research on the actual experiences and perspectives of tourists in commemorative sites (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011; Stone, 2013). Many heritage sites, such as memorial sites, cemeteries, and battlefields, have been intentionally or sometimes unintentionally developed into tourist attractions. These commemorative sites are rich in social memory. In other words, they represent a strong linkage between visitors and visitors' collective past. Social memory integrates the factual historical account of a shared past as well as the emotions and sensations associated with that past (Connerton, 1989; Winter, 2009). These heritage sites "do not only offer particular ways of knowing, they also offer ways of feeling the past" (Bareither, 2021b, p. 60). Not surprisingly, they offer materials for visitors to become *affected*, both cognitively and emotionally. A growing body of literature has emerged that takes the emotional dimensions of these sites into account.

The experience of tourism was conventionally conceptualized as an offering and an essence (Volo, 2009). When taking tourism experience as an offering, it refers to what tourism providers try to create and market (Packer & Ballantyne, 2016). In contrast, if tourism experience is deemed as an essence, the focus becomes tourists' subjective experiences. Regarding research on the supply side of tourism in commemorative sites, emotion is used as an element and an offering to facilitate tourists' engagement with the site and to motivate visitations. For instance, it is reported that Gallipoli tour operators used both positive and negative motive words on their websites to evoke tourists' interest in visiting the battlefields (Lagos et al., 2015). In a study of a commemorative exhibition in Australia, Laing and Frost

(2019) found that organizers and curators emphasized the importance of encouraging an emotional connection between the dead and visitors. A strong sense of empathy was purposefully fostered by narrating locals' stories, organizing these stories by emotions, and employing multimedia and interactive technology. Tiberghien and Lennon (2022) studied the management of Gulag museums and sites related to the Soviet past. Their interviews with tourism stakeholders, such as museum guides, managers of museums and tour operators, show that the purpose of showing staged performances of Gulag life and displaying various dioramas serves to convey emotions and immerse visitors.

Scholars argued that emotions are essential for tourists' decision-making. Most conclusions are drawn by studying hedonic tourism contexts (Nawijn et al., 2016, 2018). The uniqueness of heritage tourism lies in its ability to evoke negative emotions (Nawijn et al., 2016; Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). For research on the demand side, the emotional experience of tourists in heritage sites is also well recorded. The desire for emotional experience is deemed another key motive for tourists visiting heritage sites (Biran et al., 2011; Poria, Reichel, et al., 2006). Although paying a visit to places of remembrance stirs up emotions, variations in visitors' emotional experiences could be observed (Aschauer et al., 2017; Brown & Arriaza Ibarra, 2018; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). First, the intensity of emotion each individual experiences is associated with the motives, knowledge and background (Aschauer et al., 2017). Poria, Butler, et al. (2006) concluded that visitors who perceive a dark site as part of their own heritage are more emotionally engaged in the tourism experience. A similar conclusion was drawn by Aschauer et al. (2017). These studies reported that for visitors who prioritize knowledge assimilation and visit to fulfill education purposes, their experiences are less emotional. In contrast, those who can recall personal memories related to the event or relate themselves to history immerse themselves in a more substantial emotional experience.

Second, tourists who visit commemorative sites encounter both positive and negative emotions (Isaac & Çakmak, 2016; Nawijn et al., 2018; Nawijn & Fricke, 2015). To name a few, Brown (2015) first investigated tourists' emotional responses to memorials to the victims of Nazism. This study noted that the experience of international tourists in these memorials is characterized by despair, sadness, guilt and shock. Later on, Brown and Arriaza Ibarra (2018) explored the responses of international tourists to memorials of the Spanish Civil War. They found that tourists also come across feelings of admiration as a positive response apart from negative emotions such as shame and guilt. The co-existence of both positive and negative emotions in the dark heritage tourism experience has been further verified. Furthermore, it has been shown that tourists could experience positive alongside negative emotions simultaneously during a visit (Oren et al., 2021). Oren, Poria, et al. (2021) noted that tourists are expected to feel a set of negative emotions prior to the actual visit. The expected negative emotions induce not only negative emotions but also positive ones, such as happiness, pride and a sense of satisfaction during the on-site experience (Oren et al., 2022). A strong association between emotional experience and intention to visit or recommend is well documented (Prayag et al., 2017). Similar findings are reported in the context of dark commemorative events (Dimitrovski et al., 2017).

Ivanova and Buda (2020) contend that communist heritage tourism provides a complex tourism experience in relation to memory and emotions. Studies of emotions in communist heritage sites are not being totally silenced but are inadequate. Limited studies could be found focusing on tourists' emotional experiences in a communist heritage tourism setting (Isaac & Budryte-Ausiejiene, 2015). A study has been carried out in the Grutas Park Museum, an open-air museum with plenty of Soviet sculptures that represent an unwanted past (Isaac & Budryte-Ausiejiene, 2015). In this study, it is shown that the emotional responses of visitors are quite complex and contradictory. A few studies applied the concept of nostalgia to describe tourists'

feelings, and most of them only applied it as a feeling of loss in general rather than advancing our understanding of it (Iveković Martinis & Sujoldžić, 2021; Knudsen, 2010; Stach, 2021). Heritage scholars argued that nostalgia could be a complex feeling that needs further research (Smith & Campbell, 2017). One exception is the study conducted by Čaušević (2019), which shows that Yugo-nostalgia might not be a feeling toward the past.

In terms of red tourism studies written in either Chinese or English, our knowledge in relation to tourists' emotional experience of red tourism is somehow fragmented. Among studies that encompassed the emotion concept, it is suggested that tourists' patriotism and affective orientation to the ruling party have been enlightened through red tourism participation (Hartmann & Su, 2021; Zuo et al., 2016). Furthermore, red tourism can evoke emotional experiences and subsequently lead to an acceptance of national ideologies (Wang et al., 2020; Zuo et al., 2016). Interestingly, Zuo (2014) reported that a positive red tourism experience would increase emotional attachment to the CCP but does not directly contribute to behavioral change towards to ruling party. Furthermore, based on the model of goal-directed behavior, Kim et al. (2021) incorporated hedonic emotions measurement to predict Chinese tourists' intention to travel to North Korea. Although much of the existing Chinese and English literature stated red tourism experiences involve emotions, most studies do not have an acute focus on tourists' emotional experiences, except two recently published studies (Hu et al., 2022; Wang et al., 2023). Some research proposed that red tourism involves a range of positive emotions, such as gratitude and excitement, but also negative ones, including anxiety, sadness and distress (Liu et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2023). Regarding the nature of the emotional experience of red tourism, some researchers argued that red tourism is dominantly positive-based (Wang et al., 2020; Zheng, 2016). Nevertheless, the study of red tourists' emotional experiences is still in its nascency. Further investigations seem necessary, as suggested by previous review papers (Jin et al., 2017; Zheng, 2016).

Even though researchers have examined emotions in tourism experiences, the role of emotions in tourism experiences is still understudied (Buda et al., 2014; Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). As Cohen and Cohen (2019) noted, tourism research is shifting to the study of emotions in consumer behavior and in the tourism experience from a psychological perspective. The existing studies of red tourism's emotional experience also follow in such footsteps. Wang et al. (2023) investigated the influence of positive and negative emotional experiences on red tourists' national identity and post-tour behavioral intentions. In the study of Hu et al. (2022), they examined the impact of mixed emotions on learning effectiveness and behavioral intention. These studies are typical business-oriented tourism management research using a psychological lens.

In fact, a psychological approach to the study of emotions is insufficient because emotions could be biological and cultural at the same time (Ahmed, 2004). Emotions are being treated as an offering that tourists obtain from tourism activities, but seldom question how they are socially and culturally constituted, as well as what effects emotions exert on us. Tucker and Shelton (2018) provided an argument:

> Rather than limiting our enquiry by seeking to understand emotions and affect in tourism experiences as ends in themselves, we could usefully consider how affect might have a propensity to impact upon our being in and engagement with the world more broadly. (p.66)

Buda (2015) offered similar insights for tourism scholars to re-focus on tourism's emotional and affective aspects. All in all, it is imperative to refine our inquiry into what emotion, affect and senses produced through tourism "do or can do" (Tucker & Shelton, 2018, p. 66) and to understand the "social and cultural construction of affects, emotions, feelings and senses" in tourism (Buda, 2015).

Recently, some tourism scholars have furthered their understanding of emotions in the tourism context. Emotions are no longer perceived as ends or the products of the tourism experience. Buda (2015) asserts that affects, emotions and feelings matter in tourism experiences, yet are noticeably being ignored by most tourism researchers. Wertsch (2002) reminds us that collective remembering is an active process in which social memory is socially mediated and always in the process of becoming. In a similar vein, emotions are not something we have, but also something we *do*, always in the process of *becoming* (Buda et al., 2014). If emotions have social consequences, then how do emotions and social memory entangle with each other during a tourism experience? For instance, some heritage scholars have started to understand the process of collective remembering in relation to emotion or affects in heritage. Smith and Campbell (2016) showed that our understanding of the past is informed by culturally shared emotions. Drawing on Scheer's (2012) concept of emotional practices, Bareither (2021) demonstrates that taking selfies at Holocaust memorials could be a complex practice of emotional engagement with the traumatic past. These authors suggested that how we emotionally engage with the past is related to our recognition of the past, and in a reverse manner, our understandings of the past are shaped by our present emotional engagement (Bareither, 2021b; Smith & Campbell, 2016).

In a study that examined the linkage between the emotions of Chinese people and their intention to travel to Japan, it was found that there are various versions of collective memory among Chinese people in the same age cohort. These variations in collective memories contribute to different emotional responses toward Japan and their intention to travel to Japan (Zhang et al., 2019). Scholars in memory studies summarized that identifications with different social groups result in the formation of various versions of collective memories through discourse, as well as promoting corresponding group-based emotional responses (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Besides, social norms serve as components in

cognitive appraisals and lead to the elicitation of collective emotions (Von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Certain versions of collective memory held by members of a social group elicit similar interpretations of the past, which could be regarded as a kind of social norm. It is suggested that tourism scholars may not have paid enough attention to the interplay between collective emotion and collective memory in a tourism context (Zhang et al., 2019). Limited previous research has explicitly drawn simultaneously on the concept of collective memories and collective emotions.

To conclude, the emotional experiences of red tourists are understudied. Existing research only offers knowledge cursed with missing bodily feelings and sensations. It is essential to overcome the disembodied accounts of red tourism, which mistakenly consider red tourism as merely a business-oriented activity. Moreover, red tourism is embedded with complex understandings of the past. Red tourism sites store and materialize state-sanctioned versions of collective memories, while different groups of tourists might hold collective memories which are dissimilar to the official ones. Given the socially constructed nature of emotions and the inseparability between collective emotions and memories, it indicates the need to employ a novel approach to studying affect/emotion in heritage and tourism contexts.

2.5 Practice Theory, Emotion/Affect and Their Integration

What is practice theory? Is practice theory a single theory or a range of theories? How are emotions and affects being positioned in various versions of practice theory? This chapter will answer these questions by first providing an in-depth introduction to the contemporary theorization of social practice. Different popular frameworks for studying social practices will be compared. Next, it scrutinizes the current theoretical position of emotion concepts within practice theory. Finally, a conceptual framework grounded in Schatzki's (2002, 2010b) theory of practice is outlined for guiding the study of red tourism emotional experience.

2.5.1 Praxeology, Practice Theory, Practice-Based Study

In tourism studies, the term *practice* has been widely used but is usually understood by researchers as a common-sense term in an uncritical way. For instance, in heritage tourism studies, scholars often use practice as a term referring to management activities that take place in heritage, including conservation, identification and management of heritage (Ballantyne et al., 2014; Gao et al., 2021; Li et al., 2010). Sometimes, practice denotes the distinctive way of living or the traditional culture of a community (Su, 2020). Indeed, the term *practice* has a deep theoretical root in sociology. A number of theories have been developed to examine human social practices through an integration of agency/structure, culture/material, practice/theory, etc.

Since the 1970s, there has been a theoretical advancement in social science surrounding the idea of practice, also commonly known as social practice (Shove et al., 2012; Wetherell et al., 2018). In short, the term practice does not naively equal human habits (Shove et al., 2012). It is more proper to understand practice as "a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood" (Reckwitz, 2002b, p. 250). The most fundamental feature of practice theory is that "practice theory does not place the social in mental qualities, nor in discourse, nor in interaction … it places the social in 'practices'" (Reckwitz, 2002b, p. 249). In other words, practice theorists believe any social phenomenon, such as knowledge, meaning, power and institutions, must be understood as rooted in and transpiring via human practices and the connections between these practices (de Souza Bispo, 2016; Nicolini, 2017).

Practice theory, praxeology, practice idiom, practice-based studies and practice lens are some labels that are being used to refer to this increasingly prominent theoretical standpoint in humanities and social science (de Souza Bispo, 2016; Nicolini, 2012, 2017). Practice theory is not a single theory but a particular family of theoretical approaches that share distinctive

theoretical stances (Gherardi, 2006; Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002b). It is observed that the family of practice theory consists of praxeology, activity theory, ethnomethodology, Wittgensteinian and Heideggerian tradition, mediated discursive analysis, situated learning theory, and so on (Nicolini, 2012).

A comparison of definitions and frameworks of social practice given by key contemporary practice theorists will be provided in later sections. Before that, a brief introduction of its historical roots and advancement is needed to pave the path for a more in-depth discussion regarding the characteristics and basic assumptions of practice theory. This introduction primarily offers an account of praxeology, Wittgensteinian and Heideggerian tradition because of their relations with the theoretical framework proposed in this thesis. For readers who are less interested in the historical development of contemporary practice theory (Wittgensteinian and Heideggerian tradition), a summary of the common features shared by various practice theories is provided near the end of this sub-section.

At least in the last two centuries, social theorists have long been studying social phenomena and developed various understandings and approaches to explain social phenomena. There have been competing schools of thought on how social phenomena could be unfolded. Noticeably, there are various contrasting conceptualizations and approaches commonly known, such as agency/structure, individualism/holism, mind/body, theory/action, and culture/material dualism (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002b). For instance, agency/structure dualism is a long-standing debate over whether agency or structure shapes human behaviors. Emile Durkheim is well known for his concept of social structures. Basically, he proposed that the norms, social structures, and collective ways of being independent of and external to individuals shape, organize and constrain individuals' behaviors (Macionis, 2018). In contrast, other theorists emphasize individuals' capacity to react personally or collectively to social structures (Dillon, 2014). Regarding the individualism and holism dichotomy, thinkers such as

Max Weber asserted that social phenomena are comprised of interconnected actions of individuals, and the basic unit of analysis should be individuals (Šubrt et al., 2020). Individualism stresses the significance of studying the subjective free will of individuals and their rational actions. On the other hand, holism assumes that the whole is more than the sum of individuals. Durkheim believes those he called social facts, such as religion, language or morality, which are external to individuals, help to explain the reality of society (Dillon, 2014). Practice theory is then gradually developed against the backdrop of dualistic perception of social phenomenon.

The sociological roots of contemporary practice theory could be dated back at least to Ludwig Wittgenstein and Martin Heidegger. Some practice theorists might also mention Karl Marx for introducing the idea of praxis (Nicolini, 2012; Shove et al., 2012). Although Wittgenstein and Heidegger did not clearly present any integrated practice theories or frameworks for studying practices, their philosophical writings illustrated some fundamental assumptions embedded in contemporary practice theories.

Wittgenstein (1953) interrogated the idea of rule-following, intelligibility and understanding, which influenced the thinking of practice theorists. According to Wittgenstein's (1953) example of "language-game" (p. 11), speaking a language is part of human activities and a form of social life. It involves "strict and clear rules … appear to us as something in the background – hidden in the medium of the understanding" (p. 45). "Following a rule is analogous to obeying an order. We are trained to do so; we react to an order in a particular way,' as Wittgenstein proposed (1953, p. 82). His writing shows that in order to perform an action (i.e., speaking a language), we must have the ability to perform and understand what this action is while following the commonly understood rules constraining this action. Know-how and rules are some common elements found in frameworks proposed by recent practice theorists (Schatzki, 2010b; Shove et al., 2012; Shove & Pantzar, 2005).

In terms of Heidegger (1962), he identified praxis and theory as inseparable pairs in his seminal work *Being and Time.* For example, Heidegger (1962) argued,

> Reading off the measurements which result from an experiment often requires a complicated "technical" set-up for the experimental design. Observation with a microscope is dependent upon the production of "preparations" … even in the "most abstract" way of working out problems and establishing what has been obtained, one manipulates equipment for writing, for example. (p.409)

Moreover, the relationship between human activity, equipment and *Dasein,* as identified by Heidegger, resonates with the ontological assumptions of contemporary practice theory (Shove et al., 2012).

Starting in the 1970s, more integrated theories of practice started to emerge. In order to resolve the tension between the multiple dualisms mentioned above, the first generation of practice theorists, including Bourdieu and Giddens, provided their own praxeological ideas and tried to incorporate various dualisms (i.e., agency/structure, theory/practice) into the same theoretical framework (Bargeman & Richards, 2020; Hui et al., 2017). Bourdieu (1977, 1990) developed the idea of habitus, field and capital in the *Outline of a Theory of Practice* and *The Logic of Practice*. Bourdieu (1990) described the concept of habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (p. 53). The idea of habitus exhibits practice theory's understanding of norms, rules and practical consciousness (Shove et al., 2012). Besides, practice and habitus are reciprocally influencing each other since habitus is "constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52). Undoubtedly, Bourdieu's concept of habitus brought the notion of practice into the theoretical debate that happened in sociology during the 1980s (Shove et al., 2012). Thus, it greatly influences succeeding social theorists' development of practice theory.

Similar to Bourdieu, Giddens proposed his structuration theory, attempting to bridge the divide between agency and structure (Bargeman & Richards, 2020). In comparison, Giddens' account of practice seems to contravene the view of Bourdieu regarding whether individuals are knowledgeable and reflexive about their own actions (Nicolini, 2012). Giddens conceptualizes human practices as collections of actions governed by entities of social structure, such as a set of rules and resources (Schatzki, 2016). Nevertheless, his structuration theory suggests that agency and social structure are recursively related (Mylan, 2015; Nicolini, 2012; Shove et al., 2012).

The further development of practice theory in the field of social science started around the late 1990s (Shove et al., 2012). Since then, the second generation of practice theorists, including Schatzki (1996, 2002), Reckwitz (2002b), Gherardi (2006), Shove et al. (2012), and Nicolini (2012), started to consolidate the philosophical stances of practice theory and offered various frameworks to understand human practices. Theodore Schatzki is considered one of the influential figures in propelling contemporary practice theories (Shove et al., 2012). In 1996, Schatzki (1996) published the *Social Practices*, which is his elaborations of Wittgenstein's philosophical writing. In this book, he presented the initial idea of social practice as bodily doings and sayings, delineating the term "practice theory" as a "family of conceptions of practice" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 12). In 2001, the publication of *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory* marked the "practice turn" in social theory (Weenink & Spaargaren, 2019). Since then, practice theory has become more prominent in social science. Advancements attributed to the second-generation practice theorists could be observed in the following ways.

First, what remains largely silent in the works of the first generation practice theorists, such as Bourdieu and Giddens, in contrast to later versions of practice theory, is the dimension of materiality (Schatzki, 2010a; Shove et al., 2012; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016). It is observed that culture is traditionally conceived as dominantly mental and symbolic in social

science, paying insufficient attention to the material dimension of social life (Reckwitz, 2002a; Schatzki, 2010a). This formulation of social phenomenon creates cultural/material dualism in which mental and representational elements dominate the material ones (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006). In order to incorporate both cultural and material elements, practice theorists conceptualized objects as necessary components involved in social practices. For instance, Reckwitz (2002a) asserted that practices "must almost necessarily be *doings with things*" (p. 212, originally italicized). Human practices, such as cooking, farming, and consumption, often involve objects, things, equipment or artifacts (Reckwitz, 2007). Similarly, Schatzki (2005) contends that social life is comprised of "nexuses of practices and material arrangements" (p. 471). Material arrangement describes a set of interconnected material entities, including humans, artifacts, non-human creatures and nature (Schatzki, 2005, 2010a). These definitions of practice and social life highlight the inseparability of materials in theories of practice.

Nowadays, nearly all the second-generation practice theorists acknowledge the significance of materiality in human practice (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002a; Schatzki, 2010a; Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005). However, incongruency could be observed among practice theories over the role of materials in social practice and their relations to social orders (Gherardi, 2017; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2019). There are two forms of practice theories based on their conceptualization of material, which Gherardi (2017) called the "posthumanist" and "human-centered practice theories" (p. 39). On the one hand, Reckwitz's (2002a, 2002b) and Shove and Pantzar's (2005) formulation of practice theory contended that the agency of objects and things is not less important than those of human agents. Employing the example of Nordic walking, which is a kind of speed walking with two sticks, Shove and Pantzar (2005) showed that the invention of new objects is capable of changing the routinized behavior of human beings (e.g., the way humans have been walking for thousands of years). Shove (2017) advocated that objects/things/artifacts can play a critical role in social practices, and it is "*not*

a necessary feature of taking practices to be the central topic of enquiry" (p. 155, originally italicized). On the other hand, Schatzki's (2002, 2010a) theorization of social practice is obviously prioritizing humans over non-human elements. He believes the social only transpires through human activities and is caught up in the practice-arrangement bundles, which are the orders of people, objects and organisms that characterize most social practices (Schatzki, 2002).

Furthermore, second-generation practice theorists elaborated on the features of social practices, offering us new thoughts about the nature of knowledge. From a practice lens, knowledge is regarded as a form of mastery embedded in the capacity of human agents to perform social activities (Reckwitz, 2002b, 2007). This type of bodily knowledge is referred to as skills (Pantzar & Shove, 2010), practical intelligibility (Schatzki, 2002), competence (Shove & Pantzar, 2005), or know-how (Gram-Hanssen, 2011; Pantzar & Shove, 2010), according to different authors. Gram-Hanssen (2011) holds that competence should be further divided into non-verbal knowledge (know-how) and rule-based knowledge (theoretical knowledge). Similarly, Schatzki (2006, 2010b) divided the broader notion of embodied knowledge into four categories, which are general and practical understanding, teleoaffective structures and rules. A more detailed explanation of his typology of practice will be given in sections 2.5.2.1 and 2.5.2.2. In short, being a *practitioner*, in the language of practice theory, implies that a human agent should be able to carry out certain social practices in corresponding contexts. Thus, the acquisition of knowledge (i.e., learning) in practice perspective involves "learning how to act, how to speak (and what to say), but also how to feel, what to expect, and what things mean" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 5).

Thirdly, the idea of discourse has been incorporated into practice theory. Now, discourse is being regarded as a kind of practice, which is known as discursive practice (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002b, 2017). However, it should not be misunderstood that practice theory locates social reality in the mind, discourses or discursive practices (Nicolini,

2012). Any social practice is an organized network of saying and doings carried out using different tools and mediatory resources (Nicolini, 2009; Schatzki, 2010b). In practice perspective, language only exists in its routinized use (Reckwitz, 2002b). Therefore, discursive practices (i.e., the use of language) are routinized ways in which practitioners ascribe particular meanings to certain objects in order to *do* something (Gherardi, 2006; Reckwitz, 2002b). This also reflects the theoretical stance that practices are not purely bodily performances but also meaning-making human activities simultaneously (Nicolini, 2012).

The following two last paragraphs summarize various commonalities shared among the family of practice theory, even though most of them have already been elucidated in earlier paragraphs. First, practice theories advocate an understanding of the social phenomenon as constituted by networks of social practices and avoid neglecting components in various dualisms such as agency/structure, mind/body and culture/material (de Souza Bispo, 2016; Nicolini, 2017). It also overcomes the bias of cognitive approaches that explain human behavior as a mere consequence of individuals' conscious minds. Secondly, since it is believed that a focus on practices helps to bridge various dualisms, practice theorists choose human practices (i.e., doings and sayings) as the basic unit of analysis rather than the practitioners (i.e., individuals or groups) persistent in mainstream social science (Weenink & Spaargaren, 2019). Thirdly, practices are not just what people do, but also meaning-making and organized human activities (Nicolini, 2012; F. Sørensen et al., 2020). Fourthly, practice theory recognizes the significance of discourses in reproducing the social while avoiding treating the social as only manifest in language, discourse or discursive practices.

In conclusion, the practice turn influenced most strands of social science in several ways (Nicolini, 2012). Practice theory refreshes our view of social ontology by bridging various long-established dualistic concepts in social theories. For example, it shifts the focus of analysis from an individualistic/holistic perspective to embodied doings and sayings

(Lamers et al., 2017; Nicolini, 2012). Furthermore, it created new areas of interest, such as examining the elements constituting social practices (Reckwitz, 2002a; Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005), explaining the continuity or change of human practices (Gram-Hanssen, 2011; Shove & Pantzar, 2005), and renewing the understanding of consumption (Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Hui, 2012; Mylan, 2015; Warde, 2005), to name a few. Most importantly, tourism scholars started to catch up with this "practice turn" recently (de Souza Bispo, 2016; Jin et al., 2021; Lamers et al., 2017; Wu et al., 2021).

2.5.2 Definitions of Practice and Theoretical Frameworks of Contemporary Practice Theories

During the last two decades, various theoretical frameworks have been developed by the second generation of practice theorists who are obviously influenced by the legacy of Bourdieu, Giddens, Wittgenstein and Heidegger. These theoretical frameworks explicate the building blocks of social practice and elements that make practices shared among people across different times and spaces. Despite the fact that these frameworks share similar philosophical roots, particular frameworks work better in explaining certain phenomena (Gram-Hanssen, 2011; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2019). For instance, the social practice theory (SPT) of Shove et al. (2012) is more efficient in explaining changes in human activities, while Schatzki's (2002, 2010b) framework offers a detailed formulation concerning the organization of interconnected practices and elements that make practices being collectively shared.

It is suggested that reviewing these frameworks allows researchers to sharpen the linkage between research design, theoretical framework and the context (Nicolini, 2012; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2019). However, limited previous literature compared these different frameworks exhaustively. In tourism literature, even though some researchers have provided a basic account of practice theory and its theoretical characteristics (de Souza Bispo, 2016;

Lamers et al., 2017), a thorough comparison of various frameworks is still missing. In the field of consumer culture, where Shove and her colleagues first presented the prototype of SPT, one noticeable exception could be found. The article by Gram-Hanssen (2011), published in the *Journal of Consumer Culture,* offers a table to demonstrate the similarities of "elements proposed by the different authors concerning what holds a practice together" (p. 64). Besides, she included an extended description of second-generation practice theorists' definitions of practice. Table 2.7 is the table offered by Gram-Hanssen (2011) to compare elements of various practice theory frameworks. Unfortunately, her table is inaccurate and misleading in several ways.

Table 2.7 *Gram-Hanssen's (2011) Comparison of Key Elements of Practice Theory Frameworks*

Schatzki (2002)	Warde (2005)	Shove & Pantzar (2005)	Reckwitz (2002b)
Practical understanding	Understandings	Competences	Body Mind The agent Structure/Process
Rules	Procedures		Knowledge
Teleo-affective structures			Discourse/Language
	Engagement	Meanings	
General understandings			
	Items of consumption	Products	Things

Note. From Gram-Hanssen (2011, p. 64)

First, Schatzki (2002) clearly defined practice as "a set of doings and sayings" (p. 73), and the exact phrase suffused all his writings (Schatzki, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2010b, 2016, 2017). So, what are the four elements listed in Table 2.7 under the name of Schatzki? The original text illustrates:

> Practices are *organized* nexuses of actions. This means that the doings and sayings composing them hang together. More specifically, the doings and sayings that compose a given practice are linked through (1) practical understandings, (2) rules, (3) a teleoaffective structure, and (4) general understandings. Together, the understandings,

rules, and teleoaffective structure that link the doings and sayings of a practice form its organization. (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77)

A careful reading of Schatzki's (2002) work clarifies that the four elements are dimensions that *link* and *organize* certain doings and sayings, instead of being immediate components of practice. In other words, these four elements explain how practices *hang together* (Nicolini, 2012; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016)

Secondly, the elements listed under the name of Reckwitz are not elements of practices given by Reckwitz (2002b). Body, mind, agent, structure/process, knowledge, and discourse/language are themes presented by Reckwitz (2002b) to illustrate how practice theory differs from theoretical claims of cognitive science, interpretivism, poststructuralism, and symbolic interaction (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2016). In fact, Reckwitz (2002b) defined practices as:

> A routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, "things" and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. (p.249)

It is hard to believe a dedicated reader of Reckwitz's (2002b) article will misapprehend elements of practices. Even though Gram-Hanssen (2011) acknowledged that body, mind, agent, structure/process, knowledge, discourse/language and the agent are themes that Reckwitz (2002) used to compare practice theory with other social-cultural theories, she insisted that these themes "somehow resemble what is proposed by the other authors as elements holding practice together" (p. 65).

Thirdly, some elements in Table 2.7 are not able to be compared because they are fundamentally different in nature. Taking the framework given by Schatzki (2002) and Shove and Pantzar (2005) as an example, the former illustrates the linkages within a particular set of

doings and sayings, while the latter denotes the immediate ingredients of practice. In other words, it is impossible to compare glue with bricks, even if both are essential in the configuration of practices. Alternatively, Tables 2.8 and 2.9 provide updated comparisons of frameworks, which also incorporate revised formulations published after 2011.

2.5.2.1 Elements of Practices: A Comparison Between Schatzki, Reckwitz, Shove and Pantzar, and Gram-Hanssen

Sections 2.5.2.1 and 2.5.2.2 are comprehended based on a reading marathon related to frameworks created by second-generation practice theorists. First, Table 2.8 compares immediate elements constituting social practices. This table is constructed based on two considerations: (1) chronological order and (2) the linkages between frameworks. The descriptions and explanations of this table start from the first column on the left.

Table 2.8 *Frameworks of Elements of Practice*

Schatzki (2002, 2010b)	Reckwitz (2002b)	Shove & Pantzar (2005)	Pantzar & Shove (2010)	Shove et al. (2012)	Gram-Hanssen (2011)
Doings and sayings	Forms of bodily activities [a b]	(Integrated bodies of humans into materials, while bodily knowledge into competence/skill)			
	Forms of mental activities [c]				
	"Things" and their use [a]	Materials [a]	Material [a]	Material [a]	Technologies
	A background knowledge in the form of understanding [b]	Competence and skill [b]	Skill [b]	Competence [b]	Institutionalized knowledge and explicit rules
	Know-how [b]				Know-how and embodied habits
	States of emotion [c]	Symbolic meanings and images [c]	Image [c]	Meaning [c]	engagements
	Motivational knowledge [c]				

Note. [a b c] indicate the paths of element integrations between various frameworks.

The first column shows the elements of practice in Schatzki's conceptualization. As mentioned repeatedly, Schatzki (2002, 2010b) defined practices as an organized array of doings and sayings which is *open-ended*. The notion of open-ended suggests that doings and sayings as actions sustain and continually extend practices across time and space (Nicolini, 2012). Apart from this, his formulation is slightly tricky in that these doings and sayings encompass different hierarchical and sequential orders. The idea that human practices are meaningfully organized into different levels and sequences seldom appears in other practice theory frameworks.

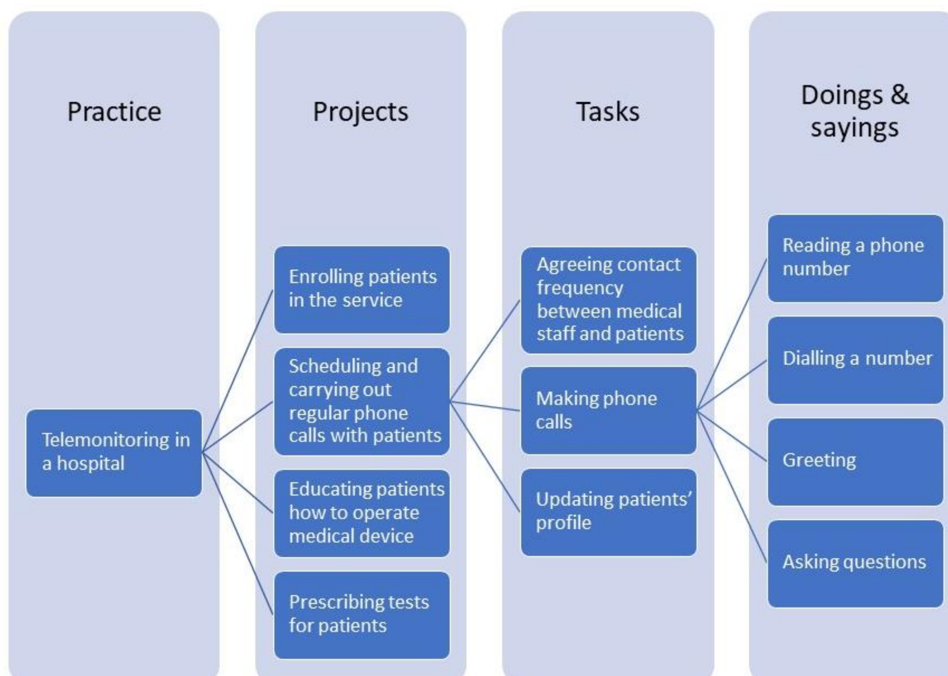
By doings and sayings, Schatzki (2002) points to *basic actions*, which are actions that are performed by humans "not by way of doing something else" (p. 72). Examples are uttering words (i.e., producing speechlike sounds and syllables), waving hands, running, standing and so on. Sayings include both speaking, writing and even actions without language which *say* something (Schatzki, 2002, 2017). Sayings are a "subset of doings, in particular, doings that say something (usually about something)" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 72). Nodding and shaking of the head are prime examples of sayings without the use of language. These bodily doings and sayings are basic actions that constitute other actions when a context is given (Schatzki, 2002, 2010b). For instance, in a lecture, waving a hand when the professor is speaking represents interruption, while waving a hand after a question is raised means seeking chances to answer.

Task and *project* are terms employed to exhibit the hierarchical orders between different sets of doings and sayings with increasing complexity (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2002, 2010b). Returning to the example of a lecture, answering questions is a *task* that involves bodily actions such as raising the hand, lowering the hands, and uttering words. A *project* is comprised of several related tasks (Schatzki, 2001). For instance, asking questions, answering questions, jotting notes, conducting tests, and so on are tasks making up the project named "lecturing." Nicolini (2012) provided a similar account using the example of telemonitoring to demonstrate

the notion of doings and sayings based on his close reading of Schatzki's texts (see Figure 2.4). Practice is thus understood as a bundle of or a set of "hierarchically organized doings/sayings, tasks, and projects" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 73). These doings, sayings, tasks, and projects link together according to a meaningful organization (Nicolini, 2012). Then, they become blocks or what we can describe as practices.

It is important to note that a particular action term (i.e., lecturing) can be a task or even a project, depending on the study context (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2002). Lecturing could be conceived as located at the project level when the central phenomenon being studied is the ways lectures are being performed and organized. In contrast, lecturing is a task if the central phenomenon of interest is the practice of university education. Finally, the term practice in Schatzki's tradition denotes "a specific identifiable phenomenon and conceptual (and empirical) unit of analysis, not a generic field of human activity" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 165).

Figure 2.4 *Visualization of Schatzki's Notion of Tasks and Projects*



Note. Adapted from Nicolini (2012)

The second column of Table 2.8 tabulated the elements of practice suggested by Reckwitz (2002b). Referring to earlier discussions, it is clear that bodily activities, mental activities, materials, knowledge/understanding, know-how, emotional states, and motivations are the set of elements proposed by Reckwitz (2002b). Since Schatzki's (2002) idea of doings and sayings are purely bodily actions, it seems fair to parallel it with the element of bodily activities in the framework of Reckwitz (2002b). However, it is inappropriate to say that Schatzki's understanding of practice dismissed the mental activities, knowledge, emotions and motivations which appear explicitly in Reckwitz's (2002b) framework. These seemingly missing elements indeed are being formulated by Schatzki as elements that hang doings and sayings together, which will be discussed in section 2.5.2.2.

Since the primary purpose of Reckwitz's (2002b) article is to demonstrate the distinctive features of practice theory by comparing it with other versions of cultural theory, he just briefly explained his conceptualization. There are limited explanations from Reckwitz regarding how these elements work or associate with each other. However, some cues about the characteristics of elements proposed by him could be found.

First, he argues that social practices are simultaneously routinized bodily actions and mental activities because all bodily performance must imply "certain know-how, particular ways of interpretation … certain aims … and emotional levels (a particular tension) which the agents, as carriers of practice, make use of, and which are routinized as well" (Reckwitz, 2002b, p. 252). Thus, bodily activities and mental activities in the account of Reckwitz (2002b) denote routines and patterns in characterizing practices rather than suggesting a clear separation of bodily and mental activities. If this is the case, then the remaining elements in his definition are (1) things, (2) understanding, (3) know-how, (4) states of emotion, and (5) motivational knowledge.

The third to fifth columns tabulated terms used by Shove and her colleagues to describe constituting elements of practice in their past publications (Pantzar & Shove, 2010; Shove et al., 2012; Shove & Pantzar, 2005). In *The Dynamics of Social Practice*, Shove et al. (2012) suggested that all social practices are combinations of three elements, which are *material*, *competence* and *meaning*. By material, they refer to tangible physical entities, things, technologies, and the raw materials of objects. They grouped skill, know-how (both bodily and knowledge-based), and technique as competence. Finally, symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations are termed meaning. Although they named these elements slightly different each time, the number of elements and the definitions given to each element remain identical.

It is believed that they proposed this tripartite model by extracting ideas partially from the work of Reckwitz (2002b), Giddens (1984) and Schatzki (1996, 2001, 2002), followed by recategorizations of these fragments of ideas. First, Schatzki (2001) observed that practices are "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity" (p. 11), and Reckwitz (2002b) wrote that "carrying out a practice very often means using particular things in a certain way" (p. 252). Based on these statements, Shove and Pantzar (2005) derived materials as one of the elements and concluded, "things are centrally and unavoidably implicated in the production and reproduction of practice" (p. 45). Then, they decided to "collapse what Reckwitz describes as mental activities, emotion and motivational knowledge into the one broad element," which became the category of meaning (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23). Finally, the element of competence comes from the writing of Giddens and Bourdieu, such as the notion of practical consciousness (Shove et al., 2012; Shove & Pantzar, 2005).

The last column represents the elements of practices derived by Gram-Hanssen (2011). Her proposed framework of practice for studying energy consumption appears to be significantly inspired by the early writing of Reckwitz (2002a, 2002b), Schatzki (1996, 2002), Shove and Pantzar (2005), and Warde (2005). Her framework highly resembles those proposed

by Shove and her colleagues. She adopted *engagement* from Warde (2005), which is undoubtedly identical to Schatzki's (2002) teleoaffective structure. Moreover, it is apparent that she equates engagements with Shove and Pantzar's (2005) idea of meanings. She also renamed the idea of materials as *technologies* since she aimed to argue how technologies are inevitably involved in energy consumption practices (Gram-Hanssen, 2011). Finally, Gram-Hanssen (2011) criticized Shove and Pantzar's (2005) element of competence as "too simple" because "they do not distinguish between the two types of competence … know-how or non-verbal knowledge and … rule-based or theoretical knowledge" (p. 64). Thus, she put forward two last elements, which were *know-how* and *institutionalized knowledge* (Gram-Hanssen, 2011).

2.5.2.2 Elements Linking Doings and Sayings

In the formulation of Schatzki, a practice comprises two dimensions, which are the directly observable activities (doings and sayings) and implicit elements organizing the observable activities (Smagacz-Poziemska et al., 2021). Schatzki (1996) first proposed that actions (i.e., doings and sayings) that comprise a practice are connected through three main dimensions: *understandings* (e.g., what to say and do), explicit *rules* (e.g., principles and instructions), and *teleoaffective structures* (beliefs, ends, purposes, and emotions). By applying the entire framework of Schatzki (1996), Warde (2005) illustrated how resourceful practice theory could be in theorizing consumption. He renamed rules, understandings, and teleoaffective structures as *procedures*, *understandings*, and *engagements,* respectively, with limited explanations (H. Jin et al., 2020). Later on, Schatzki (2002) proposed a new element to enrich his analytical framework, which is *general understandings*. Table 2.9 presents available frameworks that conceptualize components linking doings and sayings.

Table 2.9 *Comparison of Frameworks Accounting for Linkages of Doings and Sayings*

(Schatzki, 1996)	(Schatzki, 2002)	(Schatzki, 2010b)	(Warde, 2005)
Explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions	Rules	Rules	Procedures
Understandings (e.g., understanding of what to say and do)	Practical understandings	Action understandings	Understandings
	General understandings	General understandings	
Teleoaffective structure	Teleoaffective structure/structuring	Teleoaffective structure	Engagement

Practical understandings is the first element to be introduced. It was called *understandings* in Schatzki's early writing. It refers to individuals' ability to carry out, recognize and respond to particular actions (Schatzki, 1996, 2010b, 2018). Later on, he renamed this element as *practical understandings* or *action understandings* to clearly show that practical understanding refers to the know-how and skills of how to enact an action, but not a background understanding of the meaning of actions (Schatzki, 2010b, 2018). Practical understandings resembles Bourdieu's idea of habitus and the practical consciousness of Giddens in being a bodily skill or capacity that underlies activities (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2002). However, Schatzki believes action is never solely governed by habitus, norms, or sets of beliefs, as contrasting to what Bourdieu and Gidden suggested (Caldwell, 2012; Nicolini, 2012).

The second element is *rules*. It means "explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that enjoin, direct, or remonstrate people to perform specific actions" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 79). Rules could be depicted as programs of actions, instructions, requirements, guidelines and rules of thumb that specify what to do and what to say in a particular situation (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2005). Practitioners take the rules into consideration, and the rules have to be interpreted against the background of an ongoing practice (Nicolini, 2012). At the same time, it is not compulsory for all practitioners to follow the rules. Ignoring or contravening

the same rules could also result in organized actions (Schatzki, 2005). In the practice of touring, when tours are welcome or not and whether photography is permissible are some examples of rules (Schatzki, 2010b). Other examples in previous literature are spoken or written guidelines for handling patients and reporting in hospitals (Nicolini, 2012), dress codes and road rules (Galvin & Sunikka-Blank, 2016), and rules of thumb about gender relations (Schatzki, 2005).

The third component is *general understandings*. This concept is an enrichment of the previous framework (Welch & Warde, 2017). General understandings are understandings of matters germane to the practice involved (Schatzki, 2010b), which are abstract notions common to other practices. For instance, knowing the meaning of a cultural symbol is an example of general understandings (Schatzki, 2010b). However, limited explanations related to the nature or characteristics of general understandings are available from Schatzki's writing (Caldwell, 2012). It is perhaps the least explored component in Schatzki's practice theory (Welch & Warde, 2017). Other scholars proposed that general understandings could be conceived as ideational elements or configurational concepts that organize practices (Nicolini, 2012; Welch, 2020; Welch & Warde, 2017). General understandings might exist in the form of concepts, values and categories, having their origins either in discourse or in practices (Welch & Warde, 2017). It implies that general understandings represent tacit mental knowledge informed by discourses while articulating in the doings and sayings. Examples of general understandings in previous literature include courtesy (Schatzki, 2010b, 2018); the idea of food quality and environmental sustainability in food production and consumption (Wahn, 2020); "meat-eating as freedom to choose, meat-eating as masculinity, and meat-eating as climate-crisis" (Halkier, 2020, p. 405); and notions of nation, ethnicity, gender, cosmopolitanism or authenticity (Welch & Warde, 2017).

The last element is called the teleoaffective structure. The word teleoaffective is created by combining the mental phenomenon of teleology and affectivity (Schatzki et al., 2001; Welch,

2020). Teleology denotes a sense of orientation to particular goals, meanings and ends, while affectivity represents the emotional state and motivational engagement (Welch, 2020; Welch et al., 2020). Schatzki (2002) described teleoaffective structure as “a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects and tasks, to varying degrees allied with normativized emotions and even moods” (p. 80). Teleoaffective structures in Schatzki’s (2002) formulations are more the properties of individuals and “not equivalent to collectively willed ends and projects” (p. 81). A practice always illustrates a set of ends that people should or may pursue, a range of projects that should or might be performed to support these ends, sets of tasks that should or could be accomplished for the sake of these projects, and enjoined and acceptable emotional states (Schatzki, 2002, 2018). There are plenty of examples regarding what is included in teleoaffective structures. In the case of educational practices, the ends of a teleoaffective structure include “educating students, learning, receiving good student evaluations, obtaining good grades, gaining academic employment, and enjoying a successful academic career” (Schatzki, 2005, p. 472).

Scholars observed that most of the theoretical frameworks of practice theory were devoted to the identification of elements comprising a practice (Gherardi, 2017). As discussed in earlier sections, there are several accounts developed by practice theorists to explain the composition of social practices (Pantzar & Shove, 2010; Reckwitz, 2002b). Regarding the four elements that hang practices together in Schatzki’s (2002) account, Shove et al. (2012) truthfully reported that they choose to “short-circuit” (p.24) these ideas. In contrast, Schatzki’s practice theory emphasizes the organizing elements of practice in any identifiable social phenomenon (Hui, 2012; Schatzki, 2010b). In other words, the framework of Schatzki provides a distinctive perspective for researchers to understand the ordering and organization of practices (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2018).

2.5.3 A Practice Perspective of Emotions

The notion of emotion/affect was largely unexplored by practice theorists in past decades. It is perhaps because both first and second-generation practice theorists focused mainly on bridging individualism/holism and cultural/material dualism (Reckwitz, 2012, 2017). Practice theorists do not totally neglect the analysis of emotions, but most extant literature does not zoom into emotions (Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016). For instance, Shove et al. (2012) included emotions as a subcategory under the construct of meanings, and Reckwitz (2002b) defined practice as a routinized type of behaviour comprised of several elements, including states of emotions. Moreover, emotional states are used in the conceptualization of teleoaffective structure in Schatzki's (2002) account. In fact, these examples illustrate a circumstance that emotions are conventionally being viewed as merely building blocks of social practices.

Recently, scholars furthered the affective dimension of practices by intertwining practice theory with theories of emotion/affect. Welch (2020) highlighted the conceptual contributions made by Reckwitz (2017), Scheer (2012), Weenink and Spaargaren (2016), and Wetherell (2015) as some of the potential future developments regarding practice approaches to emotions. Among these mentioned authors, two different treatments of emotions could be seen.

The first dimension is related to the perspective proposed by Weenink and Spaargaren (2016). Through drawing on the notion of emotional energy from Collins's (2004) Interaction Ritual Chain (IRC), Weenink and Spaargaren (2016) contended that emotional energy is generated in and through practices, while the strength of these emotions determines people's engagement with similar practices in the future. The integration of IRC and Shove et al. 's (2012) SPT has been employed in the study of craft-making in museums (Wu et al., 2021) and cruising (Bargeman & Richards, 2020). This approach treats emotional states as one of the

outcomes of social practices and an indicator of innovation or change (Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016). In other words, although emotions are given more specific attention, it is still largely conceived as a component of practice.

The second stream in advancing the analysis of emotions using a practice lens advocates treating affect/emotion in its entirety (Wetherell et al., 2018; Wiesse, 2019). Following the arguments presented earlier, emotions are not something we have, but what we accomplish (Ahmed, 2004; Scheer, 2012). Taking emotions as practical accomplishments seems to exhibit more synergies for this thesis. In other words, it is argued that emotion could be conceptualized as a social practice in its own right.

2.5.3.1 Affective Practice and its Theoretical Principles

In order to illustrate how emotions could be theorized as social practices, the notion of *affective practice* developed by Margaret Wetherell (2012, 2015) will be first discussed since it offers more guidance for empirical research. Then, a discussion of fundamental principles of a practice theory perspective on affect/emotion will be provided.

In the book *Affect and emotion: A new social science understanding*, Margaret Wetherell (2012) identified three different approaches researchers employ to study emotion/affect. The first line of research approaches human affects from a phenomenological lens, which focuses on the subjective experience that is rich in detail. However, phenomenology, as an approach that scrutinizes the rich details of individuals' conscious subjective experiences, might not be able to fully consider the patterning of affect, and the social and cultural contexts that give rise to affect (Wetherell et al., 2018). "The reach of the idiosyncratic remains unclear, as does how affect communicates, travels and potentially mobilizes," stated Wetherell et al. (2018, pp. 2-3). The second stream is usually called the basic emotion and affect program proposed by psychologists, suggesting that affect becomes "a kind

of clunk/click, automaton-like inevitability to affective activity" (Wetherell, 2015, p. 147). The third approach is the affective atmosphere approach and non-representational theory, which are often applied in cultural studies and cultural geography that treat affect as a kind of unmediated intensity or excess (Wetherell et al., 2018). It is worried that affect becomes post-human, and human affect is formulated as extra-discursive and pre-cognitive (Wetherell, 2015). She advocated that the study of affect should focus on human emotions rather than non-human ones (Wetherell, 2012). Based on these lines of arguments, she started to develop the concept of *affective practice*, aiming to provide an alternative approach to theorizing human affects.

Drawing on the notion of practice as a routinized type of human behavior, Wetherell (2013) applied practice theories to the domains of emotion. She explained, "affective practice focuses on the emotional as it appears in social life and tries to follow what participants do" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 4). Applying the notion of affective practice helps to identify "shifting, flexible and often over-determined figurations rather than simple lines of causation, character types and neat emotion categories" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 4). The concept of affective practice holds that emotions are constructed through a dynamic process that involves both embodied states and meaning-making (Wetherell, 2012; Wetherell et al., 2018). For instance, registering an affective response, evaluating a certain situation through the expression of emotions, and positioning self and others, are some forms of social actions that individuals might perform under the tenet of affective practice (Van Der Merwe & Wetherell, 2020; Wetherell, 2013).

However, Wetherell (2012) wrote, "It is much more difficult to say in any neat way what an affective practice is as a distinctive object or as something concrete that one could point to" (p. 97). Unlike the concrete accounts provided by second-generation practice theorists that explicate what comprises practices and how practices are organized, Wetherell (2012, 2015) only offers fellow researchers some orientations or principles for studying affects using a

practice theory perspective (Wiesse, 2019). In fact, some similar principles could also be found in the writing of Scheer (2012) and Reckwitz (2012, 2017).

First, the tenet of affective/emotional practice suggests that emotions are something people *experience* and, at the same time, something they *do* (Scheer, 2012; Wetherell, 2012). Scholars contended that it is essential to conceive emotions as body/mind patterns. Scheer (2012) observed that "we *have* emotions and we *manifest* emotions" (p. 195). When we experience or feel something, it represents the mental side of emotions. At the same time, emotions are usually accompanied by bodily expressions or manifestations (Reckwitz, 2017; Scheer, 2012). In a similar vein, Bourdieu (1986) wrote,

> There is no better image of the logic of socialization, which treats the body as a "memory-jogger," than those complexes of gestures, postures and words - simple interjections or favorite cliches - which only have to be slipped into, like a theatrical costume, to awaken, by the evocative power of bodily mimesis, a universe of ready-made feelings and experiences. (p. 474)

Drawing from Bourdieu's (1986, 1990) idea of habitus, Wetherell (2012, 2013) posited that emotion is an embodied social action involving both mental dimensions (e.g., feelings and experiences) and bodily actions (e.g., bodily responses, gestures, approaching or avoiding).

Second, affective practice suggests emotions are not purely body/mind patterns but are also influenced by social and material arrangements. Affective practice "recruits material objects, institutions, pasts and anticipated futures" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 20). Practices need the involvement of bodies and artifacts connected in a particular manner (Reckwitz, 2002a; Shove et al., 2012). Reckwitz (2017) believes emotions are physical arousal directed at some objects, people, or ideas when emotions are theorized as practices. Therefore, any human practice must manifest a material dimension (Reckwitz, 2017). Furthermore, it is necessary to conceive emotions felt by individuals are influenced by the interpretation of and engagement with social

context rather than naively determined by the levels of physiological arousal in our neural systems (Wetherell, 2012, 2015). In the formulation of Wetherell (2012), affective practice is "a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations" (p. 19). Scheer (2012) similarly argued human emotions involve "the self (as body and mind), language, material artifacts, the environment, and other people" (p. 193). It is clear that all these scholars agreed that emotions as human practices involved not only body and mind but also require particular materials and social contexts.

Third, affective practice needs to take the concept of discourse into account. There are many ways scholars define discourse, including treating discourses as representations, structure of languages, actions or interactions in society or even meaning-making processes (Gee, 2011; van Dijk, 1999). By discourse, Wetherell (2012) points to a broader perspective, which is "language in action" (p. 52). She believes sayings or the use of language as discursive practices, such as describing other people's emotional states or expressing their own feelings (e.g., "I feel disappointed," "I am angry"), perform the function of meaning-making. Evaluating events or other people by expressing emotions through language use is the most common everyday discursive practice (Wetherell, 2012). Similarly, Schatzki (2017) agreed that discursive practice (speaking and writing) is a kind of human practice. He also provides two alternative perspectives regarding the relations between discourse and practice. First, discourse could be understood as "a set of concepts together with their spoken and written (and thought) use in certain constellations of practices and arrangements" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 137). This suggests discourse manifests itself in speech or writing as particular ways of talking and thinking, such as the utilization of technical vocabulary or slang (Schatzki, 2017). Secondly, discourse also legitimates certain acceptable or enjoined interpretations of events, construing implicit knowledge in practices. These echo the assumption that general understandings are considered

tacit knowledge informed by discourses (Welch & Warde, 2017). In short, discursivity suffuses the plenum of practice as language and concepts, sayings and text, and discursive practices (Schatzki, 2017; Wetherell, 2012).

Fourth, emotions can be trained up, learned, and become habitual, reflecting the cultural constraints in social life. Emotions and the associated meaning-making will become habitual and primed eventually (Wetherell, 2012). From the perspective of affective practice, there are patterns of emotions that are "often, but not always, semi-routinized," which are termed "canonical emotional styles" or "affective repertoires" (Wetherell, 2015, p. 147). In a study carried out by Smith (2021) in the National Museum of American History, she discovered most visitors expressed a feeling of patriotism that is guided by certain "feeling rules" or "affective repertoires" (p. 201). Although these terms are used interchangeably, they refer to an *order*. It is proposed that there are certain structures of feelings or feeling rules that individuals may identify as "ought to" or having "a right to" feel certain emotions in specific situations (Smith, 2021). Similarly, Scheer (2012) observed that individuals exhibit emotional responses and behave according to their community's rules.

2.5.3.2 Conceptual Framework

Although Reckwitz (2017), Scheer (2012), and Wetherell (2012, 2015) provided some highly resemble and useful orientations for theorizing emotions using a practice lens, a concrete framework is missing. The works of Schatzki (1996, 2002) have contributed to the development of systematic theoretical frameworks (Reckwitz, 2017). The analytic framework of Gram-Hanssen (2011), Shove et al. (2012), and Warde (2005) are undoubtedly more or less rooted in frameworks developed by Schatzki. Therefore, it is proposed to explore the possibility of studying affective practice using the theoretical-rich account of Schatzki (2002). The treatment of combining Schatzki's (2002) framework of practice and Wetherell's (2012)

affective practice approach might offer a more structured framework for examining human affects as social practices. The following paragraphs aim to sketch the contour of a conceptual framework drawing from the principles of affective practice and the framework of Schatzki (2002).

If emotions/affects are socially situated human practices, then what are the examples that qualify as such? Reckwitz (2012) provided private mourning, collective cheering in a baseball stadium, falling in love with somebody, being in love with somebody and quarreling as examples of this specific practice-based perspective of affect. It is apparent that Wetherell and her colleagues are suggesting something similar, such as claiming victimhood, doing righteous indignation, showing Schadenfreude, indicating appropriate remorse, and claiming the moral high ground (Wetherell, 2015; Wetherell et al., 2015). To recap, the framework of Schatzki (2002) proposed that any social practices are a nexus of doings and sayings that are organized by practical understandings, rules, teleoaffective structures, and general understandings. Scheer (2012) offered us a thoughtful conceptualization of what the doings and sayings in affective practices are. He proposed that affect as practices are:

> Habits, rituals, and everyday pastimes that aid us in achieving a certain emotional state. This includes the striving for a desired feeling as well as the modifying of one that is not desirable… Are manipulations of body and mind to evoke feelings where there are none, to focus diffuse arousals and give them an intelligible shape, or to change or remove emotions already there. (Scheer, 2012, p. 209)

In this sense, we could probably view the doings and sayings of an affective practice as basic actions, tasks and projects that people perform in order to become emotionally affected or unaffected in another extreme.

Regarding practical understandings, the original examples given by Schatzki (2002) include the ability of knowing how to perform, identify and respond to actions composing a

practice. Therefore, practical understandings of affective practices could be, for instance, the ability of knowing how to perform, identify and respond to the doings and sayings of a particular affective practice.

In terms of explicit rules, Schatzki (2002) suggested "explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that enjoin, direct, or remonstrate people to perform specific actions" (p. 79). Affects/emotions are "bodily reactions and they are enabled/restricted by interpretative schemes at the same time," contended Reckwitz (2012, p. 251). Drawing on the fact that there are various structures of feelings or feeling rules that individuals obey or follow when they feel and display particular emotions in different social situations (Smith, 2021; Wetherell et al., 2020), it is plausible to define the rules in affective practices as the principles or rule of thumb regarding what emotions we should or are acceptable to feel and display.

The original notion of teleoaffective structures includes acceptable ends, purposes and meanings of carrying out practices, as well as states of emotions and moods that participants may enjoy. The adaptation of teleoaffective structures into affective practices could be more straightforward. For instance, the teleoaffective structures of affective practices might denote the purposes or meanings associated with affective practices. In order to avoid confusion, emotions and moods in teleoaffective structures are defined as emotional states rather than performances or actions.

Before moving into general understandings, we need to consider the relationship between discourse, social memory and practices. In some of Schatzki's publications, it is obvious that Schatzki is trying to enrich the explanatory power of his practice theory by bringing in more concepts or establishing linkages between practice with other long-established concepts in sociology. Regarding the first way, he augmented his original tripartite framework with an additional concept of general understandings (Schatzki, 2002). For the second way, he attempted to explicate possible relationships between discourse and practice, and incorporate

the idea of social memory (Schatzki, 2006, 2017). Schatzki (2006) pointed out that collective or social memory is "information about the past that is handed down, learned, and stored" (p. 1867).

However, his incorporation of social memory into his framework seems to be slightly unsatisfying. First, he explicitly stated that what is being transmitted from the past to the present in social memories is "not ideas, beliefs, or thoughts about the past" but should be the ability or memories of how to do something (Schatzki, 2010b). In contrast, as most scholars in the field of memory studies suggested, collective memories are the set of beliefs and ideas, collective representations, common narratives or images of the past (Assmann, 1995; Halbwachs, 1980; Olick & Robbins, 1998). Schatzki's (2006, 2010b) formulation of social memories appears to contradict what most scholars agreed. Second, he interpreted social memory as a pure personal ability or practical knowledge in performing an action. He further claimed that "memory per se has no intrinsic connection to identity" (Schatzki, 2010b, p. 219). In contrast, tourism and heritage scholars generally agree on the fact that heritage is closely linked with identity expression and formation (Macdonald, 2013; Smith, 2021). Visitors' emotional experiences are determined by their understanding of the past and their group membership.

Here, the term *understanding* is crucial in providing an alternative way of incorporating social memories into practice theory. General understandings are ideational elements, such as cultural values and concepts of nation (Welch & Warde, 2017), while social memories are beliefs, images and representations of the past having similar properties to discourses. Thus, it seems possible to utilize *general understandings* to represent concepts and values related to our interpretation of the past and also our understanding of group belongings. In this vein, general understandings of affective practices could be tentatively understood as the implicit

knowledge of how individuals understand and interpret the past and their group belongings in the context of heritage tourism.

Reckwitz (2017) deliberately claimed that "*every* social order as a set of practices *is* a specific order of affects" (p. 116, originally italicized). This way of thinking about emotion/affect allows researchers to describe the emotional as "an ensemble of social practices in which the embedded affects form a recognizable pattern" (Reckwitz, 2012, p. 251). In terms of red tourism, it is related to different historical events and narratives combined selectively. The authorized interpretation of the past varies across these narratives. For instance, Chinese people might conceive themselves as victims when they reflect on the period of history called the century of humiliation, while they might understand the ruling party as heroes if they draw upon the contemporary history of China. Thus, it is possible to imagine a single visit to a red tourism site probably results in a set of qualitatively different emotional episodes that are construed by individuals' interpretations of a specific period of the past. The holistic journey of emotionally experiencing a red tourism site could be conceptualized as a bundle of affective human activities organized by similar or slightly different sets of rules, teleoaffective structures and understandings.

2.6 Summary of Research Gaps

There are five major research gaps identified throughout the whole literature review. To begin with, most existing studies related to communist heritage tourism employ post-communist countries as the main research context. These studies often draw on a pre-assumed tension between the supply and demand of communist heritage and discuss issues of heritage representations. Communist heritages are not only located in post-communist countries, and our understanding of communist heritage tourism in present communist countries is limited (Henderson, 2007a; Ivanova & Buda, 2020).

Secondly, although red tourism as a form of communist heritage tourism in current socialist states has been studied intensively by Chinese scholars, most studies are theoretically shallow and mainly discuss the planning and marketing of red tourism from a macro-perspective. Scant red tourism literature can be found in international journals. Even though tourists' red tourism experiences have been studied, most studies took a conventional supply-demand perspective, which resembles marketing and management studies. There remains a gap in understanding the emotional aspects of red tourism experiences (Tang et al., 2021; Zhao, 2020; Zuo et al., 2016). It is also imperative to understand the nature of red tourism from the perspective of social construction (Xiao, 2013).

Thirdly, at the very beginning of the literature review, it has been illustrated that many tourism scholars commonly understand heritage as an inheritance from the past that is valued and utilized today, implying that heritage is being theorized as a *thing* or *resource*. At the same time, heritage tourism is mainly being conceptualized as tourism products, following certain dominant modes of knowledge production, such as the *theories in* and *theories of* heritage. The *theories in* and *theories of* heritage are less promising approaches to producing new knowledge for heritage tourism (Waterton & Watson, 2013). The application of *theories for* heritage is deemed more useful for advancing our understanding of heritage tourism as a form of human practice and a process of cultural production (Richards, 2018a; Waterton & Watson, 2013).

Recently, scholars have started to scrutinize the role of emotions in tourism. For instance, tourism scholars are increasingly studying emotions from a psychological perspective. In fact, emotions are not only mental and individualistic in nature. They are socially constructed, practiced as habits and have social consequences (Ahmed, 2004; Wetherell, 2015). It is argued that embracing a practice approach to theorizing emotions is an alternative to the psychological approach prevailing in recent tourism studies. In particular, using the concept of affective

practice to explore the tourists' emotional experiences in red tourism will critically advance our understanding of communist heritage tourism.

Lastly, heritage is a place where people's emotions and memories are evoked, yet scholars seem less alert to the complicated relationship between collective memories and emotions in tourists' meaning-making (Smith & Campbell, 2016; Zhang et al., 2019). Red tourism conveys an official version of collective memory that is comprised of intricately intertwined discourses. Each discourse contributes to a particular interpretation of history and group-based sentiments. However, most existing red tourism literature that discussed red memory uncritically neglected the influences of these discourses on tourists' emotional experiences and meaning-making process.

To conclude, the first two gaps indicate a need to enrich existing literature on communist heritage tourism and to unpack the emotional experiences in red tourism. These two gaps have been addressed by the selection of study context and tourism phenomenon. The third research gap points to the insufficient understanding of the *very being* of tourists in heritage sites caused by the application of a limited range of theories. The fourth gap concerns the need to theorize tourists' emotional experiences from a practice theory perspective. Finally, red memories involve several interrelated discourses and potentially contribute to tourists' emotional responses. However, the relationship between red memories and tourists' emotional experiences is understudied. Furthermore, this study tests the possibility of drawing simultaneously from practice theory, collective memories literature and affect theory as a response to the third gap.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology being applied in this study. First, it provides an overview of the mainstream paradigms in tourism research and describes the chosen paradigm that guided this undertaking. Then, a justification of the research design is offered. An extensive description of the data collection and analysis process is also provided. Finally, quality control, trustworthiness, and positionality of the researcher are discussed.

3.1. Research Paradigm

Research paradigms are “basic belief systems” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107). Paradigms define the nature of the world, the relationship between the inquirer and the world, and the path an inquirer can follow to find out what he or she believes can be known. Research paradigms are also referred to as worldviews, which means a way to make sense of and think about the complexities of the real world (Lincoln et al., 2018; Patton, 2015). Creswell and Poth (2018) observed that paradigms are simply called philosophical assumptions at a more philosophical level and interpretive frameworks at a more practical language (e.g., feminist theory, queer theory). Good research, especially qualitative research, needs to make these philosophical assumptions, paradigms, or interpretive frameworks explicit in writing (Creswell, 2007).

At the fundamental level, research paradigms are based on ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In short, ontological assumptions deal with the nature of reality. Epistemological assumptions reflect the theoretical relationship between researchers and knowledge, such as the role of the inquirer in the inquiry process and the inquirers’ relationship with things or people being researched. Methodology denotes the procedures or the best means for gaining knowledge about reality. Apart from the three basic

philosophical assumptions proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1994), our understanding of research paradigms has evolved and expanded. Axiology is considered the fourth element in research paradigms, which reflects on the value stance taken by the researcher (Lincoln et al., 2018; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Creswell (2007) further suggested researchers consider the rhetorical assumptions of a study. Table 3.1 summarizes the components and questions in relation to the "basic belief systems" given in research method texts.

Conventionally, social science methodologists identified several common paradigms, including positivism, post-positivism, constructivism/interpretivism, and critical theory (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln et al., 2018; Veal, 2018). Sometimes, pragmatism and participatory are also regarded as major paradigms (Creswell, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Table 3.2 offers a comparison between these major paradigms.

The paradigm underlying this study is social constructivism under the large umbrella of interpretivism. Social constructivism assumes a relativist ontology and subjective epistemology. This is to say, the research findings presented in this thesis are only approximations of the reality at a particular moment in time. Social constructivism suggests that we can only grasp the essence of the world, phenomenon and social actions through understanding the system of meanings that constitute them (Schwandt, 2000). To find meanings, the inquirer must understand what the phenomenon or action is about and interpret it in a particular way that reflects what is actually happening (Patton, 2015).

In a similar vein, practice theories posited that all social phenomena, including culture and consumption, are constructions of individuals' minds and actions (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2002). Red tourism is a unique cultural practice in China. It could also be understood as a form of cultural consumption activity. Either way, the subjective realities in this study (i.e., the phenomenon of an emotional red museum visit) are conceptualized as constructions of recurrent human practices and visitors' minds. The following sections give a brief explanation

of the ontological, epistemological, axiological, methodological, and rhetorical assumptions in this research.

Table 3.1 *Elements and Fundamental Questions Relating to "Basic Belief System" in Research*

Sources	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology	Axiology	Rhetoric assumptions
Veal (2018)	The nature of reality assumed	The relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon being studied	The ways by which knowledge and understanding are established through research. The choice of method in a study should be closely influenced by the ontological and epistemological perspectives used.	/	/
Guba & Lincoln (1994) and Lincoln & Guba (2000)	What is the form and nature of reality, and 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? …. For example, if 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).	Treatment of values and the way values feed into the research process. (e.g., the influence of personal and social values on the choice of problem, the choice of research paradigm, the choice of context, and the choice of formats for presenting findings)	/
Lincoln & Guba (2013)	What is there that can be known? What is the nature of reality?	What is the nature of the relationship between the knower and the knowable?	How does one go about acquiring knowledge?	The role of values in human inquiry. Of all the knowledge possible to be known, which is the most valuable? Which is the most beautiful and life-enhancing?	
Denzin & Lincoln (1998)	What kind of being is 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?	/	/
Creswell (2007) and Creswell & Poth (2018)	What is the nature of reality?	What counts as knowledge? How are knowledge claims justified? What is the relationship between the researcher and that being researched?	What is the research process?	What is the role of values in research?	What is the language of research?
Jennings (2009)	The worldview of the nature of reality	Science of knowledge and the relationship between researcher and that which is to be known	Guidelines for conducting research	Study of ethics and values	/

Table 3.2 *Overview of Major Paradigms in Tourism Research*

	Positivism	**Post-positivism**	**Critical realism**	**Critical theory**	**Interpretivism/Constructivism**
Synonyms or related terms	Empiricism Realism Naïve realism Objectivism	New realism (Developed as a response to the critique of positivism)	A midpoint between realism and relativism	Marxist Postmodern critical theorists	Social constructivism Constructionism
Focus	Explanation	Explanation	Explanation	Understanding	Understanding Interpretation
Ontology	Truths and laws are universal	Truths are fallible and a product of historical and social contexts	Truths are fallible and a product of historical and social contexts	Social-historical realities Realities reflective of power relations	Multiple realities
Epistemology	Objective	Objective	Objective – acknowledge the potential for researcher bias	Subjective-objective unless postpositivist critical theory (objective)	Intersubjective
Methodology	Quantitative	Quantitative	Both quantitative and qualitative	Mainly qualitative	Qualitative
Axiology	Value-free	Essays to be value-free	Essays to be value-free Consideration of the emancipatory role of research	Value laden Political agenda Emancipatory Transformative	Value laden

Note. Adapted from Jennings (2009, pp. 674–675)

3.1.1 Ontology

Ontology refers to the nature of reality. Relativism is the fundamental ontological assumption of social constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Social constructivism begins with the premise that the world we live and work in is different from the natural or physical world because the former is inherently meaningful (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Meaningful things and objects in the human world are matters of definition and agreement. They only exist in the minds of people who contemplate these things (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Therefore, "reality" could be deemed as purely a construction by/of individuals' minds.

Following the tradition of interpretivism, social constructivism assumes a relativist ontological stance. The existence of multiple realities is acknowledged. As Guba and Lincoln (1994) explained, realities are not only intangible mental constructions but also multiple, socially and experientially based. These realities are changeable and alterable because their constructions are dependent on the form and content an individual or a group gives them in a particular social setting. While positivists, objectivists and realists stress the independence of knowledge from human volition, constructivists assume that reality is a human construction within a given social context (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). The "truth" is only constructed when the object and subject interact in a particular time and space. In most cases, constructivists seek to focus on the meaning-making activities of the individuals' minds (Patton, 2015).

Since this thesis utilized practice theories as the theoretical framework, readers who are familiar with this stream of literature might question whether social constructivism could fit with research based on practice theories. Some practice theorists advocate the *flat ontology* that conceives social reality only encompasses one level, which is the plenum of practice and material arrangements (Lamers et al., 2017; Schatzki, 2016). Researchers who embrace flat ontology believe that no distinction should be made between different social levels, such as agency/structure and micro/macro. Large or macro social phenomenon is argued to be a larger

extension of practices and material arrangements in time and space (Weenink & Spaargaren, 2019). Flat ontology suggests that all objects in the human world, including those imagined or mentally constructed, have the same ability to impact other objects. In other words, flat ontology does not deny the constructed nature of reality and knowledge. A number of previous literature informed by practice theories is also operated under social constructivism (e.g., Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Lugosi et al., 2020; Yi et al., 2022). Thus, it is possible to use a practice theories-informed framework as a heuristic device while not necessarily binding to the idea of flat ontology.

3.1.2 Epistemology

Epistemological assumptions deal with what could be counted as knowledge and the relationship between researchers and those being researched (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Jennings, 2009). Epistemology is constrained by the ontological position upheld by the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Under social constructivism, epistemology should be defined as subjective and transactional (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 2013).

First, a subjective epistemological stance stresses that reality is presupposed to be, by and large, human constructions, which are the end products of individuals' sense-making. Thus, knowledge that describes or explains such a reality could only be subjective. However, this subjective knowledge regarding the "truth" is not impossible to share. This kind of subjective knowledge can be intersubjective. People who hold similar beliefs and values or those who have similar social or political backgrounds interpret and understand the world in a more or less similar way (Lincoln & Guba, 2013).

Secondly, the epistemology of social constructivism is transactional. Adhering to the interpretivist tradition, it is presupposed that knowledge is created through the interaction between the inquirer and the objects or subjects being researched (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Epistemologically, social constructivists aim to grasp subjective meanings that are co-created between the inquirer and the subject being researched. The relationship between the knower and the knowable is context specific, inseparable and interactive (Lincoln & Guba, 2013).

In short, social constructivism suggests that knowledge is "created" rather than "discovered" (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Anchoring on the epistemological stance of constructivism, it is believed that both research data and knowledge are inevitably mediated and generated from an interactive process between the researcher and the researched. This creation of knowledge requires researchers to make sense of their data through their own subjectivity and interpretations.

3.1.3 Methodological Assumptions

The desirable methodology should be hermeneutical and dialectical (Lincoln et al., 2018). Given the above discussed ontological assumption of relativism, as well as presupposing a transactional and subjectivist epistemology, the methodology which suits constructivism needs to be one that allows the knower to interpret people's mind and sense-making activities (Lincoln & Guba, 2013).

Since reality in the form of mental constructions is alterable and personal, they could only be elicited through interaction between the researchers and the research participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In order to understand the meanings of the human world or actions, a method that fits constructivism should allow the participants to express the mentally constructed reality they hold while allowing researchers to interrogate the meanings behind it. Ideally, it should be done in a way that involves both the researcher and the research participants to work in a balanced manner. Therefore, interviews or conversations with research participants and participatory observations are data collection methods that fit well with these methodological assumptions. Besides, in order to get close to the intersubjective realities in people's minds,

the mental constructions held by various individuals should be compared and contrasted through means of dialectical interchange (Lincoln & Guba, 2013).

3.1.4 Axiology

Axiology refers to the role of values in an inquiry. For instance, it reflects the kind of knowledge a researcher values and the aim of research. Knowledge is epistemologically assumed to be a human construction, and the inquiry process is accepted to be a co-construction process between and among the researched and the researcher. Thus, the values and beliefs of both research participants and the researchers are unavoidably involved in the process of knowledge creation. Lincoln and Guba (2013) advocated followers of constructivism that “the values of the inquirer, the various value systems of research participants, the values which inhere in the context all must be uncovered and made transparent” (p. 41). Besides, constructivism suggests the different ways we make sense of the world are equally valid and worthy of respect (Patton, 2015).

Therefore, the researcher who conducted this research values the different voices of the participants and also his own voice as a researcher. These voices shaped the inquiry process. Thus, he tried his best to disclose the various views held by the research participants, even contrasting ones. Also, he cannot pretend to be invisible because his involvement cannot be detached from the process of data curation, analysis and the reporting of research outcomes. Readers can sense the existence of the researcher, especially in the methodology and findings section.

3.1.5 Rhetorical Assumptions

Rhetorical assumptions denote researchers’ personal beliefs and values that inform the writing style and how the report should be encoded. Nowadays, an increasing number of

qualitative researchers have started to embrace the fact that the writing of texts cannot be detached from the author (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Researchers need to consider their personal history and the social-cultural and political factors that they brought into their research writing. First, the researcher might need to make a decision about the overall writing structures (i.e., the writing process, the conformity to headings and structures similar to standard quantitative research, and the use of personal, familiar and reader-friendly language that suits the broad audience) and embedded writing structures (i.e., the use of dialogues and conversations, visual diagrams, verbatim quotations) (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Besides, researchers need to be careful of the impact their writings exert on readers, participants, and the researchers themselves. Will the text silence the voices of the participants and the researcher-self? Are participants likely to be marginalized after someone reads the text? How will the text be used or interpreted by the readers?

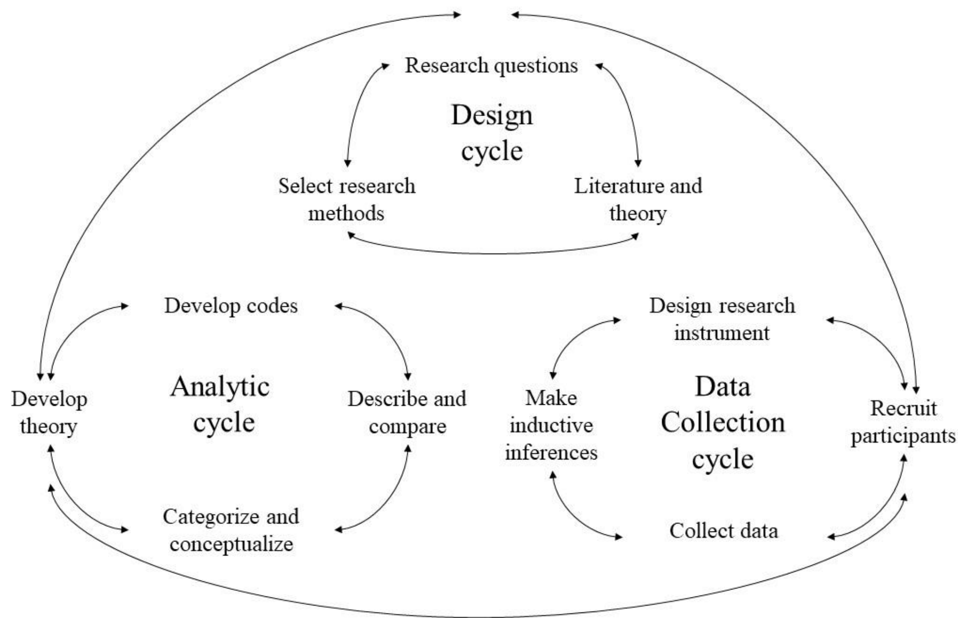
The researcher conducting this study understands his role as a storyteller and aims to engage the readers. He attempted to make his writing "alive" and hoped to situate the readers into the world of Chinese people in a red museum, particularly their constructed emotional experience. However, he also acknowledges the fact that readers of this thesis might prefer something more "objective" or "reliable" and expect the researcher to be a "distanced qualitative writer." Therefore, he decided to compromise his personal resistance to standard academic texts and structures. He followed the overarching structure of a conventional academic report and used a third-person stance for most of the parts, except part of the methodologies section and findings. To create a *readable text*, he incorporated narrative-style writing and storytelling techniques. The notion of ethnography-as-narrative-journey or the tradition of presenting ethnographic findings in thematic narrative is partially upheld. Readers should be alerted that the representation style in this thesis does not wholly adhere to the orthodoxy of ethnographic text.

3.2 Research Design

Research design refers to a flexible set of principles and guidelines that bridge research paradigms with data curation strategies and methods of inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). In general, there are three major research approaches that guide a study, namely quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approach.

The tenet of practice theories asserts that social life, including culture, is constituted by diverse ongoing human practices and the individual's subjective mind. Anchoring in social constructivism, emotional red tourism experiences are conceptualized as the end-product constructed and possibly shared among individuals, which are influenced by various personal histories, social factors and cultural contexts. The qualitative approach is a mean to explore and understand the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social phenomenon (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative research is inductive in nature, focuses on meanings created by humans and stresses the importance of manifesting the complexity of a phenomenon. The research design, data collection and data analysis process are often conducted iteratively (see Figure 3.1). To unpack the complexity of and the subjective realities involved in emotional red tourism experiences, this study adopted a qualitative approach.

Figure 3.1 *Qualitative Research Cycle*



Note. Adapted from Hennink et al. (2020, p. 4)

3.2.1 Choosing Among the Five Major Qualitative Approaches

Five major qualitative approaches are available for guiding this study, including narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory approach, ethnography and case study. Narrative research and phenomenological research mainly deal with the lived and told stories of individuals. They are less appropriate because both narrative research and phenomenological research solely unpack the meaning systems of a phenomenon through participants' discursive accounts. It neglected the actual behavior of participants. With the objective of building mid-range theories, the grounded theory approach usually starts without using preconceived theories or theoretical frameworks. Since practice theories were the chosen theoretical framework to inform this study, the grounded theory approach might not be completely appropriate. The case study approach is also less appropriate because the objective of this endeavor is to understand how emotional red tourism experience, resembling the form of culture, works within the group of Chinese domestic tourists rather than to understand unusual issues or critical problems of a situation.

Ethnography, as defined and delineated by O'Reilly (2012), is a research practice that (1) evolves in research design when the study unfolds, (2) depends on researchers' interaction with human agents in their daily context for a prolonged period of time, (3) involves the use of a set of data collection methods, such as participant observations and interviews, (4) takes the complexity of social world for granted, and (5) narrate rich, credible and sensitive stories. An ethnographic approach is chosen for several reasons. First, the phenomenon of the emotional red tourism experience was conceptualized as multiple realities that are visitors' own constructions based on their ongoing practices and subjective minds. Ethnography is a qualitative design that facilitates researchers to describe and interpret the shared and learned patterns of beliefs, language and behaviors of a culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2007). It allows researchers to plumb for both "doings and sayings," which are the shared behavior patterns within a culture-sharing group. Besides, ethnographic methods are deemed most faithful to the study of social practices (Nicolini, 2012). Talking to participants or interviewing participants about their practice is just "second best, which is, of course, better than *nothing* [emphasis added]" (Nicolini, 2017, p. 29). Since interviewing itself is a social practice, participants sometimes tell their own version of story about a human practice (Nicolini, 2017). Researchers who utilize practice theories should try their best to position themselves in the scene of action and even participate in such practices in order to understand the dynamics and sociality involved (Sundqvist, 2023). Taking part in practices and putting ourselves in the scene of action allows researchers to offer interpretations from a fresh perspective that participants missed out (Nicolini, 2017). Since ethnography emphasizes the sustained and situated participation of both the researcher and participants, researchers can observe and study practices in situ (O'Reilly, 2012). Previous tourism literature which unraveled human social practices also employed ethnography. For instance, Witte (2021) spent 5.5 months in Yunan employing mobile ethnography to understand the walking practices of tourists on China's

Ancient Tea Horse Road. To study leisure boating and tourists' sense of "home and away," Lepoša (2018) took month-long tours together with her participants.

3.2.2 Walking Interviews

Mobile methods have attracted significant academic attention in recent years. Among the various mobile methods, harnessing walking as a research method is on the growth in various social science disciplines (Kinney, 2017; Kowalewski & Bartłomiejski, 2020). The incorporation of walking elements into the research process is usually in the form of an in-depth qualitative interview conducted by researchers shadowing or accompanying participants to walk in a specific physical environment, such as a local area, neighborhood or workplace (Carpiano, 2009). Terms referring to this approach are used interchangeably, including "talking whilst walking" (Anderson, 2004), "go-along" (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003), "walk-along interview" (Kowalewski & Bartłomiejski, 2020), "interpretive walk" (Mackay et al., 2018) and simply "walking interview" (Evans & Jones, 2011). The exploration and uses of walking interviews were found in human geography (Anderson, 2004; Kowalewski & Bartłomiejski, 2020), organization studies (Czarniawska, 2014; Johnstone et al., 2020), urban study (Jones & Evans, 2012), public health (Adekoya & Guse, 2020) and more recently in heritage tourism (Hanna et al., 2019).

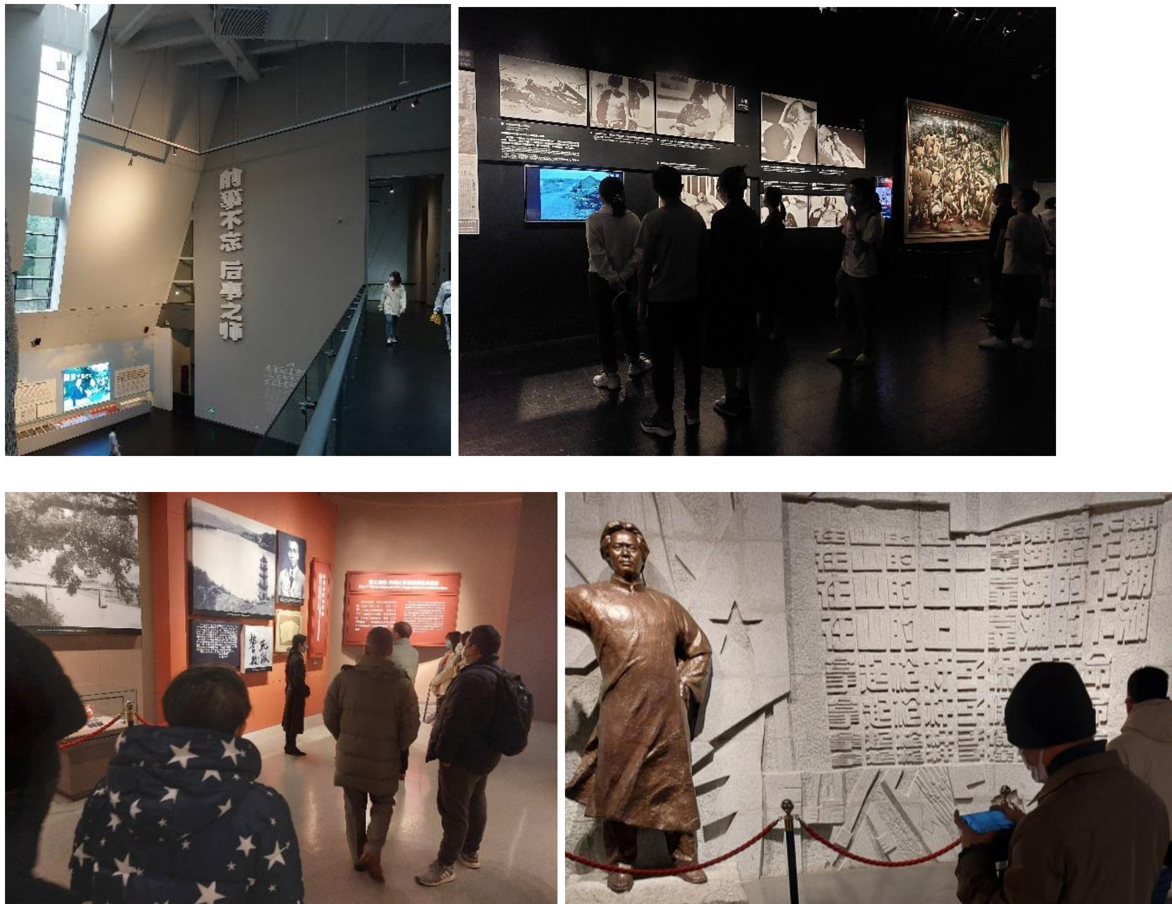
Regarding the study of emotions in heritage tourism, a majority of endeavors rely on post hoc surveys (Nawijn et al., 2023; Nawijn & Biran, 2019; Oren et al., 2021). This approach to data curation is widespread among extant literature on emotional experiences of red tourists (Hu et al., 2022; Wang et al., 2023). Given that emotions are short-lived felt experiences (Nawijn et al., 2023; Nawijn & Biran, 2019), it is doubtful whether a post hoc survey enables researchers to sufficiently capture fleeting human affects or feelings that are hard to describe using a pre-determined list of emotion adjectives.

Traditional interviewing method is another alternative, but it sometimes only results in superficiality. As Kusenbach (2003) noted, people seldom tell researchers the things that actually occur in their natural environments. They are either unable to recount accurately their concurrent experience or are unwilling to do so. When participants are invited to conventional sedentary interviews, they are separated from their "natural" settings. It furthers the difficulties for researchers to probe and get close to participants' situated experiences. What differentiates walk-along interview from others is that researchers can observe participants' spatial practices in situ while accessing and interpreting participants' experiences concurrently (Hein et al., 2008; Kinney, 2017).

One of the aims of this undertaking was to observe and understand the ways and the complexities of affective relations visitors develop with history and the nation in the midst of their museum visit. Mobile methods depict a way of doing ethnography that involves "traveling *with* people and things, participating in their continual shift through time, place and relations with others" (Watts & Urry, 2008, p. 867). Such a form of ethnography allows researchers to get deeper engagement into participants' worldviews while they are moving together (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Most red tourism happens in a museum setting (Zhang, 2008). The museum is a space where memory attaches itself to and materializes (Nora, 1989). Museums not only preserve the past but also narrate carefully reconstructed imaginings of the past that legitimate or silence certain historical actors or ways of interpretation (Hanna et al., 2019). Red museums also select historical stories and figures that serve to reconstruct a desirable version of the past. Similar to most museums, the narratives in red museums are organized in chronological order. Metaphorically, when visitors go through different exhibition areas in the designated order, they are indeed "walking through" the carefully reconstructed history. In this sense, walking interviews allow the researcher to observe and access museum visitors' spatial practices (e.g., responses to narratives and interactions with history-related exhibits).

The use of mobile ethnography also facilitates the concurrent exploration of how sensory, symbolic, and emotional aspects of the museum walk are entangled with visitors' museum experiences. Nowadays, red museums include various symbolic elements in their design, such as the theme color and the display of cultural expression, which is commonly understood and shared among the Chinese (see Figure 3.2). Besides, many of these museums are equipped with advanced technologies to offer their visitors rich sensory experiences. Novoa (2015) believed walking interview well suits the needs of ethnography because it allows researchers to observe what is happening but also to experience, feel and grasp the bodily (e.g., textures, smells, discomfort) and affective dimensions (e.g., pleasures and displeasures) of a phenomenon. Since researchers are conceived as instruments in qualitative research, the walking interview facilitates inquirers to take advantage of their bodily self and the affective self. Researchers who use walking interviews are likely to "feel the same" as participants sensuously, emotionally, and ideologically. Given these advantages, researchers can observe, engage in, and grasp the activities qua activities of a museum visit. The mobile method is considered a proper choice to capture museum experiences that are fleeting, embodied, sensuous, and affective.

Figure 3.2 *Examples of the Interior Environment of the NMMH and JRM*



Note. From left to right, top to bottom correspondingly: (1) a Chinese phrase "*Qianshi buwang, houshi zhishi* (*前事不忘, 后事之师*)" being displayed in the NMMH, which means "those who do not forget the past will be masters of the future;" (2) exhibits and tone of color in the NMMH; (3) exhibits and tone of color in the JRM; and (4) a Chinese phrase "*Zaishande shangshan, kaohude xiahu, naqi qiangganzi baowei geming* (*在山的上山, 靠湖的下湖, 拿起枪杆子保卫革命*)" being displayed in the JRM. Mao Zedong used this phrase to advocate for CCP members to relocate their revolutionary bases from cities to rural areas in 1927. Photo by author.

3.3 Data Collection

The majority of data collected for this study were gathered during a four-month period of fieldwork in China, spanning from the middle of September 2022 to early January 2023. Fieldwork was conducted in two separate sites. Ethnographic data in the form of walk-along interviews, participant observations, and casual conversations were gathered during the fieldwork. Participants who engaged in the walking interview were further invited to assist in a follow-up semi-structured interview. The dataset was also supplemented with sit-down interviews conducted prior to the fieldwork.

3.3.1 Research Context and Site Selection

As mentioned in the literature review section, the official definition of red tourism sites has changed since the establishment of the Second Outline. The original list of red tourism sites only covers communist heritage sites related to Chinese revolutionary history from 1921 to 1949. Then, heritage sites featuring significant historical events ranging from 1839 until nowadays were redefined as red tourism sites. This research focuses on red tourism sites with reference to the definition given in the Second Outline. In particular, the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders, which is hereafter referred to as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall (NMMH), and the Jinggangshan Revolutionary Museum (JRM), which is located inside the Jinggangshan Scenic Area in Jiangxi Province, are chosen as the sites for conducting data collection.

There are four underlying reasons for choosing these two sites. First, the two sites share many similarities in terms of their interpretative messages and narrative structures. Moreover, some previous literature examined and compared both sites in a single study (Zhao & Timothy, 2017b; H. Zheng, 2016). Second, according to the latest tourism report released by Mafengwo (2021), the NMMH and the Jinggangshan Scenic Area are the top two most popular red tourism attractions in the East China region. Third, although these two sites focus on different historical events, both of the sites are listed officially as red tourism attractions for patriotic education. The first site is associated with the revolutionary history of the CCP, while the second site is related to the Second Sino-Japanese War. Finally, both sites represent crucial historical events constituting the social memory of the Chinese people.

JRM has been one of the 83 national first-class museums in China since 2008. The museum is located in Jingganshan City in Jiangxi Province. Jinggangshan is the CCP's first rural revolutionary base area, established in 1927. On the one hand, Jinggangshan City is one of the national-level demonstration bases for patriotic education. It is recognized as the "cradle

of the Chinese revolution" by the Publicity Department of the CCP. On the other hand, the China National Tourism Administration announced Jinggangshan as a national 5A level tourism scenic area, which is the highest level of China's tourist attraction. The Jinggangshan scenic area is also listed as one of the 300 classic red tourism scenic spots.

The former JRM was built to commemorate the establishment of the Jinggangshan Revolutionary Base (JRB). The former museum was built in 1958 and opened to the public in 1959, on the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Various CCP leaders visited the former museum. For instance, Zhu De, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Mao Zedong, Founder of the People's Republic of China, visited the former museum in 1962 and 1965, respectively.

In 2004, the Publicity Department announced the construction of a new JRM and regarded it as the "Number one project (*一号工程*)" of national-level demonstration bases for patriotic education. The construction of the new museum started in 2005 and was completed in October 2007, which was the 80th anniversary of the establishment of JRB. In 2021, it was one of the top ten most visited museums for patriotic education purposes. There are approximately 1.5 million visits annually. The total construction area of the museum is 20,030 square meters, including over eight thousand square meters of exhibition halls. Over eight hundred cultural relics and two thousand photos related to the revolutionary history in Jinggangshan and CCP leaders are being exhibited. The whole exhibition is divided into six themes, including themes such as the establishment of JRB, its development, and the Jingganshan spirit.

The NMMH is a history museum located in Nanjing City. It was built in 1985 to memorize the victims slaughtered by the Japanese Forces of Aggression during the Second World War. The NMMH has been entitled as one of the national-level demonstration bases for patriotic education since 1997. Like the JRM, the NMMH was announced to be one of the first-

class national museums in 2008. The NMMH has a total construction area of 57,000 square meters and an exhibition area of over 20,000 square meters. There are, in total, over four thousand photographs and nearly ten thousand pieces of records and artifacts being exhibited. The museum encompasses three major themed exhibitions relating to the history of the Nanjing Massacre, the Comfort Women system, and the great victory of the Chinese people's resistance against the Japanese invasion. The first two themed exhibitions represent the humiliation elements in Chinese history, while the third one illustrates the heroic revolutionary history of the CCP. The walking interviews conducted in the NMMH mostly happened only in the first themed exhibition due to participants' personal preferences.

3.3.2 Participant Recruitment, Sampling Strategies and Profiles of Participants

Participants were recruited through a combination of three strategies, including convenience sampling, snowballing and opportunity sampling. The decision to use the multiple sampling method was to maximize the chance for the researcher to get in touch with potential participants who could provide information-rich narratives. Figure 3.3 visualizes the sampling methods applied across the different stages of the data collection.

Figure 3.3 *Sampling Methods Applied*

	Pre-fieldwork interviews		Fieldwork and walking interviews (Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders)		Fieldwork and walking interviews (Jinggangshan Revolutionary Museum)		
	Mid Jul 2022	Aug 2022	Sep 2022	Oct 2022	Nov 2022	Dec 2022	Early Jan 2023
Convenience sampling (Advertisement)	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Snowballing (Referral by participants)			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Opportunity sampling (Impromptu interviews)			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Convenience sampling was solely applied to the participants who took part in interviews prior to the fieldwork. Convenience sampling was the most common sampling strategy used in qualitative research due to its accessibility (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Although it is the least rigorous sampling method (Patton, 2015), it is the most feasible choice for the researcher to approach visitors who visited the two museums to test the semi-structured interview questions and allow the researcher to get some initial ideas about participants' museum experience. The researcher contacted travelers who had recently posted their travel blogs on popular social media among Chinese people (i.e., Mafengwo and Xiaohongshu). Besides, advertisements were dispersed using the researchers' own social network. Participants in this stage must be Chinese tourists who visited either one of the sites within 12 months at the time of the interview. They were required to provide photos or other evidence to show that they had visited either one of the sites within 12 months. A total of ten participants were recruited from early July to the end of August.

After the commencement of the fieldwork, participants were recruited to carry out walking interviews. Inclusion criteria for participating in the walking interviews were that interviewees were engaging in museum visits or had made a plan to visit any one of the museums, which overlapped with the researchers' fieldwork time span. All participants must be Chinese citizens born and raised in China, and they must be able to communicate with the

researchers in Chinese or English. No criteria were set regarding previous experience of visiting museums or the number of visits they paid to the study sites.

In the NMMH, the researcher first undertook opportunity sampling during the fieldwork. Opportunity sampling refers to the chance to conduct unplanned interviews during the fieldwork (Patton, 2015). In order to invite visitors who were engaging in the museum visit to take part in this study, the researcher approached visitors randomly outside the museum, at the entrance and also at the first exhibition area. Although verbal approval was obtained from the museum management, the researcher soon discovered that opportunity sampling is less effective than perceived. When the researcher approached some of the visitors, he was sometimes stopped and questioned by frontline staff and volunteers working in the museum. Besides, it is speculated that due to the politically sensitive nature of the first site, visitors felt suspicious about the identity of the researcher and his rationale for conducting interviews. As a result, only three out of twenty participants were recruited through opportunity sampling at the first site. The researcher then relied on advertisements dispersed through social media to recruit those who already have a plan to visit the museum. A few referrals were also obtained from participants.

Recruiting participants through advertising was ineffective in the second site because of a low visitor number caused by a sudden COVID-19-related lockdown of the fieldwork location. Therefore, the researcher recruited most participants by opportunity sampling when he was conducting regular onsite observations. Nine out of eleven participants were recruited in the second fieldwork location through this sampling strategy.

Overall, 41 individuals participated at least once among the three different styles of interviews (i.e., interviews before the commencement of fieldwork, walking interviews, and follow-up interviews). Reflecting a variety of ages and occupational backgrounds, 18 females and 23 males were involved (see Table 3.3). The names of participants were anonymized. Their

identities were coded based on their participation in the different phases of the data collection and the museum visited. For example, O-NMMH represents a participant who helped in an interview before the fieldwork phase and provided information about the museum experience in the Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders. In contrast, FW-JRM denotes an individual recruited during the fieldwork of JRM who participated in a walking interview.

Table 3.3 *Profile of Participants*

No.	Name code	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Place of residence	Number of visits to the same site, including the walking interview	Sampling strategies
1	FW-NMMH-001	F	32	Bachelor’s degree	Advertising executive	Jiangsu	>5	Convenience sampling
2	FW-NMMH-002	M	45	Bachelor’s degree	Engineer	Anhui	3	Convenience sampling
3	FW-NMMH-003	F	30	Master’s degree	Student	Jiangsu	2	Convenience sampling
4	FW-NMMH-004	F	28	Master’s degree	Financial planner	Guangzhou	3	Convenience sampling
5	FW-NMMH-005	F	36	Master’s degree	Corporate executive	Jiangsu	2	Convenience sampling
6	FW-NMMH-006	F	66	Uneducated	Housewife	Anhui	1	Opportunity sampling
7	FW-NMMH-007	F	76	Junior school	Housewife	Anhui	1	Opportunity sampling
8	FW-NMMH-008	M	48	Bachelor’s degree	Tour guide	Jiangsu	>10	Opportunity sampling
9	FW-NMMH-009	M	75	High school	Retired	Anhui	2	Snowball sampling
10	FW-NMMH-010	M	32	Bachelor’s degree	Teacher	Jiangsu	2	Convenience sampling
11	FW-NMMH-011	F	30	Master’s degree	Clerk	Jiangsu	1	Convenience sampling
12	FW-NMMH-012	M	30	Bachelor’s degree	Designer	Jiangsu	2	Snowball sampling
13	FW-NMMH-013	F	28	Bachelor’s degree	Clerk	Jiangsu	2	Convenience sampling
14	FW-NMMH-014	F	23	Master’s degree	Student	Shandong	2	Convenience sampling
15	FW-NMMH-015	F	23	Master’s degree	Student	Anhui	1	Snowball sampling
16	FW-NMMH-016	F	23	Master’s degree	Student	Fujian	2	Snowball sampling
17	FW-NMMH-017	F	36	Bachelor’s degree	Self-employed	Jiangsu	2	Convenience sampling
18	FW-NMMH-018	F	37	Bachelor’s degree	Clerk	Jiangsu	4	Snowball sampling
19	FW-NMMH-019	M	36	Master’s degree	Civil servant	Jiangsu	1	Convenience sampling
20	FW-NMMH-020	F	25	Bachelor’s degree	Advertising executive	Jiangsu	1	Convenience sampling
21	FW-JRM-001	M	56	High school	Technician	Hubei	1	Opportunity sampling
22	FW-JRM-002	M	30	Master’s degree	Employee in a state-owned enterprise	Sichuan	1	Convenience sampling
23	FW-JRM-003	F	18	High school	Student	Jiangxi	2	Opportunity sampling
24	FW-JRM-004	M	43	Junior high school	Retail worker	Guangzhou	1	Opportunity sampling
25	FW-JRM-005	M	25	Bachelor’s degree	Engineer	Hunan	1	Opportunity sampling
26	FW-JRM-006	M	21	Bachelor’s degree	Student	Jiangxi	1	Opportunity sampling
27	FW-JRM-007	M	22	Bachelor’s degree	Student	Jiangxi	2	Opportunity sampling
28	FW-JRM-008	M	45	Bachelor’s degree	Business owner	Jiangxi	>10	Snowball sampling
29	FW-JRM-009	M	30	Master’s degree	Teacher	Jiangxi	>5	Opportunity sampling
30	FW-JRM-010	M	50	Junior high school	Tour guide	Jiangxi	3	Opportunity sampling
31	FW-JRM-011	M	37	Bachelor’s degree	Medical care worker	Inner Mongolia	1	Opportunity sampling
32	O-NMMH-001	M	24	Master’s degree	Research assistant	Shandong	2	Convenience sampling
33	O-NMMH-002	M	25	Bachelor’s degree	Accountant	Jiangsu	2	Convenience sampling

Continue next page

No.	Name code	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Place of residence	Number of visits to the same site, including the walking interview	Sampling strategies
34	O-NMMH-003	M	24	Master’s degree	Student	Tianjin	1	Convenience sampling
35	O-NMMH-004	M	26	Master’s degree	Student	Anhui	1	Convenience sampling
36	O-NMMH-005	F	27	Master’s degree	Student	Shanghai	1	Convenience sampling
37	O-JRM-001	F	21	Bachelor’s degree	Student	Jiangxi	1	Convenience sampling
38	O-JRM-002	M	19	Bachelor’s degree	Student	Jiangxi	2	Convenience sampling
39	O-JRM-003	F	51	Master’s degree	Teacher	Jiangxi	>5	Convenience sampling
40	O-JRM-004	M	44	Bachelor’s degree	Business owner	Hunan	1	Convenience sampling
41	O-JRM-005	M	39	Bachelor’s degree	Employee in a state-owned enterprise	Guangzhou	1	Convenience sampling

3.3.3 Conducting Walking Interviews

Previous literature suggested that both free-flow format and semi-structured format work for walking interviews. For instance, Carpiano (2009) conducted the walking interview in a semi-structured format using both prepared and ad-hoc questions in his study about the effect of place on health. In contrast, Evans and Jones (2011) applied an unstructured approach to their walking interviews to study residents' lived experiences and affective connections with the environment of the community. They believed an unstructured approach could "empower the interviewees as much as possible and maximize the space for narratives to emerge" (Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 851).

The walking interview was initially designed in a more structured format. The researcher directed the museum visit and asked for comments from the participants regarding the exhibition content. A list of questions in a semi-structured format was initially prepared for conducting the walking interview. After a few trials in the first fieldwork site, several challenges were identified. First, participants' visiting experiences were sometimes burdened and disrupted by the need to answer the researcher's questions. It was observed that the first few participants were very alert about the need to promptly reply to the researcher's inquiry and provide the "right" answers. Thus, these participants occasionally missed out on some exhibits and even forgot some they had just seen because they were focusing on replying to the questions posed by the researchers. Secondly, since these participants consider the walking interview as an interview rather than a normal museum visit, they sometimes fail to offer natural and rich narratives about their thoughts and feelings while walking. They seemed to be participating in a "question and answer session." Thirdly, since participants' walking pace and their engagement with the exhibits were different, the researcher found it challenging to find the right instance to ask all the prepared questions. These challenges led the researcher to switch to a more "hands-off" interview style.

Regarding the majority of walking interviews, the researcher decided to empower the participants to the greatest possible extent in order to collect natural narratives from participants as much as possible. First, the researcher briefed the participants that he had limited experience in visiting the museum and had only a little knowledge concerning the museum and its related history. He would like the participants to share their thoughts or knowledge with the researchers during the museum visit if possible. Secondly, participants could choose their own pace of looking at the exhibitions. They are allowed to spend any amount of time on things they are interested in or perform any actions (e.g., photo-taking, listening to interpretations provided by official tour guides). They could also terminate the museum visit at any time. Thirdly, the researchers encouraged participants to talk about any issue they wished to discuss or share but were made aware that the researcher was interested in their emotional responses and their engagement with the museum.

The researcher ventured out each walking interview with a few prepared topics and probing questions to ignite the flow of conversations. Topics are related to participants' affective connection with the museum and related history. These topics also encompass visitors' onsite embodied experiences and behaviors. Probing questions are, for example: "I noticed that you are quite interested in this exhibit. Could you tell me how you look at it?" "What do you feel about this exhibit?" as well as "How do you think about this particular event/character as depicted in this area of exhibition?". This approach was considered successful as most participants naturally shared their thoughts about their exhibitions during the walk. Most conversations between the researcher and participants proceed in a very natural manner. Moreover, some participants even offered narratives that might be politically sensitive or incorrect, which had seldom been reported in previous literature. Apart from collecting narratives from participants, observational data regarding participants' specific actions performed in situ and moments of emotional engagement with the museum and its exhibits

were also documented through the use of “head notes” (O’Reilly, 2009), jottings and visual notes (Fälton, 2021). Full notes were produced as soon as possible after each walking interview.

A total of 15 walking interviews involving 20 participants were undertaken at the first site of fieldwork. Three walking interviews were in a two-on-one setting, and one walking interview was carried out simultaneously with three participants. The remaining walking interviews were all conducted on a one-on-one basis. The length of walking interviews conducted in the first museum averaged 86 minutes, ranging from 36 to 140 minutes. All participants allowed audio recording and notetaking during the museum visits.

After the researcher arrived at the second site for two weeks and finished familiarizing himself with the site, an unexpected lockdown happened to the whole city where the second museum is located. No one was allowed to enter or leave the city, while tourists who were in the city were not allowed to leave their accommodation. The lockdown happened from 24 to 30 November 2022. This lockdown brought a serious impact on the number of visitors. For example, according to the museum staff, there were only three local visitors who visited the museum during the weekend right after the end of the lockdown. The fieldwork resumed on 6 December 2022, when the first group of tourists entered the scenic area after the lockdown. Owing to these unexpected circumstances, only 11 visitors agreed to take part in onsite walking interviews. Most walking interviews in the second fieldwork location were conducted on a one-on-one basis. Only one walking interview was carried out in a two-on-one situation. As a result, ten walking interviews were carried out in the second fieldwork location. Only three participants allowed audio recording during the museum visit, and all 11 participants allowed notetaking during walking interviews. The ten waking interviews lasted an average of 58 minutes, which ranged from 26 to 110 minutes.

3.3.4 Conducting Pre-Fieldwork Interviews and Sedentary Follow-Up Interviews

The rationale for recruiting participants prior to the fieldwork was that their participation helped to testify the semi-structured interview questions. Also, it familiarizes the researcher with visitors' museum visiting experience prior to the start of the fieldwork. The ten participants assisted in pre-fieldwork interviews and conducted their interviews either face-to-face or online. The interview questions used in the pre-fieldwork interviews are similar to those applied in the follow-up interviews that are bundled up with walking interviews. The average length of the ten pre-fieldwork interviews was 62 minutes.

The follow-up interviews conducted with walking interview participants serve several functions. First, it allows space for the researcher to discuss the questions that are relevant to the theoretical framework informing this study with participants in detail. Secondly, the researcher can triangulate his observations with participants' accounts so as to increase the credibility of the collected data. Moreover, the researcher can request the participants to provide additional information that is missing during walking interviews.

All participants assisted in the walking interview were given a choice to conduct a follow-up interview right after the museum visit or at another scheduled timeslot. Nearly all participants decided to partake in the follow-up interview on a different day from the walking interview. Most follow-up interviews were conducted online within seven days after the walking interview. All follow-up and pre-fieldwork interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese and audio-recorded with permission.

Four out of twenty participants recruited from the first fieldwork location dropped out of the follow-up interviews due to personal reasons or loss of contact. Follow-up interviews with this group of participants lasted for an average of 42 minutes. The longest one was one hour, while the shortest one only lasted for 22 minutes. For the follow-up interview conducted with participants who assisted in the walking interviews that happened in the JRM, two out of

eleven participants failed to participate in the follow-up interview. The longest follow-up interview was 51 minutes, while the shortest one was 26 minutes, resulting in an average of 41 minutes of follow-up interviews. Table 3.4 illustrates the interview questions used in the follow-up interviews.

Table 3.4 *Research Questions and Corresponding Interview Questions*

Research questions	Corresponding interview questions
1. What doings and sayings are involved in enacting an emotional red museum visit?	a) Please describe your overall museum visit. Can you elaborate on how you conduct a museum visit (e.g., looking at exhibits, interacting with exhibits, etc.)? b) What activities did you do or think about before, during and after the museum visit? How did you feel before, during and after the museum visit? c) Could you recall any moments that you had strong emotional responses or were emotionally engaged during the museum visit? What happened during that time? How do you feel about it? Can you further elaborate on it in detail? d) Could you recall any exhibits that have an emotional impact on you? Can you provide more details?
2. What general understandings are involved in the performing of an emotional red museum visit?	a) How do you understand the history being displayed in the museum? Whose history are you visiting here? Are you part of the history represented here? b) What is the relationship between the emotions you felt and how you understand the history?
3. What rules are involved in the performing of an emotional red museum visit?	a) Did you encounter some episodes that are related to inappropriate emotional responses or behavior? b) How should one behave during the museum visit? What are some appropriate or inappropriate activities in the museum? c) How should one feel in the museum? What are the suitable or unsuitable emotional responses in the museum?
4. What practical understandings do visitors need to enact an emotional red museum visit?	a) What are the required skills or capabilities that you need when conducting a red museum visit? b) What skills or capabilities are required to emotionally engage with the exhibition?
5. What teleological ends are related to the performing of an emotional red museum visit?	a) Why did you choose to visit here? b) What does it mean for you to pay a visit here?

3.3.5 Other Supplementary Data Sources

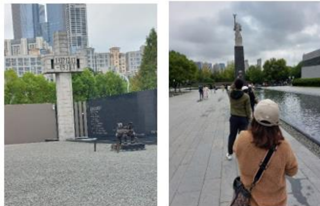
Observational data in the form of short videos, photographs, and fieldnotes was also collected and produced to supplement and enrich the interview data. These kinds of observational data help to contextualize the data analysis and improve the credibility of the study (Nowell et al., 2017).

Regarding the onsite observation (i.e., including the observations made during the walking interviews), the researcher spent four to five days per week visiting the two museums to conduct onsite observations and recruiting participants who were engaging in the museum visit. The researcher brought a small handwritten notebook for note-taking whenever he went to the museums. “The field” is not a given physical entity but instead something the researcher constructed through his own observations, interpretations and inscriptions of the phenomenon (Atkinson, 1992). Insightful onsite observations and fieldnotes could only be produced when the researchers are sufficiently familiar with and immersed in “the field” (O’Reilly, 2012). Thus, the researcher tried his best to enable prolonged engagement with the two sites and actively took opportunities to interact with other fellow visitors and staff. On average, one onsite visit performed by the researcher ranged from two hours to eight hours.

As a result, more than 600 pages of fieldnotes typed in font size of 12 points with single line spacing are produced, which are further supplemented with photos. Since the researcher is proficient in both Chinese and English, the full note generated is comprised of a mix of both languages. Figure 3.4 illustrates a part of the field notes. Useful excerpts from the fieldnotes were further refined, polished, and translated during the write-up of this thesis.

Figure 3.4 *Examples of Fieldnotes*

I asked her about how she decided what photos to take and why she pictured this sculpture at that moment. She described (after the recording ended) while we are walking out of the first museum “这种雕塑放在这肯定是设计的一部份，有意义的，就拍一下留个纪念。而且当时天气很应景，把气氛拍下来。”



Many tourists will take photos of this ‘peace statue’ using their cell phones when they are walking out of the museum through this corridor. She did the same as many other visitors. I am curious about this action, since I have never thought of taking photos with this statue. As a bad habit of mine, I asked ‘why’ after we left the museum. She explained: “这个雕塑挺能代表我心中现在的想法，和平得来不易， 我们要好好珍惜。我拍下来是想把这一刻的感觉留下来，也记录一下我今天来过，打卡一下。”

(mimicking)

妈妈指示小孩扮演红军然后和毛主席的铜像拍照，说是要拍回去让他们爸爸看

I have met a family group of four who know little about the history and stories related to this museum, including a mother in her 30s, two little kids and their grandfather. They said they wanted to learn about the history. They finished walking through the museum in 30 minutes, of which their engagement might be shallow (as I speculated). The grandfather and mother didn’t even spend some time reading wall labels and descriptions in detail. They recognised my role as a researcher and allowed me to accompany them during the visit but refused to participate in a walking interview. They pretended to appreciate the knowledge and story I knew, which I shared with them during the visit. I can tell they just don’t want to know more about the revolution but to entertain the two kids. On many occasions, when I tried to tell them stories about the Jinggangshan Revolution, the mother and grandfather often lost interest. In fact, it seemed they were more interested in taking photos for their kids using many of the bronze statues displayed inside the museum.

3.4. Data Analysis

The researcher applied a six-step process for reflexive thematic analysis according to the guidelines outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013). Thematic analysis is chosen because of its flexibility and accessibility to analyze data with some pre-determined theoretical framework, as well as its good fit for most types of data (Braun et al., 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2013). The researcher also incorporated some techniques advocated by grounded theorists (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) to analyze the data set. The borrowing of techniques from the grounded theory approach to thematic analysis is not entirely impossible because some data analysis procedures of grounded theory are “in some way similar to thematic analysis” (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 239).

3.4.1 Reflexive Thematic Analysis

The dataset was analyzed using “reflexive thematic analysis” following the guidelines which are widely applied (Braun et al., 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2013, 2016). Before proceeding,

readers should be alerted to the nature of the thematic analysis undertaken by the researcher. Thematic analysis, as named and claimed by Braun and Clarke in 2006, could be "just a method" (Byrne, 2022). The six steps allowed data analysis to be conducted with great flexibility in terms of theoretical positions, ontological assumptions and epistemological assumptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2016). However, following these six steps mechanically does not guarantee any satisfactory result. Qualitative research is an art of inquiry and interpretation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Researchers' theoretical sensitivity, creativity, and active engagement with data play a magnificent role throughout the data analysis journey, especially for ethnography (O'Reilly, 2009).

The researcher of this study believes qualitative research, similar to Braun and Clarke (2021), is a reflexive and theoretically embedded human practice of "knowledge *generation* or *construction*, rather than discovery" (p. 210). Analysis in qualitative research is a way of reflecting on and interacting with the data (Nowell et al., 2017). What is meaningful within the data (e.g., themes, meanings or knowledge) is something that is *generated* actively by researchers' interpretation of data rather than something "ontologically real" that emerges from the data or resides in data, waiting for researchers' discovery. It is not the same as "finding gold in the sand" because human knowledge is no chance of any concrete entity hiding under the data.

Braun and Clarke discovered that many researchers who claimed to have used their approach or cited their approach did not fully understand and adhere to what is actually outlined in their article published in 2006 (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Byrne, 2022). They further published several articles and even their own book to make clarifications and hope to rectify what went wrong (Braun & Clarke, 2013, 2019, 2021). As a result, they decided to term clearly their approach as "reflexive thematic analysis."

By offering recent clarifications of their stances in conducting thematic analysis, three different versions of "thematic analysis" were identified (Braun et al., 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2021). The first version is called "coding reliability thematic analysis," which conceptualizes themes as domain summaries. The coding process is designed to ensure the coding is performed "correctly" and to prove the repeatability of results. This is often done with the use of a codebook that contains a list of pre-determined codes and themes supplemented with definitions, examples, and descriptions of exclusion and inclusion criteria (Braun et al., 2019). The second version of thematic analysis is termed "codebook thematic analysis." This version of thematic analysis often uses coding frameworks or templates to fix some, if not all, themes prior to coding and theme development. Both coding reliability and codebook thematic analysis assumed coding as structured procedures that do not rely on researchers' subjectivity rather than something flexible, interactive and creative.

The above two versions of thematic analysis contrast with the (reflexive) thematic analysis that Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013, 2016, 2021) have been advocating for nearly two decades. Braun and Clarke's (2021) version of thematic analysis is a reflexive one, of which codes can "evolve, contract, be renamed … collapsed together with other codes and even be abandoned" during the formal analysis (p. 207). The whole analysis could be "never complete" because researchers are allowed to move back and forth iteratively between coding, theme development and report writing. In short, reflexive thematic analysis is an approach that stresses an open, fluid, organic and recursive treatment of data, which heavily relies on the internal logic of researchers (i.e., active engagement in data interpretation rather than reductive summary, researchers' use of own social-cultural backgrounds and scholarly knowledge) for the generation of *meaningful* results (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

3.4.2 Performing the Six Phases of Data Analysis

All interview data were transcribed verbatim and imported into NVivo12. All data was analyzed in its original language to retain the nuances of data and the latent meanings underlying the narratives provided by participants. The formal data analysis only began once all the data was collected and transcribed (Braun & Clarke, 2013), which is different from how data analysis goes hand-in-hand with data collection in grounded theory's tradition.

Adhering to the guidelines of thematic analysis, the researcher first *familiarized himself with the data*. The researcher conducted all the interviews himself. Although half of the interview transcripts were initially transcribed verbatim with the assistance of automated transcription software (i.e., *Kedaxunfei*), the accuracy of the transcription was below the acceptable level most of the time. Therefore, the researcher spent time auditing all the automated transcriptions against the original recordings and re-transcribing part of the interviews for accuracy. Besides, repeated and active reading of the transcribed product enhanced the researcher's immersion in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These labors devoted to this initial step of data analysis have generated a list of initial ideas about what is interesting to the researcher and what might be embedded in the data.

The second step taken by the researcher was the *generation of initial codes*. Braun and Clarke's (2006) idea of generating initial codes shared some similarities with what is called open coding or initial coding in the grounded theory approach (Birks & Mills, 2015). The researcher performed line-by-line coding and identified specific features as reflected in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). To avoid over-interpretation, the researcher coded the data according to their semantic features. This careful word-by-word and line-by-line handling of the data ensured the fitness and relevance of the codes in relation to the studied phenomenon since they are grounded in the raw data (Charmaz, 2014). Following the theoretical assumptions in reflexive thematic analysis, the researcher did not intend to treat coding as a method of data

reduction (different from the grounded theory approach) but more of a way to identify items of interest that may be relevant to answer the main research question (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Although the interview data was collected using interview questions that adhered to Schatzki's (2002) theoretical framework, The researcher remained open to all possible theoretical directions. He produced initial codes inductively rather than forcing the data to fit existing theoretical concepts. Whenever appropriate, the researcher tried to "code with words that reflect action," as suggested by Charmaz (2006, pp. 46–47). Unexpectedly, this move facilitated the identification of possible forms or components of "bodily activities" and "mental activities" (Reckwitz, 2002b, p. 249) performed by the participants during their museum visit. Raw data carrying similar features or meanings are organized into a specific code. He was equally attentive to each data item and tried to scrutinize them in detail.

The third step is *searching for themes* using the codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Once the researcher felt that a limited number of new initial codes that carried interesting aspects of the data could be produced, he proceeded to the next level of coding. As a side note, it was not a completely linear process. Since more than two hundred initial codes were generated, he moved on to focused coding. The researcher attempted to select initial codes that seemed to be more salient and useful within the lists of initial codes. Some (sub)themes are derived through promoting or combining existing initial codes. To further consolidate these candidate (sub-)themes, he used axial coding simultaneously with focused coding. He employed axial coding to tentatively bring back the separate pieces of data into meaningful entities and to show the link between tentative sub-themes and themes. After a few rounds of axial and focused coding, the researcher further grouped the candidate sub-themes into themes guided by the five theoretical concepts in Schatzki's (2002) theoretical framework explicitly, including practical understanding, general understanding, rules, teleoaffective structure, and doings and sayings. Thus, both inductive and deductive logic were applied in the process of coding. The

combination of both logics is common and somehow inescapable for thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Byrne, 2022).

Reviewing of themes, which is the fourth phase, began when the researcher had a list of candidate themes and sub-themes. In this stage, the researcher polished and refined these candidate themes. Indeed, this process is partially embedded in the previous stage when focused coding and axial coding were performed. This phase involved three strategies. First, the researcher carefully went through all the coded data extracts under each theme and sub-themes to determine whether they represented a consistent pattern. When incongruencies were detected, the researcher checked whether the theme itself was questionable or whether some data extracts needed to be removed from a theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Secondly, he reviewed the themes in relation to the validity of individual themes for describing the studied phenomenon. It is to ensure that a particular theme "works" (Braun et al., 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2006). The resulting themes should fit together, and each theme should contribute to the telling of the overall story derived from the data (Nowell et al., 2017). For instance, the researcher originally generated a theme called "relating," which denotes museum visitors' activities of building connections with people, things, and nations. After cross-checking whether there is sufficient data as compared to the other same-level themes (i.e., themes related to "doings and sayings"), the researcher decided to abandon it because it didn't contribute well to the overall storyline. Also, he broke down a large theme originally named "actualizing of emotions" into three themes, and these three resulting themes are presented in Sections 6.1.2.1 to 6.1.2.3. Lastly, he compared and testified these tentative themes/sub-themes based on their distinctive characteristics with some references to the theoretical concepts in practice theories, such as projects, competence, general understandings, materials, rules, and so on. Table 3.5 provides an example of how themes are being developed from the data extracts.

Table 3.5 *Example of Coding*

Themes	Sub-themes	Initial codes	Data excerpt
Narrating affective stories [a] (Theoretically informed by “doings and sayings” as sensitizing concepts) Emotional competence [b] (Practical understandings)	Story (re)creating [a] Sensible body [b] Empathy [b] Rich imagination [c] Story (re)creating [a] Story (re)creating [a] Empathy [b] Story (re)creating [a]	Similar to watching movies Able to obtain feelings through body Think if I were there/him Imagining Similar to watching movies Recreating scenes Think if I were there/him Put oneself in the scene	My emotional experience is similar to how I feel when I watch films such as “The Battle at Lake Changjin” and “Wolf Warriors.” I have some feelings that are hard to describe. I can feel a sense of tension throughout my body, and I immerse myself deeply in the story. I often wonder how I would have reacted if I had been there at that time. I imagine myself being there personally. I think I will act the same as those characters and be willing to sacrifice everything. When I step into the museum, it feels like a movie starts to play… All the people, scenes and historical figures involved are being recreated in my mind. I tend to think about how I would have been if I were there. What would I have done? I love to put myself into the scenes. (FW-NMMH-001)
Generic museum skills [c] (Practical understandings) To feel and to be affected by our history [d] (teleoaffective structure) Authenticity [e] (General understanding)	Rich imagination [c] Literacy skills [c] Story (re)creating [a] Empathy [b] Emotional pain [d] Staged authenticity [e] Performative authenticity [e] Rich imagination [c] Literacy skills [c] Rich imagination [c] Story (re)creating [a]	Imagining Linking up other information Recreating scenes Empathy allows us to “feel” Frustration, anxiety, despair It’s fake Transforming fake to “real” Use imagination to authenticate Linking up other information Imagining Recreating scenes	I imagined how hard life was in the past with reference to these photographs…. Mainly, it is imagination. I imagined the scenes that the soldiers were facing… Empathy is also important. Imagination is just imagination. If you cannot empathize with others’ feelings and emotions, it is just daydreaming, isn’t it? Empathy empowers visitors to engage in the museum visit and to feel the frustration, anxiety and desperation encountered by victims in the past… (Regarding the way I look at the diorama), Since you know that it is something fake, you have to rely on your imagination. You need to combine all the information and details available and consider why this diorama is designed in this way. This diorama talks about an explosion that happened in Guanghua Gate. So, it should depict the remnants and ruins after an intense battle. Then, you will imagine the circumstances that led to such a scene, such as a bomb was fired and exploded. Then, half of the wall collapsed. Yet, the soldiers behind the wall still need to continue defending Nanjing. (FW-NMMH-004)

Note: a, b, c, d, and e indicate the different linkages between themes and sub-themes

The fifth phase involved *defining and naming themes* (Braun et al., 2019). After the fourth phase, the researcher obtained a better idea of the different themes, how they are connected together and the main story that they could tell about the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). Then, the fifth phase requires the researcher to identify and determine what aspects each theme captures and to indicate the essence of each theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, literature was intensively consulted to uncover new theoretical insights that arose from the analysis. The researcher also started writing numerous pieces of detailed analysis in accordance with each (sub)theme by incorporating participants' quotes, other evidence, and analytic narratives. He tried not to just paraphrase what the data extracts show but also indicate "what is of interest about them and why" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). He also scrutinized and decided how the stories embedded in each (sub)theme fit into the overall storytelling.

One of the most difficult aspects, as experienced by the researcher, was the ordering of themes. Since many of the themes are highly related, it is difficult for readers to understand them if they do not read the findings section as a whole. For instance, there are some sub-themes related to social norms governing a museum visit and the skills that are required for a museum visit. If readers are not provided with this information, they might feel confused when they go through themes such as "narrating affective stories" and "sensuously immersing." Therefore, the researcher (re)organized these themes and showed the early version of drafts to his peers for advice until these themes are presented in a useful and reader friendly manner. Braun et al. (2019) suggested that researchers should carefully name the themes because the names inform readers of what has been captured from the data. Many themes in this study were renamed to ensure they can draw readers' attention while the reader could easily tell what the theme is about. For instance, the researcher renamed "adjusting" and "narrative-based

actualizing" as more punchy names that convey better messages. They appeared as "disciplining of emotions" and "narrating affective stories" in this report, respectively.

Producing the report is the last phase of the data analysis. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) warned that this phase is not a superficial writing exercise. Writing is a way to contemplate and analyze the data (Marvasti, 2004). It gives researchers a last chance to test whether the themes work well. The researcher who conducted this study juxtaposed the research questions, the (sub)themes, codes, and the dataset to ensure that the themes stayed close and relevant to the research questions. He weighed up different data extracts under the same (sub-themes) and used those that could vividly illustrate the essence of the related themes. Since the raw data was analyzed in its original language, useful quotes from interviewees, fieldnote excerpts and textual materials collected from the site were translated into English for the reporting of findings. This was not an easy task as the researcher needed to decide whether the quote could be used illustratively or analytically (Braun & Clarke, 2013). He weaved previous literature which is relevant to the analysis together with the findings. This sheds light on how the analytical claims, as presented in the findings, are connecting and contributing to the broader network of scholarly knowledge. Since the researcher understands his role as a storyteller and aims to engage the readers, he attempted to translate the findings into *readable text* using a narrative writing style. It is hard to claim that the presentation of findings looks entirely similar to conventional ethnographic text. Instead, most findings presented are products generated by interweaving extant literature, reconstructed participants' narratives, and analytic narratives. In the discussion, he also further clarified the relationship between different themes and made explicit some essential theoretical arguments that support or go against extant literature.

3.5 Research Trustworthiness

Several strategies were applied to increase the trustworthiness of this qualitative research. Guba and Lincoln (1994) outlined four criteria for assessing trustworthiness. These terms are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, which replace the positivist indicators of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The summary of strategies to control the quality of research and its trustworthiness is presented in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 *Criteria of Trustworthiness and Associated Quality Control Strategies*

Trustworthiness criteria	Procedures taken	Issues addressed
Credibility	• Prolonged engagement • Persistent observation • Member check • Peer debriefing • Data triangulation	Biases or wrong interpretations generated by the researcher
Transferability	• Thick descriptions	The extent to which the findings of qualitative research could be applicable to other contexts or other participants
Dependability	• Provide audit trail	The inconsistency and instability of the study's result
Confirmability	• Provide audit trail • Practice reflexivity • Triangulation	The interpretation process is greatly biased. Incongruency exists between data and presented results.

Credibility refers to the fittingness between participants' perspectives and the researchers' reconstruction and representation of them (Patton, 2015). When the presented findings are deemed as a correct interpretation of participants' meanings and are also derived from original data obtained from participants, a study could be regarded as high in credibility. The common strategies to establish credibility are prolonged engagement, persistent observations, member checks, and triangulation (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Taking advantage of ethnographic fieldwork, researchers are able to mitigate the issue of superficial or wrong

observations through prolonged engagement and persistent observations. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, member checks were performed whenever necessary to ensure a correct understanding of collected data and its interpretation (Creswell, 2007). Peer debriefing with other researchers who have similar research interests or those who have experienced such phenomena helped to improve the credibility of the method and insights gained during data interpretation (Nowell et al., 2017). Finally, data triangulation was performed. Multiple sources of data in terms of time and space were collected (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). For instance, the research observed museum visitors' behaviors during different times of the day. He also purposefully conducted research across two different sites.

Transferability refers to the degree to which results and generated knowledge of qualitative studies can be transferred to other settings or contexts with other participants (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A qualitative study does not aim to generalize the results to all contexts. Although knowledge transfer in qualitative research is usually done on a case-by-case basis, the researcher should provide adequate information for readers who wish to transfer the findings to their own context (Nowell et al., 2017). A key strategy to ensure the transferability of a study is to provide thick descriptions to the audience (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Creswell & Poth, 2018). Following the advice in previous literature, the researcher of this study provided detailed descriptions of the participants' profiles and the settings under study in both the methodology and findings chapters.

Dependability is associated with the consistency and repeatability of the research outcomes, which corresponds to the reliability criterion in positivism. The findings and interpretations should arise from a consistent and dependable inquiry process (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Making use of audit trails is a common strategy for ensuring the dependability of qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Since data collection commenced, the researchers kept memos and reflections (included in the fieldnotes) to record

the key decisions he made about data collection issues. He also kept a methodological journal to document the analytic insights and decisions made during data analysis. The readers of the thesis could also check whether the inquiry process conforms to Braun and Clarke's (2013) reflexive thematic analysis by referring to their checklist tailored for the evaluation of thematic analysis (see Table 3.7).

Confirmability is a quality control criterion similar to objectivity in quantitative approaches. It points to the fact that the data and the interpretation should not be merely figments that arise from researchers' own imagination (Patton, 2015). Using audit trails is the main strategy suggested to ensure confirmability (Korstjens & Moser, 2018; Lincoln & Guba, 2013). The data curation and data analysis processes are extensively described in order to allow readers to understand what the whole inquiry process is like. The researcher stayed alert to his own possible biases and remained reflexive throughout the data collection and analysis process. Furthermore, triangulation is another possible way to assess confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Denzin (2009) summarized four types of triangulations, which are data triangulation, investigators triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. As mentioned earlier, data triangulation and methodological triangulation were achieved by collecting data on various occasions and at two different sites, as well as involving different data sources and collection methods. Although investigator triangulation is more difficult to achieve for this thesis, the researcher obtained and incorporated other researchers' judgments by sharing his observations and interpretations with his peers and seniors. Theoretical triangulation is nearly impossible to achieve since the existing literature of most of the fields is occupied by incoherent theoretical propositions (Denzin, 2009). In this undertaking, the researcher aimed for an acceptable degree of theoretical triangulation by comparing his findings and analytical claims with extant literature that shared similar theoretical positions or addressed similar phenomena.

Table 3.7 *A 15-Item Checklist to Evaluate the Quality of Thematic Analysis*

Process	No.	Criteria	Remarks
Transcription	1	The data was transcribed to an appropriate level of detail and subsequently checked for its accuracy against the recordings.	Refer to section 3.4.2.
Coding	2	Give each data item equal attention	The researcher spent time engaging with each data item. He avoided rushing through the initial coding cycling.
	3	Do not generate themes using only a few examples. The coding process should be thorough, inclusive and comprehensive.	Refer to section 3.4.2.
	4	Gather all relevant extracts for each single theme	Refer to section 3.4.2.
	5	Check themes against each other and also back to the original data set	Refer to section 3.4.2.
	6	Themes should be internally coherent, consistent, and distinctive	Refer to section 3.4.2.
Analysis	7	Data is interpreted and made sense of rather than just paraphrased	Although some of the subthemes are more "direct" rather than analytically interpretive (e.g., "avoid displaying happiness," "knowledge enrichment"), the majority of (sub-)themes are interpretive rather than purely descriptive.
	8	The data extracts support the analytic claims	The researcher chose data extracts that can vividly illustrate the concepts or interpretations. Readers can evaluate whether the presented interview quotes and recreated narratives are persuasive.
	9	The analysis tells a persuasive and organized story about the data and topic	Section 5.6 collates and demonstrates how the themes tell a coherent story.
	10	Maintain a good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative data extracts	Depends on readers' evaluations.
Overall	11	Enough time is given to accomplish all phases of the thematic analysis. Avoid rushing through or giving only superficial treatment.	The researcher spent more than five months going through the six phases Braun and Clarke (2006) outlined.
Report writing	12	The underlying assumptions of and specific approach to thematic analysis are clearly described and explained	Refer to sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.
	13	Consistency between the described method and the presented analysis	Depends on readers' evaluations.
	14	The language and concepts used in reporting are consistent with the epistemological position of the inquiry	Based on social constructivism, with relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology, the research avoided the language and presentation style of quantitative research. He used trustworthiness concepts tailored for qualitative research.
	15	The researcher is an active person. Themes do not "emerge" but are generated.	The researcher remained reflexive and maintained the position of an "active" researcher rather than being a "distanced" one. Refer to sections 3.1.2, 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.

Note. Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 96, 2013, p. 287)

3.6 Methodological Limitations and Areas of Improvement

Since the researcher's active participation is unavoidable in the use of walking interviews, the presence of the researcher somehow interrupted participants' museum experiences and possibly introduced biases in the data collected. As a common issue underlying most qualitative research, the data was co-created by both participants and researchers. Thus, it is impossible to eliminate the influence of the researcher's presence on the data collected completely. Some walking interviews related methodological issues and reflections were documented in later sections (*see also* Section 4.1.1. and 4.2.2.).

Furthermore, it is not unlikely that some participants might "perform" in a certain way because of the researcher's identity. First, the researcher is a quasi-outsider. Participants might be aware that the researcher is a Hong Kong local who might have a different political orientation and social background compared to themselves. Participants might have adjusted their verbal accounts accordingly or decided to "play safe" by pretending to be politically correct in the Chinese context. Besides, the interpretation of data under a constructivist perspective would never be entirely objective and neutral. Qualitative data analysis is not possible without any mediation through the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon.

In the future, the researcher could invite other researchers who share similar socio-political backgrounds with participants to perform data collection. In addition, the findings could be back translated to Chinese language for participants' verification and adjustment.

3.7 Reflexivity and Positionality

In qualitative research, the significant role played by the researcher in the process of the inquiry is valued. Reflexivity is the process of critical self-reflection regarding the self (the researcher) as an instrument throughout the research (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). To be reflexive, a researcher must assess the influence of his own background, beliefs, past experiences and interests on the research process (Krefting, 1991). In this section, I will reflect upon my own

experience, values, and beliefs, as well as delineating how these issues might have impacted this research.

The researcher considers himself a Han Chinese who was born in the 1990s in Hong Kong, China. He grew up in the same city, which was a British colony before 1997. His education is influenced by Western educational styles, which stress individual will, democracy, and liberty. Soon after getting his undergraduate degree, he furthered his career in a hotel group for a considerable period of time. When he was working in the industry, he started to participate actively in various social movements. Owing to the underlying changing political environment and his involvement in social affairs, he began to question his own identity. In 2017, he left Hong Kong and pursued his master's degree in Japan. During his time in Japan, Hong Kong started to undergo radical political and social transformation. These happenings led him to develop further interests in researching political-related forms of tourism. In late 2018, he first acknowledged the existence of red tourism in China through his daily conversations with a Chinese student studying in Japan. That student with a strong CCP background exhibited great commitment and enthusiasm in participating in red tourism. This unexpected encounter raised the researcher's interest in this phenomenon.

The ethnicity and social background of the researcher become a double-edged sword. First, regarding his positionality at the beginning of the research, he considered himself a "non-practitioner" in red tourism, which could also be understood as an outsider. Before the fieldwork, the researcher had no previous experience either in receiving education in the Mainland of China or participating in red tourism, which might hinder his interpretation of the studied phenomenon from an emic perspective. Although he has a fundamental level of understanding of historical events in Chinese and Chinese culture, he did not have much tacit knowledge about everyday life and social norms in the Mainland of China. In particular, he did not have direct experience of the prosperity and advancement that the CCP brought to China

in the past decade. The lack of these life experiences might hinder the researcher's interpretation and representation of the meanings underlying the emotional red tourism experience from participants' perspectives.

3.8 Clearance of Research Ethics

Since this study unavoidably involved research elements on human subjects, the research complied with the guidelines and procedures for ethical clearance established by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the university. The information sheet, interview protocols and consent form were prepared and subsequently approved by the IRB on 28 June 2022 (Reference number: HSEARS20220628004). Participants were presented with these documents before their participation. They can choose to participate, refuse, or withdraw anytime during the whole research process. A consent form was signed and collected from each participant who assisted in any form of interview.

Chapter Four: Methodological Reflections

This chapter aims to document and explicate some of the issues in relation to the pursuit of fieldwork and the use of walking interviews in this thesis. The first section provides a more in-depth discussion and reflection on the application of mobile ethnography in the researched context. The second part of this chapter covers issues and reflections pertaining to the execution of ethnographic fieldwork. This chapter also discussed possible ways to overcome similar challenges and dilemmas in future research.

4.1 Employing Walking Interviews: A Practical Reflection

In an effort to elaborate on the various methodological aspects of applying walking interviews in the study of heritage tourism, I draw on my own experience from the fieldwork to illuminate how walking interviews may complement or obstruct our research process and the quality of data obtained. This section describes some challenges and reflections that are associated with my own explorations of walking interviews.

4.1.1 Are We Actually "Talking" or Just Interviewing?

Conventional ethnography stresses the importance of observing the behaviors of participants in their natural setting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Ideally, the presence of researchers should not influence what participants say or do. Mobile ethnography or walking interviews enable researchers to quickly access the situated thoughts and spatial practices of participants when they are "in place" (Anderson, 2004). However, the researchers need to be alerted that the data produced in walking interviews might not be purely naturalistic, given the need for researchers to intervene with participants during the walk.

For example, some participants involved in this study were invited rather than naturally occurring in the place where the research took place. It is hard to justify or determine whether their visitation occurs naturally. On the one hand, some participants believed that the walking interview offered them a chance to visit the museum, which they longed for. Participants commented that, for example:

> I have said before I would like to pay a visit (but never make it happen) … I don't particularly want to go by myself. It's better to have someone to accompany me. My friend said the atmosphere of the museum is quite depressing, and there is something inside the museum which requires stronger enduring capacity. So, I do not dare to go alone. Since there is an invitation this time, I decided to visit the museum. (FW-NMMH-020)

> It is my personal preference that I don't go to museums alone… It's similar to going shopping. Going shopping with friends is more fun than shopping alone. People communicate (during the museum visit), and there is a sense of companionship between the two people. (FW-NMMH-019)

On the other hand, a very small number of participants asserted that they would not visit the museum unless they were invited. FW-NMMH-010 explicated, "I want to see how things in the museum have changed overall. Normally, I wouldn't come just for the sake of it, but this opportunity coincides with my desire to see those changes. So, I take the advantage of this interview invitation." One participant deliberately stated, "I just want to help you with your mission (to complete the fieldwork). I think this place is full of unfaithfulness." (FW-NMMH-002).

Nevertheless, most participants enjoyed the walk as they had the chance to share their thoughts and feelings with the researcher. Unfortunately, a walk with or without the researcher might be slightly different. For example, FW-NMMH-013 told the researcher that she usually

expresses her thoughts after a museum visit by writing in the visitor book. However, she did not "walk the talk" during our museum visit. The presence of the researcher and her participation in the walking interview attenuated her desire to write comments on visitor books, as she justified, "Firstly, I'm here today with you and discussed a lot about the Nanjing Massacre. I am not here alone, and I shared many of my thoughts with you, so I will not write in the visitor book today. However, it doesn't mean I won't write next time." The emotional responses and ways of expressing emotions might change when the museum visit is accompanied by different people. Her responses raised concerns about how different her thoughts and behavior would be if she visited the museum alone. The researcher himself also noticed his emotional responses are different when he is walking with participants.

> The way I perceive history is different from the participants accompanying me. Our educational backgrounds vary, which can affect our understanding of history or the level to which it is ingrained in our minds. Moreover, I'm here specifically for research purposes, so I tend to approach things from an objective and somewhat detached perspective. Sometimes, when I'm visiting the museum alone, I do not have profound emotional experiences. In contrast, when participants accompany me and have conversations along the way, it deepens my experience, and I often become emotionally moved by the museum visit. (Fieldnotes, 21 October 2022)

Most participants expressed their personal interest in the museum and generally felt comfortable with the arrangement and execution of walking interviews. However, it was found that participants might not have been used to this relatively novel style of interviewing. Participants seemed to be quite conscious of the inherited interview nature of walking interviews. Some participants were surprised that the walking interview differed from the stereotypical image of interviewing in their minds. Some of them deliberately require the researcher to ask them questions even though the researchers have briefed them the museum

walk is designed to be conversational and free-floating. Some participants felt insecure when they were allowed to talk freely during the walk. They clearly positioned themselves as participants rather than purely visitors. They expected the researchers to ask questions, and they would reply to these questions. For example, participants requested, "Maybe it is better for you to ask me more questions. I really don't know where to start." (FW-JRM-008), "When we are doing the museum visit, I wish to communicate with you more. Perhaps you can ask me more questions so I can think about it and answer you… If you allow me to lead the talk, maybe I will make the conversation messy." (FW-NMMH-012), and "Could you give me more concrete instructions? Maybe question and answer interchangeably." (FW-NMMH-001). The following short conversation reflects this issue further:

Interviewer:	When we start the museum visit, you can look at things that you are interested in. It is in a casual chatting style.
FW-NMMH-013	Okay, Okay. You can ask me questions.
Interviewer:	I don't have specific questions to ask at this moment. I just want to understand your responses and observe what you do during the museum visit.
FW-NMMH-013	My responses?
Interviewer:	Yes.
FW-NMMH-013	Yesterday, I was thinking about what special questions you might ask me today.

In my own experience, it takes time for participants to get used to the walking interview until they feel comfortable enough to share their thoughts unconstraintly. During walking interviews, the researcher needs to regularly reassure the participants that they can talk about anything related to the exhibition, and questions will be raised when deemed appropriate. For instance, the researcher reaffirmed with participants by saying, "I will ask some questions later. Don't worry about it." and "You don't need to be aware that I'm doing an interview with you. We're just chatting. You better lead the museum visit because it is *your* museum visit rather than mine."

Last but not least, researchers as human beings often brought our idiosyncrasies into the field. In normal seated interviews, although moments of silence are sometimes used as a

prompt, researchers want to prompt participants to speak as much as possible (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Patton, 2015). When longer moments of silence (e.g., over 1 min) happen during the walk, researchers who are new to this method might feel uncomfortable, including me. I can still recall the many impatient moments I interrupted participants while they were focusing on written collections or carefully scrutinizing the details of displayed cultural relics. Later on, I started to understand that silence in the walking interview is normal and thoughtful, something Hitchings and Jones (2004) also experienced in their study. Silence could signify moments of deep engagement and reflection. In my experience, participants often tell us a lot about what they observed and their feelings after these short periods of silence.

4.1.2 Recording the Talk During the Walk

Effective recording of conversations and observations is another practical challenge that researchers are likely to face during the execution of walking interviews. Johnstone et al. (2020) only solely relied on notetaking during the walking interview because they did not wish to make their participants (i.e., staff working in the museum) feel unpleasant. They thus advised researchers to employ recording equipment if possible. The accuracy of their interview data is dependent on the researchers' competence to write detailed notes and the use of member checking. Carpiano (2009) used a pocket-size recorder and clipped a small microphone on the participants' collars. The recorded sound quality is somewhat unsatisfactory, especially when the walking interview takes place in noisy outdoor areas or busy streets. Given the quiet environment of the two museums in this study, these issues are less relevant.

However, two unexpected difficulties related to documenting and recording the walking interview were identified. First, the researcher originally planned to use an action camera to record both the conversations and actions of participants. Indeed, when he arrived at the two sites, he was informed that action cameras were not allowed in either museum. Even

though sound recorder is allowed, notetaking and photo taking became the only alternatives available to record actions or scenes. Multi-tasking is a challenge frequently faced while conducting walking interviews.

> I originally tried to ask prepared interview questions during the walk-along interviews. However, it seems difficult for me to grasp the correct moment… Even worse, sometimes I concentrated too much on finding the right chance to ask questions and could not manage to write observation notes ... I could only jot down keywords and take pictures and let these become a cue for me to write a more detailed note after departing with the participants. (Fieldnotes, 30 September 2022)

Asking questions, observing participants' interaction with the exhibits, taking pictures, and jotting notes simultaneously are daily norms of my fieldwork. Multi-tasking is the ability that researchers should be equipped with when they use walking interviews.

Despite the assistance of recording equipment, sometimes participants used vague language to indicate certain exhibition areas of exhibits when they were commenting on it. When the researcher listened to the tape-recorded interview, statements such as "That exhibit being displayed there…" and "Look at that photo…" appeared quite regularly. Having spotted these operational issues in deteriorating the accuracy of the transcription of data, the researcher of this study purposefully noted down the exhibition area or exhibits either verbally or in writing when participants mentioned them. For instance, when a participant talked about an exhibit during a museum visit, the researcher took a picture of the exhibit using his mobile phone, which the exact time that particular photo was produced could be chased. It allows him to cross-check with the time indicated in the recording. Another approach is that the researcher includes such location-related information in the recording. For instance, the researcher intentionally said, "We are now looking at an oil painting that is named…" or "We finished the first exhibition area related to the militarism of Japan. Now, looking at the diorama of air

assault…” These verbal accounts intentionally included in the recordings helped the researchers to understand which area or exhibits the conversations are related to.

4.1.3 Participant Recruitment During the Walk: A Truth or a Tale?

In previous studies, authors reported that waking interviews open up opportunities to meet and recruit additional participants. In a study about how social capital within people’s daily neighborhood shapes health, Carpiano (2009) reported that walking interviews reduced researchers’ awkwardness and allowed researchers to obtain a more heterogeneous sample, especially in places where people are less likely to trust strangers. Participants sometimes introduced researchers to other members belonging to the same neighborhood, and this endorsed the researchers with a certain level of trust and legitimacy. This only partially holds true in my own experience of using mobile methods with tourists. In most attractions or tourist spaces, tourists are usually strangers to each other. It is quite impossible for tourists to introduce the researchers to other tourists who are strangers to each other. However, it might be the case if the researched objects are employees working in a tourism-related organization or residents living in a tourism destination. For instance, in a study about museum staff experiences of providing guiding service, Johnstone et al. (2020) reported the use of walking interviews brought in additional research participants. Although some participants in NMMH who took part in the walking interviews referred additional participants, getting additional participants did not happen when we were walking “in place,” as described in past literature (Carpiano, 2009; Johnstone et al., 2020).

4.1.4 Walking Interview as a Rapport Builder

Walking with their participants in a garden environment, Hitchings and Jones (2004) observed that talking "in place" evoked narratives and feelings that participants might not be able to verbalize in seated interviews. Evans and Jones (2011) testified the power of the walk-along method by comparing the quality of data produced by the walking method and sedentary interview. They concluded that fewer prompting questions are needed for walking interviews because the environment where the walking interview takes place is full of probes. Walking interviews also produced more extensive and relevant data related to people's feelings of and in place rather than their own biographies related to the place (Evans & Jones, 2011).

In my own experience of doing walking interviews, it could be particularly true. Although some participants needed time to adjust from an "interview mindset" to a "museum visit mindset," most participants proactively engaged in conversation with less prompting by the researcher. The seated interview was more of a question-and-answer session, while many of the walking interviews unfolded as conservations between two friends. Anderson (2004) sees "walking whist walking" as helping to bridge the divide between the interviewer's and interviewee's position and the inherited power imbalance of traditional interview methods. In my own endeavor with walking interviews, participants occasionally put away their participant identity and asked the researcher about his own attitude and feelings about the museum and related history.

Previous literature underlines the effectiveness of walking interviews in building rapport with participants (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Lydahl et al., 2021). Given the aims of these studies to explore political and health issues which are sensitive and personal, the use of walking interviews eased the effort for these authors to gain an enhanced level of participants' knowledge. Since red tourism is a government-led campaign with an explicit political agenda, some of my participants felt more comfortable expressing their thoughts

during our walk. Many of the "deviant talks" are produced during the walking interview, including participants' suspicions of the exhibition content and anti-government comments. For example, FW-NMMH-002 encountered a number of security guards in suits who appeared to be doing nothing but just standing. He used that as a springboard for airing his dissatisfaction with the undelivered promise of the socialist system by saying:

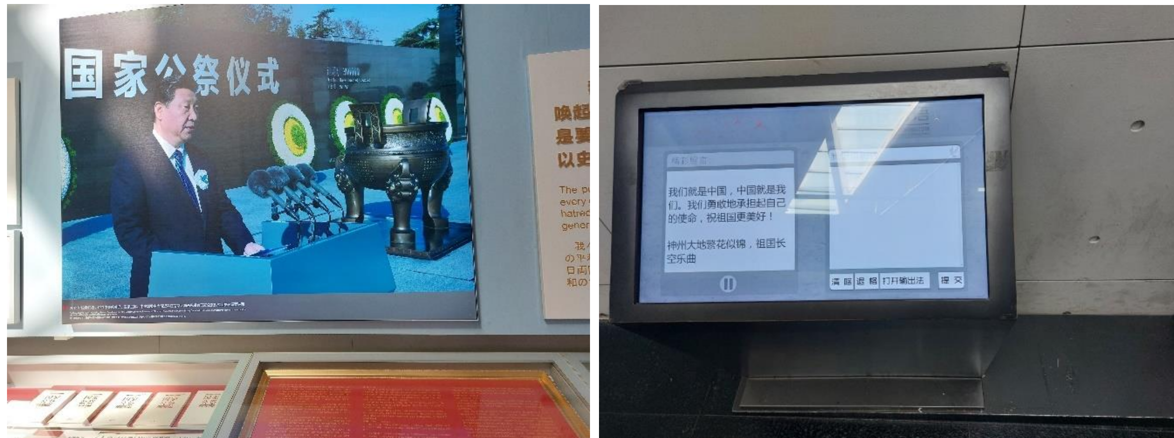
> Could you tell how many people are employed in such a large museum? How do these people (security guards) make a living? This museum does not create any monetary value. How many employees in this museum are being supported by China's national budget? All these expenses come from the money of ordinary citizens. Our money disappeared through housing expenses, education expenses and commodity prices. Why do we live such arduous lives? Just think about how many people are being employed in this museum. Why do we need so many security guards? They all earn a living, but they don't produce any value. (FW-NMMH-002)

Another example of deviant talk is given by FW-NMMH-012 when he entered the last exhibition area. This area shows Chinese leaders' participation in National Memorial Day and displays selected visitor comments on an electronic screen (see Figure 4.1). He felt disappointed by the display of selected comments, as he said, "These are all 'featured comments (*精选留言*).' They do not reflect any true thoughts and feelings of ordinary people. These comments are all being processed. I don't want to read them." He also believed that Chinese leaders were unfaithful to history. He accused the leaders of manipulating victims of the Nanjing Massacre as political resources. He voiced his discontentment by saying:

> In my perspective, many of these leaders are taking advantage of the victims and this period of history. I have always felt that many Chinese people don't truly want to reflect on this history or the war. The leaders are engaging in propaganda or deliberately beautifying themselves. It is a scripted performance when they visit the survivors. I feel

like they didn't sincerely dedicate themselves to reflecting on this history. (W-NMMH-012)

Figure 4.1 *Exhibits in the Last Exhibition Area of the NMMH*



Note. Photo by author.

Apart from showing how walking interviews facilitate rapport-building and allow participants to offer comments that are quite impossible to elicit in sedentary interviews, these examples also confirmed how participants are able to make use of the objects or things surrounding them to illustrate their thoughts and feelings during the walk. This benefit of walking interviews is well acknowledged in past literature (see Carpiano, 2009; Hitchings & Jones, 2004).

4.2. The Researcher's Lived Experience of the Fieldwork

Revisiting the fieldnotes, memos and photographs produced during the four-month period of fieldwork reminds me of how I lived through my very first fieldwork experience. Before my PhD journey, I had never been trained to undertake anything that is ethnographic. The training and the methods I came across in my previous education are just preoccupied with practicalities and managerialism that various tourism scholars frown upon (Ateljevic et al.,

2005; Bianchi, 2009; Franklin & Crang, 2001). I never imagined that I would pursue some form of ethnography in my PhD study. Provoked by the uncertainty and anxiety of doing ethnography, I have taken some method classes and reread the popular "manuals" designated for ethnography (Fetterman, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; O'Reilly, 2012). After venturing out to the site of study, grappling with the messiness of ethnography and the haphazard data collection process, I started to get a sense of what ethnography is like, even though there is still a long way to go before I can master it. The following sections illustrate a few critical aspects of the researcher's lived experience of the fieldwork, including the practical challenges of rapport-building with tourists, the researcher's emotionality, and the physical and emotional challenges encountered.

4.2.1 "I Just Want to Enjoy Myself": Gaining Trust and Crafting Relationships with Tourists in Tourism Ethnographies

One of the key elements that differentiate ethnography from other means of data collection is the need for ethnographers to build relationships with participants (O'Reilly, 2012). Building trust and rapport are key in approaching potential informants and opening up opportunities for arranging interviews. It also affects the quality of data collected in the field. It is quite impossible to gain or develop much rapport in public settings or with people who don't come to the field on a daily basis (O'Reilly, 2009). Tourism is definitely one of the prime examples. Tourism ethnographies differ from traditional ones as it is almost impossible to have prolonged engagement with the same sets of tourists over a long period of time due to the issues of hypermobility and temporal transience (Lozanski & Beres, 2007; Sørensen, 2003).

Time constraint is a common excuse given by people in the field to reject researchers' invitations to a chat or interview (Coffey, 1999). People are sometimes just unwilling to help, and some of them really have no time (Truong et al., 2022). In my study context, visitors who

visited the two museums usually just "come and go." Most of the visitors were first-time visitors and spent no more than two hours in the whole museum. To open up opportunities for participant recruitment during my field visit, I usually initiate casual conversations with other visitors using the exhibits as an entry point. When the conversation goes smoothly, I then disclose my researcher identity but keep my exact research topic secret until I invite them to participate in my research. Even though many of these conversations went well in the beginning, "not having enough time" is frequently mentioned as a justification for declining my research invitation. Most visitors are not prepared to talk with strangers for long periods of time or develop further relationships during a museum visit. It is almost impossible to gain their trust in such a short period of time and in a public setting. Thus, I was nervous about not getting enough participants. This anxiety about recruiting participants worsened the situation as I later found that I was too pushy and failed to gain trust prior to inviting an interview. Tourism and hospitality researchers seldom report how things went wrong or what mistakes the researcher made during the research process. In contrast, my fieldnotes are full of examples and reflections about failures. O'Reilly (2012, p. 96) observed that ethnographers "often tell stories of mistakes they made, how they got things wrong and how stupid they felt." The following episode represents one of the failures I frequently encountered in the fieldwork.

One day, I tried to approach a family with three, including a baby and the parents in their 30s (based on an educated guess). I saw the mother pushing the baby cart behind the father, and I plucked up my courage to start a conversation with them. I started greeting the mother and praised how cute her baby was. I can tell the conversation flows well initially. The mother explained that it was their first visit to the NMMH. I lied to them that it was my first time visiting the site and pretended to appreciate them bringing their baby here to receive a patriotic education. When I asked the mother whether we could visit the site together, she seemed to

disregard me and told me to seek permission from her husband instead of her. I naively took it as a sign of being interested in my suggestion and started to talk with the father:

Interviewer:	It is my first time visiting this museum, may we walk together? Are you two locals?
The father:	We are from Guangdong Province.
Interviewer:	Oh, what a coincidence. I am also from Guangdong ... Could we visit this museum together?
The father:	If you are from Guangdong, why don't you use Cantonese?
Interviewer:	(Switching to Cantonese) We are both from Guangdong, could we visit together?
The father:	(Appearing to be impatient) It is our first time coming here. Since we are unfamiliar with this place, it may not be appropriate.

Apparently, instructing me to ask permission from her husband and the father's suspicion of my Cantonese ability are signs of indirect rejection. Failing to understand these "friendly" refusals only fuels unhappiness and anxiety for both parties. This frustration resulted from my misreading of gentle rejection as a sign of acceptance. Later that day, I felt too anxious and ambitious to get as many visitors to help as possible. Putting myself in their shoes, what I did to them made them feel suspicious. My inability to open up conversations with other visitors naturally during the early phase of the fieldwork burdened me emotionally, as illustrated by the below narratives from my fieldnotes:

> After this somehow awkward conversation, even when I met them several times again in the museum, I felt the distance between the family and me. When I saw them walking in the same direction in front of me, I intentionally kept a certain "safe distance" from them. I am afraid they will see me and reckon I was spying on them. (Fieldnotes, 3 October 2022)

In most museum tourism contexts, visitors come and go very quickly. Limited time and opportunities are available for ethnographers to get to know tourists who will leave the destination soon. Given the transience and time constraints of the tourism experience, a series of participant recruitment experiences I encountered in Jinggangshan demonstrate how rapport-

building with participants could somehow be a matter of luck rather than time and effort. A vignette from my fieldwork encapsulates the affective pleasure of being lucky:

> Late at night, around 11 pm, I heard noises of dragging luggage and smelled cigarettes while sitting in front of my laptop typing up fieldnotes. I realized that four males came to stay in the accommodation I am now in. I opened my door and greeted them. I briefly told them I also stayed here and came for research purposes. I decided to tell them I am a researcher because I suddenly could not think of any way to introduce myself ... I just explained that I wished to find someone who would go to the JRM and wished they would allow me to follow them… Unexpectedly, they invited me to join their sightseeing tomorrow. They plan to wake up at 6, drive to the scenic area, and then return to the town in the afternoon to visit the museum. I cannot imagine encountering easygoing people who accepted my invitation to participate in my research so easily since it is only my second day at this fieldwork site. (Fieldnotes, 11 November 2022)

My first participant recruitment strategy employed in JRM was to approach visitors inside the museum. After spending a few days in the museum and failing to recruit another participant, I drastically changed my strategy. The whole Jinggangshan as a tourism destination is divided into two regions, which are the town area where the museum and hotels are located and the mountain region that accommodates historical sites such as former residences of the CCP leaders and former army camps. Visitors who come to Jinggangshan will not usually only visit the museum because it is only one of the attractions, despite being the main one, among the many which are located in dispersed locations in the whole mountain region (see Figure 4.2). I decided to spend a few days going into the mountain area, aiming to craft relationships with visitors rather than just wandering in the museum. It is difficult to judge whether my new attempt works or is just another waste of time. Unfortunately, luck did not come as easily as I

experienced previously. My efforts and time invested in this new recruiting strategy did not pay off.

Figure 4.2 *A Map Showing All the Tourist Attractions within the Jinggangshan Scenic Area*

Note. Photo by author.

I started to find chances to talk with tourists who I was sharing the tourist bus running around the mountains of the scenic area. I chatted with a couple in their late 40s or early 50s from Jiangsu Province… I truthfully uncovered my identity as a researcher and told them I studied the red museum experience. I explained that I was new to this scenic area and decided to learn more about it by going sightseeing in the mountain area before continuing my fieldwork. I suggested since I am traveling alone, maybe we can spend a whole day together. They accepted my offer with no hesitation. When it was nearly our first stop, I took out my action camera. The lady was surprised… (I explained it was not for research purposes, but) she gave me a "friendly reminder" as she said, "You

> should bear in mind that you are coming to this scenic area for sightseeing and fun, not for research. You don't need that (action camera)." (Fieldnotes, 14 November 2022)

Knowing my role as a researcher, the lady was highly alert about whether I was conducting research without her permission. Besides, as evidenced by her comments, research and sightseeing are being placed on the two ends of a dichotomy. Conducting research does not sound appealing enough, especially when tourism is supposed to be full of fun.

Being rejected or ignored by tourists is frustrating, but it is even more heartbreaking if your efforts and time are wasted. Ethnographers need to be honest, easy-going, friendly and communicative in order to earn trust and build rapport (O'Reilly, 2009). I believe I always demonstrate these essential demeanors when we get in touch and travel together. Sometimes, it is hard to determine when is or is not the right time to offer a research invitation. Even if it appears to be the most appropriate time, the chance of failing is still high. The vignette below captures how sincerity, time and effort do not guarantee fruitful outcomes.

> We (The Jiangsu couple and I) spent time visiting different spots, chatting, laughing, and sharing enjoyable time (for an entire day)…. They even generously shared their food with me (during lunchtime) and told me their travel memories… When we returned to the town, it was already nearly 5 p.m. They looked nervous because their health code would expire soon… They saw a long queue for COVID test in the tourist information center and were disappointed. I told them I knew another place where there were fewer people lining up. I showed them the way, and finally, three of us could do the test on time. When all of these are finished, I thought it might be the best opportunity to recruit them as my participants, as I know they will visit the JRM tomorrow. I passed them the small advertisement of my research and wished them to contact me through WeChat. I have been waiting from 5 pm to 2 am now. They didn't contact me. I just missed another chance. I am just too optimistic about building rapport and getting

people to help me so easily by just spending one day with them. (Fieldnotes, 14 November 2022)

This narrative is not a one-off example. Similar failures kept repeating daily. Most tourists I encountered inside the mountain region rejected my invitation directly and explained that they wanted to have more intimate time with their own friends and family. Sometimes, they allowed me to join them for the first one or two hours but subtly suggested me leave them alone for similar reasons. I totally understand that visitors want to have a hassle-free sightseeing experience in the scenic area, and it becomes quite impossible when a stranger like me shadows them. Harrison (2003) found that talking to tourists can be challenging because they are usually reluctant to give up their precious time and expect no one will disturb their holiday pursuits. Based on their own experience of doing fieldwork, Witte et al. (2022) similarly observed that tourists see researchers as intruders of their experience. In my interpretation, researchers are unwelcome species in touristic spaces and time because they could potentially ruin tourists' precious leisure time. My various encounters reinforce this important challenge for conducting ethnographies of tourists.

Facing the failures in the mountain area, I switched to a third strategy. After spending another two days in the museum and again encountering failures to recruit participants, I changed my mind and attempted to interview groups of tourists who came here to receive political training in the form of tourism. Some of these groups were comprised of civil servants or young leaders of the CCP party. Some other tour groups were organized by private enterprises. I attempted to approach these group tourists, but it was hardly possible to accomplish by myself. I tried to have casual conversations with these group tourists who came for political training. However, most of them avoided talking to strangers like me to prevent sensitive issues. When they were touring in a group in the museum, staff dressed in black suits accompanied them and made sure they behaved appropriately (see Figure 4.3). There were

limited chances that allowed me to open any casual conversations with these visitors. One of them even told me that they need to get permission from their seniors if anyone not belonging to their group wants to have a conversation or interview. Thus, I decided to contact the gatekeepers who are responsible for organizing these training tours.

Figure 4.3 *Visitors of the JRM Participating in Political Training Tours*

Note. Photo by author.

By harnessing my own social network, I got in touch with two male business owners who are suppliers and organizers coordinating training tours to private enterprises. They invited me to a tea meeting, which is quite common in China. I was hopeful that I could get in touch with these group tourists and perhaps get chances for interviews since they are the gatekeepers. During the tea meeting, I could tell they were unwilling to help and offered no solutions:

> I gave a detailed explanation of my study and inquired about whether there were any training groups coming to Jinggangshan in the following weeks. They keep telling me, for instance, "The last training group finished last week," "If you want to interview us, we need to get permission from the local government," and "You can only try stopping people outside the museum and ask for their help." … During the tea meeting, they kept describing how successful their businesses are, showing me the newspaper clips related to themselves and their services to the local community… I didn't feel they were interested in helping with my research… After two hours of tea meeting, one of them

passed me a box of souvenirs… (I can tell) that this tea meeting is arranged to satisfy the social obligations they have with the person who referred them to me. (Fieldnotes, 21 November 2022)

In the following few weeks, I continued my fieldwork in Jinaggangshan. Since the accommodation I was staying in and the home of one of them were just 20 meters apart, he witnessed me going to the museum frequently. We started to have casual conversations over social media about our daily lives, having several tea meetings to share food, and he even invited me to go fishing during holidays. He started to know more about me. My personal experience of rapport and trust gained from him is what O'Reilly (2012, p. 94) promised as "something that is earned, over time, by being there, listening eagerly, taking part, sharing stories and food, empathizing, and by learning the culture of the other so as not to offend or disrupt too much." One day, I met him occasionally in the museum when he was bringing his business partners to visit the museum. He eventually agreed to help in my research and became one of my participants.

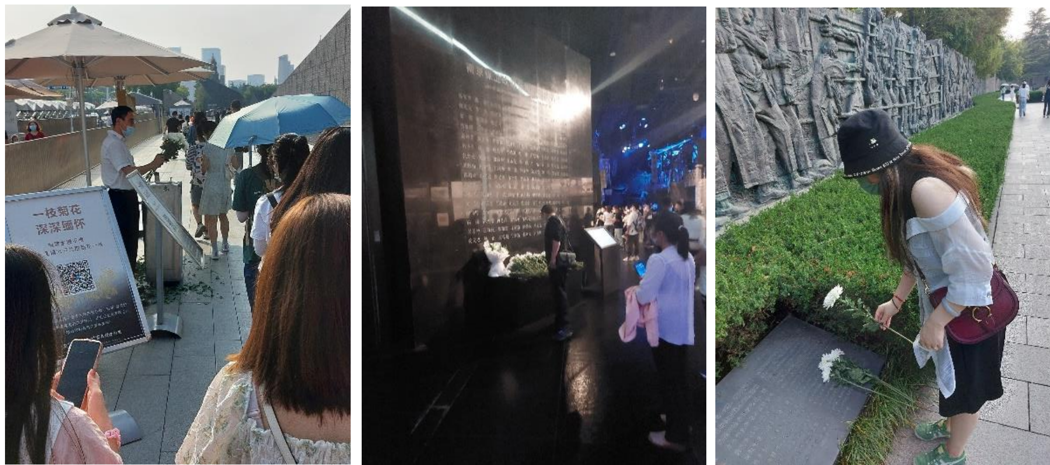
4.2.2 Emotionality of the Fieldwork

Apart from documenting the many failures I encountered in the two sites of fieldwork, my fieldnotes are also written records of the emotional reflections that I created. The fieldwork process itself is relational and emotional (Coffey, 1999; O'Reilly, 2012). Researchers are required to engage physically and emotionally in the lived experience of others. In my case, I did not only develop relationships with participants but also with people working at the site. Also, my involvement and immersion in fieldwork are reflected in the emotional attachments I have to the two sites.

For instance, many of the visitors purchased flowers in the NMMH as a gesture of solemn remembrance towards the soldiers and victims sacrificed in the Nanjing Massacre (see Figure 4.4). A few participants commented on the meanings behind such habitual behavior.

> The feeling of walking through the museum with flowers in your hand is definitely different from a usual museum visit. When I held this flower, I got a strong "sense of ceremony." I also projected some of my own emotions and thoughts onto the flower. When I placed the flower on the gravestone, I left these emotions and thoughts in the museum. These were my feelings when I purchased and offered that flower. (FW-NMMH-003)

Figure 4.4 *Visitors Purchasing and Offering Commemorative Flowers to Martyrs and Victims of the Nanjing Massacre*



Note. Photo by author.

The above narrative suggests how the flower, which carries certain symbolic meanings, is a crucial tool for visitors to emotionally connect with the museum and its history. Offering flowers to show respect towards the deceased is a common practice or social norm in China. Indeed, what is interesting is how the flower is potentially a means of symbolic healing.

Visitors mitigate their grief and sadness by offering flowers. These perspectives are more distinctively demonstrated in the comment of FW-NMMH-004, as she said,

> Because in our culture in the Mainland of China, if you are experiencing a sorrowful event and lack consolation, offering a bouquet of flowers can bring some comfort to your soul… It also generates a sense of remembrance and commemoration… It makes you feel your museum visit is meaningful… Because if I didn't hold this flower, I would just be a mere observer, and their suffering would have nothing to do with me. In contrast, when you pick up this bouquet of flowers, you actually feel that the pain they suffered in the past is intricately connected to your present happiness.

On the last day of my fieldwork in the NMMH, I felt an urge to purchase a commemorative flower to express my emotions. I also posted a picture on my social media (see Figure 4.5). The fieldnote, which I produced on the last day I spent in the NMMH, crystallized the emotional attachment I developed with the site.

> Since last night, I had a strong feeling that I must visit this museum for the last time. Many thoughts ran through my mind. I feel I have an obligation to say goodbye to this museum since I know I might not have a chance to come back in the coming two to three years. I feel I "owe this museum something." … This museum is linked to the tragedy of numerous victims. Their sacrifices engendered this research project… I purchased this blossom to pay tribute to them (also serve) as a mean to temporarily emplace my complicated feelings at the moment. I kept holding this flower for the first 15 minutes of this final visit…. I didn't feel really comfortable either physically or emotionally holding this flower during the visit. I then placed it with care to the memorial stone… After offering flowers to the dead, I personally felt less sorrow and was confident to continue my last fieldwork at this site. (Fieldnotes, 6 November 2022)

Figure 4.5 *A Photo the Researcher Posted on Social Media on the Last Day of Fieldwork in the NMMH*

Note. Photo by author.

The fieldwork is ultimately a relationship-building exercise (O'Reilly, 2012). In my case, fieldwork is no doubt a research practice of relationship-building with participants, but it also gradually progressed as an emotional connection between the researched sites and me. Emotions of the researchers are largely sanitized or devalued, owing to the presupposition that the "emotional and subjective" are the opposite end of "rational and objective" (Coffey, 1999; Punch, 2012). Similar to the concurrent discussion of researchers' emotional experiences (Diphoorn, 2013; Rossetti, 2023), I contended that the emotional experiences of the researcher are not contaminating but instead enriching the other data we take as knowledge. These emotional experiences I embodied shared great similarities with those encountered by my participants. Feeling the same or being emotionally affected by the sites in similar ways as my participants is evidence of me going "native" and being able to get an "insider" perspective.

Fieldwork is not always exciting and positive. Ethnography is time-consuming in data collection and report writing, which does not resonate with the cost-effectiveness and time-efficiency discourse in the contemporary academic world. The required research period for an ethnography study is a "luxury" in the eyes of funding institutions (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004, p.

537). This perspective has been well captured by previous discussions outside tourism and hospitality studies (Hammersley, 2006; Marcus, 2013). There is even a tale among early career ethnographers that their doctoral study is one of the prime times that enable them to spend the luxury of months or even a year generating ethnographic data. My institution allows a luxury of six months for overseas data collection, regardless of the nature of the study. Even if it has been framed as a luxury, I did feel my fieldwork was governed by time constraints and personal ambition. My inexperience in doing ethnography and my desperation to get as many research materials as possible to "safely" round up my fieldwork were what stressed me out regularly during my fieldwork.

> So far, I only have three walking interviews, and I have been here for two weeks already!!! Two of the walking interviews lasted for more than 1 hour, and one of them was only 30 minutes… I need interviews, interviews and interviews! …. Given that I have 3 interviews in the last two weeks, I can get at least 6 more (in the remaining 4 weeks) … How could I persuade people I have data saturation by only getting 9 participants in one site? … Even if only 5% of (the content of) each interview is usable or meaningful…. 9 interviews mean approximately 3000 words of usable content (i.e., fit for direct quotation) inside my thesis. But is it really enough? ... All these uncertainties make me nervous, and I am struggling to find the "correct way/proper way." I don't want to spend time collecting things that "may be useful" or "might help." I want to make sure things all work out. (Fieldnotes, 30 September 2022)

Most of the time, fieldwork is a vampire that drains my physical and emotional energy. As mentioned previously, the failures I encountered pushed me to opt for different strategies for participant recruitment. After adventuring the mountain region of Jinggangshan for consecutive days, I decided to give up approaching tourists inside the mountain region since I

was exhausted, both mentally, physically and affectively. I felt totally demotivated and had to force myself to continue my fieldwork.

> I have been trekking in the mountain region of the scenic area for a few days. I am physically tired, and the muscle pain is killing me. I am also mentally exhausted. There were fewer tourists than I expected…. I started to question myself if I had chosen the wrong place for research. I hid myself in the motel for a whole day yesterday, and I didn't want to eat anything... Since I did nothing yesterday, I feel obligated to go to the museum to do something today, no matter whether it is useful or not. Although I am unwilling to do so, I still went there today. (Fieldnotes, 19 November 2022)

The principles and ethos of conventional ethnography in the tradition of anthropology and sociology depend on the framework of prolonged observation with a fixed set of informants in their natural settings (Sørensen, 2003). However, it is observed that ethnography study evolved and perhaps deviated from these grounding principles. For example, the role of interviews started to take over researchers' observation in publication (Hammersley, 2006). There is an increasing use of interventional techniques to assess the experiences of others (Pink & Morgan, 2013). Also, Knoblauch (2005) observed a trend for ethnographers to focus on thin slices of our daily practices rather than the wider culture of a community. The above two narratives picked up from my fieldnotes tell how time constraints potentially hampered the way ethnography unfolds in the field. Data generation and immersion into the culture of the researched community are unavoidably rushed and condensed. There was always a tension between the responsibility of making efficient use of every minute to produce rich data and the various physical and emotional fatigues the researcher experienced. The well-being of an inexperienced researcher like me is also likely to be traded off.

Apart from the need to cope with the physical and emotional challenges that are common in tourism ethnographies (Sharma & Rickly, 2018), my selection of study context

sometimes puts me in an unsafe position. For some participants, talking about red tourism and researching it is something sensitive. This became more complicated when my Hong Kong identity came into play.

Before the field trip, I approached participants through social media. A few of them were deliberately careful about the underlying political agenda of my research, the truthfulness of my identity and the potential threats that I may create. One of the potential informants who visited the JRM was particularly doubtful about my research purpose, the truthfulness of my identity, and my political stance. Our conversation was fueled with distrust and cynicism. He also shared with me a newspaper clip about anti-government protests in Hong Kong (see Figure 4.6). A few days later, I discovered that he had banned me on the social media platform where we were contacted. The following excerpt from our conversation encapsulates his skepticism.

Interviewer:	We might need to do an audio recording for our interview, but I will keep it confidential. I will show you the information sheet and the approval issued by my university.
Potential informant:	I wish to know the purpose of your interview and the topics that might be covered. Why do you wish me to keep it secret? How can I check your real identity? Or the potential to bring threats to me?
Interviewer:	… (You have misunderstood) I mean, I will make your personal information confidential…
Potential informant:	Show me your identification!
Interviewer:	This is the webpage of my institution. You can find my name on it.
	(….)
Potential informant:	I just want to confirm that everything is safe before I can confidently participate. After all, none of us are idle. We should engage in meaningful and harmless activities. Don’t you agree?
Interviewer:	I completely understand. I am not a scammer, neither. Moreover, the topic of my research might be a bit sensitive to those who are unfamiliar with me.
Potential informant:	Recently, there were students involved in the Hong Kong protests, inciting national secession. That's why I want to clarify that I won't participate in anything political. I am only interested in engaging in purely harmless academic research. Recently, the anti-government protesters in Hong Kong were seen as manipulating students to create chaos. That's why I have concerns. It's already late now, so I'll rest. Good night.

Figure 4.6 *Newspaper Clips Received from a Potential Participant*

23:26

在2020年的“乱港风波”中，部分香港大学的学生会扮演了极度不光彩的角色。他们用学生会的经费资助乱港分子，并且扬言参加此类“活动”的人，可以向学生会申请使用预留的专项资金。

他们让乱港分子有了“组织后盾”，就肆无忌惮给香港和香港民众带来了极大的损失。为了对这些“乱港学生会”进行监督，香港城市大学要求查账，结果学生会根本拿不出合格的项目。显然，他们不仅资助乱港分子，还涉嫌贪污社团的资金。

发表神评妙论

Note. Photo by author.

Similar situations repeated even during my fieldwork. For instance, FW-NMMH-008 wanted to make sure I was politically correct when he first contacted me. He explicitly stated that:

> Sometimes, foreigners and some media do not necessarily share the same perspectives as Chinese on some issues. In earlier times, I took care of some individuals and brought them to the museum, including members of the Guomindang from Taiwan. Everyone has different views of this place (NMMH), and your interview is a guided one. That's why I want to make sure of the political orientations of what you mean by "your feelings and afterthoughts of the museum visit." (FW-NMMH-008)

The pursuit of such a topic inevitably makes some of the potential participants sensitive. I captured other moments of conflict and mistrust in my personal record. Another participant also truthfully explained two reasons that motivated her to accept my invitation to participate

in the walking interview. First, she had a strong attachment to the history of the Nanjing Massacre, and she would like to exchange ideas with those who were also concerned about this period of history. Secondly, she seemed to be making a joke but sounded intimidating. She told me, "I wished to check whether you will pose any threats to the internal stability of China. If you pose any threats to our national security, I will report you." (Fieldnotes, 25 October 2022)

4.3 Implications of Methodological Reflections

The first section illustrates some specific methodological concerns and practical challenges of using walk-along interviews. Today, fieldwork conducted by ethnographers is likely to last for only months rather than years, given the increasing workload in the academic lifeworld and intensified pressure for rapid research production (Hammersley, 2006). As a contemporary form of ethnography, walking interviews seem to be a promising shortcut for researchers to produce intensive data for ethnographical studies within a limited time frame. However, my own experience of using it led me to identify critical issues concerning the quality of data produced. First, researchers who plan to use walking interviews need to consider and be reflexive about their inherited interview nature. Interviews are performances or discursive practices in which participants offer verbal accounts about particular topics in a socially organized situation (Smithson, 2000). Thus, interviews produced for research purposes could never be completely natural. It is evident that participants took the walk as an interview quite regularly. It is hard for the researchers to confidently determine how reliable and accurate participants' accounts could be. In other words, although walking interviews theoretically aim to situate participants in a natural social setting, this research technique never produces a "naturally occurring" social occasion (Kusenbach, 2003).

Even though walking interviews incorporate both participant observations and interviews, most of the data produced are, by and large, in a conversation or interview style.

An escalating number of works labeled as ethnography are increasingly reliant on interviews, and some even solely use interviews to collect data (Hammersley, 2006). This raises questions on whether studies that rely primarily on interviews with limited participant observation elements could be counted as ethnographic studies (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). If the use of walking interviews in research eventually produces more verbal accounts than observational data, it prompts the researcher to ensure the use of walking interviews in research design does not bring us back to what we can achieve by using sit-down interviews. Therefore, my experience suggested that researchers should use a range of other methods, such as document analysis or conventional participant observations, to enrich and triangulate the data produced through walking interviews rather than be completely dependent on it.

When walking interviews are being executed, researchers need to pay attention to several operational issues, including the increased difficulty in recruiting participants, given the requirements for longer interview time and commitments from participants. In order to allow participants to feel at ease and to produce "natural" conversations during walking interviews, which is a relatively unfamiliar form of data collection to most participants, researchers should pay attention to the small details when they give research instructions to participants. The tempo of conversation, recorded sound quality, and specificity of statements given by participants could be quite different from a conventional sit-down interview. Researchers need to be attentive to these differences. Most benefits of walking interviews, as reported in previous literature, are confirmed, except for the claim of recruiting additional participants during the walk and the reduced awkwardness of the researcher's existence in a community. These previously reported benefits are context specific. Perhaps these benefits will be significant when tourism scholars apply walking interviews in the study of organizational behaviors or employee activities (Johnstone et al., 2020; Mackay et al., 2018) or tourist communities that have a higher hurdle of access.

The second section contributes to the academic discussion of challenges and researchers' emotions in ethnographic data production. Among heritage tourism scholarships, as well as museology (museum studies), few studies address researchers' being and the methodological challenges they faced in their fieldwork. Textbooks of ethnography seldom explicitly discussed the role of researchers' emotions in the research production process, except Coffey (1999), who devoted a whole book focusing on the relationships between the researcher and the ethnographic fieldwork, addressing particularly the emotional and identity dimensions of partaking fieldwork. Following the debate on researchers' reflexivity in doing ethnography, some tourism researchers have recently shed light on the challenges they have encountered in studying tourism experiences using ethnographic methods/ethnography (Farkic, 2020; Sharma & Rickly, 2018; Witte et al., 2022). However, it remains debatable whether researchers' own emotions are obtrusive or beneficial to the data production and analysis process. Therefore, my aim is to take part in this often silenced but highly relevant conversation by unlocking my personal experience of the fieldwork process and highlighting the personal and practical challenges that I encountered.

As indicated in the section "Emotionality of the fieldwork," the emotional contour of the fieldwork is configurated by issues including encounters between tourists and researchers, researchers' immersion into the field and the psychological well-being of researchers. Scholars argued that weaving the personal and emotional challenges researchers encountered into the discussion of the research process is still not comfortably embraced by academia, albeit its benefits in furnishing the research process as a more transparent and reflexive one (Farkic, 2020; Punch, 2012). In most publications, many aspects that characterized the data production process have been sanitized and edited out (Lydahl et al., 2021). The data production process in the field is an assemblage of the decisions researchers made, the way researchers behaved and presented themselves in the field, the collaboration between the researcher and participants,

the emotions aroused during the fieldwork, and so on. I argue that disclosing our physical weaknesses and emotional aspects of the fieldwork facilitates readers' understanding of the various decisions we have made. Witte et al. (2022) also highlighted that researchers' emotional experiences in the fieldwork inform how the qualitative data and findings are generated, interpreted, and communicated. For example, my frustration and personal experience of "things that do not work out" led me to switch to different strategies for participant recruitment. My emotional connection with the sites encapsulated in my fieldnotes allows readers to evaluate how credible and confirmable my interpretation of the studied phenomenon will be from the emic perspective. This serves as one of the aims underlying the decision to dedicate a chapter to reflect on the research process. It also adds to the recently emerged conversations regarding the emotional and methodological challenges tourism researchers endured (Farkic, 2020; Sharma & Rickly, 2018). As data production in fieldwork is relational and affective, hiding or editing out our very being in the field and our own emotions is not only abundant but also diminishes the value of the research process. As a final remark, researchers' emotions shape the data we collect and sometimes function as data (Diphoorn, 2013; Farkic, 2020). They should be packaged in our toolkit.

As affirmed by Matthews (2012, p. 55), "Fieldwork is not just an abstract concept that one can learn about in textbooks and lecture halls, it is a process and the only real way to understand it is to do it." In my endeavor of the fieldwork, I was not only able to get practical experience in accomplishing fieldwork but also experienced ethnographic data production as a physically demanding, relational, affective and highly uncertain process. The messy emotional contour of the fieldwork is the essence that distinguishes ethnography from other "objective" and fast knowledge production modes that are running rampant in the academic tourism community. Readers who are considering using ethnography might take the narratives in this

chapter as supplementary materials to ethnography textbooks. It prepares readers for some of the challenges, both practically and affectively, that are very likely to happen in the field.

Chapter Five: Organizing Elements of Emotional Red Tourism Experience

In this chapter, the organizing elements of emotional red tourism experience are explored. Based on Schatzki's (2002) schema of practice components, the four organizing elements of practice are practical understandings, general understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures. These four elements sketch the contour of individual agency and social structures that influence visitors' performance of emotional red tourism experience. This chapter is divided into four parts in accordance with these elements. The first section discloses the skills, knowledge and ability exhibited by visitors when they are engaging in red museum visits. The following section - general understandings, reflects broader cultural conceptions informing visitors' affective experiences. These cultural constructs transcend the boundary of red tourism and are also relevant to heritage tourism in general. The third section delineates the principles and rules visitors adhere to when they are engaging in red museum visits. The last section describes various teleological ends of visiting a red museum and the associated feelings embedded in visitors' red museum experiences. Accordingly, this chapter answers research questions one to four.

5.1 Practical Understandings

Schatzki's (2002) concept of practical understandings resembles Shove et al.'s (2012) competence dimension. Two broader categories of practical understanding were identified, which are generic museum skills and emotional competence. This categorization does not suggest that generic museum skills are not essential to achieving an emotional museum visit. Indeed, museum skills are commonly identified in the museum experience of visitors who are emotionally engaged and those who are not. When visitors perform an emotional museum visit,

they need to appropriate a range of both generic museum skills and emotional competence in an organic way.

5.1.1 Generic Museum Skills

Generic museum skills refer to the skills, knowledge and abilities that are fundamental for a visitor to accomplish a personally meaningful heritage visit, regardless of the various ends visitors want to achieve. Generic museum skills include literacy skills, observation skills, basic knowledge of related history, concentration and a peaceful mind, rich imagination, and own lived experience.

5.1.1.1 Literacy Skills

Literacy skills are the competence that visitors need in accessing, integrating, interpreting and appreciating information available in the content of an exhibition. It entails at least three different aspects, which are basic literacy, information literacy and critical inquiry.

Basic literacy reflects the visitor's ability to access the information available in the museum collection. Basic literacy denotes a fundamental level of being literate, such as the ability to read and understand wall labels and descriptions. Participants agreed that one of the strategies to access the information available in a museum is through reading, such as: "I love reading the texts (being displayed), I think I can obtain more information from it." (FW-NMMH-015); "I will take a look at the photo first. If it catches my attention, I will read through the associated textual materials." (FW-NMMH-020); and "If I saw something that is related to the television dramas I watched, I will then read the corresponding text in greater detail." (FW-JRM-007). Being literate is crucial for a museum visit since most information available in a museum is textual. This skill was too common to be noticeable since most museum visitors are

acquired with a basic level of literacy. It only unfolded when the researcher got in touch with participants who were barely able to read.

Information literacy is participants' ability to gather, integrate and interpret information in a meaningful manner. It denotes the ability of logical reasoning required for visitors to consolidate a large amount of information available in the exhibition. Information literacy allows visitors to understand the sequence of going through the whole exhibition, as one of the participants explained:

> We need to have logical reasoning ability even though the layout of the exhibition hall is quite clear. When you walk through the corridor of the exhibition hall, exhibits are being displayed on both walls. Choosing which side of the exhibition to watch first is quite an art. If you look at both sides chaotically, you will never know what the exhibition is about. (FW-NMMH-004)

Even though information literacy is not explicitly mentioned by other participants, the acquaintance and utilization of information literacy are clearly reflected in many participant accounts. For instance, one participant described how he integrated and organized the enormous amount of information available in the museum. He described:

> I consolidated two to three main themes throughout the exhibition. The first theme is about history in its entirety, such as different events happening in the different stages…Another theme is related to the important people who were involved and when…what are the relationships between these people…The third theme centered on cultural relics and photos. They showed us contextual information, such as the living conditions in the past, the weapons we used, and the enemies we fought…The fourth theme is about the development of the army system in China. We can roughly summarize the whole exhibition using these four themes. (FW-JRM-009)

From his account, it is obvious that he used his information literacy to reorganize the abundant information in the museum into different themes, including the chronological order of events, relationships between important historical figures, the overall living conditions of martyrs, and the army system development in China. One participant in NMMH also described using similar strategies to rationalize the information he received in the museum:

> I rely on the chronological order of historical events throughout my museum visitation. For instance, (I paid attention to) the date the Japanese started their invasion, the time at which atrocity happened, and the end of the Pacific War…. Then, I also look at the life trajectories of different characters to see if there is any association so as to get an all-rounded understanding of a particular historical figure. (FW-NMMH-008)

Critical inquiry is the ability to engage critically with the museum and its content. These include drawing meanings from the museum visit, interrogating the relationship between us and the museum, and even critiquing the museum content and its rationale. While basic literacy and information literacy mainly allow participants to read and understand the museum collection, critical inquiry enables visitors to *read beyond the lines*.

Since most visitors and participants who agreed to participate in interviews have acquired a certain level of education, this competence seemed to be hidden from sight until I met FW-NMMH-006 and -007. They were two old ladies, who were 66 and 76, respectively, at the time of the interview. They are still living in a small rural village in Anhui Province and rarely visit museums or go on holidays. I was surprised when they told me that they could not sign the consent form as they did not know how to write their names properly. I felt the visit I spent with them was unusual:

> The impression I gained from the onsite interviews is that they did not have many critical reflections and did not fully engage with the exhibits. Even if I tried to explain the text and exhibits to them, the situation did not improve much. The most frequent

> comment they made is confirming the cruelty of invaders by looking at photos relating to the death of Chinese and appreciating the stunning scale and design of the museum, such as saying, “The museum is designed quite beautifully.” (Fieldnotes, 9 Oct 2022)

When they were further invited to a follow-up interview, their incompetence in critical inquiry became crystal clear. When they were asked to share their thoughts regarding some memorable exhibits or moments during the visit, one of them said: “This is just a museum. I felt quite good as it is well made. It is well thought, and the whole grave was being displayed. It has many details and is designed beautifully.” (FW-NMMH-007). When they were further encouraged to talk about the significance of the museum to them, these are their responses: “I can’t think of any. We don’t have such clever minds. We are also illiterate and cannot read.” (FW-NMMH-006); “I don’t know how to explain.” (FW-NMMH-007); and “We are illiterate... People who are unable to read and write just know nothing.” (FW-NMMH-006).

The competence of critical inquiry seems to be dependent on the education level and participants’ museum visiting experience, as one participant said: “I have less museum visiting experience, and my education level is not high. I graduated only from junior high school.... I don’t have the ability to judge or appreciate this museum regarding its experiences offered.” (FW-JRM-004). In contrast, participants who can critically engage with the contents are able to make the visit meaningful by getting inspiration. For instance, one participant said, “Through knowing what happened in the past and the people involved, we can extrapolate the future of ourselves and the nation. History is repetitive and patterned. There is nothing new under the sun. Similar things are repeating every day.” (FW-NMMH-008).

Not all participants uncritically absorb what is being narrated in the museums. One participant deliberately recognized the discursive authority of museums:

> These exhibits are true, but all of them are what the institution wants to show you. There are still many things being hidden that most people would never know. If you frequently

visit museums, particularly those in China, you must learn to distinguish (what is reality) by triangulating with other evidence. It (the reality) is not only what you can see but more about what you can't see. (FW-NMMH-002)

Some of the participants even interrogated the exhibition content using their ability of critical inquiry. One participant questioned:

> I can feel that this exhibition is quite one-sided and not objective enough, but I do not deny the history being exhibited here. This museum only unveils part of the history. I tend to gather information from more sources and avoid banally accepting what is being propagated. I love to think from another perspective, such as, "Why did it become like this?" "It is really the truth?" (FW-NMMH-012)

Another participant shared similar opinions while she was walking in the museum. She was particularly critical regarding the persuasiveness of the exhibition method:

> This exhibit is titled "Japanese toys with militaristic characteristics," and this area is related to the rise of militarism in Japan. We also have similar toys. I question if such a presentation is sufficiently persuasive. There are many ways to exhibit or represent the past. However, many things in this museum evoke my doubtful attitude…. Since it is not that convincing, you will habitually suspect whether this exhibit is purposefully created. (FW-NMMH-005)

As evident from the above testimonies, these participants approach the museum and its collections critically. In short, to perform a critical engagement with the museum and perhaps interrogate its role as an institution of knowledge, the competence of critical inquiry should not be dismissed.

5.1.1.2 Observation Skills

Observation skills refer to visitors' ability and strategies to gather information about the displayed object while not relying on their literacy skills. Observation is another strategy other than reading so that visitors can obtain information out of the museum exhibition. Participants seldom mention observation skills as competence directly in their verbal accounts. Although both museums employed lots of written collections to offer visitors plentiful historical facts, it is observed that most visitors did not focus on textual materials. During onsite observations and walking interviews, it was found that most visitors do not read all the written collections in detail. Some of the participants described the way they gazed at the collections being displayed. For example, "Could you realize that I seldom read the texts? I mainly look at the dioramas that depict the past lifestyle of our martyrs." (FW-JRM-004); "If some objects are being exhibited, I will first look at that object… then have a glance at the texts." (FW-NMMH-020); "(I) looked at those animations, then examine what these photos are about." (FW-NMMH-004); and "You don't necessarily go there to learn or go through each thread of texts. I usually finish visiting the whole exhibition shortly by only paying attention to things that I am interested in." (FW-JRM-011).

Since most visitors do not read through all the written collections, the role of observation skills is more prominent. Visitors could gather cues and information by carefully examining the details of the displayed objects and photos. I have met a group of five male visitors in the JRM who have great observation skills (see Figure 5.1). The following excerpt extracted from my observation notes illustrates their observation skills.

> Like most visitors, this group of visitors is more interested in displays of cultural relics rather than written collections. They gathered around the cannon made from a pine tree trunk and started to look at it in detail. Limited descriptions or explanations were available around this cannon, but just a wall label with a few words on it – "A pine tree

cannon used in the Autumn Harvest Uprising."[4] Even though limited information is available, it seemed that their museum experience was not influenced. They began to observe what materials were used in making this cannon, looked for the place where gunpowder goes in, and examined the scratches on the cannon to check whether it was a replica or an objectively authentic cultural relic. They also imagined how people used this cannon to fight against their enemies. After a few rounds of conversations, one of the visitors concluded: "In the old days, there might be deficiencies of materials. That's why they use pine trees out of no choice. You can also observe that only a few metal nails were applied and the poor workmanship." (Fieldnotes, 21 December 2022)

Figure 5.1 *A Group of Visitors Observing a Cannon Made from a Pine Tree Trunk*

Note. Photo by author.

Observation skills were also exercised by visitors in the NMMH. During the walking interview, an unknown visitor suddenly initiated a conversation with FW-NMMH-009 while both of us were standing in front of weapons and uniforms being exhibited (see Figure 5.2).

[4] The Autumn Harvest Uprising was a movement of rebellion against the Guomindang. It was initiated by Mao Zedong in Hunan and Jiangxi Province of China in 1927.

They both observed the displayed army boots and noted the difference in raw materials used between the Chinese and Japanese armies. FW-NMMH-009 stated, “Japanese army used leather boots, but Chinese wore hand-woven straw sandals.” The visitor also noted, “The quality of these leather boots is quite good. The quality is comparable to what we are having nowadays. We (the Chinese army) cannot afford to wear leather boosts… I looked and knew how premium the quality is.”

Figure 5.2 *Weapons and Uniforms of the Japanese Army*

Note. Photo by author.

The utilization of observation skills to obtain extra information about the past might enhance visitors’ involvement in the museum visit. One female participant described an affective episode in which she felt pitiful. This is also an episode in which she involved her observation skills in the museum visit:

> I can recall that there was an area that compared military resources. For instance, the uniforms and porcelain bowls used by the CCP army are poorer in quality. The stuff owned by Guomindang, such as pocket watches, water bottles, and so on, looks much

better in quality. Also, the Japanese army's utensils and cannons were much more advanced than those of the CCP's army. (FW-NMMH-015)

The above examples show the significance of observation skills to museum visits. Observations allow visitors to see things that wall labels did not mention. By paying attention to the small details of museum collections, visitors are able to obtain rich information. Receiving knowledge through reading written collections might be largely passive, while generating insights from our own observations is more meaningful.

5.1.1.3 Basic Knowledge of Related History

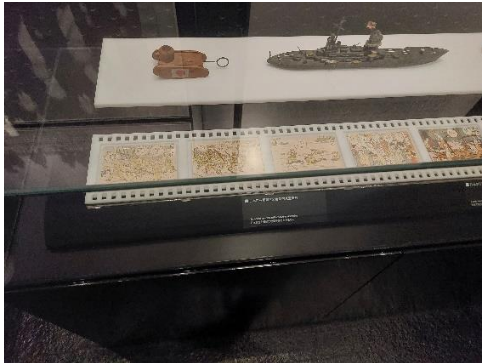
In the previous two sections, I have argued for the fact that literacy skills and observation skills are crucial for visitors to perform a heritage visit. However, these skills only enable visitors to gather, integrate and interpret cues available within the museum content. It is observed that participants often draw upon knowledge and information that are not being provided in the museum when they try to make sense of the exhibits. Having a basic level of knowledge relating to the represented history is one of the prerequisites for visitors to actually understand and engage with the museum.

FW-NMMH-016 vividly depicted that her process of appropriating and appreciating the exhibits in the museum resembles "doing reading comprehension." She illustrated her idea of "doing reading comprehension" by referring to a set of postcards issued by the Japanese in 1930, which is one of the exhibits in the NMMH (see Figure 5.3). She commented,

> I saw those postcards when we entered the museum. I also knew that particular area of exhibits is about the public propaganda of militarism in Japan. It was like doing a reading comprehension when I saw those postcards. I incorporated what I already knew about to deduce the implications behind the widely propagated militarism in Japan… I interpreted the exhibits by drawing from my own knowledge about the Japanese

invasion and Nanjing Massacre, novels I read, movies that I watched, and the education I received. (FW-HMMH-016)

Figure 5.3 *Exhibits Titled "Japanese Toys with Militaristic Characteristics" and "Comic War Postcards Issued in Japan"*



Note. Photo by author.

From her above comments, it is clear that she utilized her literacy skills to obtain cues about the exhibits. Besides, she supplemented her interpretation with knowledge obtained outside the museumscape, such as facts she learned from novels and media. Finally, information literacy was recruited to integrate the different pieces of information she obtained within and outside the museum. The necessity of being equipped with basic knowledge of related history to the museum visit is also mentioned by other participants. These are some of the representative comments: "You need to first have a foundational knowledge of that period of history, and the logic behind." (FW-JRM-009); "One thing that is extremely important to a museum visit, that is, you need to understand the situation of China in the past…. If not, you might only get a wrong interpretation of the history afterward." (FW-NMMH-004); and "It is great that I can link up the content delivered by the official interpreter with my own knowledge of the history. It means that I could understand what the interpreter is talking about." (O-JRM-005).

Acquiring basic knowledge of related history enriches the affective outcomes of a museum visit. One participant believed having knowledge of related history is a prerequisite for being emotionally moved by the exhibition:

> You must collect some related information before going to a museum. Your visit will be meaningless if you fail to do so. Why am I emotionally engaged, while some don't appear so? It is because I watched many documentaries (of the Nanjing Massacre), the real ones videoed by foreigners. (FW-NMMH-001)

Having better knowledge of related history also enhances the learning outcomes. As compared to visits to similar museums, one participant stated he was more attentive and engaged since this time, he equipped himself with more knowledge before the visit:

> I became more familiar with the history and some related narratives compared to last year. Last year, I went to the Museum of the Communist Party of China. Indeed, not much impression about history remained, and I also didn't pay much attention. However, when I visited the JRM this time, I was very attentive to the related stories and characters. Because I have a clearer picture of the entire history. (FW-JRM-002)

5.1.1.4 Concentration and a Peaceful Mind

Participants recognized the remarkable amount of information and cultural relics being exhibited in both museums. Many of them wished they could have spent more time in the museums. For instance: "I wish I could stay at the museum entirely for two days so that I can enjoy without hurrying… Although I went here many times, I skipped all the details and did not read the written collections phrase by phrase." (FW-JRM-009). Another visitor in NMMH shared, "There are many exhibits in the museum. We looked at most of them very quickly, but it took us already more than an hour. I can tell if we dig into all the details, we might be unable to go through the whole exhibition." (FW-NMMH-020).

Owing to the large number of collections, staying concentrated and having a peaceful mind is a quality needed for people to enjoy the museum visit in its entirety. One participant explained how the exhibition might be boring to some visitors:

> The exhibition style and displayed objects of all the halls are basically similar. For example, the clothing being displayed all looked the same. The exhibition consists mainly of text, photos, and cultural relics. If visitors do not wholeheartedly want to scrutinize the history, they might easily feel bored and annoyed. When you walk through the museum, everything just looks alike. (O-JRM-002)

Concentration and a peaceful mind are personal qualities that are required to immerse oneself in the museum. One participant also stated: "After I went into the museum, I found myself becoming calm and visiting the museum peacefully. Then, I immersed myself into the experience." (FW-JRM-007). This quality is perhaps another prerequisite for visitors to emotionally engage themselves. O-JRM-002 mentioned admiration, fascination, and sorrow as some of the dominant emotions felt during his last visit. He believed concentration and a peaceful mind allow him to feel: "Conducting a museum visit needs a peaceful mind, right? I think if you are impatient and restless, you cannot experience any one of the feelings I just mentioned." (O-JRM-002). Similar opinions are shared by another participant. She recalled an episode in which a peaceful state of mind enabled her to emotionally connect with the exhibits and eventually burst into tears. She described,

> When we stepped into the museum, there was an electronic visual display. I can hear the sound of water drops and watch the display of victims' names on the screen. This installation is relatively impressive and memorable because it calms you down once you step into the museum.… Your emotions will then be influenced. You suddenly realize yourself is emotionally engaging in the exhibition. (FW-NMMH-005)

5.1.1.5 Rich Imagination

Rich imagination might be the utmost essential competence that is central to experiencing a museum and its associated history. For some visitors, they relied on their imagination to integrate the information they gathered from the exhibits. A large majority of participants do not read through the written collections word by word, but they only grasp the main idea by skimming through the exhibits. For these visitors, imagination becomes more central to consolidating information gathered through the selective viewing of exhibits. Participants stated, for instance: “I often use these photos to imagine. I only pick up the key points from the texts.” (FW-NMMH-014); “I imagined how hard life was in the past with reference to these photographs.” (FW-NMMH-004); and “You can imagine how magnificent the revolutions were when you see this object, can’t you?” (FW-JRM-008).

Visitors also utilized their imagination to enrich their experiences. Many of the participants used their imaginations to recreate vivid scenes of the past. One of the participants, for example, provided the following account about what she imagined after looking at a photograph depicting how dead remains were being piled up. She seemed to be affectively impacted by her own imagination:

> It is impactful enough in the form of a photograph. Imagine if you are personally there watching your countrymen being piled up one by one. All of them are your kind, and some of them might be your friends, parents or relatives. All of them are just being placed there like dead animals being hit by vehicles. Their dead bodies are just being put over there! (FW-NMMH-020)

Imagination generates emotions that exist in people’s minds (Illouz, 2009). Failing to utilize our imagination during the museum visit might only leave us unaffected. This is particularly clear when FW-JRM-011 described how he could not *feel* on some occasions:

It is sometimes hard for me to imagine. I cannot come up with anything in my mind. I tried imagining… However, I am not familiar with the exact historical context and the situation (of a particular event). I have never personally experienced similar situations. I have tried hard to think or brainstorm, but I just felt nothing. (FW-JRM-011)

Previous literature also identified imagination as an important competence for museum visits. In order to complete a museum visit, imagination was regarded as a competence for visitors to obtain an immersive experience, whereas rich and innovative displays that attract visitors' gaze were regarded as crucial in stimulating visitors' imagination (Jin & Zhang, 2023). In contrast, another study suggested that heritage visitors can *feel something* in an empty landscape with limited visual stimulations if they try to imagine what people's daily lives might have been like in the past (Burlingame, 2019). Regardless of the dispute about the presence of visual cues, the findings in this section similarly suggest imagination is a prominent skill that visitors need to deploy if they want to engage themselves.

5.1.1.6 Own Lived Experience

Although utilizing rich imaginations helps participants to become more connected with the museum content, some participants believed imagination alone could never substitute the role played by first-hand experiences. Museum experiences supported through pure imagination are also not authentic enough. A participant in the NMMH made this clear:

Since I don't have similar experiences, I cannot realize how it really feels. On the one hand, I am much younger than them (the survivors). They have much richer life experiences than me. Besides, they have experienced the Nanjing Massacre, and I can never have such experiences personally. I have imagined and put myself in the scene… I might fight courageously when the invaders. However, I am taking this awfully easy. (FW-NMMH-012)

In contrast, FW-NMMH-004, who have experienced large-scale disasters, seems to truly understand how much courage is needed for a person to put others first when disaster strikes. She particularly appreciated those who rescued Chinese people during the atrocity, as she said,

> I have first-hand experience of the earthquake, so I truly understand… When an earthquake happens, those people who appear to be amazing and impressive in mundane life might just think of how to save their own lives. Not many people will lend a helping hand to others in such situations. The Nanjing Massacre is something more severe than the earthquake we experienced, isn't it? I think those people who are willing to rescue Chinese people out of the atrocity are truly heroes. (FW-NMMH-004)

First-hand experiences are deemed essential by participants if they really want to emotionally engage and feel with the exhibition in an authentic way. One participant in the NMMH pointed out: "We have never experienced such wars. Indeed, we can never know how it really feels without shelter or even when our lives are at stake. We might be unable to experience similar situations in our entire lives." (FW-NMMH-020). First-hand experience allows visitors to resonate with the experience of others in a more authentic way. One participant in his 20s without living through the hard times of war commented, "We always mention phrases, such as 'to bear in mind the history (*铭记历史*),' 'staying true to our founding mission (*牢记使命*),' and 'remain true to our original aspirations (*不忘初心*).' However, if you have never experienced (such a difficult era), it is hard for you to have the identical feeling." (FW-JRM-006). Similar thoughts also manifested in another participant's comment: "Since I do not have similar experiences, it is sometimes more like listening to stories of some strangers." (FW-JRM-005).

Besides, visitors' personal experience in their lives that helps them to interpret or make sense of the exhibits are conceived as the category of "own lived experience." As mentioned

earlier, some visitors just skim through the textual descriptions, and some even skip. It is surprising that these visitors are not only able to interpret but also connect with the exhibits using their own lived experiences. For example, FW-JRM-004 is one of those who come just to gaze at the exhibitions very swiftly. He spent less than an hour completing the whole visit, as I recorded. I was particularly curious about his way of doing a museum visit. He explained how he could understand the exhibits even if he did not read the textual descriptions or spend time scrutinizing the details of exhibits through observation:

> Since I was a soldier, I have been using modern weapons. When I saw those dated weapons (being displayed in the museum), I compared the weapons I used with those in the old days. I also compared the household items we are now using with those in the past. (FW-JRM-004)

5.1.2 Emotional Competence

Emotional competence is skills that are highly relevant to the performance of an affective heritage visit. In this study, three specific emotional competencies are identified, which are sensible body, empathy, and the ability to read and infer emotions.

5.1.2.1 Sensible Body

The notion of a sensible body deals with human sensibility. This category refers to our ability to feel by harnessing our five senses, which could also be understood as our capability to bodily invest. Participants seldom directly tell us about their bodily sensibility in relation to sensory stimuli. Luckily enough, onsite observations and walking interviews are becoming useful in identifying participants' sensibility and their entanglement with emotions. The NMMH displayed metal-made name lists that visitors could touch (see Figure 5.4). Here is an excerpt from my fieldnotes produced for the museum visit conducted with FW-NMMH-014, -015 and -016, showing how sensory experience is intertwined with affects.

We four entered the first exhibition hall where certain specifically designed museum collections are being displayed. These include the installation art and metal-made name lists. All three girls showed great interest in both exhibits. I introduced the idea of "ironclad evidence (*铁证如山*)," which I learned from the official museum interpreter, to explain why the name lists are purposefully made of metal. One of them tried to flip over the metal pages to look at the names. She was surprised that the pages were too heavy to flip through. After flipping some of the heavy name lists with great effort, one participant said: "It (the name list) is very heavy." Another one exclaimed: "a very burdening history (*很沉重的历史*)." After physically touching and gazing at the metal name list, we turned to the installation art that contained bricks. They stood very close to the bricks that were sealed in thick acrylic. One of them even touched the sealed bricks. (Fieldnotes, 25 October 2022)

Figure 5.4 *Metal-made Name List of Victims in the Nanjing Massacre*

Note. Photo by author.

This excerpt shows how the haptic feeling of heaviness plausibly engendered a sense of sadness, just like how one of the participants described the history as burdening and sad.

More importantly, I feel that some visitors are more sensible than others. They are competent in sensing as well as linking their bodily sensations to emotions.

Participants also have other sensory experiences, such as visual and auditory (*see also* section 6.1.2.1). However, haptic sensory experiences appeared to have better examples to demonstrate the idea of a sensible body as a practical understanding. Ingrid (2000) and Pink (2009) suggested that human beings obtain knowledge of the world through our bodies. Touching is a know-how that some participants demonstrated in order to help themselves to *feel*. One male participant explained that:

> When it comes to human knowing of the world, touching and physically being in the place are some of the authentic ways.... It is difficult for me to put myself into this kind of scene. I seldom obtain feelings of intense vicariousness, even if I am watching TV dramas or movies that are relatively realistic. (FW-NMMH-010)

When we were standing in front of a diorama depicting the battle of Guanghua Gate's defense,[5] I observed that the recreated scene did not emotionally move him. He explained while we were watching,

> Imagine the situation where a bomb was fired toward us and exploded. Shrapnel and rock debris then went flying over us. Suddenly, a large rock hit our legs. Let's try imagining how we would feel if a big rock knocked on our legs and couldn't be removed. Actually, I can't truly tell how I feel. I can just tell it is very painful and cruel. (FW-NMMH-010)

Our senses and the ability to sense are essential for being affected emotionally during a museum visit, as Wetherell (2012) believed that "affect is about sense as well as sensibility" (p.13). Although he knew that the diorama possibility conveyed to its audience a sense of pain,

[5] Guanghua Gate's Defence (血战光华门) is a small-scale battle between Japanese army and the defensive forces in Nanjing on 7th December 1937. This battle is said to be the most difficult and furious of all battles during the Nanjing Massacre.

it was too inauthentic for him to embody any painful sensations. This painful feeling is not mediated through his bodily senses. As real-time haptic sensory experience is absent, he believed the staged authenticity of the diorama is not affective enough.

Another participant, FW-NMMH-013, skillfully obtained a deeper feeling and sense of connectedness through touching the exhibits. She kept touching the names of victims, which are being made as metal sculptures (see Figure 5.5). She elaborated on what gazing cannot offer as compared to touching: “Less impression is left behind if you just gaze at it, having tactile sensations make our experience more profound and memorable.” (FW-NMMH-013).

Figure 5.5 *A Visitor Touching the Exhibits to Empathize with the Dead*

Note. Photo by author.

This skill is also mentioned by another participant: “I remembered that I touched the names being craved on the wall.” (O-NMMH-001). When he was asked the reasons for touching some of the exhibits, he explained: “The spirit of my fellow countrymen might be locked inside. You may also consider touching as a way of commemoration or remembrance.” He also supplemented, “Perhaps touching or something tactile provides a better sense of intimacy.” Obviously, some participants are more sensible than others. They know how to

bodily invest their senses in order to be affected. The above empirical examples demonstrated how visitors harnessed their own bodily senses to experience the place.

5.1.2.2 Empathy

Being empathetic is essential to achieving a museum visit that engenders emotionally intense experiences. Empathy enables visitors to *feel*. Imagination is essential for a museum visit, but it is not as important as empathy. One of the participants asserted that:

> Imagination is just imagination. If you cannot empathize with others' feelings and emotions, it is just daydreaming, isn't it? Empathy empowers visitors to engage in the museum visit and to feel the frustration, anxiety and desperation encountered by victims in the past. (FW-NMMH-004).

However, not all people can exercise the same level of empathy. "The extent to which each person can empathize with others is different," as FW-NMMH-014 also noticed. Having spent time with my participants, I found that some participants seemed to be more empathetic than others. For instance, FW-NMMH-018 mentioned, "I sometimes cry when I read related stories. I recalled how people suffered in the past. Many things come up in my mind." Her comments about herself seem to suggest how empathetic she is.

Prior investigations understood empathy as a complex human phenomenon. For instance, empathy could be a basic human trait that is involuntary and cannot be taught (Kunyk & Olson, 2001). Another stream of literature defines empathy as the competency to sense and respond to others' thoughts, feelings, and experiences (Wieseke et al., 2012). Furthermore, empathy could also be conceptualized as an emotional response to another person's emotional state (Cuff et al., 2016). Adhering to the underlying assumption regarding practical understanding as knowledge, know-how and skills, it seems more appropriate to parse empathy as a capability to empathize.

It is pretty challenging to put the moments empathy transpires down on paper concretely, but it is something that human beings can tell. The following is an excerpt generated during the onsite visit that was spent together with FW-NMMH-010 and FW-NMMH-011. It illustrates how empathy unveils itself:

> Our country is an agricultural society that puts great emphasis on life and death. If a part of our people loses their life in front of you because of war, you will feel extremely sorrowful and uncomfortable … If you think such a large number of people perished in the same place, and you have never experienced such events, you don't really feel good. That's why I don't wish to stay in this place for long. (FW-NMMH-010)

Similar to the researcher, the accompanying participant also recognizes how empathetic FW-NMMH-010 is. She was certain that: "I can tell that you (FW-NMMH-010) are quite empathetic." (FW-NMMH-011). After the museum visit, she reaffirmed her observations by asserting that: "He is particularly sensitive, kind-hearted, and highly capable of exercising empathy." (FW-NMMH-011).

Many participants mobilized empathy to connect with characters or stories being featured in the museum. They tried to "put oneself in someone's shoes" (FW-NMMH-016). For instance, FW-NMMH-004 deliberately took the perspective of others: "I am the kind of person who is quite empathetic. You will naturally put yourself in those victims' positions. Then, you will feel depressed. If you encounter the same situation (like the victims), being physically weak, isn't it miserable?" (FW-NMMH-004).

Some of them did not explicitly state they took the perspective of others, but this skill surfaced when participants described their experience of appreciating some of the museum collections. Participants empathized with victims of the Nanjing Massacre and Martyrs sacrificed in the Jinggangshan by assuming themselves as others and trying to consider how others would react or feel. These are some representative quotes: "I tried to consider, such as,

‘What would I do if I were him?’” (FW-JRM-011); “Turn me into the main character or think what I would do if I were in the same scene.” (FW-NMMH-008); and “If I encounter wars and face similar situations, I will feel horrified. It means a great extent of empathetic understanding.” (FW-NMMH-016).

Empathy is easier to be mobilized if a visitor gets a sense of familiarity. This sense of familiarity could be evoked by, for instance, a shared identity or common knowledge shared among members of the community. This proposition is highlighted, for example, by FW-NMMH-014 and 015 in the walking interview. Most participants perceived that the first half of the exhibition, which focuses on how Chinese were being tortured, were narrating the history from a Chinese perspective. The second half of the exhibition is deemed as offering a documentation of historical events from the viewpoint of foreigners. Relevant exhibition areas are related to humanitarian aid offered by foreigners, foreign media coverage, and foreign leaders’ attitudes towards this atrocity. After finishing the first half of the exhibition, I observed that their walking pace started to accelerate and had a much shorter attention time span on exhibits that narrate the atrocity from a foreigner’s viewpoint. Our conversation below encapsulates this argument.

Interviewer When you guys are looking at these exhibits (which are being displayed in the area related to foreigners’ humanitarian aid), are you just reading for factual information, including where, what, and who?

FW-NMMH-015: Yes, it’s pretty much like that.

Interviewer: Will you imagine the scene or put yourself into the scene like what you explained earlier when we were walking through earlier exhibition areas?

FW-NMMH-015: I don’t feel like doing that in this area… Things that I can incorporate into my imagination are less here. It is hard to imagine by just looking at the statues (of humanitarians).

Interviewer: I observed that you guys are walking much faster than the pace when we were watching the earlier exhibition area… Are you losing interest?

FW-NMMH-015: I am not losing interest. For me, I feel a sense of connectedness to earlier exhibition areas, such as those related to what the Japanese did to us and injured Chinese citizens. These are something that are closely related to us and our daily lives. I am more curious and more empathetic because these are things that happened closely to me.

FW-NMMH-014: The events and exhibits in earlier areas are frequently mentioned in textbooks, history, and movies. Thus, it makes me feel easier to connect with them. They are stored in your memory. When you encounter these exhibits here now, it gives rise to a kind of connection or resonance. So, I

am more moved by these rather than those displayed in the foreigners related area.

Empathy is often executed by visitors together with other competencies relevant to a general museum visit, such as rich imagination. The target of perspective-taking is sometimes an abstract entity with less information available or someone who does not have direct connections with the perspective-taker. In such cases, imagination is used to enrich the scenes or situations faced by the targets of perspective-taking. The following quote illustrates how rich imagination is incorporated in such circumstances:

> When I watched these exhibits, I reimagined the scenes of revolutionary martyrs fighting against their enemies and their living conditions during that era. If I were them, I would be pessimistic. Assuming that I am a soldier involved in the Jinggangshan revolution, we are being encircled and suppressed by Guomindang. It is difficult to secure sufficient weapons and supplies, and even have no bed to rest. In such a harsh environment, we still need to battle. I will definitely think negatively. (FW-JRM-004)

Perspective-taking is an important social skill that denotes the ability of a person to infer another person's expectations, beliefs, feelings and potential actions (Gould et al., 2011). Findings presented above are in line with the empathy literature. All in all, perspective-taking is a common way visitors tacitly exhibit when they feel with or empathize with people in the past. Participants who gained an emotionally intense experience in the museum demonstrated their capability to empathize frequently.

5.1.2.3 Ability to Read and Infer Emotions

Reading and Inferring emotions, as the name suggests, denotes participants' ability to decode the expression of emotions. Participants seem to understand other people's state of emotional being with reference to their facial and body expressions, though it might be, by and

large, a kind of reckoning. In the NMMH, one participant encompassed a photograph documenting Japanese soldiers who were capturing Chinese troops and peasants (see Figure 5.6). This photograph left her a great impression, as she stated, “Those invaders showed a triumphant smile when they were capturing our fellow countrymen. It left a strong impression on me.” (FW-NMMH-011).

Figure 5.6 *Photo Showing Japanese Soldiers Capturing Chinese Troops and Peasants*

Note. Photo by author.

Through looking at the facial expressions of both Japanese soldiers and Chinese during our onsite visit, she seems able to understand the emotions these different groups are feeling. Her capability of reading and inferring emotions becomes crystallized in her comments, as she described that photograph, “When you look at their face, those people who are being caught and the Japanese troops are having totally different facial expressions. Japanese are smiling, while every Chinese looked scared.” (FW-NMMH-011). Another female participant also made similar comments onsite when she was looking at another photograph of Japanese soldiers. Having inferred what emotional states the Japanese soldiers were by reading their facial expressions, she expressed moral disgust: “Oh my god, after looking at their triumphant face, I feel disgusted.” (FW-NMMH-015).

Besides facial expressions, participants also depend on other bodily cues to infer how others are feeling. A few participants reckoned others' state of emotional beings by paying attention to how people dress themselves. For instance, one participant recalled,

> During our visit, you might have noticed that there were some visitors from the younger generations. From my perspective, their dress code did not match the atmosphere of the museum. You can see some young females dressed casually, can't you? ... We visited this museum to learn the history and learn from it. Sometimes, we also visit it for commemorative purposes. However, there is an increasing number of people coming here for sightseeing, relaxation or entertainment nowadays. (FW-NMMH-008)

He understood how people dress themselves in relation to the emotional experiences sought. When the purpose of the museum visit is relaxation and hedonic-based, people seem to dress more casually and playfully. In contrast, when people come for some purposes that are charged with a sense of sadness (i.e., commemoration, learning from the difficult past), they might dress in a way that resonates with the solemn and sorrowful atmosphere transpiring in the museum. From the above examples, it is noticeable that participants interpret others' emotional beings by judging from their bodily cues, such as facial expressions, dress codes, and so on. These episodes manifest visitors' know-how to read and infer emotions.

5.2 General Understandings

The analytic category of general understandings refers to the shared beliefs, ideas and mental images that are pertinent to practices (Lamers et al., 2017). Practical understanding is generally grounded in personal experience. In contrast, general understanding is said to be embedded in socio-cultural beliefs and assumptions that are pervasive within a community. Most of the sub-categories identified under the analytical categories of general understanding are related to how participants understand the cultural characteristics of themselves as Chinese

and the regime of thought that guides the interpretation of Chinese collective memories. The idea of Chineseness is implicated in red tourism, which guides what participants do and how things should be done. I argue visiting a red tourism site is a practice that unveils the discursive nature of Chineseness. Several general understandings relating to Chineseness are identified.

5.2.1 Authenticity

Authenticity is one of the obvious general understandings that organize visitors' emotional experiences in red tourism sites. Welch and Warde (2017) suggested that authenticity is one of the general understandings that organizes many of the human social practices. To begin with, the object-related authenticity in the two sites partly accounts for the experience visitors enacted during their visit. An affective experience in heritage sites depends on what things visitors connect with and what they ignore (Goulding & Pressey, 2023). Participants are more prone to spend time connecting with authentic things sensuously and emotionally. For instance, one participant in JRM described:

> When I look at the exhibits, I will first check whether they are replicas or (objectively) authentic by reading from the wall labels. If it is an authentic one, I will usually pay more attention and take a closer look. Regarding the gun replicas we encountered (during the walking interview), I immediately lost interest and walked away… Since I seldom see this kind of authentic exhibit, I would like to know what they actually look like. Gun replicas are very common in many museums, and they just look like toys to me. I really lost interest in inauthentic exhibits. (FW-JRM-011)

Disengagement is noticeable from the short attention span participants spent on a particular type of exhibit. Another participant in NMMH also prefers to emotionally engage with objectively authentic exhibits rather than inauthentic ones:

> I didn't want to waste time on these (dioramas). I didn't try to pay attention to its sound effects. I rather prefer reading those text descriptions. In fact, I just feel these dioramas are quite fake, and they are purposefully displayed and recreated afterward. This museum displays documentaries, and I prefer that. Documentaries are more authentic, while dioramas are too artificial. (FW-NMMH-005)

Both participants' indifference and incuriosity in replicas or dioramas are prime examples demonstrating how the idea of objective authenticity transpires in and organizes visitors' museum experience.

FW-NMMH-002 is quite emotionally connected with the history of the Nanjing Massacre but showed a great sense of contempt for the museum itself and some of the "rituals" happening in the museum. When we entered the museum, we saw other visitors bought flowers to commemorate the victims of the Nanjing Massacre. He refused to follow what others were doing and offered the following accounts, which reflect the idea of authenticity:

> It is just a show. Chinese people love formalism, making things become rituals. For example, we broadcast the alert of air assault on the 18th of September each year. We also organize a lot of activities during the National Memorial Day for Nanjing Massacre Victims. These just represent formalism. I am not personally keen on formalism… participate less in these fake (existentially inauthentic) activities. (FW-NMMH-002)

A number of participants deliberately visit the site to get some kind of existentially authentic experience. For instance, one participant commented:

> If we read (the history) from books or news, I feel they are just some text and photos. In this circumstance, I am quite distanced from this period of history. If I visit the museum in person, the distance between myself and the history would be closer. I would be able to experience our trauma or a period of painful memory more personally

and in a more immersive way. Anyway, I just want to go and see it myself. (O-NMMH-005)

As evident from the above quote, O-NMMH-005 is looking for some experience that could only be obtained when she is physically present in the museum. This points to the idea of "physical authenticity" – a sense of physicality and "being here"; and "emotional authenticity" – the extent to which emotions are deemed real (Smith, 2017, pp. 74-5). This also partially overlaps with the notion of intra-personal existential authenticity, which manifests as a form of bodily feelings (Wang, 1999). Besides, many visitors are able to authenticate some objectively inauthentic exhibits through their imagination. One participant described: "I felt that it is really cruel. If you try to envision what happened in the past using your imaginations, this installation (diorama) offers its visitors a very authentic experience." (O-NMMH-005). After watching some short interviews conducted with family members of victims in the Nanjing Massacre, FW-NMMH-011 was able to obtain a sense of physicality, as she said, "It is because the family members of victims recalled what happened in the past, their descriptions provided give you a sense of 'physically being there.' Listening to their descriptions, you feel connected with them and really understand their emotions." (FW-NMMH-011).

It is understood that what visitors do and say in the two sites is related to authenticity, regardless of the kind they are seeking. The idea of authenticity clearly underpins a red museum visit. Visitors are more willing to spend time, bodily invest, or even emotionally engage with exhibits and activities that are objectively or subjectively authentic from their own perspective.

5.2.2 Nationhood

The idea of national identities could never be cut off from heritage. Nationhood is another prominent general understanding that organizes the social practice of performing an emotional red museum visit. There are three different sub-themes under nationhood, which

describe the relationship between national identity and visitors' understanding of both the past and future. These three ideas are important because people's group belongings influence their interpretation of events and subsequently inform visitors' emotional responses (L. Smith, 2017).

5.2.2.1 These Emotional Histories are Our Cultural Roots

History is the remembered past that exhibits no organic relationship to the one who remembered it, while collective memories are the part of history that people actively draw on (Hirst et al., 2018). The following quote deliberately shows that participants understand the history documented in the museum is the collective memories of the Chinese.

> I feel that this is probably something deeply rooted, especially for our generation. I was born in 1996. Our generation started to learn about the Nanjing Massacre when we were young, through getting in touch repeatedly with information available on television programs, documentaries, movies, textbooks, and the stories our parents told us. That's why if you are Chinese and you have a chance to come to Nanjing, you will habitually feel the urge to visit here. Here is the place you want to visit deep in your heart…. Overall, I feel that the story narrated inside the museum is intimately related to the Chinese community… is related to our blood tie. (O-NMMH-004)

Regardless of visitors' emotional engagement in the museum visit, participants in the two sites commonly expressed that these histories are the heritage of Chinese people, which are their collective memories. These are typical comments: "It (The Nanjing Massacre) represents the history of Chinese people." (FW-NMMH-014), "These museums are national museums which exhibit the revolutionary history of ours." (O-JRM-003); and "In my opinion, these events speak for what happened to the *Zhonghua minzu* and our country in the past. These are the history related to us, our nation and our race. Highly related to every one of us." (FW-NMMH-011).

Collective memories can be emotionally charged. The term "cultural trauma" refers to experiences associated with extremely intense emotions that hurt (Alexander, 2004). Participants in NMMH tended to describe the history of the Nanjing Massacre as sad and painful. For instance, the history of the Nanjing Massacre is described as "the painful lessons of history" (O-NMMH-002) and "memories that hurt" (O-NMMH-005). What is more, pain does not sufficiently describe the past. Some participants understand it as a humiliating past. For instance, one participant stated: "It (the history) is very sad and humiliating. Even it could be regarded as a period of disgrace. It is because the Nationalist Government led by Guomindang is weak. In short, backwardness invites humiliation." (O-NMMH-003). Another participant shared a similar opinion: "You must remember the humiliation suffered by the Chinese at that time." (FW-NMMH-004). These comments are consistent with historians' observation that Chinese people's collective memories related to the Nanjing Massacre are emotional and charged with pain and humiliation (Zhang, 2017).

Although the exhibition in NMMH is about mass killing, which happened from 1937 to 1938, participants seem to extrapolate this event to a much broader period. For instance, one participant mentioned:

> The history that this museum narrates is an authentic and objective past that happened more than half a century ago. This period of history matters to me. Chinese people need to hold it up as an awful example. This history is also linked to what happened two hundred years ago, starting from 1840. It reminds us that backwardness leads to humiliation. China does not get the international recognition it deserves nowadays. This period of history is the main reason for that. (FW-NMMH-008)

In a similar vein, JRM documented stories of heroic acts of martyrs. Some participants in JRM situate this period of history in the broader contemporary history of China. They also felt the contemporary history of China, which is their collective memory, is principally about

shame and suffering. Their interpretation of the past is somewhat similar to NMMH's participants. For example, one participant stated: "The Chinese revolution is just the beginning (of the contemporary development of China). However, there have been numerous sacrifices being made over the whole period of history. It is not as glamorous as we thought but, in fact, a very painful process." (O-JRM-002).

Furthermore, the phrase "backwardness leads to humiliation (*落后挨打*)," which entices a sense of shame and humiliation, is often referred to by participants of both museums. It condenses the mental image Chinese people hold in relation to the contemporary history of China. The following quotes demonstrate how participants feel when they use this phrase. For example: "I feel greatly discontented. I strongly agree with the fact that 'backwardness invites humiliation.' I feel both angry and helpless." (FW-NMMH-014); "I feel that we are powerless at the time. … It means 'backwardness leads to humiliation.'" (FW-JRM-001), and "Why do *Zhonghua minzu* suffer tremendous bullying and humiliation? It is all attributed to conservativism and isolationism. Our falling behind in military systems and technology led to foreign invasion, which means 'backwardness leads to humiliation.'" (O-JRM-001).

5.2.2.2 "Chinese Are Forever Victims"

Participants perceive themselves and their martyrs as victims. For instance, participants in JRM understand their martyrs as victims: "They were very young at that time. They sacrificed in many ways. Some of them lost their lives during the battle. Some are slaughtered by Guomindang." (FW-JRM-006). Another visitor in JRM also mentioned:

> The past is very cruel. CCP members were being persecuted by Guomindang. Many of them sacrificed for our country… The museum displayed photos of CCP members being caught and victimized. Their heads were cut off and hung up on the street. These made me horrified. (O-JRM-003).

The subject position of the victim is more obvious in the NMMH. One participant directly claimed that: "Chinese people were the victims at that time." (O-NMMH-003). Other participants shared similar perspectives about the subject position of being victims. One participant pointed out: "When you are visiting this museum, you can understand that we look at the exhibitions from a victim perspective." (FW-NMMH-005). Others also shared similar thoughts, such as: "From the standpoint of assaulter, the Japanese think this (slaughtering people) is their brilliant achievement. They take killing people as a game or an achievement…However, we as victims think these are criminal behaviors." (FW-NMMH-004).

Participants in both museums often put themselves in the subject position of victim. It is a self-constructed sense of existential insecurity. Interestingly, most participants believed that not only Chinese people were being subjected to inequalities in the past but also in the present era. As shown earlier, participants understand their contemporary history as a humiliated one owing to foreign invasions and the betrayal of the Guomindang. Surprisingly, even though China has evolved as a great power on the global stage nowadays, participants still consider themselves as victims. One of the participants strongly believed that:

> Since the Opium War in 1840, the decadent feudalism of the Qing Dynasty caused numerous threats to the racial and cultural continuity of *Zhonghua minzu.* … suffered tremendous bullying and humiliation. ... After the Open-door policy, the international environment was perhaps more stable, and China got the opportunity to develop rapidly. However, nowadays, we are still being suppressed and threatened by foreign countries led by the Americans. (O-JRM-001)

The following comments also show how visitors understand themselves as potential victims nowadays: "Nowadays, Japanese is still nasty, so are the Americans. All of them are bastards! Our country should not act cowardly. Other countries only attack those who appear

to be weak." (FW-NMMH-006); and "Many other countries want to take advantage from Chinese." (FW-NMMH-007).

5.2.2.3 "Chinese Love Peace"

Confucianism stresses "*he* (*和*)," which could be understood as peace and harmony. For instance, a famous Confucian quote, "*ping tian xia* (平天下)," which means to realize peace in the entire world (Li, 2008). The idea of peace and harmony as one of the Confucian values is noticeable in the participants' doings and sayings during a red museum visit. "Chinese love peace" is a widespread discourse about the cultural uniqueness of the Chinese. Most participants understand Chinese as a community that stresses harmony and longs for a peaceful life. One participant believed peace-loving is a valuable worldview owned by the Chinese, as she said: "We need to remember the past, but we cannot think of revenge. This (way of thinking) shows the noble character of our kinds." (FW-NMMH-004). Other supportive quotes are, for instance: "I think Chinese people act as how Gu Hungming has described. [6] Chinese people are polite, modest and obliged to remain silent about our resentment." (FW-NMMH-004); "It shows that we Chinese people are peace-loving." (FW-NMMH-008); "The society we have now is peaceful and without wars… We as normal citizens are grateful for living in such a politically stable environment. We treasured such condition a lot." (O-JRM-004); and "I personally believe peace is the only way out, and the most suitable way for us." (FW-NMMH-005).

As a peace-loving people, participants expressed gratitude to the martyrs and leaders of the CCP who brought peace to China. Participants stated, for instance, "We all grow up in a very peaceful society, so I think we all feel grateful to the nation." (O-NMMH-005); "I feel

[6] Gu Hongming 辜鸿铭 (1857–1928) was a Chinese scholar in the late Qing dynasty. He was widely recognized as one of China's most distinguished Confucian philosophers.

that we can walk peacefully in the museum, but not in that way (similar to a diorama depicting Nanjing after air assault) ... I believe this is all attributed to our nation. Shouldn't we render service to our nation's kindness?" (FW-NMMH-001); "Many martyrs sacrificed, and some of them are being slaughtered by the Guomindang. Some lost their life in the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression… I feel grateful to them for bringing us peace that is hard-won." (FW-JRM-006); and "Because they suffered these atrocities on behalf of us … we are able to enjoy nowadays. We must pay tribute to them and show our gratitude." (FW-NMMH-014).

This peace-loving discourse does not only describe the Chinese themselves as peace-loving but also indicates how peace should be achieved in a specific Chinese way, especially when the discourse of "Chinese are forever victims" comes into play. One participant suggested that peace could only be achieved if both nations are equally strong, as he said, "Peace only exists between two nations with similar power. There is no peace between two countries that are unequal…. It appeared to be peaceful, but everyone was planning when and how they could knock down each other." (FW-NMMH-001). A similar reasoning style appears in the following quote:

> The current generation needs to strive for excellence. Children should study hard, and young people must work hard for the prosperity and strength of our nation. We cannot allow ourselves to be bullied by outsiders anymore. Once our country becomes prosperous and strong, others will not dare to bully us… Our country's national defense is indeed strong now. Otherwise, Japan, being a very tiny country, will dare to provoke China so easily. (FW-NMMH-009)

Since the Chinese are forever victims, the Chinese think they need to strengthen their own power and "be prepared for danger in times of peace." Participants seem to have a

consensus on the view that equipping themselves with greater power is the only way Chinese people can maintain their peaceful life. For example:

> We have a history that is full of scars. We must remember that happiness is not something that comes with no cost. It is something we must defend for ourselves. Since wars could happen anytime, we must defend our own happiness and safeguard peace. (O-NMMH-002)

> Each of us should have a sense of gratitude and remembrance towards our revolutionary martyrs… I believe it is important to be vigilant. We should always remain cautious and prepared regardless of any circumstances. We must strengthen ourselves to ensure that *Zhonghua minzu* does not fall into such difficult situations again. (O-JRM-001)

> First, it reminds us not to forget history. We were invaded by the Japanese because we were too weak and lagged behind in various aspects. This tells us to strive forward, learn continuously and make contributions to our country's military and technological power. What we understand throughout the museum visit is that it conveys a sense of vigilance, reminding us to be prepared and contribute our efforts in order to make our homeland stronger. (FW-NMMH-014)

Indeed, the three discourses identified are intricately implicated in the process of red museum visitation, as is evident in the meaning one participant derived from his visit to the museum:

> First, it means that Chinese people are peace-loving. Secondly, we need to bear this period of humiliating history in our minds. I am not suggesting that we need revenge, but we should never forget the past. If only we take lessons from past humiliation, Chinese people and the younger generations can further strengthen themselves and avoid suffering from similar devastating situations again. (FW-NMMH-008)

Similarly, O-JRM-004 referred implicitly to these general understandings when he explained his rationale for bringing his son to visit the JRM:

> We are ordinary Chinese people. Since childhood, we have been taught not to forget our roots and origins. We are fortunate to live in an environment of peace without wars, diseases, or major events that disrupt our normal lives. … As a Chinese, you cannot forget your identity as a descendant of Chinese culture. You must not abandon those historical and cultural foundations accumulated since ancient times. Now, in the 21st century, the most painful part of our education is the history of modern China, right? We were bullied by foreign powers and experienced territorial losses and indemnities. You need to have a clear understanding of the various ups and downs of our nation. My son was born in a peaceful era and has enjoyed a wealthy life. He might not be aware of the hardships of the past, so I must educate him not to forget the past. (O-JRM-004)

From his above comment, we could see how he understands that the Chinese were being victimized in the past and possibly again a victim in the future. He held that these past histories should not be forgotten as a Chinese. Similar to other Chinese who love peace, he cherished the peaceful life he is now having, so he deemed it crucial to educate his son about the trajectory of China's development through the museum visit.

5.3 Rules

A red museum visit is organized by rules and principles that guide how people should feel, think and act accordingly. In this study, the rules informing the behaviors of visitors are shaped by the idea of Chineseness. Feeling rules and visiting rules are the three different types of rules shared among visitors. Among participants with different emotional engagements during the museum visits, their recognition of these rules did not exhibit great discrepancy.

5.3.1 Feeling Rules

The study of emotion norms has long been a major topic in the sociological inquiry of human emotions (Bericat, 2016; Thoits, 1989; Turner & Stets, 2006). For instance, Emotionology is the term proposed by Stearns and Stearns (1985), referring to the collective emotional standards of a society that its members should uphold. "Feeling rules" and "display rules" are social norms that influence what people ought to feel and the public expression of emotions, respectively (Hochschild, 1979). The meaning of feeling rules in this study is similar to these previous works, referring to the social norms indicating what are the appropriate feelings to feel and display during the museum visit.

Some participants stressed that the Chinese should have the same emotional responses in relation to their collective memories. Red memory is a special form of social memory in China. It signifies not only a historical past but also an emotional one that is related to how the CCP brought forth national independence, liberation, and prosperity (Pan, 2018; Tang et al., 2021). As evident from the way the two periods of history behind the two museums are referred to, participants clearly know how the Chinese should feel. For example:

> The minimum baseline is to remain calm. At least, it is important not to display happiness… or show any positive emotions. Instead, you can express negative emotions such as sadness, sorrow, sympathy, or anger… It is truly inappropriate to show happiness, joy, or excitement… The emotions I mentioned are only specific to the emotional experience of Chinese people. (FW-NMMH-014)

As this quote demonstrates, participants deliberately understand people who are in-group ought to feel and express certain feelings similar to themselves. The argument of Hochschild (1979) – "feeling rules reflect patterns of social memberships" (p. 566), is reassured. Further evidence was found in the comments of O-NMMH-004. He said, "Feeling sad or angry in response to the exhibits is appropriate. Inappropriate emotions would be happiness, joy, and

so on.” (O-NMMH-004). He believed having identical emotional responses is significant, as the issue of social group belongingness matters.

> If someone exhibits such (inappropriate) emotions, I perceive them as belonging to a different social group. It’s about a sense of identification. I believe individuals who experience similar emotions during the visit, those who share the same sentiments as me, belong to my social group. Conversely, if some people display emotions that I consider inappropriate … I do not recognize them as members of the community to which I belong. (O-NMMH-004)

After illustrating how feeling rules are associated with the idea of national identity, the following sections demonstrate principles that inform how Chinese visitors should feel during the museum visit.

5.3.1.1 Remaining Solemn and Respectful

To start with, remaining solemn is one of the common emotional norms identified in both museums. In the case of JRM, most participants felt the obligation to adopt a solemn attitude while visiting the museum. For instance, one participant stated: “This museum is a place charged with a solemn atmosphere. Visitors should maintain reverence and keep quiet when they appreciate the exhibits.” (O-JRM-003). Similar comments are shared among other participants in JRM. Another participant stated: “We should maintain a solemn and respectful attitude when we go there.” (O-JRM-001). Since heroic stories of sacrificed martyrs are being displayed in the JRM, participants expected other visitors to show respect and admiration for martyrs. Typical comments are: “Visit with a feeling of admiration and reverence.” (FW-JRM-005); “To show respect and admiration, just like me.” (FW-JRM-004); as well as “Being casual and laughing while walking, or mocking. These behaviors and the associated emotions are not appropriate.” (FW-JRM-005).

In the case of NMMH, participants shared very similar expectations with JRM's participants about what emotions are deemed appropriate to feel and display. Typical comments are: "The main idea is about showing respect towards the deceased people and those who are visiting the museum at the same time." (FW-NMMH-003) and "I believe we should at least display a sense of respect… should have a sense of reverence from the bottom of our heart and to maintain the solemn atmosphere of the museum." (FW-NMMH-011). This sense of respect is related to those who sacrificed, as illustrated in the following testimony: "When you visit the museum… even if you don't personally maintain a reverence attitude towards the history, you should at least respect those who suffered in the past." (FW-NMMH-012). In addition, one participant stated, "Since they are our compatriots, these human remains belong to our fellow countrymen who have passed away. Therefore, it is important to hold a sense of respect and reverence towards them." (FW-NMMH-014).

5.3.1.2 Avoid Displaying Happiness

Happiness and joy are unwelcome emotional responses to many participants. One participant believed that "it doesn't feel quite appropriate if anyone displays excessive happiness." (FW-NMMH-003). This quote exemplified another principle guiding visitors' emoting behavior in the museum. Apart from showing respect and remaining solemn, it is advised to avoid the display of positive emotions, such as great pleasure. One participant recalled, "It is rare to see people immersing in a light-hearted and jovial atmosphere. Most of the time, everyone is looking at the exhibits quietly, somewhat depressed." (O-NMMH-002). Another participant shared a similar opinion about what emotions are deemed appropriate and inappropriate in the NMMH:

> Regarding the appropriate ones, those negative emotions I mentioned earlier are more suitable when we look at exhibitions related to massacres, wars, or other traumatic and painful historical events… It is unlikely that anyone will find joy. (O-NMMH-005)

A common understanding about the display of emotions is shared among visitors in NMMH. Similar comments are: "Heavy-heartedness, compassion and sorrow, as well as indignation are appropriate emotional responses.... Being overly cheerful would definitely be inappropriate." (FW-NMMH-016); "I believed that when visiting a museum, one should enter with a somber mood. Since it is a memorial hall, we should avoid displaying any signs of excitement." (FW-NMMH-015); and "I believe it is inappropriate to display any happy demeanor in such situations." (O-NMMH-005).

Participants in the JRM offered a similar understanding of the social norm to avoid displaying happiness. One participant commented: "It doesn't evoke a sense of joy or cheerfulness inside the museum. It is abnormal if you feel cheerful…. Looking at such exhibits, how could one feel joyful?" (FW-JRM-006). Another participant also believed displaying happiness is just unacceptable:

> I believe that it is highly inappropriate to engage in playful behavior or be extremely joyful inside... The literature, materials, images, and various records inside all pertain to our predecessors... Our martyrs sacrificed their lives and left us these guns, weapons, farming tools, clothes, and shoes they used. You can notice that these items are heavily used and in very poor condition… Just by looking at them, you can understand the hardship they have endured. (O-JRM-001)

5.3.1.3 "Don't Feel Suspicious"

A feeling of suspicion or doubt is regarded as undesirable by a number of participants. One participant in JRM strongly holds that:

> For example, that kind of emotion that relates to suspicion. I don't think it's very appropriate… If someone doubts the authenticity of this period of history, or maybe they feel that it never happened, then it's inappropriate. You can cross check this authenticity using sources available both within and outside of China… This period of history actually happened, without any doubt. (O-JRM-005).

This quote illustrates the need for visitors to comply with this important rule of thumb or principle that governs red museum visits. In particular, it denotes the "acceptable" or "correct" way Chinese visitors should handle and respond to the history being narrated in the museum. Another participant shared identical thought:

> This period of history is beyond doubt. Don't feel suspicious about our history. History is unquestionable. In my perspective, there are only two options: (you can choose) to show respect and admiration, just like me, or you should refrain from expressing any opposite thoughts… Your doubtful feelings should be limited to yourself only. You shouldn't promote or propagate them. (FW-JRM-004)

This quote further suggests that if visitors obtain emotions of suspicion in relation to the history being narrated, they should try their best to hide this sense of suspicion.

Similar to the above two participants, a large number of participants from both sites shared the idea that visitors shall not experience a sense of suspicion emotion within the museumscape. Some participants similarly posited that visitors should not question the authenticity of the history being depicted in the museum. For instance, one participant said: "It is highly inappropriate if someone doubts about this period of history, or if they disrespect the contributions, hardship and sacrifices made by our revolutionary predecessors." (FW-JRM-001). FW-NMMH-016 not only left the authenticity or objectivity of the history unquestioned, but she also expressed a strong feeling of trust in the museum's authority:

> For example, someone might doubt the authenticity of certain events or deny past happenings, similar to Japan's denial of certain historical facts … When a person questions the authenticity of any part of the history, he is disregarding the authenticity of the whole museum. I don't believe there will be anything fake or false in such a formal and solemn museum. We must accept what the museum shows us. (FW-NMMH-016)

Indeed, similar banal acceptance of the museum's authority is found in the comments of other participants. One participant contended, "Official museums like the Jinggangshan Revolutionary Museum are the most official and authoritative. Its information must be reliable, isn't it?" (FW-JRM-009). Moreover, one participant in the NMMH felt strange when she saw an exhibit that looked too technologically advanced and seemed impossible to produce in the 1930s. She chose to banally accept the authority of the museum rather than trusting her own gut feeling, as she commented: "I will only doubt about my own knowledge. I did suspect (the authenticity of these cultural relics). However, I prefer to question my own knowledge about the past." (FW-NMMH-015).

Suspicious emotions are just impossible emotional responses in the eyes of most participants because how one should feel is bundled with one's identity. Learning about and recognizing the two periods of history are the obligations for Chinese visitors. One participant stated: "All of us are the members of our nation. We must at least know about this period of history." (FW-NMMH-011). Another participant in the JRM also shared, "We Chinese people should proactively learn about it. It is both responsibility and obligation. We should not forget the history or betray it." (FW-JRM-007). Since these histories represent the cultural roots of Chinese people, visitors who bear the identity of Chinese must recognize and greatly value these crucial histories. The participants said, for instance, "I mean it. If someone does not value or acknowledge our own history, I do not consider them as my compatriots." (FW-NMMH-

013); “If you forget about this fact (the contribution of Mao Zedong and the CCP to new China), it goes against the cultural traditions of the Chinese people.” (O-JRM-004); and “As a Chinese, if you want to continue living on this land, you should at least identify with these histories and this museum. If you failed to do so, you are not a real Chinese.” (FW-NMMH-004). These quotes clearly demonstrate how feeling suspicious about the history and exhibits in the museum makes one feel bad about oneself and alienates oneself from one's own community.

While most participants exemplified that visitors should not feel suspicious, the opposite could also hold true as long as visitors do not overthrow the main narratives. A very small number of participants expressed emotions of suspicion during the onsite walking interview. They are very careful not to suspect whether particular events happened but feel skeptical about whether some facts are not being displayed. For instance, one participant doubted the entirety and authenticity of the history being conveyed in the museum, but he reassured the researcher that he didn’t misrecognize the collective memories shared by the Chinese. He said:

> It (the museum) wants me to believe in the version of history that is being told here, and I am skeptical about what it narrated. I am not suggesting the history is a lie… the museum didn’t show the entirety of the history but spoke of only a part of it and hid the remaining. (FW-NMMH-002)

In a somewhat similar manner, FW-NMMH-012, who recognized him as a “*fenqing* (*愤青*),” [7] shared his feeling of suspicion with the researcher during the onsite visit:

> Quite often, I wonder why the museum displayed a lot of content, but all this displayed content is what the government wants us to know. Behind it, there are actually many other aspects that visitors will never know and see… What visitors should not know is

[7] *Fenqing* (*愤青*) is a Chinese term referring to young cynics who are always discontent with the socialist system in China or anything that is government related.

precisely the content that will never be showcased. This museum only unpacked a part of the history, but not its entirety. (FW-NMMH-012)

During the follow-up interview, he gave an example of how the effort paid by Guomindang in defending Nanjing during the Nanjing Massacre is being downplayed in the museum, leading to his emotions of suspicion:

The museum covers the content about defense against the Japanese' invasion… In fact, the army of Guomindang, rather than the CCP, took a leading role in defending Nanjing City. There is hardly any clear mention of the Guomindang's effort. I think those historical facts might not have been expressed or described in detail. In my opinion, when it comes to historical matters, they should be presented truthfully and respectfully without any attempts to conceal or disguise them. (FW-NMMH-012)

Although he felt skeptical, he asserted that he never doubted the existence of the Nanjing Massacre. He swore to the researcher, "But I certainly don't doubt the content presented in this museum… there is no doubt about the atrocities committed by the Japanese during the Nanjing Massacre." (FW-NMMH-012).

In short, the history being narrated in the museum is beyond doubt. Feeling suspicious is deemed an inappropriate emotional response when Chinese visitors pay a visit to museums related to patriotic education. Even though visitors sometimes are doubtful about the content, they could mostly feel suspicious about the entirety of the displayed content rather than overthrowing the collective memories shared by the Chinese that are regarded as a social fact.

5.3.2 Visiting Rules - Being a Civilized Tourist

"Being a civilized tourist" refers to the common consensus shared by a majority of visitors in relation to the social etiquette that visitors are expected to follow, such as minimizing disruption to other museum visitors and performing an orderly visit. One participant in the JRM

recalled, “At the time of my last visit, there weren’t too many people, but the order was well-maintained… Visitors behave themselves well. Nobody created loud noises or disturbed others. All visitors were behaving in a civilized way.” (O-JRM-001). However, another participant recalled he witnessed several inappropriate behaviors, as he said, “Public incivility is an issue…. Of course, it also happens in Jinggangshan Revolutionary Museum. Someone screamed, children were running around, and their parents did not care.” (O-JRM-004). He further described,

> It is unfortunate that some individuals lack proper etiquette and behave in a disruptive manner, such as speaking loudly, not being mindful of their surroundings, or engaging in casual and inappropriate behavior while others around them are trying to maintain a solemn attitude. Some people also talked loudly on their phones. It is not uncommon to encounter such situations. (O-JRM-004)

The idea of doing a civilized museum visit is found to be a generally acceptable social norm. Behaving in a civilized way is what a Chinese tourist must do. Participants are able to distinguish the uncivilized tourists by observing other visitors’ social behavior.

In the case of NMMH, a similar principle of being a civilized tourist is shared among participants. Participants clearly understand who are rules-breakers and what behaviors violate social etiquette:

> I believe speaking loudly, running and chasing would be considered disrespectful and inappropriate. Generally, when parents bring their children to visit such places, children may be more playful and unaware of the significance of the history. However, if parents intend to conduct patriotic education for their children, they should keep an eye on their children’s behavior. (FW-NMMH-020)

Other participants also shared similar understandings, such as, “I am referring specifically to those people who make noise and those parents who failed to regulate their

children's behavior." (FW-JRM-011) and "It is not appropriate to speak loudly or engage in disrespectful behavior. … Those who make noises in the museum." (FW-NMMH-003).

Many of the participants believed they had behaved themselves in a socially acceptable way and visited the museum in an orderly manner. One participant in the NMMH said, "Do you think we need them (security guards)? Does it mean we won't follow the rules without their presence? It doesn't seem like that." (FW-NMMH-002). One participant commented about our walking interviews: "The conversations we had in the museum are fine... I think what we did in the museum is fine, as long as we have shown respect to other visitors." (FW-NMMH-003).

5.4 Teleoaffective Structures

Teleoaffective structures refer to a range of purposive elements of practices and the desirable ends that a practice is oriented to. In the context of this study, visitors come to achieve various goals. These goals distinguish visitors who are able to get rich emotional experiences through the performance of something emotional from those who are less capable.

5.4.1 Leisure-Oriented

A *leisure-oriented* teleology refers to a range of purposes, desirable outcomes, and prospects that people seek in a typical leisure travel. Relaxation and enjoyment are mentioned by participants of both museums. Comparatively, a larger proportion of participants in JRM listed leisure-related purposes as what they wanted to achieve in their museum visitation. For example, one of the participants mentioned the museum visiting purposes of his accompanying family members:

> They went there to play… Owing to their education level and their acquired historical knowledge… they don't read a lot of history books. They might not have much

knowledge enrichment (after visiting the museum). Perhaps they think it is fun and come to take a look. (FW-JRM-009).

Another participant who visited the JRM twice recalled the purpose of his first visit: "It was a school-organized tour at either the anniversary of the country's or CCP's establishment. It was near the national college entrance examination. The teachers aimed to let us relax, similar to a vacation." (FW-JRM-007).

Although relaxation and enjoyment seem to be less appropriate purposes in relation to NMMH owing to the atrocity it represents, some visitors indeed visited the NMMH for leisure-related purposes. For instance, FW-NMMH-008 observed that: "There are increasing number of people come here for sightseeing, relaxation or entertainment nowadays." One elderly also said: "We came here to have a look, mainly for relaxation and fun." (FW-NMMH-007). Another participant in NMMH also observed a similar phenomenon:

> Many tourists come to Nanjing with a mindset of enjoyment and leisure… They view the museum as one of the tourist attractions in Nanjing and don't necessarily perceive it as a place for receiving patriotic education. They subconsciously consider it as a place to have fun. (O-NMMH-001)

Apart from hedonic-related reasons, some other visitors take advantage of the museum visit as an opportunity to fulfill the need for socialization. Representative comments include: "The main purpose is to stay with my friend and to ensure he has an enjoyable time." (FW-JRM-007); "I might come again if my wife and friends invite me." (FW-NMMH-012); and "I am not very willing to come by myself because I feel it's too heavy. However, if my friends who visit Nanjing ask me to take them here and have fun, I will fulfill their request." (FW-NMMH-013).

For the above two types of visitors, the history associated with the museum has not much to do with the teleological ends they wish to achieve. In these circumstances, the museum

is being appropriated by visitors as a leisure or social space. Thus, tourists do not necessarily emotionally invest in the related history.

5.4.2 Knowledge Enrichment

Knowledge enrichment is a common purpose mentioned by many participants. Some participants believed the museum visit allowed them to acquire more knowledge about the history. Some typical comments are: "The main purpose of visiting the museum is to gain an understanding of the historical and cultural developments related to Jinggangshan." (FW-JRM-005); "The main objective is to learn about the history… to know what happened on Jinggangshan during the two years and four months (of Jinggangshan revolution)." (FW-JRM-008). Some participants in the NMMH also stated they came to learn more about history, for example: "Because I want to learn more and go through again the content inside the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing." (FW-NMMH-005) and "I wish to understand some real facts behind the Nanjing Massacre, or in other words, to expand my knowledge." (O-HNNM-001).

Participants believed a museum visit deepened their impression of history. For example, FW-JRM-006 shared how the goal of learning is achieved: "I combine the theoretical knowledge I've learned (at school) with what I saw in the museum, such as those images being exhibited. It helps deepen my understanding and leave a stronger impression." (FW-JRM-006). One participant believed that even a quick and non-immersive museum visit allows him to improve his factual knowledge of the past:

> Each time I visit a museum, I remember certain things. When I visit another museum next time, I can remember some other facts. Visiting a museum resembles reading a book for me, as each museum visit adds to my overall knowledge. (FW-JRM-011).

Many participants who reported a less intense emotional experience during the museum visit treat the museum as a place that facilitates effective learning. One participant in the JRM mentioned:

> Nowadays, there are many themed museums with a specific focus, allowing visitors to quickly immerse into the visit… If you go to each historical site, you may not have enough time. Museums offer various resources, such as electronic audio guides. They also offer multimedia experiences by incorporating sound, light and visual effects. All these provide visitors with a systematic and efficient way to gain knowledge about history. (FW-JRM-001)

Another participant believed visiting a museum is more effective than learning history from books, as he said,

> The exhibits in the museum provide visitors with a more tangible impression of history. History books involve mainly textual descriptions and can be somewhat abstract. Even for the same historical events, you may not have a vivid impression by reading a history book. However, visiting a museum offers a lasting impression. I believe museums play a crucial role as educational resources for Chinese people to learn about their own history. (FW-JRM-011)

5.4.3 To Feel and to be Affected by Our History

A number of participants mentioned they come to the museum in order to "feel something" and purposefully look for emotional experiences. One of the participants said that he visited the museum "to feel the history (*感受历史*)" (FW-JRM-005). He further explicated, "It means to learn about history and stories of related historical figures, and then to relate those stories to oneself or phenomena in our society, and get some implications." (FW-JRM-005). This purpose is somehow different from knowledge enrichment. Learning could range from

superficial to critical learning. “To feel the history” is a kind of critical learning that visitors get some implications or insights from the history. A CCP member who visited the JRM wanted to acquire the revolutionary spirit in order to inspire himself:

> Learning about history is not enough. We need to learn something through knowing the past… We know there is a kind of Jinggangshan spirit…This spirit gives us a lot of inspiration… History is something we cannot witness again. The implications of history in the present – the related values or spirit related to a specific period of history, are what really matter. (FW-JRM-002).

Another participant also aims to get some insights out of the museum visit. Although she has been to the same museum several times, she did not lose interest in it, as she shared: “I believe everyone’s mindset changes according to their different life stages or social environment. So, every time I visit a museum, I wish to discover some new narratives and gain novel feelings and implications.” (FW-NMMH-004).

Apart from coming “to feel the history,” some participants obviously visit the museum to obtain some emotions. Scholars understand that heritage sites and museums are places where people go in order to feel and to be emotional (Poria et al., 2003; Smith, 2021). A participant in the JRM, who greatly admired Mao Zedong, told me: “When it comes to revolutionary history, you can actually learn about it through reading history books and supplementary materials. You don’t need to physically visit the museum. I personally come here to experience the “aura” or essence of the martyrs.” (FW-JRM-004). Another participant also pinpointed that it is not a must to visit the museum if a person only wants to enrich their knowledge. He explained:

> If you want to understand this period of history and delve into its details, it is not a must to physically visit this place. Nowadays, there is a wealth of information available on the internet. You can gather a vast amount of information without coming to his

memorial hall in Nanjing. However, when you actually pay a visit to this museum, you can have a comprehensive sensory experience…. I mainly come here in person to feel with the history. (O-NMMH-003)

From the above quote, it is noticeable that some visitors pay a visit to a museum in order to achieve something emotional or affective. The following participant's comment hinted at the emotional experience they wanted to obtain. FW-NMMH-016 said, for example: “After visiting a museum, you can obtain a kind of experience. Those feelings of depression, sadness and anguish configured my museum visitation. I feel that the museum visitation is rewarding.” Additionally, one of the participants deliberately said: “I want to revisit the past. Also, to experience the affective atmosphere of the museum. Particularly the sorrow and solemn feelings. That is, to experience the gravity of death associated with the Nanjing Massacre.” (FW-NMMH-014).

Smith (2021) conceptualized heritage visits as emotionally charged human actions or a kind of affective practice according to Wetherell’s (2012) definition, of which visitors performatively use the past to construct meanings for the present. The teleoaffective end of “to feel and to be affected” seems to echo with such arguments that heritage visits could be an affective practice since some visitors distinctively look for an emotional experience and to search for meanings through learning from the emotional past.

Chapter Six: Tasks, Projects and Practices of Emotional Red Tourism Experience

This chapter provides a detailed account of tourists' activities, which comprise the practice of emotional red tourism experience. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section examines the various "tasks and projects" visitors engaged in. This answers research question five: "What doings and sayings are involved in enacting an emotional red museum visit?" The second section integrates findings from Sections 5.1 to 5.4 and 6.1 to exemplify the overarching affective practice identified in this study.

6.1 Doings and Sayings

Section 6.1 provides a detailed account of findings relevant to Schatzki's (2002) notion of doings and sayings. Practice theories suggest that practices are hierarchical sets of doings and sayings, which Schatzki (2002) refers to tasks and projects, respectively. Sets of bodily doings and sayings make up a task, while a project usually comprises several tasks (Nicolini, 2012). A practice is thus an organization of the various doings, sayings, tasks and projects hanging together in a distinctive and meaningful manner (Nicolini, 2012). In the two study sites, visitors engaged in different hierarchically organized doings and sayings that are central to the phenomenon of experiencing red tourism emotionally. This subsection serves to sketch the configurations of doings and sayings following the sequence of "preparing to be emotional," "becoming emotional," and "being emotional."

6.1.1 Preparing to be Emotional - Anticipating the Emotionality of a Museum Visit

Anticipating the emotionality of a museum visit is the process by which participants prepare themselves for the upcoming museum visit by indicating desired and possible outcomes. These desirable and possible outcomes are not necessarily affective/emotional in

nature. Some participants envisioned how they would feel in the museum and demarcate the possible affective experiences one could obtain, while some did not. The act of anticipation is dependent on the teleoaffective ends a visitor sets for himself prior to the visit, his previous experience, and basic knowledge of related history he holds.

The performance of anticipating an emotional experience or possible affective encounters is often performed by participants prior to the actual museum visit. A number of participants seem to be holding clear expectations about what emotions they can experience before the actual visit. Representative comments are, for example: “Some of my colleagues, friends, including my family members visited this museum. Overall, they commented that most visitors will feel blue after paying a visit.” (FW-NMMH-019); and “Before entering the museum, I expected that I will come out with a sense of grief.” (FW-JRM-006).

In contrast, similar to how FW-NMMH-008 behaved, not all visitors envision the affective qualities of their upcoming museum experience. He explicated: “I don’t have much anticipation (about how I will feel). I usually only obtain a sense of immersion after taking a look at the visual collections in the designated sequence rather than plucking something out of thin air.” Another participant, who is a university lecturer, stated: “I don’t have many expectations about getting any emotional experiences… I have been engaging in many party-building activities, so I don’t think I will have great emotional responses in the museum.” (FW-JRM-009)

Anticipating was deemed prominent in preparing a visitor to obtain an intense emotional experience. Successfully anticipating a rich emotional experience signifies visitors’ willingness and readiness to emotionally invest in a museum visit. This argument is deliberately supported by the following quote. A participant mentioned she anticipated a sad journey before the beginning of the museum visit:

> Compared to other memorial halls or museums, this place is characterized by a "dark aura." This aura facilitates visitors to immerse themselves in a serious state of mind, preparing and cultivating moods for the museum visit. It is possible that before entering the museum, you may be in a relaxed and even joyful state. However, once you arrive in this dark atmosphere, you will know that it's time to become serious and confront a sorrowful history. (FW-NMNH-014)

The act of anticipation begins prior to the actual museum visit. Most importantly, the emotions visitors anticipate organize their future performance – the emotional responses or engagement when they are actually walking through the exhibition. These arguments are distinctively elucidated in the following participant comments:

> I feel that when we visit this museum, we should enter with a somber mood because it is a memorial hall for our fallen compatriots. We should not be excited but rather maintain a sense of solemnity. I noticed a place with people selling chrysanthemums at the entrance for commemorative purposes. This reminded us that we should prepare ourselves with a feeling of compassion and sorrow before entering the museum. When we were actually walking in the museum, I believed we should maintain a relatively somber and burdening emotional state rather than being excited. Of course, during our visit, there were exhibits related to our victory in the war that induced moments of upliftment. However, these moments of upliftment arise within the context of a negative emotional being, not really because something joyous happened. (FW-NMMH-015)

This narrative also shows how the red tourism experience might not simply be emotionally positive, in contrast to what earlier research proposed (Wang et al., 2020; Zheng, 2016). Layers of positive and negative emotions jointly shape the contour of red tourism experiences. As FW-NMMH-015 described, some emotions are intricately intertwined with negative and positive aspects. This is consistent with the findings of Liu et al. (2018) that red

tourism not only stirs up positive emotions but also negative emotions, as well as positive-based negative emotions.

However, the affective experiences visitors anticipate do not necessarily equate to what one will eventually feel. Even though participants already anticipated a sorrowful experience before the visit, they were surprised by the fact that the extent of sadness they experienced *in situ* is qualitatively different from what they anticipated, for instance:

> I feel that when you come to a place like this, you already have certain expectations in your mind, although they may be vague. When you actually step into this place, seeing its architecture and those sculptures, it's like the prologue of a movie. It draws you into its atmosphere gradually. I recalled that the actual museum visit allowed a more immersive experience than I expected. You then realize what you anticipated is just an anticipation. You never know how sad you would be if you hadn't visited this place. I was extremely sad at that time. (FW-NMMH-005).

Participants anticipated the possible affective experience by predicting what is being displayed in the museum. Knowledge of the related history plays a role in visitors' performance of anticipation. Knowing what is being exhibited in the museum, visitors can grasp more concretely what emotions might be evoked. FW-NMMH-003 has lived in Nanjing for years, and she considers herself to have a rich understanding of the Nanjing Massacre. She expected to feel sorrow and depression before visiting the museum: "Being a Nanjing local, you are more familiar with Nanjing Massacre. Before entering the museum, you will know the museum experience will be charged with sadness and depression." (FW-NMMH-003)

Being a CCP member who have been receiving ideological education for more than three weeks in the Central School of Communist Youth League of China before visiting the JRM, FW-JRM-002 was knowledgeable about what he might see in the museum. He seems

prepared to emotionally engage in this museum visit since he anticipated that he could listen to stories of martyrs which are heart-touching:

> From the moment I entered the museum, I actually held high expectations. I hoped to listen to compelling stories and learn more about prominent historical figures and various events that took place during the Jinggangshan revolution…. I believed there should be something emotionally engaging that I could encounter.

Somewhat similar, FW-JRM-005 had the following expectations regarding the stories and contents of the museum: "There might be stories of martyrs sacrificing themselves bravely for the sake of their comrades or for the victory of battles. These stories symbolize their spirit of fearlessness towards death. I expected to encounter these kinds of narratives." With reference to these expected contents, he derived the possible emotional experience of his visit, as he said: "I have prepared to feel solemn and respectful because I knew the museum collections, the narratives and stories documented are related to martyrs who fought courageously for our country."

Similar to other social practices, the act of anticipating is learned and shaped by former experiences. Previous red tourism experiences influence participants' capability to anticipate. As an experienced red tourist who visited numerous museums and memorial halls in China, O-NMMH-001 appeared to be clear about the boundaries of the affective atmosphere of different red tourism sites:

> Red tourism sites are typically divided into several types. The most solemn and formal one, such as the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall …, where visitors go not for fun or enjoyment. They go there to commemorate … Another type of red tourism sites are those located and integrated into the destination, being one of the tourist attractions. For example, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall is a typical example… The level of "redness" of such sites may be slightly lower compared to the Mao Zedong Memorial

Hall. The lowest type of red tourism sites are those poorly managed and designed, where you have to pay to enter. (O-NMMH-001)

Another participant, FW-JRM-011, often visits different red museums in his leisure time. He is familiar with the exhibition content one could expect. His familiarity with red tourism museums is reflected in his following comment: “Most of these museums generally follow a coherent narrative framework. Also, the items being displayed, the narratives and interpretations of each period of history are basically identical.” He described how he anticipated and set his expectations of a museum visit by judging the size and architectural design of the museum: “Usually, before entering a museum, I will take a quick look at the scale of the museum. If it is large in scale, I would expect to find many interesting things inside. However, if it’s small, I might feel a bit disappointed and tend to believe it is just a place that wastes people’s time.”

In contrast, those who have less experience of visiting similar places appeared less competent in anticipating the experience of the museum visit. A 20-year-old girl visited a military museum in Beijing a few years ago, and the JRM is her second visit to a red museum. She said she could not imagine how her visit would feel like before the actual visit. She explained: “Since it is my first time visiting Jinggangshan, I can’t imagine what this place used to be like back in the time of revolutionary era. Thus, I don’t have any particular feelings before the museum visit.” (O-JRM-001). In a similar vein, FW-JRM-004 explained why he failed to anticipate any emotional outcomes of his upcoming museum visit: “I rarely visit museums, and my level of education is not high. As you know, I only graduated from junior high school. So, my expectations for the museum visit may be different from those who are educated. I don’t have any expectations before entering the museum, not at all.”

However, even when visitors have performed anticipation, not all participants expected the museum visit to be an emotional one. Some of them anticipated the visit to be more

functional than emotional. Based on the different teleological ends participants aim to achieve through their museum visit, the anticipated emotional intensity of the museum experience could be totally different. The following three narratives sketch how plausibly different teleological ends set the tone for museum visits with different emotional intensities.

Narrative 1: Anticipating an informational but emotionally undemanding journey

As a museum learner, FW-JRM-009's museum visit is teleologically oriented towards knowledge enrichment. He delineated his purposes for visiting the museum: "My main purpose was to learn about that particular period of history, and also bring my family members there to let them learn… I am more interested in knowing and revisiting that period of history." For him, a museum visit fits perfectly for knowledge enrichment since he stated, "Museums are places objectively exhibiting the history." FW-JRM-009 anticipated that he might not have a specific emotional experience, as he said, "I don't think I will have great emotional responses in the museum." His denial of having an affective experience is apparent: "As a museum, the primary focus should be on providing visitors with a recap of the history… an emphasis on authenticity. It may not necessarily evoke strong emotional responses to its visitors." His accounts show that anticipating the museum visit as an informational journey that should be conducted with an objective mind constrains his willingness to emotionally connect with the museum.

Narrative 2: Envisioning a relaxed and enjoyable "rough walk"

It is observed that people who aim to obtain a hedonic experience in the two museums usually fail to acquire a deep and meaningful emotional experience in the study context. O-JRM-005, as a fun seeker, only invested limited emotional energy in his museum visit. He visited the JRM during the occasion of a company business trip to Jiangxi Province. Although he seemed reluctant to talk about his job, I have learned that he is working in a government-related organization in the southern part of China. He recalled that his organization had

arranged a three-day business trip packed with a tight schedule. Since he and his colleagues were able to squeeze some time to participate in tourism activities on the last day, they got in touch with the visitor office of the museum and arranged a guided tour. They chose to visit the museum because they believed the museum is of great educational value and is a representative spot in terms of its related historical events. He described:

> The historical background of the museum is indeed very rich. It is located in a significant place, which is Jinggangshan City in Jiangxi Province. It is regarded as one of the birthplaces of revolution and the origin of the "red spirit." So, whether from its geographical location or its associated history, it is said to be a red museum with high educational value. (O-JRM-005)

Even though he knows how important and meaningful this museum visit could have been, he anticipated a relaxing and hassle-free museum visit which do not require much emotional labor or investment:

> We were very busy in the first two days of the business trip. On the third day, the opportunity to visit a museum came up, which seemed nice because it allowed us to relax a bit. We didn't have to intensely focus on our work… It felt like going on a tour group during a vacation, where you don't have to worry about anything… It is like taking a break to alleviate the stress stored in the previous two days.

When he was asked to describe any of his emotional episodes related to the museum collections, he stated, "Because we went through the museum very quickly… We paid a very rough visit and didn't remember many things." Furthermore, he came across the photographs he produced. The descriptions he provided echo the purposes he set for his visit. He regarded most photos he took at the museum as "tourist photos" by reasserting that he "just to take some photos like a tourist." Figure 5.6 is a photo provided by him during our sit-down interviews, representing one of his memorable moments during this museum visit. The following

conversations demonstrated the possible causation between holding an image of a relaxed and enjoyable rough walk and emotional non-investment in the recreated scene.

O-JRM-005:	I took this photo because I felt the diorama, lighting, and everything else looked really good, so I photographed it.
Interviewer:	How did you think, or what emotions did you have when you were looking at this diorama?
O-JRM-005:	The first impression is that these two leaders were particularly young at that time, which you can also see in the photo … I also think they were very down-to-earth. They were wearing very common clothing and shoes … Similar to how peasants usually dress themselves, they are very down-to-earth.
Interviewer:	… After looking at such a diorama, did you have any special emotions or feelings being triggered? Or was it more like, "Okay, I gazed it?"
O-JRM-005:	There weren't any specific emotional changes for me. There were quite a lot of such things in the museum. I aimed to pay a rough visit only. It was more about relaxation than deep emotional engagement.

Figure 6.1 *A Diorama Depicting Mao Zedong and Zhu De Carrying Grains into the Jinggangshan with the Army*

Note. Photo by O-JRM-005.

From his account, it is obvious that even though he had made detailed observations about the diorama and acknowledged the great leadership style practiced by the two former leaders, he still appeared to be emotionally uninvolved. He was more involved in appreciating the aesthetic aspects of the diorama rather than engaging himself with the story being showcased (see Figure 6.1). What people do depends on how they are prepared to act, how things matter to them and how they will proceed to achieve things that matter to them (Schatzki,

2001). Since a “rough walk” imbued with a sense of relaxation was what mattered to him, he proceeded with his museum visit with limited emotional involvement, as well as taking photos that began with a vacation mindset. These are what makes sense for him to achieve leisure-related teleological ends.

Narrative 3: Imagining an emotionally demanding journey

Through performing anticipation, FW-NMMH-004 expected her museum visit will be charged with unpleasant and sorrowful feelings, which in turn get her prepared to be emotionally engaged in the upcoming museum visit: “I envisioned that I might experience the feeling of heavy-hearted or sorrow, even encounter some sad stories inside the museum.” Having such anticipated sadness, she suggested paying attention to stories of atrocity is one of the activities that fit with the unpleasant and sorrowful experience she anticipated:

> Actually, I think the main factor that affects your emotions when you visit this museum is the depth of understanding you had about this event before coming here. After all, when visiting this memorial hall, you must already have some prior knowledge relating to the atrocities committed by the Japanese army. Your understanding of this event and the nature of the past already informs you that visiting this place is not a joyful experience. Coming here, you should discover and remember stories that are extraordinary and tragic. (FW-NMMH-004)

Also, from her comments, it is clear that the basic knowledge of related history participants acquired affects their anticipation of the museum experience. Drawing upon the above comments, it is posited that anticipating something emotional before conducting the actual visit gets visitors more prepared and ready to invest themselves emotionally in the upcoming museum visit. Besides, what was being anticipated provided a guide for visitors regarding how they should feel and behave during the actual museum visit.

Affective experiences could occur before any experience is being consumed (Preece et al., 2022). Anticipating an emotionally intense experience is what some visitors do and how they begin to feel a place. The performance of anticipation is reliant on what visitors know about red tourism, their knowledge acquired about related history, and what their desired outcomes are. These propositions regarding the properties of anticipating resonate with Goulding and Pressey's (2023) idea that our affective experience of a place is "grounded in predispositions – on what we know, and what we expect" (p. 5). As shown in the above three excerpts, the different teleological ends possibly bring about corresponding projects that are themed with distinctive emotions and levels of emotion investment (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 *Possible Combinations of Teleological Ends with Emotional Labor*

Teleological end	**Project**	**Emotions**	**Requirement of emotional labor**
Knowledge enrichment	An informational but emotionally undemanding journey	Apathetic	None or little
Leisure-oriented	A relaxed and enjoyable "rough walk"	Hedonic based	None or little
To feel and to be affected	An emotionally demanding journey	Patriotic emotions (e.g., humiliation, pain, grief, anger, admiration)	Relatively deeper than the other two projects

Anticipating what experience the visitor him/herself desires is essential since it gives shape to the upcoming visit with a mental image of what the experience should feel like. The act of anticipating an emotional museum visit prepares participants to engage emotionally and, in turn, results in an emotion-rich visit. Affect is the result of "human work involved in being emotional and being affected" (Wetherell, 2015, p. 146). What is suggested here is that in order to feel emotions, we need to invest our body and mind to accomplish tasks that will give rise to certain emotions. Affect is crucial to the experience of red tourism because emotionally

investing in the visit through different ways is what visitors need to partake in if they were to be entangled with the histories and stories documented in the museum in an embodied manner. Therefore, I tried to sort out those who are more readily to emotionally invest from those who are not. Interestingly, these different people anticipated quite a distinctive experience of their visit before its actual commencement. In short, anticipating an emotional museum experience prepares a visitor to emotionally engage with the museum and its collections. This is what participants *do* to prepare themselves *to feel*.

6.1.2 Becoming Emotional - Onsite Affective Experiencing

"Visitors do things to actualize affect" is the main argument of this section. Affect is something people do, not just how we feel (Scheer, 2012). Actualizing denotes a range of performances in which anticipated affects become concrete, which is regarded as being bodily registered. Anticipated affects are being actualized and materialized through various performances, such as employing suitable tools or materials to emote, giving affective meanings to our sensory experiences, and (re)creating narratives to mobilize emotions. Successful actualization of affects depends on the knowledge and skills of the practitioners, mainly their imaginations and their emotional competence. Participants must be able to serve the desired emotional outcomes with their performances in a correct and acceptable way. Three different modalities of actualization were identified.

6.1.2.1 Sensuously Immersing: Vision, Hear, Touch and Smell

Many visitors said that they obtained various sensory experiences during the visit. Four out of five senses, except the sense of taste, were found experienced by participants. Most of the reported sensory experiences are associated with dioramas being displayed in the two museums. Dioramas are commonly used in the two museums to recreate and depict historical

events. They offer primarily visual (i.e., effects of illumination) and auditory stimuli (i.e., the sound of machine guns and conversations between historical figures). Some participants pointed out that the use of these sensory-based dioramas is less common in other museums:

> Other museums, well, they don't offer this kind of auditory experience. They seldom have these dioramas with sounds that make you feel like "you're there." Inside the museum, I remembered the sounds of bombings and the sounds of machine guns' rapid gunfire. These are different from other museums and help visitors to engage their emotions. (FW-NMMH-014)

> It (the JRM) utilized advanced technologies and incorporated texts, photos, audiovisual elements and lighting effects to present historical facts. I think this exhibition method is excellent … I feel that perhaps other museums or the ones I have visited cannot offer similar experiences. … I am astonished: "Wow! It can be designed in this way. Wow! Particular historical scenes are being recreated vividly using the diorama." I think they did a great job in using the sound and light effects, didn't they? ... It gives visitors a sense of aesthetic enjoyment. It's really beautifully executed. (FW-JRM-009)

Most participants are amazed by these multi-sensory dioramas. Representative quotes are: "(Before my visit), I've heard that this exhibition is well designed and managed. It incorporates a lot of diorama installations that offer immersive experiences." (FW-NMMH-020); and "Multimedia technologies were being utilized (in the JRM). It deeply impresses people with its sound effects and lighting, providing a faithful and authentic recreation of the historical scenes." (FW-JRM-003).

Nearly all visitors recalled that they obtained some sensory experiences during the museum visit. However, not all participants are being emotionally moved by the diorama in its intended way:

> (I remember) that recreated scene, that diorama relating to air assault. Those sounds, the bombing sounds, were quite impactful. I felt as if I were personally on the scene. The illumination was dimmed, and you can barely see your surroundings…. It felt like I shared the same fate as those citizens, which is a tragic ending. That's how I was feeling. (FW-NMMH-014)

> Do you still remember the diorama depicting the battle of Guanghua Gate's defense? … I know that this kind of installation was man-made, and I am quite emotionally disconnected. I feel completely indifferent about it when I encounter something like that. (FW-NMMH-005)

The first quote clearly shows that the sensory experience offered by the diorama evoked an intense emotional experience, while the second quote does not appear so. The above two quotes open up an interesting question about how sensory experience gives rise to human emotions. It is argued that even though visitors encounter similar sensory experiences in museums, the performance of particular sensory-related emotional work determines whether an intensive emotional experience will result. I term this sensory-related emotional work performed by visitors as "sensuously immersing," referring to the performance of emotionalizing our own sensory experience.

Most participants are emotionally affected by these purposefully designed dioramas, which offer rich sensory experiences. The rich sensory experiences engendered by sound effects, illumination, and dioramas smooth the path for visitors to immerse themselves and emotionally connect with the exhibitions, as one participant stated:

> The museum actually incorporates various audiovisual tools and technologies. For visitors, it provides an enriched experience compared to the traditional exhibiting approach, such as looking at photos and reading texts. If one's empathetic ability is not particularly high, it can be difficult to truly comprehend the despair and emotions of

> those who were involved in the Nanjing Massacre… I feel that the technological advancements implemented in the exhibition have indeed played a significant role in enhancing the overall museum experience. (FW-NMMH-004)

Both FW-NMMH-014 and FW-JRM-006 gave more detailed descriptions of how these multi-sensory experiences offered by the dioramas stir up their emotions:

> (I remember) that recreated scene, that diorama relating to air assault. Those sounds, the bombing sounds, were quite impactful. I felt as if I were personally on the scene. The illumination was dimmed, and you can barely see your surroundings. There were flames created by the use of light, simulating the scene of burning caused by the air raid bombing. The wall was filled with ruinous holes that seemed to be caused by an explosion. It made me wonder, if I were there, where could I escape to? What should I do? I felt I was completely absorbed into the scene. I felt terrified. I realized how small and powerless I was in front of such a disaster. There was no way to resist or fight back. It felt like I shared the same fate as those citizens, which is a tragic ending. That's how I was feeling. (FW-NMMH-014)

> When I first entered the museum, there was a modern art installation… It was a scene of a jungle, which was a three-dimensional space created using advanced technologies… When you enter the museum, you feel like you are walking from a modern world into an untamed jungle... You will then obtain a sense of vicariousness. Afterward, it becomes easier to emotionally connect with the cultural relics you see in the museum. (FW-JRM-006)

Although these dioramas are recreated based on actual events, they are just an inauthentic recreation to some visitors. A small number of participants expressed indifference and were emotionally disengaged when encountering these multi-sensory dioramas. The issue

of using staged authenticity to engage visitors is an issue in many museums (Tiberghien & Lennon, 2022; Walby & Piché, 2015). One participant shared:

> I didn't feel that it created a truly immersive experience for me. It didn't give me a sense of "actually being there," as it lacked certain elements. Personally, I think the recreation of the scenes fell short of a sense of reality as compared to movies, lacking a sense of vicariousness. (FW-NMMH-005)

Some participants clearly understand these dioramas are a form of "staged authenticity" and are reluctant to invest their sensible bodies. The idea of authenticity clearly relates to participants' enactment of emotional museum experiences. Failing or unwilling to bodily and sensuously connect oneself to the staged authenticity is why some participants failed to emotionalize their sensory experiences. FW-NMMH-005 described how she distanced herself from these dioramas:

> I prefer to quickly move on to the next exhibit. I wouldn't choose to stay. It is just artificial, very fake, as if someone deliberately wanted to stage or create something. But actually, I initially knew it was fake, and this whole thing is staged. I cannot accept things that are deliberately fabricated. Regarding my emotional state, I feel somewhat disgusted. I was repulsed by it (the diorama). (FW-NMMH-005)

Those who are affected by the two museums are tourists who experience the sites "at an immediately bodily, enfleshed, sensuous level" (Golańska, 2015, p. 778). As evident from the above quotes, in order to emotionalize our sensory experiences obtained from the dioramas, visitors need to make use of their sensible bodies to interact sensuously with the dioramas.

A participant in the NMMH described one of her emotional episodes by referring to how the surrounding area of the museum is themed and the tone of its color (see Figure 6.2):

Figure 6.2 *A Large Outdoor Display Indicating the Number of Victims in the Nanjing Massacre*

Note. Photo by author.

> Because of its overall color, the color tone, including those sculptures, and these numbers (the number "300,000" is written on a huge wall in different languages). It will make you recall the related documentaries that you have watched. It is what we call "*chujing shengqing* (*触景生情*)."[8] (FW-NMMH-001)

Another participant also noticed,

> Because that particular history is not a cheerful one, it is a very heavy social fact. If you come here (the NMMH), it may not make you feel anything joyful. The overall design of the museum is predominantly black and white; the outer walls and gates, even the illumination inside, create this kind of (uncheerful) atmosphere. So, I find it hard to obtain any positive and uplifting mood. (FW-NMMH-003)

Yellow and red, which are brighter and warmer colors, were found to relate to positive emotions of high arousal, including joy and pride. In contrast, negative moods (i.e., sadness and fear) are thought to be associated with dark colors (Jonauskaite et al., 2019). However,

[8] *Chujing shengqing* (*触景生情*) is a common Chinese phrase in daily conversations, which means "being emotionally moved by what one sees."

seeing the color itself is insufficient to unpack why visitors feel sad in my studied context. The above testimonies argue that in order to be affected by what one sees (e.g., the theme color of a museum), participants need not only a sensible body to sensuously connect with the themed space but also at least some basic knowledge relating to the history represented by the exhibition.

Imagination is also crucial for the process of emotionalizing our sensory experience. Participants believed the multi-sensory dioramas in the two museums allowed them to immerse themselves and engage their imagination. One participant asserted, "There is an immersive installation (diorama) that recreates the scene after the bombing. The scene it recreated looks really real. It triggers your imagination, and then you feel like you are truly being transported back to that time and space." (FW-NMMH-016). Another participant also agreed with how multi-sensory experiences evoke human imaginaries: "I feel like the overall interior design, including the light effects and its atmosphere, make me easily imagine and reflect upon events in the past." (FW-NMMH-012).

Although imagination is being activated, some participants still seem incapable of becoming emotional even if they tried. Lacking first-hand experience of living an unpeaceful life, FW-NMMH-010 said he was not really being emotionally impacted by the diorama:

> I really can't immerse myself in that kind of recreated scene. Even TV dramas or films, no matter how realistic they are…. All the personal experiences I have do not enable me to recreate such scenes (in my mind). That's why I feel discontented. Even your own imagination cannot satisfy your wish to connect with the scene. (FW-NMMH-010)

These contrasting findings presented above relating to participants' diverse emotional engagement with the sensory-stimulating dioramas reflect the concept of performative authenticity. Performative authenticity refers to issues of relatedness, underpinning that authenticity is a relative concept depending on whether tourists can authenticate something by

creating an affective and/or sensuous connection to it (Knudsen & Waade, 2010; Zhu, 2012). Some participants bodily connected with the dioramas through their senses and were able to re-enact past situations experienced by the imagined others. This is similar to what Knudsen and Waade (2010) described as "an empathetic understanding of the other through the body" (p. 14). In contrast, those who refused or failed to bodily connect with dioramas are not being affected. Therefore, I argue that the emotional responses that are elicited by these sensory-rich dioramas are not a simple causation between stimulus and bodily responses in the form of felt emotions. Instead, it is something visitors practice by incorporating their sensible body, their knowledge of related history, their first-hand experience, emotional competence and so on, to create a kind of affective and sensuous relatedness. That is how emotions are being evoked sensuously and one of the ways that visitors enact emotional experiences in the two museums being studied.

After presenting visual and auditory sensory experiences, we now turn to the tactile and olfactory dimensions. Haptic and olfactory sensory experiences are rarely experienced by participants. Perhaps it is because most exhibits in the two study sites are text-based, and the remaining are dioramas. Exhibitions of museums should "allow people to see, ideally even touch, taste, feel and hear, real things from the real world in an appropriate setting" (Falk & Dierking, 2013, p. 112). Even though intentionally created opportunities for visitors to smell and touch are rare in both museums, some participants are still able to mobilize their haptic and olfactory ways of sensing.

Some sensations are more than representational. Participants are sometimes incapable of translating their sensations into concrete verbal accounts. The bodily sensation of discomfort is what participants commonly experienced, haptically and olfactorily. For instance, one participant mentioned how the uncomfortable smell of human remains makes her feel sad:

It's the smell of bones. I think you know the smell I am referring to. I can't describe it

perfectly. How should I put it? It is a bit stinky. It smells a bit rotten. (The victims) are really pitiful. (FW-NMMH-013)

In the NMMH, uncomfortable weather is the most common tactile sensation mentioned by participants who visited the NMMH. For instance, FW-NMMH-04 commented that the grey sky and drizzling weather augmented her somber mood:

> Oh, we came to visit this museum in such a weather. The sky is so dark. The key is visiting his memorial hall in this kind of weather will make you feel even more empathetic. The weather set off the mood of the museum visit. (FW-NMMH-004)

It seems that bad weather influences participants' emotional responses. However, I understand the relationship between haptic sensory of weather and emotional experience the other way round. The following quotes hint at how it is possible:

> As you can see from the photo, the weather on that day was a bit gloomy. This photo actually summarizes my feeling quite well. I felt a bit stuffy and a bit gloomy. At the same time, my mood was rather low and somewhat depressed. This reflects the overall feeling I had during the visit. (O-NMMH-003)
>
> The temperature in Nanjing had just dropped, and the weather was a significant factor that affected my experience. As you can realize, there were hardly any trees around the entrance of the museum… When you stand there, the wind blows on your face, hits your body, and wraps you up. You would feel that the weather, the rain, and the environment remind you of the Qingming Festival when you go back to your hometown to pay respects to your ancestors. It creates a somewhat melancholic mood. (FW-NMMH-004)

It is posited that people "authenticate the atmosphere by taking part in its emergence" (Preece et al., 2022, p. 368). Participants in this study give affective meanings to the haptic cues available in their surroundings rather than being passively affected. This is particularly

clear when O-NMMH-03 believed the weather condition he sensed was a useful metaphor to represent his feelings and how FW-NMMH-004 juxtaposed her haptic sensations with her past memories and emotions of ancestor worshipping. The atmosphere in participants' accounts is something participants selectively picked up. They draw on the weather conditions and the associated sensations they bodily experienced to authenticate and make sense of their own emotional responses, which were governed by the emotional norms of the site.

In the case of JRM, it exhibited a number of dioramas, and visitors were physically distanced by the fence in front of the dioramas. Thus, visitors in JRM often need to depend on their visual sense. The different senses of humans are interconnected, and they interact to a certain degree (Pink, 2010). Haptic sensory experiences appeared to be linked with visual senses in both museums. Guns and cannons are the most common type of exhibits in JRM. Through gazing upon guns and cannons using their observation skills, some participants seem able to experience physical discomfort. One participant described:

> I saw some rifles used by members of the Chinese Communist Party and farmers in the Revolutionary era. I can tell that they are long and heavy. They are really long and completely different from modern firearms. You can tell that they are very heavy by looking at the parts made of thick pieces of iron. When I was looking at these rifles, I could feel how tiring it was to carry such long and heavy rifles to the battlefield. (O-JRM-001).

Part of the red narrative centered on the belief that victory in the past revolutions and the peaceful life we are now having are the results of long years of struggle and sacrifice made by martyrs, party members and leaders of the CCP, especially Mao Zedong (Wang & Wu, 2023). This narrative was frequently drawn upon when participants came across their sensation of discomfort. O-JRM-001 stated the affective meanings she ascribed to the sensation of discomfort:

> The main emotions I felt were admiration and sympathy. Because it's not just those who were over 18 years old who joined the revolutionary army, but also some children… Imagine these little children carrying such rifles to defend their homeland. At that time, I felt quite complicated.

Another participant in JRM obtained the haptic sensation of discomfort by looking at a diorama presenting Jinggang Mountain's whole landscape (see Figure 6.3). Although he was just allowed to watch, his memories of mountain climbing in the same area allow him to feel the physical discomfort: "We climbed mountains in areas nearby. It was challenging to climb up the peak, especially in this scorching heat." (O-JRM-004). Similar to O-JRM-001, he mobilized the same red narrative to enact his own feeling of admiration:

> The most striking impression left for me was the diorama. After looking at it, you will know that the landscape of Jinggangshan is very rocky and hilly. You can imagine that 60 or 70 years ago, the transportation system was less developed, and the whole Jinggangshan was full of muddy paths and rocky roads. Not to mention about organizing a revolution, it's not easy to live in such a place even as an ordinary people…. Under such difficult conditions, the revolutionary martyrs managed to establish a revolutionary base camp, mobilize and influence peasants who were illiterate to join the revolutionary army and accomplish something that changed the course of Chinese history. It's simply unimaginable…. I put myself in their shoes and think, "If I were them, could I be as successful as them?" No, I couldn't. I won't be able to accomplish such a task. (O-JRM-004)

Figure 6.3 *A Diorama of Janggangshan's Landscape*

Note. Photo by author.

The sensory meaning of discomfort is derived by participants through stacking up their sensation of discomfort received through diverse sensuous modalities, a reimagined past those revolutionary martyrs lived through, and red tourism narratives. Most importantly, the outcomes of such a performance fit the over-arching feeling rules of a red museum visit. As noted in previous literature, tourists nowadays are increasingly interested in complex and rich experiences rather than just gazing upon something (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Such experience requires bodily investment from tourists and involves a process of sensing (Golańska, 2015). The findings presented in this section deepen our understanding of this process of sensing.

6.1.2.2 Narrating Affective Stories

The category of "*narrating affective stories*" refers to visitors' performance of storytelling during the heritage visit, in which visitors experience, express and mobilize emotions for themselves and others. In this section, I will demonstrate the two different styles of storytelling identified. Then, I also show how these different forms of storytelling are performances practiced by visitors to emotionally engage themselves. The goal of this section is to make visible participants' acts of storytelling as another way to enact emotional experience.

6.1.2.2.1 Story (Re)telling

The first style is termed "story (re)telling." For instance, FW-JRM-008 is an enthusiast of red culture who is currently living in Jiangxi Province. As a person who visited the JRM several times, FW-JRM-008 introduced me to stories documented in the museums when we encountered related exhibition displays. He narrated the story of the "battle of defencing Huangyangjie (*黄洋界保卫战*)" when he saw the replicas of cannons and bamboo nails used in that battle. He also recounted how Ma Yifu, who was a CCP army officer, courageously fought against the enemy even though he was severely wounded. While we were walking past the bronze statue of Ma Yifu, he asserted that "red cultural relics can talk" (FW-JRM-008). His comment is a mysterious depiction of the actual situation since we all understand that cultural relics and museum displays cannot speak for themselves. Indeed, what was happening in the scene was that the stories in visitors' minds were evoked by the cultural relics and displays, and visitors shared these stories with their accompanying people. The behavior of story retelling is also found in some participant accounts when they describe what they do while traveling with their friends or family:

> I will guide my family through the museum visit and give them a museum interpretation. I will tell them the historical facts that I am sure about. For example, on the specific day of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, the main characters involved… the battles that took place, the people who sacrificed their lives. I will tell all these things to them based on what I know. (FW-JRM-009)
>
> When my friends (who are not living in Nanjing) come to this place, I give them a guided tour, just like what we did in the museum. I walk along with them in the museum, introducing the history to them and delving into the details of history. (FW-NMMH-012)

I retrospectively realized that many of the participants shared with me stories of themselves or something they learned in their daily lives during the onsite walking interviews. Following what is suggested in the narrative identity literature, I take these stories as a performative act that a person constructs to make sense of their life. Although these stories may not directly relate to the exhibition content, they somehow echo or contest meanings or aspirations associated with narratives propagated in the museums. Storytellers often emotionally engage themselves through retelling their own stories. The following vignettes demonstrate these ideas.

In the NMMH, a part of the area exhibits the heroic act of John H.D. Rabe, who is best known for offering protection to Chinese civilians and attempting to stop war crimes during the Nanjing Massacre. A recreated scene depicts Rabe sitting in front of a typing machine, documenting atrocities committed by Japanese troops in his diary. When FW-NMMH-001 walked through this exhibition area and noticed the displayed figure of Rabe, she recalled and shared a story that she learned one day while she was browsing social media using her mobile phone.

FW-NMMH-001: I can tell this is the statue of Rabe, isn't it? I remember either his son or grandson asked China for help. He wanted us to offer masks. Because of Rabe, we freely offered not only masks but also medical equipment without any hesitation.

Interviewer: Is it his son?

FW-NMMH-001: I am wondering whether it is his son or grandson.

Interviewer: Nevertheless, they are his descendants.

FW-NMMH-001: Right, his descendant needs some medical equipment for countering the pandemic. We offered right away.

Interviewer: Why do you mention this suddenly?

FW-NMMH-001: It is because I saw it (the statue), and I recalled this story, the one that I learned while I was swiping my phone for short videos.

Interviewer: What did you think about this story?

FW-NMMH-001: We should offer help to those who helped us. This is how we are being educated. When I was young, our parents and teachers taught us in this way. I also teach the same to my daughter. When the people who offered help encounter difficulties, we should repay their gratitude, shouldn't we? ... This is our Core Socialist Values … friendship.

The above short conversation shows that the exhibits become cues for visitors to recall related stories that are not being documented in the museum. Limited imagination is being utilized as FW-NMMH-001 merely recalled and retold a story that she learned outside of the museum. The act of retelling the story seems unintentional and unplanned, but it is performative in nature. It echoes the general understanding of "Chinese love peace." As a peace-loving Chinese, she concluded the retold story with the moral value of friendship, that is, the Core Socialist Values being advocated and trumpeted in her everyday life in China. The retelling of the story by FW-NMMH-001 has two implications. First, she performed Chineseness and (re)affirmed her national identity by revisiting and appreciating the notion of "Chinese love peace." Secondly, through retelling the story, she mobilized and acquired a sense of pride, feeling proud of her own nation and moral values underpinning Chineseness.

During the walking interview, FW-JRM-008 shared with me his own story of embodying the revolutionary spirit and being inspired by the martyrs. He narrated his own travel experience of re-walking the Long March. [9] The sharing of his own travel experience during our museum visit mobilized the feeling of admiration. He told me the following story:

> I feel that no matter what you do, you need to have great discipline. Take a look at this "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Six Points for Attention."[10] Discipline is key in everything you do… When I re-walked the Long March two years ago, I didn't think it was very important. Two of my friends and I had different interests and habits… We established rules eventually. Without rules, there was only chaos. Each of us had our own ideas. For example, when we visited an attraction together, one of them enjoyed

[9] Long March is the trek that the red army took to escape from Guomindang in 1930s. The Long March lasted from the 16 October 1934 to 19 October 1935, starting in Jiangxi Province and ending at Yan'an in Shaanxi Province. Re-walking the Long March is an increasingly popular form of red tourism participation.

[10] "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Six Points for Attention (*三大纪律六项注意*)" is the title of an exhibition area in JRM. This phrase was coined by Mao Zedong in Jinggangshan on 3 April 1928. While "Three main rules of discipline and the *eight* points for attention (*三大纪律八项注意*)" is commonly known in China nowadays, the phrase "Three main rules of discipline and the *six* points for attention" is its previous version.

> taking photos and spent a long time doing so. Another person was interested in examining Chinese literature. For me, I enjoyed making short videos on platforms like TikTok. We couldn't manage to gather at the time agreed upon. As Mao Zedong emphasized discipline a lot, we followed his footsteps and established some ground rules. It was an experience in that I practiced the teaching of our historical figures. (FW-JRM-008)

Through sharing his own story of being inspired by the teachings of martyrs, I understand that he reconfirmed how admired he is to the martyrs. My speculation was further confirmed as he frequently stated during the onsite visit: "I really admire these revolutionary martyrs." (FW-JRM-008).

In a similar vein, when FW-NMMH-018 saw a display related to the evacuation of refugees, she openly incited a feeling of sadness and enmity toward the Japanese by retelling stories that she had learned from her grandparents. She commented: "I feel upset and a bit depressed because we had an elder in our family who escaped back to our hometown during the Nanjing Massacre and never dared to return to Nanjing again in their lifetime." This is the story that she shared when we were looking at an exhibition area about refugees:

> At that time, my grandfather and grandmother had experienced the Nanjing Massacre. My grandmother still practiced foot-binding back in that time. My mother was not yet born. Two of them put two of their younger children in bamboo baskets and carried them using shoulder poles during their escape. They called it "pao fan" in Chinese, meaning fleeing from Nanjing City. When the Japanese came and bombed, they had to run towards the Northern Jiangsu Province or Anhui Province overnight. When they returned to Nanjing, their home was completely gone…. That's all I heard from the elderly. In the past, there were usually many children in a family. Some parents gave their own children to others because they were unable to take good care of them during

the Nanjing Massacre. In some other families with the elderly, the younger generation needs to carry the elderly on their backs during the refugee crisis.

From the three examples above, we can observe how storytelling evokes emotions. However, it is still not clear what makes the act of storytelling affective in nature. In order to explicate this issue, we need to look at the second style of storytelling.

6.1.2.2.2 Story (Re)creating

Apart from retelling stories they learned previously, participants constructed some stories during their visit. Participants who were experiencing intense emotional experiences during the museum visit often shared with me that some scenes appeared in their minds during their visit. One female participant in NMMH mentioned that:

> When you go through these exhibition halls one by one, looking at one photo after another… a kind of image will appear in your mind. A scene manifests itself right in front of you, rather than just simple words or photos. (FW-NMMH-020)

Some other participants also experienced similar situations. Typical comments are: "The scene in the past popped up in my mind," (FW-JRM-003) and "As if the situation of those people falling downing emerges in my mind. Certain scenes related to the photos or videos you watched automatically come to your mind." (FW-NMMH-005).

The scenes in participants' minds are not static but resemble a short video full of dynamics, likely to be qualified as stories. The following quotes are some scenes described by participants that bear some resemblance to stories:

> When you see the exhibits, it's as if you can see a Japanese, and it's as if you are witnessing the scenes of massacre. For example, when I see (photos of) piles of dead bodies, I can imagine a group of Japanese people tying up a group of Chinse and rushing

them into the river or pushing them into a large pit, just like what is documented in related films… It seems to appear directly in front of your eyes. (FW-NMMH-020)

There's a sense of being immersed in the experience as if the ashes are still lingering in the air with non-stop gun firing sound while soldiers are bravely fighting the enemy. (FW-JRM-003)

After interrogating many of the scenes and stories that participants described to me, I started to discover that these story-like scenes are patchwork containing textual and visual information picked up selectively in the museum, learned knowledge and facts through different media, some speculated information created through visitors' imagination and even personal experiences. This is the rationale why I termed the second style of storytelling as story (re)creation. The building and telling of stories performed by participants articulate their affective relation with histories and also their compatriots.

The following quote gives us more ideas about the patchworks that contain pieces of information visitors selectively picked up and connected: "I pay attention to the details.… For example, I picked up the exhibits I saw, including tools being used in the past and photos showing the living conditions. After putting all these together, I truly feel with the past." (O-JRM-004). They also emotionally invest in the doing of patchwork. For example, one participant described:

When we were looking at the exhibition area about foreigners providing humanitarian aid to victims, I thought of a movie called "City of Life and Death (*南京! 南京!*)." At that moment, I experienced an accelerated heartbeat. It is because I was reminded of some scenes in the film, and I associated these recalled scenes with photos we were looking at. When I did so, I felt quite saddened. (FW-NMMH-010)

Obviously, scenes that are recreated by visitors do not only consist of information available in the museum. In order to sew up these pieces of information, whether they are

available within or outside of the museum, visitors need to use their rich imaginations. This is crystallized in the following testimony:

> After looking at (some exhibits of) atrocities that happened in the past, including the textual descriptions, paintings, and photographs, you need to try your best to recreate scenes that you believed occurred in the past, using your imagination. For example, when I saw those clothes (Japanese army uniform), I felt like some scenes came to my mind more vividly, as if the past was being replayed in my mind. I brought back all the images and memories of atrocities that we encountered in the museum, those accumulated from the moment we entered the exhibition until we came across that uniform, just like a replay. That uniform was very close to my eye, and it made me feel as if the person (Japanese soldier) was standing right in front of me and was now committing those crimes. These scenes replayed in my mind, intensifying my anger and resentment. (FW-NMMH-015)

If some information is missing, imagination helps to fill these narrative gaps. For example, FW-NHHM-004 described that she "made use of the photos (being displayed in the museum), and imagined what kind of harsh environment it was at that time" and "just motivated my imagination to fill gaps." Imagination is also used in giving characters in a story a holistic image. One participant explicated that:

> When looking at images, sometimes I engage in imagination. For example, when I saw the photo of Minnie Vautrin or other foreigners …[11] I understood their roles and actions through the showcased photographs. In fact, I also imagined and speculated about why they acted that way and what they were thinking at the time. (FW-NMMH-008)

[11] Minnie Vautrin was a Christian missionary in China. She is well known for providing humanitarian aid to refugees during the Nanjing Massacre.

The following accounts given by FW-JRM-002 further strengthen the above arguments. First, "rich imagination" and "basic knowledge of related history" are required to rebuild or reconnect pieces of a story. He recalled what he did during a group visit to the JRM, which was accompanied by an official tour guide:

> When the official interpreter talks about a historical event, I tend to imagine the overall historical context and the larger environment. While the official interpreter might focus on a particular historical event, it's essential to understand that other things were also happening simultaneously in different places. These various occurrences collectively form the historical background in which these events took place. I typically rely on my knowledge of historical stories and some other pieces of knowledge to reconstruct the historical backdrop while listening to the narratives being conveyed by the official interpreter. This is the first thing I usually do. (FW-JRM-002)

It is clear that he recalled related pieces of information to recreate the historical backdrop. Basic knowledge of related history plays its role in story (re)creation. However, many parts were still missing for a complete story. He then sharpened the image of the characters in the story:

> The second thing that I'm particularly interested in is the characters involved in the stories being narrated by the official interpreter. I want to know who the story is about and what kind of person they are. As the narrative unfolds, I often reflect on what I already know about that person, their background, and how they were before the event took place. I also consider how the event shaped them and what their life was like afterward. I personally enjoy connecting these characters across the historical timeline and reimagining the characteristics of those people involved. (FW-JRM-002)

After having both background settings and characters, he mobilized his imagination to connect all these ingredients of a story:

> The third aspect is that I habitually engage in assembling mental images while listening to the stories told by the official interpreter. Even though there might be paintings or photographs on the wall or three-dimensional displays, I still find myself trying to imagine what the historical scenes were like. It's more like a kind of speculation rather than memory recalling… I strive to transform the stories told by the official interpreter into vivid scenes, as it helps me to create a more lasting impression.

As a final stage of story (re)creation, he rounded up his (re)created story by briefly saying he searched for implications from the story:

> As for the fourth issue, when listening to these stories, I also consider whether they have any relevance or guidance for my own work and the daily activities I am currently engaged in. I contemplate whether there are any insights or lessons I can draw from them. (FW-JRM-002)

Storytelling is a performance in which the past, present and future become connected (Hannam & Ryan, 2019). The detailed story (re)creation process provided by FW-JRM-002 showed the fact that he obtained implications for the future by recreating the past via linking different ingredients that are available or created by him in the present. Prosthetic memory is a term coined by Landsberg (2004), which she described as a kind of memory that "emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site such as a movie theatre or museum" (p. 2). The generation of prosthetic memories requires people to put themselves into the history which they had not experienced. Sather-Wagstaff (2008) observed that heritage visitors "see and experience the site through the lenses of their individual subjectivities, selectively choosing engagement with the objects and activities at the site that resonate for them, making prosthetic memories through such engagement" (p. 89). I posited that the scenes and stories are the prosthetic memories participants reconstructed through the process of story (re)creating.

The (re)created story can emotionally affect the story-builders. Moral emotions are being elicited through the act of (re)creating. This is another story FW-JRM-002 (re)created during his last visit to the JRM. After reassembling the scenes of hard-won battles in the past and reimagining the characteristics of people involved in the story, he got the feeling of admiration:

> Various stories took place during the period of the Jinggangshan revolution, especially those related to revolutionary struggles. Some of them were quite moving, and I have a strong impression of them. One story that stands out is about Peng Dehuai, who led his troops in defending the base camp. During their defense, heavy snowfall happened for three consecutive days. Despite these challenging conditions, they fought fiercely against the enemy. They battled in such conditions for a few days, and many of them sacrificed, but they remained fearless. This truly touched me because regardless of who they were and their individual pursuits, whether grand or modest, the willingness to dedicate everything, including their own lives, to their cause is remarkable… Being able to offer oneself completely on the path of their aspirations is something that many people find difficult to achieve. Their selfless dedication truly moved me. (FW-JRM-002)

Most recreated stories are more or less accurate in relation to what actually happened in the past. However, some recreated stories are purely imaginative without much historical accuracy. During the walking interviews with FW-JRM-010 and his friends, I learned how recreated stories can be mere fiction. They constructed their own version of history in a selective and imaginative way using exhibits in the JRM (see Figure 6.4):

> FW-JRM-010 is a local who came to the museum with two of his non-local friends … Similar to many other visitors, they took a "rough look" at the exhibition and did not go into details. They told me that they are "more interested in looking at objects and

photos rather than reading text." They often spent a long time looking at weapons such as large swords and cannons. They frequently imagined how these weapons were used and how many enemies were killed, not just mentally, but also took the role of actors and bodily acted out the scenes. They even asked me, "Are these orange and brown stains on the weapons the blood of enemies?" When we were walking pass the old red army uniform, one of his friends seemed to get great inspiration and told me confidently that "the fabrics of this uniform must have been cut by the scissors we saw earlier." (Fieldnotes, 3 January 2023)

Figure 6.4 *Examples of Exhibits in the JRM*

Note. From left to right correspondingly: (1) rusted weapons; (2) exhibition area related to Wang Zuo, who was a revolutionary martyr originated in Jinggangshan, with scissors and rulers for tailoring being displayed on the lower right-hand corner; and (3) red army uniform. Photo by author.

Obviously, the stains are the rust on old weapons rather than blood (see Figure 6.4). Furthermore, I checked with the official museum interpreter, and there was no evidence supporting the relationship between Wang Zuo's scissors and the displayed red army uniform. His act of story recreating, as I observed in situ, did not generate any patriotic feelings or emotions. Instead, it is just his habitual way of conducting a museum visit.

After demonstrating how a story is being (re)created and retold by visitors during the museum visit, it is time to consider how the story (re)creation could become one of the *doings*

and sayings that participants perform to enact an emotional museum visit. The above episodes jointly argue for some theoretical propositions. First, it is posited that visitors engage in storytelling regardless of their desirable teleoaffective ends. Participants who come to look for "a relaxed and enjoyable rough walk" (e.g., FW-JRM-010 and his friends) and those who look for an emotionally demanding journey (e.g., FW-JRM-002 and FW-NMMH-015) similarly performed story (re)creation. Secondly, some visitors' act of story (re)creation did not result in an episode that is charged with intense emotions. In contrast, the stories created by other visitors allowed them to become emotional. This echoes previous literature pointing out that storytelling needs creativity and somehow connects to our experiences and emotions (Nielsen, 2017). In order to have an emotional engagement with the recreated story, participants imaginatively put themselves as characters of the recreated story or tacitly empathize with people in the recreated story. Story (re)creating and retelling are performances that visitors practice and generate emotions, but the ability to empathize differentiates whether a visitor will be affected by his/her (re)created story. Veale (2017) suggested affect is crucial to the practice of reading fiction because it requires readers to emotionally invest in the story. Similarly, affect is significant to the museum experience because investing emotional energy in the stories documented in a museum is part of the labor visitors need to endeavor. Our utilization of empathy is one of the many investments or the labor done by participants in order to feel (Wetherell, 2015).

6.1.2.3 Manifesting the Feelings

After generating emotions through performance, such as "sensuously immersing" and "narrating affective stories," most visitors find ways to reify or give these affects concrete shape. Visitors express, reify and capture affect through the use of materials and tools in the museums. Numerous materials are being incorporated and utilized in visitors' activities of

emoting. For instance, it is common to see Chinese visitors who visit the JRM purposefully taking photos with a red army flag to flag their passion and determination in relation to their own country. Visitors to NMMH often purchase commemorative flowers to express their condolences for the dead. The following sections demonstrate in detail how participants incorporate specific materials in their enactment of emotional experience.

6.1.2.3.1 Writing on the Visitor Book

Visitors make use of various tools to materialize their own emotions. The first tool is the visitor book. Regarding visitor books, since these are poorly managed in the JRM and most participants even fail to notice their existence, empirical evidence relating to visitor books was mainly collected from the first study site.

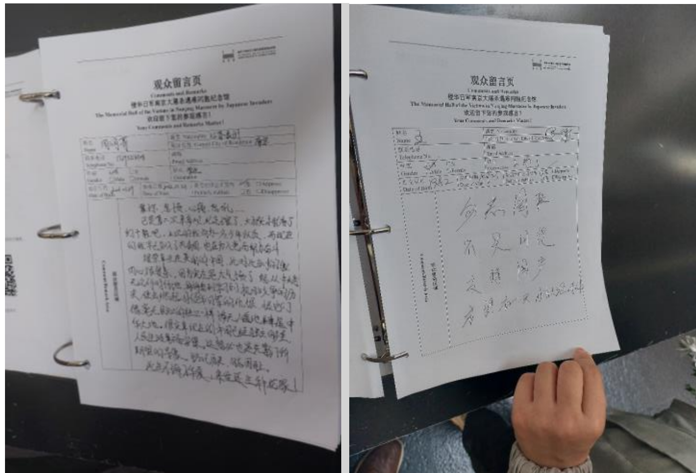
On the one hand, visitors can utilize the visitor book to express their own emotions. As one of the participants commented, "I think writing on the visitor book is a great thing as it allows one to express their own emotions." (FW-NMMH-013). On the other hand, reading these materialized emotions in the form of visitor comments tends to trigger the emotions of future (other) visitors. Writing out emotions in visitor books is one of the ways people affect and are being affected by others. This phenomenon was observed when participants commented about the visitor book: "I saw someone who was born in the 1970s or 1980s wrote a lot about his dedication to nurturing his children to serve the motherland. I really struck a chord with me." (FW-NMMH-015); "Often, the readers get a sense of connectedness after reading these written words. It evokes a sense of identification and foster a sense of solidarity." (FW-NMMH-005); and "When I looked at exhibits related to the 'Nanjing 100-man killing contest,' [12] I am particularly angry… So, I understand why other visitors write something like

[12] The "Nanjing 100-man killing contest" refers to a war crime committed by Japanese Army officer Toshiaki Mukai and Tsuyoshi Noda during the Japanese's invasion of Nanjing in 1937. The one who could kill a hundred of Chinese people faster was the winner of this contest.

this… When these visitors put down their emotions (on the visitor book), other tourists might have emotional responses after reading." (FW-NMMH-011).

Some specific terms and narratives available in Chinese culture help practitioners to reify their affect through writing. These culturally specific terms are often used by visitors to relate to their affective experience. *Wuwang guochi* (*勿忘国耻*), which means "never forget national humiliation," is a phrase that is commonly used by Chinese who do not personally experience the national traumas of the so-called century of humiliation. The use of this phrase indicates how a person vividly feels the emotions of victims (Wang, 2012). Visitors frequently speak of or write this phrase when they talk about their emotional experience in NMMH (see Figure 6.5). Even though this phrase is not being displayed in any of the exhibits, it is readily used and commonly shared among visitors. This term appears to be a metaphor for anger and/or shame. For instance, FW-NMMH-015 read one of the visitors' comments and seemed to identify with other visitors' anger using the term *wuwang guochi*. She commented during the on-site visit: "I resonate with the idea of 'remembering history by heart (*铭记历史*)' and 'never forgetting national humiliation (*勿忘国耻*),' as emphasized in their written comments." (FW-NMMH-015). She further confirmed she shared the anger of other visitors when she looked at that visitor comment: "When we were going to finish the visit, we saw some visitor comments. We realized how angry these visitors have felt… I also have similar feelings like them."

Figure 6.5 *Visitors' Written Comments with the Chinese Phrase "Wuwang Guochi"*



Note. Photo by author.

Although writing on the visitor book is one of the ways visitors actualize their affect, most of my participants refrain from doing so. These participants observed that most comments written on the visitor books in NMMH are about hatred and revenge. For example, FW-NMMH-013 recalled that she was shocked by comments such as: "Support domestic product; reject Japanese products" and "I wish the nasty Japanese will extinct one day." Another participant believed that these hatred narratives were inappropriate, as he said, "These are inappropriate. That day, we saw some comments on the visitor books that convey vengeful thoughts and feelings" (FW-NMMH-019).

Having paged through the visitor book and encountering the affects being propagated by the comment writers, participants realized the visitor book in NMMH became a tool to perform a kind of anger without much reflexivity. Participants who did not resonate with the vengeful thoughts and feelings tended not to contribute to this performance of hatred and anger. Typical comments for not writing on the visitor book are: "I understand that people who leave such comments in the visitor books are often thoughtless." (FW-NMMH-012), "When I was young, I did similar things. It was more of a direct imitation without any value internalization

or deep understanding." (FW-NMMH-005). The general understanding of "Chinese love peace" seems somewhat related to this non-performance of hatred. One participant asserted:

> When I saw those comments, such as "Never forget national humiliation, nasty Japanese must perish," I noticed that this kind of hatred often arises without any apparent reason … In my case, I do have a sense of national sentiment. However, I don't have a state of intense resentment or a mindset of seeking revenge … because I believe that cherishing peace is much more important. (FW-NMMH-010).

6.1.2.3.2 Photo-Taking

Taking photographs is another way to demonstrate how visitors actualize their affect. Some visitors feel an urge to take photos, which seems unintentional and hard to explain. For instance, participants stated: "Some photos are taken purely for the sake of capturing the moment." (O-JRM-002), and "I am not sure. I just want to take a photo of it." (FW-NMMH-004). When further scrutinized, photo-taking appears to be a practice that tourists perform to materialize and capture their affect. The following episodes of FW-NMMH-004's onsite visit illustrate such a claim. No sooner had we started looking at the exhibits inside the museum than she naturally took out her smartphone and took a photo of the thick files with the names of victims printed on it, which was one of the displayed exhibits (see Figure 6.6). Not many participants take photos inside this museum because there is a commonly known rule that photos are not encouraged. After noticing her performance of photo-taking, we had the following conversations:

Interviewer:	How will you handle this photograph?
FW-NMMH-004:	Generally speaking, these photos are not taken to showcase what you have seen but rather to capture the impact these exhibits have on you … I felt that the densely packed white text on a black background with the name list of the deceased, created a powerful and shocking image. This exhibit transmits the sheer magnitude of the tragedy.
Interviewer:	You take this photo because you feel shocked?
FW-NMMH-004:	Exactly.
	(…)

Interviewer:	Will you share this on social media?
FW-NMMH-004:	I won't post it immediately. I will wait until there is a day when I feel that it aligns with the mood I want to express. For example, I might post it on the 13th of December (the National Memorial Day for Nanjing Massacre Victims) to commemorate the event. Or when my friends discuss issues related to the Nanjing Massacre.
Interviewer:	Is it about capturing the moment through photographs and preserving the feelings associated with it?
FW-NMMH-004:	Yes. When I feel appropriate or when there is a specific occasion where it can be meaningful to bring it out for use.

Figure 6.6 *Visitors Taking Photos of Exhibits with Victims' Names*

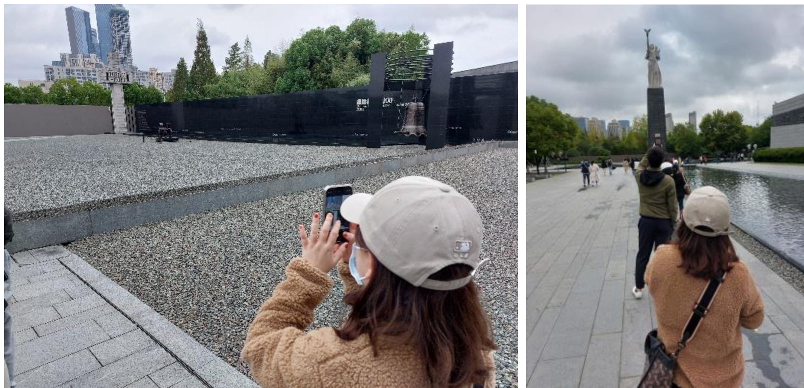
Note. Photo by author.

From the above conversations, it is clear that she employed photographs as a device to capture her emotions. Her decision to post that photo on social media "until the moment that she feels the photo aligns with her mood" shows how captured emotions in the form of a photograph contribute to the future enactment of similar emotions through social media.

After visiting NMMH, we walked towards the exit of the whole museum. Two statues drew her attention, and she took photos (see Figure 6.7). She captured a set of photos and explained: "Because that pillar takes the form of a cross, I feel that it gives a sense of solace and peace." When she was looking at another statue representing peace, I could feel her being less sorrowful from her facial expression and tone of voice. She, as a peace-loving Chinese, captured the peace statue and planned to share her emotions on social media. She clearly

understands how photos that capture certain emotions are able to affect others, as she stated: "This photo is fine. It does not express a heavy-hearted feeling, and it reflects perfectly the theme of peace…. First, I am not sure about what people like to see on social media. I don't post to please them, but I don't wish to share something too sorrowful that might affect their mood. So, I generally prefer to post something more positive or brighter, something that appears more uplifting."

Figure 6.7 *Visitors Taking Photos of Statues Displayed in the NMMH*



Note. Photo by author.

In previous literature, Bareither (2021a) reported that visitors "capture the feeling" (p. 583) they experienced in a heritage site through their camera lens, and Sather-Wagstaff (2008) argued tourists are constantly "picturing" (p. 97) their experiences even after the visit using the photograph produced in the heritage site. The above episodes extracted from the onsite interview of FW-NMMH-004 echo with this stream of research regarding the practice of photo-taking in heritage. Photo-taking is one of the tourists' performances to enact emotional experiences in heritage sites.

Although photographs are being used to reify emotions, participants are very conscious about not actualizing emotions that are deemed inappropriate in the museum. O-NMMH-002 shared one of his observations about photo-taking in the museum. Photo-taking, selfie-taking

and sharing on social media are usual practices Chinese perform during hedonic-oriented vacations. He recalled his observations and said: “I realized that everyone in the museum was sad.” The utilization of his ability to read and infer emotions is prominent, and he concluded that people are too sad to take photos and share them on social media: “Many people inside the museum were reluctant to post photos on social media. It seemed that they were feeling sad deep in their heart.” He supplemented that: “There were people taking photos, but I rarely hear someone say they were happy or smile while taking pictures. Most of them seem to just take photos to document the past. It seemed that overall, visitors were not experiencing joy.” Similar to other visitors, he did not perform selfies. He felt that taking selfies does not match with a museum visit that was supposed to be engendering sadness: “I felt that my visit should not be treated as a vacation, so I didn’t think it was appropriate to take selfies. Taking selfies would give the impression of doing leisure travel, which wouldn’t be suitable for such a solemn occasion.” From the above examples, it is proposed that participants’ careful consideration of what to be captured and how it should be captured delineated the normative force feeling rules and teleological ends exerted on visitors.

In short, it is agreed that photographs “are devices for the performance of subjectivities, for the making of various social relationships and cultural realities, and most importantly, for memory, recalling the past in service to the present” (Sather-Wagstaff, 2008, p. 81). Previous study shows that tourists take photos for many reasons, including the creation of memory (Wang et al., 2012) and impression management purposes (Lo & McKercher, 2015). However, a practice-oriented perspective posits that tourist photo-taking is a human social practice. Tourists’ photo-taking is a “practice rather than representation, as taking part in the world rather than reflecting it” (Crang, 1997, p. 360). Photo-taking could be one of the practices that tourists perform to emotionally engage with a heritage site (Bareither, 2021b). The findings in this section offered empirical evidence to support this argument.

6.1.2.3.3 Bodily Expressing

After knowing how photo-taking could be a human social practice that visitors perform to enact emotional experience, engaging with the photos produced by visitors leads to the identification of another way that visitors materialize emotions. Affects were actualized by participants using their own bodies. Wetherell (2012) suggested affective practice is "a moment of recruitment" involving the "emoting body." Affective practice as a pragmatic approach bundles the human body's capacity to emote and meaning-making. The following section provides further insights into this perspective.

On a few occasions, I observed that participants performed unintended body movements when they were experiencing something emotional. The onsite visit conducted together with both FW-NMMH-010 and FW-NMMH-011 is one of the best examples showing how visitors' bodies are involved in the accomplishment of emotional experiences. During our visit, both FW-NMMH-011 and I spotted FW-NMMH-10's intense emotional responses through his body language (see Figure 6.8). Having spotted such body expression, FW-NMMH-011 understood the sadness FW-NMMH-010 was experiencing and interacted with him by saying, "You are indeed a very sensible person… You are more empathetic than me. I can tell he is delicately feeling with these historical events." (FW-NMMH-011).

Figure 6.8 *A Research Participant Putting His Hand over His Heart*

Note. Photo by author.

Other visitors recalled that sometimes they noticed their spontaneous bodily responses when affect is being registered. For instance, one participant recalled: "I felt a tingling sensation on my scalp. Even though this is just a photo… Looking at their appearances and thinking of the crime they committed… I got a bodily tingling sensation, and goosebumps occurred on my skin." (O-NMMH-003).

Some of them explicitly know how to utilize their body to enact or express emotions. Emotions are not only something we experience, but also what we accomplish (Scheer, 2012; Wetherell, 2012). Participants *know* the heritage through their own bodily enaction. These are some of the representative comments: "When I saw the statues of Mao Zedong, I actually made a formal salute to him. I had a sense of reverence and respect when I did so." (FW-JRM-005); and "I encountered the oil painting about the combination of military forces between Zhu De and Mao Zedong at Jinggangshan, I gave them a salute." (FW-JRM-006). These participants experienced a sense of gratitude in relation to the heritage when they mobilized their bodies.

To further strengthen this stream of thought, I call upon empirical evidence provided by O-JRM-003. She offered a few photos that she produced during her last visit. Interestingly,

she was one of the few participants who provided me with selfies. As a person who seldom takes pictures of myself during any trip, I quickly felt something unusual. My curiosity allowed me to access what she had captured by including herself during the performance of photo-taking. Figure 6.9 is one of the photos that she offered for conducting our online interview. She said:

> The combination of military forces between Zhu De and Mao Zedong at Jinggangshan is a significant historical event. I found this oil painting very inspiring and deeply moving…. When I saw this oil painting depicting these two great leaders who met at Jinggangshan, it truly inspired me. Since it is one of the exhibits that emotionally moved me, I took some photos to share with you. (O-JRM-003)

Figure 6.9 *A Photo Capturing a Visitor Standing in front of an Oil Painting*

Note. Photo by O-JRM-003.

Her testimony shows that she is trying to capture her feelings of admiration or pride using that photo. The presentation of oneself in a photograph opens a foray into understanding how visitors constitute emotions through explicit body language. Her body was being recruited in a performative way. She further explained her body language in the photograph, representing a feeling of solemn and respect: "I want to appear to be more serious and cannot be too casual, so I made this pose." (O-JRM-003).

Affects and emotions are not always easily visible, but body language visualizes them. Body language as a non-verbal communication facilitates the signaling of emotion through bodily posture (De Gelder, 2006). Body language is one of the manifestations of our body's capacity to emote. When it was near the end of her museum visit, she took another photo to capture the spirit of Jinggangshan: "Jinggangshan is the cradle of revolution… The most valuable treasure left to us regarding the revolutionary era is the spirit of Jinggangshan, which transcends time and space. I particularly took a photo to capture the spirit of Jinggangshan." She further explained: "The spirit of Jinggangshan is about unwavering faith, performing arduous struggle, seeking for the truth, daring to blaze new trails, and having the courage to achieve victory." Having embodied and resonated with the spirit of Jinggangshan, she chose a photo-shooting pose that sufficiently demonstrated her feeling of determination and courage (see Figure 6.10). From the above examples, it is suggested that the human body is incorporated by some visitors as a device to actualize and mobilize affect in emotional episodes, both consciously and sometimes unintendedly.

Figure 6.10 *A Visitor Taking Photo with a Specific Posture*

Note. Photo by O-JRM-003

6.1.2.4 Disciplining of Emotions

Some visitors keep an eye on their own emotional being in the museum, as well as whether other visitors are behaving according to various social norms. Some participants further discipline their own expression of emotions and their impression in front of others. The theme - *disciplining of emotions*, indicates visitors' performances of actively adjusting and aligning behaviors of themselves and other visitors with the various feeling rules and display rules governing a red museum visit.

6.1.2.4.1 Self-Regulating

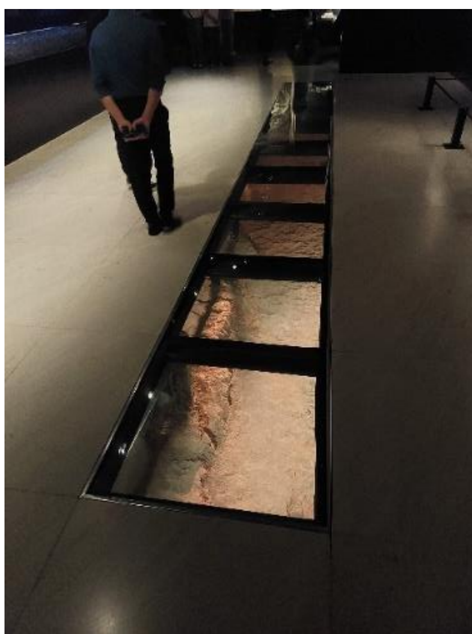
It is observed that participants attempted to keep their emotions in check. Most of them appeared to be careful enough not to violate the feeling rules of the two museums. To keep their emotions in check, participants monitor their own emotions frequently to spot any emotional deviations and consciously attune themselves in accordance with the emotional norms.

Occasionally, participants in NMMH discovered themselves deviating from the emotional norms, while nearly none of the participants in JRM reported themselves violating the feeling rules. The practice of self-monitoring is neatly crystallized in the museum visit of FW-NMMH-003. She described experiences of feeling weird because she reckoned herself is not emotionally responding in the correct way. She understood that the museum is designed in a way to intentionally provoke visitors' emotions, and it is her obligation to comply with this, as she commented: "I feel that these were deliberately designed to impress you or evoke certain emotions." (FW-NMMH-003). Although many other participants experienced the museum as a place full of sorrow, I discovered that our conversations in the first half of the walking interview were conducted in a lively and slightly playful mood. She was anxious because she understood she was deviating from the emotional norms during the first half of our museum

visit. My speculations were confirmed. She agreed that she had a sense of anxiety when she knew she did not appear to be sad during the museum visit: "I am very cheerful, a very optimistic person… I feel a lot of pressure within myself. I know I should not be feeling cheerful." (FW-NMMH-003).

In the middle of our museum visit, we encountered a glass walkway that is particularly designed to allow visitors to gaze at some of the skeletal remains of massacre victims (see Figure 6.11). She stepped on the glass walkway with no hesitation. In contrast, other participants refrained from walking over the glass walkway because it was considered a disrespectful act that broke the feeling rules. A shared consensus could be observed in other participants' testimonies: "There was an area where the floor was made of glass that allowed you to see through. I don't know if it was fear or awe, but I didn't dare to step on it." (FW-NMMH-016), as well as "It doesn't seem necessary to walk on the glass walkway. I feel like it's a lack of respect (to the death) if we walk on it." (FW-NMMH-011).

Figure 6.11 *Glass Walkway Built on Top of Human Remains*



Note. Photo by author.

I discussed with her about my observations. She was surprised, as she said, "I didn't have similar feelings. Why don't I feel the same? *Is there something wrong with me?* [original emphasis]" FW-NMMH-003 felt alienated and uncomfortable when she suspected she had deviated from the emotional norm. This was further confirmed during the follow-up interview when she told me about her experience of emotional deviation. "When I just entered (the museum), I saw those pictures (related to Nanjing Massacre) … I felt a bit disconnected. I haven't fully immersed myself in that atmosphere, and I felt a bit strange and unfamiliar," as she described. From her account, we can understand that participants keep monitoring their own emotional responses in order to feel the same as what feeling rules suggest.

Apart from only monitoring, visitors might intentionally adjust their own behavior and impression in order to fit in the atmosphere of the museum. Adjusting is more prominent in the case of NMMH. Some visitors attempted to adjust themselves according to the emotional rules by managing their impression left to others. The management of facial expression is crystallized in the following account when O-NMMH-003 mentioned outdoor installations he saw (see Figure 6.12):

> When I first saw this large museum, which was decorated with a water pond and lots of greenery, I was pretty excited. Suddenly, when I saw the number "300,000" being written in different languages and the date of the Nanjing Massacre, my mood underwent a drastic change. I remind myself that "I do not come here for fun or sightseeing. We need to think about the 300,000 compatriots who perished." This was the instant shift of my emotions. I recognized that my mood had a shape contrast from that moment. "We need to start taking this museum visit seriously. We can't be light-hearted or smiling. Our facial expression should be solemn and serious," I believed.

That’s how I felt when I saw these outdoor installations… It’s like adjusting our mood accordingly before going into the museum. (O-NMMH-003)

Figure 6.12 *Outdoor Installations in the NMMH*

Note. Photo by O-NMMH-003.

Since visitors believed remaining silent fits a sad and solemn occasion. They stayed alert and carefully controlled their voice when communication was not avoidable:

> When we were walking in the museum, we spoke in very soft voices. However, occasionally, you can notice that there were many people inside who continued to speak in a loud voice. And personally, I think this is a relatively solemn and sorrowful place… We are consciously creating such (a solemn and sorrowful) atmosphere by reducing our laughers and lowering our voices. (FW-NMMH-010)

> Based on the atmosphere in the exhibition hall at that time, no one around was talking. Thus, I naturally felt the need to remain silent and refrain from talking. The rationale is not to disturb other visitors or affect others’ emotions when they are immersed in the exhibition. (O-NMMH-004)

Participants also carefully selected their choice of words in order not to infringe on emotional norms. After looking at some of the comments on the visitor book, FW-NMMH-015 discovered how her enmity towards Japanese was commonly shared by other participants, and

the other Chinese visitors appeared to be more patriotic than she expected. Although she felt hopeful for China, she was frustrated about whether the use of the term "delight" suited the overall sorrowful atmosphere. She was particularly careful regarding her choice of words. She said, "How should I put it? I feel somewhat delighted. Should I use the word 'delighted' or is it not quite appropriate?" (FW-NMMH-015).

6.1.2.4.2 Others-Regulating

The detecting and disciplining of deviant behavior or an unacceptable state of emotional being are not only confined to the self but also extended to others. Participants observed that visitors who break the emotional rules and related social etiquette are being symbolically sanctioned or verbally rectified by other visitors. For example, one participant who visited the JRM recalled:

> I have visited the museum several times… some parents brought their children to the museum, and the children were noisy and playful. Those parents noticed (such inappropriate behavior) and stopped their children. Moreover, there were some visitors who spoke loudly on their phones. They were warned by others and promptly went outside to continue their conversation. I think these rectifications are needed. (O-JRM-003)
>
> During our visit, there was an incident where someone suddenly spoke loudly on his phone, and everyone cast their eye over him. That person seemed embarrassed and walked away. I feel it represents a form of social sanction exerted by the community. They failed to comply with social norms or regulations (in the museum). Such uncivilized behavior made us feel embarrassed for him. (FW-NMMH-015)

However, some participants stated that they did not prefer interfering with visitors who violate social etiquette or feeling rules.

If I see someone making noise over there, I will just let them continue while I enjoy my own museum visit. They won't affect my visit much. (O-NMMH-001)

I don't think it's necessary to lecture them about such matters… The fact that they behaved this way in front of these human remains makes me think they didn't really take the museum visit seriously or truly understand the history. However, I believe they will regret it afterward… they will face consequences in the future. It's better to avoid conflicts with people when we go on holiday… The place itself was already quite sad and made me uncomfortable. Seeing these uncivilized behaviors made me even more uncomfortable. So, I just took a brief glance at them and left. (O-NMMH-003)

Nevertheless, a number of participants partook in monitoring other visitors' state of emotional being and associated behaviors. Reading and inferring emotions are part and parcel of regulating the emotions of others. In other words, the ability to read and infer emotions is an important emotional competence pertaining to regulating the state of the emotional being of others. Through paying attention to others' bodily cues, including facial expression, clothing, and body motion, participants evaluate whether others are obedient to the emotional norm or performing towards a teleologically acceptable end. The following cases illustrate the above arguments.

For example, O-JRM-003 commented on one of her photographs, which captured a family of four standing in front of a bronze statue (see Figure 6.13). The feeling rules in JRM are to remain solemn and show respect and admiration to martyrs. Her account illustrates how she evaluated whether other visitors were in check with the emotional norms by drawing upon various bodily cues:

Regarding this photo I just gave you … I want to specifically mention that the two little children had limited understanding (of the history) and required guidance from their parents. Both parents encouraged their children to pay attention to the exhibits. The

mother was reading the narrations (of the exhibits) … That little child was very attentive. Particularly, he was raising up his head to look at the statue of our heroes. His facial expression appeared to be admiring the martyrs. (O-JRM-003)

Figure 6.13 *A Family Looking at a Bronze Statue in the JRM*

Note. Photo by O-JRM-003.

She was particularly delighted since the whole family's performances were congruent to what she supposed other visitors to be. She supplemented, "This family is full of hope since they spent great effort in educating their children to be patriotic." (O-JRM-003). It is obvious that O-JRM-003 read the body posture of the little boy and inferred how he was feeling. Through observing the activities undertaken by this family, their facial expression, and their body language, O-JRM-003 confirmed that this family's emotional beings obeyed the feeling rules. Even though it is impossible to confirm whether her observation is correct, her account suggested that visitors not only keep an eye on their own but also pay attention to the emotional beings of other visitors.

Several participants recalled scenes in which other visitors violated the feeling rules and social etiquette. For instance, at the end of my onsite visit with FW-NMMH-001, we encountered two young female visitors while we were approaching the elevator that led us to the museum's exit (see Figure 6.14). She suddenly criticized the two strangers in front of us.

Her comments are charged with anger, and I noted that she even gave the two young ladies a cold-eyed stare:

> I just saw someone wearing bright-colored outfits, and I think this is inappropriate. When you come to this kind of place, it's like you go worshipping your deceased relatives at the Qingming Festival. Would you wear such fancy clothes? Just like that (pointing to two ladies in front of us) …. If you dress so fancy, you don't show any respect for the person who has passed away. Why are you here? Shouldn't you be here? …You come here just for the sake of coming here. You just come here to "*daka* (make some photogenic shots)." Here is not a tourist spot. This shows a lack of awareness. You should at least respect the dead…. Even if you don't wear black, you should at least wear plain color, and you can't come with pink and red.

Figure 6.14 *Visitors in Inappropriate Outfits*

Note. Photo by author.

Her comments about the inappropriate clothing revealed the importance of reading and inferring emotions in relation to judging whether other people are complying with the feeling rules.

The bodily motion and activities someone is undertaking also provide cues for participants to judge other visitors' emotional being. FW-JRM-006 witnessed a large group of red tourists who spent a "rough look" in the JRM. As a person who seeks emotional experiences in the museum, he was upset by the tour group, especially their act of taking group photos using the flag of the CCP (see Figure 6.15). Through observing the group tourists' photo-taking activities, he speculated that the group of tourists did not true-heartedly conduct their visit, perhaps did not emotionally invest in the visit, but just visited the museum for the sake of visiting:

> Do you remember we discussed that a group of tourists were taking photos outside with a CCP party flag? … Hmm, many people are probably not faithfully interested in the museum itself and its related cultural significance. Perhaps they just come to *daka,* or they treat the museum visit as a show. In today's society, not many people are really concerned about stories and history related to old revolutions. Coming to visit the museum is just something they do to satisfy the instructions given by their boss. Few people sincerely want to understand the revolutionary history. (FW-JRM-006)

Figure 6.15 *Group Tourists Taking Photos Outside of the JRM After a Very Brief Visit*

Note. Photo by author.

One additional example is provided by FW-NMMH-010. During the follow-up interview, he recalled that he probably recognized some visitors are not behaving in accordance with the emotional norm in NMMH:

> When I was going up the stairs with you, I saw a girl outside through the window, which left me a deep impression… What struck me was that she was holding her phone and taking pictures of it with a white chrysanthemum. I could probably guess what she would do next, maybe posting the photo on her social media. I felt a bit sad and could not understand her rationale for doing so. I believe visiting such a place doesn't seem suitable to show off on social media. I can tell that she did not have a strong emotional attachment to the museum. (FW-NMMH-010)

Having shown the above episodes, I argue that visitors regulate their own state of emotional being, such as how they are actually feeling and what impression they are creating for others. Besides, it is clear that participants also monitor other visitors' state of emotional being by reading and inferring emotions using bodily cues. Those visitors who violate the emotional norms or social etiquette would be symbolically sanctioned. Additionally, partaking in the activity of others-regulating induces feelings. Scheer (2012) reminded us that "other people's bodies are implicated in practice because viewing them induces feelings" (p. 211). When others are in check with the emotional norms, we might feel good (i.e., the case of O-JRM-003). In contrast, we express anger and feel sad when we encounter someone who disobeys the norms (i.e., the cases of FW-NMMH-001 and 010).

6.1.3 Being Emotional - Emotional Reflection

Emotional reflection signifies a post hoc meaning-making process that affects arising from the museum visit are being appropriated and appreciated. Gaining certain emotional states or experiences throughout the museum visitation is not the end of a museum journey, regardless

of whether the actualized emotions are being anticipated beforehand or not. It is noticeable that participants draw upon these emotional experiences and further make meanings out of these actualized emotions.

Many of the participants used the phrase "*ganshou lishi* (*感受历史*)" (e.g., FW-JRM-003, 005, O-NMMH-004) to describe their purposes for conducting a red museum visit. Even though the direct translation of *ganshou lishi* is "to experience the history," it does not adequately address its essence. FW-JRM-005 explained the meaning of *ganshou lishi*: "It means to draw upon those stories… then associate those stories and extend the meanings behind to ourselves or certain phenomena in the modern society." His descriptions distinctively outlined the idea behind assimilation. FW-NMMH-016 offered a similar perspective. She believed she "obtained something" out of the emotional experience. As she further delineated, "It's like, for example, watching anti-war movies or reading literary or novels. After finishing them, you will definitely have a sense of reflection or an afterthought… It's about gaining this kind of insight."

For instance, FW-JRM-005 emotionally connected with the history and martyrs who lived through a difficult life in the revolutionary era after the whole museum visit. He understood, "They (our martyrs) indeed endured great hardships." After emotionally engaged and understanding the hardships experienced by martyrs, he drew upon the pain and bitterness in the past and constructed meanings for himself and the nation:

> I got a kind of inspiration. Personally, I will not always think about giving up or trying to escape when facing difficulties in the future. Only when you bravely face and overcome challenges can you do better next time… I also understand that a nation must be strong in order to avoid being invaded by foreigners… (because) through looking at those unadvanced weapons we used in the past, we can know the reasons why we

> struggled painfully in the past. It's all because our weapons are too outdated. (FW-JRM-005)

Similar post hoc meaning-making by incorporating felt emotions is also identified in other visitors of JRM. O-JRM-003 assimilated the emotional past and transcended it as her passion for her own life and patriotism:

> The events that occurred in Jinggangshan back in those days were extremely challenging. Our martyrs were able to endure (these difficulties) and persevere…. Why did they choose such a challenging mission? They even sacrificed their precious lives. It is because they were fighting for their own beliefs… I believe that visiting these museums and learning about their history can further ignite my passion for life and love for my motherland. This is how I understand the meaning of my last museum visit. (O-JRM-003)

In a similar vein, participants in NMMH assimilated their emotional experiences obtained during the museum visit and constructed various meanings using these emotions. The Chinese expression – "turning grief and anger into strength (*化悲愤为力量*)" depicts how participants in NMMH assimilate the negative emotions simmering throughout their museum visit into an inspirational belief in relation to the development of the nation - a sense of hopefulness. The following testimony shows the meanings he obtained from his emotional museum visit:

> To remember this period of history and transform the sadness and anger into a driving force… This museum shows us how the Chinese people have been bullied and subjected to shame. However, the museum didn't directly tell us about the following things – based on the foundation of cherishing peace to strengthen our nation and to ensure that our country stands strong so that nobody can bully us. This is the meaning I understood after leaving the museum. It's not about immersing everyone in an

> atmosphere of sadness and grief, but rather when you step out of that atmosphere… you can reflect on what we should do (to our nation). I think that's the most meaningful thing I got in relation to the museum experience. (O-NMMH-003)

Similar to most participants in JRM, the assimilation of unpleasant emotions leads participants in NMMH to reflect on their everyday lives and engender national relatedness. Related comments are: "I got a sense of patriotism. More importantly, we experience compassion and anger towards the hardships and sufferings of the past. Then, it evokes a spontaneous sense of patriotism." (FW-NMMH-016); and "Looking back at this period of history, it certainly serves as a catalyst to motivate us to work harder and contribute to the development of our motherland. This history, in fact, represents a rather inglorious chapter of our nation." (O-NMMH-003). Another participant described that he was sad and depressed since he felt he was bearing the painful history during his visit:

> Initially, my museum visit was characterized by sadness because the exhibition content, such as the text descriptions, photos and videos, had a very direct impact. As the visit progresses, the emotions transform into a sense of repression… (I felt) connected to his history and were bearing the "heaviness" of the history.

Having such an emotional experience, he reaffirmed his national identity. Moreover, his sadness and depression seem to be transformed into something hopeful and optimistic:

> Perhaps it produces some educational or inspirational effect. It ignited my personal interest in this period of history and led to the development of a sense of identification (with the nation). It also serves as a motivation to cherish our modern life.
>
> (O-NMMH-004)

6.2 *Yiku Sitian* - The Affective Practice of Pain and Suffering

Smith (2021) believes that heritage is emotional and it has affective qualities. Visiting a museum or heritage could be something charged with emotions. In the previous section (see Section 6.1), it is demonstrated that participants do many things to evoke or mobilize certain emotions – the "tasks" and "projects" pertinent to enacting emotional experiences in the two museums. However, the issue of what emotional experiences are being performed by Chinese tourists in red tourism sites still remains largely unspoken. I argue in this section that visiting red museums and heritage sites may be understood as an affective practice of pain and suffering. That is, visitors perform a variety of doings and sayings, which are organized by the four practice elements to enact some negative emotions that are painful to them.

An interesting consensus is found among participants of the two sites. Participants utilized the suffering and pain in the past to rationalize their enjoyment in the present:

> I feel that all our current happiness is actually built upon the pain and suffering experienced by people in the past. Whenever I think of the joyful moments of our current life, I also recall the pain they once endured in the past. (FW-NMMH-003)
>
> When I see these scenes, I truly feel that our current life is really great. I need to cherish my present life. Those soldiers sacrificed their lives and shed blood to secure the peace and prosperity we are enjoying today. I must cherish my peaceful life even more. (O-JRM-003)

One of the participants deliberately observed, "Chinese people always mention *yiku sitian*." (FW-NMMH-004). "*Yiku sitian*" (忆苦思甜) is a popular phrase in China, which could be translated as "recalling past bitterness so as to savor present sweetness." This term originates from the revolutionary era and was coined by Mao Zedong. Back in the old days, Mao was a master at mobilizing public sentiment. For instance, he organized *suku dahui* (诉苦大会) – the meeting of speaking out bitterness, to create opportunities for peasants to raise their anger and

hatred toward landlords (Zhang & Jia, 2021). Similar emotional works and campaigns, such as "denunciation (*控诉*)" and "recalling past bitterness so as to savor present sweetness (*忆苦思甜*)," are utilized by the Communists to harness peasants' emotional energy for revolutionary purposes (Perry, 2002).

In the past, the public participated in "speaking out bitterness" about the pre-liberation past and the suffering induced by class enemies and was immersed in the "savoring sweetness" of liberation and independence brought by the Communists.[13] Nowadays, the CCP invites its people to re-experience the bitterness and shame of the past by launching various patriotic education campaigns (Wang, 2012; Xie, 2021). Drawing on the idea of bitterness, it is posited that red tourism offers space for the affective practice of "recalling past bitterness so as to savor the present sweetness." Visitors mobilize bitterness for themselves during the museum visit and reflect upon these negative emotions to create meanings for their own and also the nation. The aim of the following two sections is twofold. First, the author aims to demonstrate how visitors mobilized different bitterness (i.e., negative emotions), as well as how visitors harness the bitterness to reflect on present sweetness. Secondly, the two sections explicate how the identified themes in Chapters five and six contribute to this specific affective practice in the red tourism context.

6.2.1 Self-Criticizing: Shame, Reverence and Passion

In the two study contexts, participants often self-criticized the humiliated past of the nation. By doing so, participants often mobilize negative emotions in relation to the notion of China's backwardness and how Chinese people suffered in the past, including shame, anger,

[13] "Class enemies" is an ambiguous term often used by the CCP for political prosecution of the its political enemies in the Mao era. During the period of Jinggangshan revolution, class enemies are defined as enemies of poor peasants and factory workers. Later on, this term evolved and included more types of enemies, such as, capitalists, people who hold anti-revolution thoughts, and members of Guomindang.

misery and despair. However, self-criticizing is not merely discouraging and negative. After the successful mobilization of negative emotions, participants harness these negative emotions as motivational beliefs. I will mainly draw upon the museum visit conducted together with FW-JRM-006 and 007, which enacted self-criticizing in JRM. By doing this, I aim to demonstrate how visitors recalled past bitterness in order to savor present sweetness.

FW-JRM-007 is a local Jinggangshan resident who brought one of his friends, FW-JRM-006, to the JRM during the weekend. Both of them were third-year university students studying in the same university. FW-JRM-006 sought an emotional experience, and he anticipated that he would obtain a mixed sense of anger, grief and sadness throughout the museum visit. He said:

> Before entering the museum, I envisioned that I might obtain a feeling of sadness and indignation when I finished the museum visit … since it's a sacred place related to revolution. I expected I could encounter something (exhibits or cultural relics) that would make me angry and become emotional. (FW-JRM-006)

For FW-JRM-007, he didn't come to seek emotional experience but just to spend time with his friend, as he described: "I didn't think much about what emotional experiences I would have. The main purpose is to stay with my friend and to ensure he has an enjoyable time." (FW-JRM-007).

Through my onsite visit spent with them, I recognized that they were able to recreate the war scenes and understand the severity of battles during the Civil War. This is evident in their following comments:

> After seeing that exhibit (photos of CCP members being slaughtered by Guomindang), I connected it with some TV dramas I had seen before. I imagined myself in that situation and thought about how painful it must have been for them at that time. I just feel that they had a very difficult time. (FW-JRM-006)

> I was quite calm and non-emotional before starting the museum visit. After I finished walking through the whole museum, I felt a sense of shock. I realized that the revolutionary struggles in the past were indeed extremely intense and difficult…. seeing those related exhibits or reading those texts, I can't help but imagine that the battles (between the two political parties) must have been very intense back then. (FW-JRM-007)

I noticed that they were especially curious about the weapons being displayed in the museum. They spent much time looking at the weapons displayed in the museum. FW-JRM-007 spotted something special about the weapons: "Those exhibits weapons being used during the revolution era were particularly crude." (FW-JRM-007). When asked for further explanations, it is clear that he utilized his observation skills to arrive at such a conclusion:

> "Look at that. Look at the firearms being displayed in the exhibition hall. The surface of it looks very rough. You can tell it is very crude…. And upon closer inspection, I realized that the craftmanship was indeed very rough… It gives me the feeling that battles in the past were incredibly harsh." (FW-JRM-007)

He imaginatively recreated the war scene not only by picking up cues from the exhibits available in the museum but also by involving his own knowledge. During his high school education, he learned that Guomindang was well equipped with sufficient financial resources and advanced weapons. Through sewing up the cues he obtained by observing the exhibits, previous knowledge he learned about Guomindang and his imagination, he was able to (re)create the war scenes in the past:

> It's just imagination. They fought with these kinds of weapons, and it must have been incredibly difficult for them. It feels very different compared to the weapons used by the Guomindang army. There were no weapons used by Guomindang being displayed inside the museum. Based on the historical facts I know, I learned from the history

textbook that the weaponry of Guomindang at that time was different from ours. (FW-JRM-007)

Similarly, FW-JRM-006 also concentrated on the displayed weapon and made comments about how poor the weapons of CCP were after carefully observing it:

And what else? Let me think. Oh, yes, I also saw several types of guns. There were rifles and matchlock guns. I found that these weapons were indeed quite similar to what I had read about in the history textbooks. They were not very advanced. I noticed that the machine gun does not have proper magazines. It is just very crude.

Apart from the weapons, FW-JRM-007 seemed to feel the pain and suffering of martyrs after looking at the tools and utensils being displayed. FW-JRM-007 felt miserable about the living conditions of martyrs. He obtained such feelings as he could recreate related scenes from the exhibits:

I felt quite tragic and miserable…. seeing their extremely harsh environment and the overall indescribable living conditions, including things like furniture, food, and various living utensils. It gave me a sense of extreme hardship and adversity. (FW-JRM-007)

Both of them were heavyhearted just looking at the weapons used by the martyr. When asked for further explanations, it is obvious that the negative feelings they mobilized through narrative (re)creation are related to the notion of backwardness. Both agreed they experienced grief and felt miserable for the martyrs. I reckoned that they were continuously seeking cues in the museum, such as poor weapons and living conditions, to construct mental scenes relating to backwardness, which fit the Chinese's general understanding of their emotional history. This tendency is also explicitly found in other visitors' comments:

The main purpose of visiting the museum was to gain an understanding of the historical and cultural happenings in the era. Additionally, I wanted to see some historical

documents and items related to the revolutionary figures and the objects they used. I was curious to know more about what the living conditions were like during that time because we often mention phrases like "*xiaomi jia buqiang* (millet and rifle).[14]" Therefore, I wanted to see how backward things were in terms of technology and resources. (FW-JRM-005)

After actualizing grief and knowing how martyrs struggled due to backwardness, FW-JRM-006 assimilated the bitterness he (re)created during the museum visit and reflected upon the present sweetness he is now enjoying. He did so by comparing his own life with what martyrs had lived through. He explained the implications to his own life:

> This museum visit allows me to deepen my own memories and makes us more aware of the existence of such past events so that we never forget them. It's also about cherishing the present life. The martyrs used to strive for victory so hard, didn't they? Nowadays, we may encounter minor difficulties in our life, such as poor grades at school, and we tend to give up easily… They endured such hardship, so how can I stop working hard just because of these small failures? (FW-JRM-006)

These negative emotions he experienced in the museum also induced his passion to rejuvenate the nation and inspired him to be a qualified Chinese by contributing to a stronger nation. This is observed in his conclusion regarding the overall emotional experience of visiting the JRM:

> We, as members of the Chinese society, right? We were born in this current era, and each generation has its own tasks and responsibilities. Although we could not participate in the past revolution, we should shoulder the specific responsibility of our generation. The martyrs took on the responsibility of revitalizing China. Now, in this

[14] *Xiaomi jia buqiang* (小米加步枪) is a slogan originated during the revolutionary era. It refers to the narrative that the CCP army were able to defeat Guomindang and fight against the invading Japanese army even without steady food supply and proper weaponry.

peaceful era, what our generation should do is to make China stronger and contribute our own efforts to the country's progress. (FW-JRM-006)

In the NMMH, FW-NMMH-002 vividly performed self-criticizing through story (re)telling. I noticed that his museum visit was flooded with great contempt and shame. He felt the history is a humiliating one, as he admitted,

> This event is indeed a very painful memory for the *zhonghua minzu* (中华民族), and it serves as a warning to each and every one of us. Backwardness leads to humiliation. This phrase should be deeply imprinted in our minds rather than just being a mere slogan.

The enactment of self-shaming was most noticeable when he retold me a story that he learned from non-official historical sources. He self-criticized Chinese people by telling me a version of the Nanjing Massacre that the death of the Chinese is partially attributed to the Chinese themselves:

FW-NMMH-002: To be honest, the Nanjing Massacre itself was a tragedy (partially attributed to the Chinese themselves). Do you know why three Japanese soldiers could kill five thousand Chinese people?

Interviewer: Aren't the Japanese initiated a killing race? Oh no, that killing race only involved a few hundred victims.

FW-NMMH-002: The killing race is just a part of the story. Chinese people have a characteristic of waiting for someone else to take the lead in everything. Chinese people are too cunning. I mean that when there is trouble, they let others step forward while they enjoy the benefits from behind. So, when three Japanese soldiers said that they would spare their lives if they handed over their weapons, all five thousand Chinese people handed over their guns. The three Japanese soldiers then transported the five thousand people to Jiangdong Gate and killed all of them. That's how Chinese people behave. It is a great shame in itself.

Interviewer: Are you suggesting that Chinese people have some bad habits?

FW-NMMH-002: Many people did not have to die in the Nanjing Massacre.

Interviewer: Could you further explain?

FW-NMMH-002: Many innocent people were unnecessarily killed. Don't think that those soldiers who surrendered were innocent, and they were too cunning. If someone fought back, it is possible that only twenty people may have died, and the remaining four thousand people could have survived. Since no one dared to fight back, all of them perished… This is what the Nanjing Massacre reveals about the characteristics of Chinese people. There are some deeply ingrained negative aspects in our nation.

Regardless of its authenticity, this retold story goes against the general understandings of Chineseness that is shared among many visitors. Chinese people are depicted by him as selfish and cowardly. The kind of Chineseness and cultural values in his mind are something shameful, not worth celebrating and need to be abandoned. His general understanding of Chineseness is something wicked and shameful. Although he did not treat Chineseness as something proud and worth cherishing, we could see how shame is being mobilized through his act of story retelling. Having understood the history as a shameful one, he constructively used the shame in a positive manner similar to other visitors:

> The entire exhibition portrays a dark and sorrowful atmosphere. It awakens and reminds every individual of the Chinese nation to remember a painful history. However, I believe that it is more important for each person to transform the experience of this tragic history into a spirit of striving, working towards making ourselves and the country more advanced. I think that's the way to go. (FW-NMMH-002)

The above examples illustrate that self-criticizing during the red museum visit mobilizes shame, followed by reflections on the bitterness (i.e., shame and suffering). In particular, the outcome of self-criticism is motivational rather than discouraging since participants take lessons from history, which is brimmed with pain and humiliation. On the one hand, the shame and grief involved in self-criticizing are highly associated with the idea that "backwardness leads to humiliation," which is the general understanding of the history held by visitors. On the other hand, shame and grief motivate participants to savor the present sweetness and make them passionate about their nation. This emotion pattern follows the logic beneath "recalling past bitterness so as to savor the present sweetness." I find that "*yiku sitian*" is the affective practice participants performed, of which they anticipate, actualize and assimilate negative emotions such as shame and grief.

6.2.2 Empathizing: Sorrow, Pain, and Gratitude

In order to feel the sorrow and pain of others, a person needs to know how to empathize. Empathetic feeling is a prominent and common emotion reported by visitors in many museums, which seems to be a response triggered by the content of a museum (Smith & Campbell, 2016). As introduced earlier, perspective-taking and physically touching the exhibits are essential skills identified. I am first going to show that these skills are highly relevant. Then, I attempt to show how participants actualize the painful and sad feelings of others, followed by delineating how it qualifies as an affective practice of *yiku sitian*.

Here, I call upon empirical evidence from FW-NMMH-020, both onsite and follow-up interviews. FW-NMMH-020 is a 25-year-old young lady who is a Jiangsu native and is now working in a telecommunication company. Similar to other girls of her age, she devoted much of her time to work and always hung out with her girlfriends during holidays. Before entering the premises of the museum, she clearly anticipated an emotionally demanding journey: "My friends told me that this museum makes people feel depressed. I expected I might feel a bit depressed or burdened when I came out… but I love to experience the place in person…. Physically visiting the place is totally different from reading plain text." (FW-NMMH-020).

She was quite a sentimental person, as per my observations during our walk in the NMMH. During our visit paid together, she expressed a wide range of emotions. She experienced sadness and felt uncomfortable when she talked about how Chinese people suffered during the atrocity. Fear was elicited as she confronted herself with the issue of death. She expressed anger at how Japanese soldiers slaughtered the Chinese, and a sense of hatred was evoked when she knew some Japanese soldiers who offended her nation were not sentenced to death. Moreover, she commented she "felt awesome" when she recalled Yasukuni Shrine, a place where some Japanese commemorate Japanese soldiers who participated in the Nanjing Massacre, was on fire. She told me at the follow-up interview that she "was

emotionally impacted" by the contents of the museum, especially the dead remains and photos of dead people. Apart from being a sentimental person, she always appears to be imaginative. Her abilities to empathize and mobilize rich imagination are evident from her following comments:

> You can feel the atmosphere from the moment you step into the entrance. It feels as if there is a layer of grey cloud hanging overhead.
>
> What we can witness here is already beyond imagination, to the point where it becomes too much to even comprehend or document. Behind these known atrocities, there may be even more unimaginable atrocities that you wouldn't dare to think of. It makes you hesitate to imagine how many similar or even more extreme acts may have occurred behind the scenes.

During our onsite visit, she appeared to be extremely emotionally moved by two specific exhibits. The first exhibit is a rusted thimble, which is one of the belongings of victims who were killed at the site of the massacre at Jiangdong Gate (see Figure 6.16). The second exhibit is a newspaper article in 1938 reporting a 16-year-old girl being raped by Japanese soldiers (see Figure 6.17). These were further confirmed in the follow-up interview when she described some memorable exhibits: "There are many exhibits and stories related to the suffering of the elderly, women, and children, which left a profound impression on me."

Figure 6.16 *Belongings of Victims Found at the Site of the Massacre at the Jiangdong Gate*

Note. Photo by author.

Figure 6.17 *A Newspaper Article Published in 1938 Reported a 16-year-old Girl Being Raped by Japanese Soldiers*

Note. Photo by author.

The following quote demonstrates how empathetic feeling for the victim was actualized by FW-NMMH-020 when she encountered the thimble used by the victim (see Figure 6.16):

> When I saw that thimble, it reminded me of my grandmother … My grandmother also had a similar thimble, so it felt like (the owner of the thimble) resembled my own grandmother. Since my grandmother took care of me when I was young, I feel a strong sense of connectedness. I imagined that it was like witnessing my own grandmother facing such atrocities. It feels incredibly heartbreaking.

FW-NMMH-020 relates herself to the thimble through imagining the thimble as a tool used by her own grandmother and recalling memories associated with her own grandmother. Previous literature shows that it is possible for empathetic feelings to be elicited through encountering a person who just experienced a tragedy, but where there are no such encounters with living entities, imaginations, perspective-taking and recalling relevant memories are crucial to engendering empathetic feelings for others (Cuff et al., 2016). Her comments reflect the existence of a sense of connectedness, a close bond that she created between herself and the target of empathy - the *imagined grannie* who suffered during the Nanjing Massacre.

Exercising empathy is associated with the aspiration of "cherishing what we have now," which is a meaning generated through assimilation. The actualized empathetic feelings for the victims inspired Chinese visitors to cherish what they have now, and it was presented when FW-NMMH-020 talked about her emotional episode. Her museum visit was filled with sorrow and pain. For instance, she was empathizing with the 16-year-old girl who was featured in the museum:

> It is written here that she was tortured to death by the Japanese when she was only 16 years old. I recalled what my mum often reminds me. My mum would say, "You are living a very fortunate life now. If you were born in a remote village, they wouldn't even let a girl like you go to school and study." That's how she always educates me. So,

> when I see sad stories like this, where it's also a girl of 16 years old, it makes me think about myself at that age. I only needed to worry about my own studies while she had already passed away because of being tortured to death.

For another participant, FW-NMMH-003, her comments about a five-minute documentary of interviews conducted with survivors also show a similar process of assimilation associated with the enactment of empathetic feelings of sadness:

> I sympathize a lot with the people who suffered during those times, and I also feel fortunate to have grown up in a peaceful era. I haven't experienced that kind of suffering… I believe that now we have the freedom to pursue the things we want to do, but back then, it was a different story, a painful one.

It is posited that the act of empathizing with someone affects people to do things, in this example, to motivate oneself to cherish our present life. FW-NMMH-020 compared her own life with the 16-year-old girl's experience and arrived at the conclusion that she should cherish the life she is now enjoying. The idea of cherishing the present life echoes with "savoring the present sweetness." An empathetic feeling for others motivates participants to *do* something, which is one of the possible consequences. Participants urge themselves to become better people:

> I understand that this historical period is meant to make me aware of how hard-earned my current life is. It was the previous generations who achieved my present happy life through their efforts and sacrifices, even shedding their blood. I acknowledge that the happiness I experience now is thanks to them. So, when I encounter challenges at work or in other aspects of life, I shouldn't think of giving up or feeling discouraged. I should remember that they overcame immense hardships, and what could be more challenging than that? The era I live in is already very fortunate, where I don't have to worry about food, clothing, or shelter. Instead of dwelling on problems, I should remind myself that

even in this era, some people struggle with suicidal thoughts. In comparison, the people of that time had such a difficult time just trying to survive. Their living conditions were not as good, and their sole wish was to stay alive… So, considering their lives, I am truly living in paradise now. It teaches me to cherish and appreciate the happiness of my present life and to value my own life. (FW-NMMH-020)

Besides cherishing today's peaceful life, the empathetic feelings of sorrow and pain being actualized push her and the whole nation to revive. This is what FW-NMMH-020 supplemented:

Regarding the significance of this museum experience, first, I gained a more detailed understanding of this historical period, learned things that were not mentioned in books, and experienced the cruelty and sadness during that society and era. It has made me cherish my present fortunate life even more. Secondly, it has taught me that backwardness invites humiliation… The progress of the nation and society relies on each and every one of us. We must contribute our efforts to its development.

Duff (2010) provided us with a provocative thought – "To experience place is to be *affected by place*" (p. 881). Participants involved in the above episodes deliberately *experienced the place* since they were not only emotionally affected but also ideologically affected. Participants in the two museums "recalled past bitterness" through actualizing negative emotions, such as sorrow, pain, and shame, as well as "savored present sweetness" by assimilating these negative emotions to celebrate their everyday life as hard-won and precious, becoming more patriotic. Similarly, Ahmed (2008) believes that "emotions shape what we do, how we do things, what we do things with, and where we go" (p. 12). These negative emotions shape how visitors make meaning out of the museum visit and how they orient themselves toward the future of their nation.

As a final remark, visitors' interpretation of China's contemporary history unleashes strong emotions, mainly negative ones. These emotions being actualized by visitors through various doings and sayings in the two study sites were being appropriated in post hoc meaning-making. Most meanings visitors assign to their negative emotional experiences are related to their everyday being in Chinese society and also the future of their nation. The emotionally charged heritage visit is then qualified as an affective practice in which "emotions are used to justify, inform or sometimes challenge the meanings people bring with them and take away from their visit" (Smith, 2021, p. 4). It also illustrates heritage visitors' present-day use of the past (Timothy & Boyd, 2006), which is charged with pain and humiliation.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion

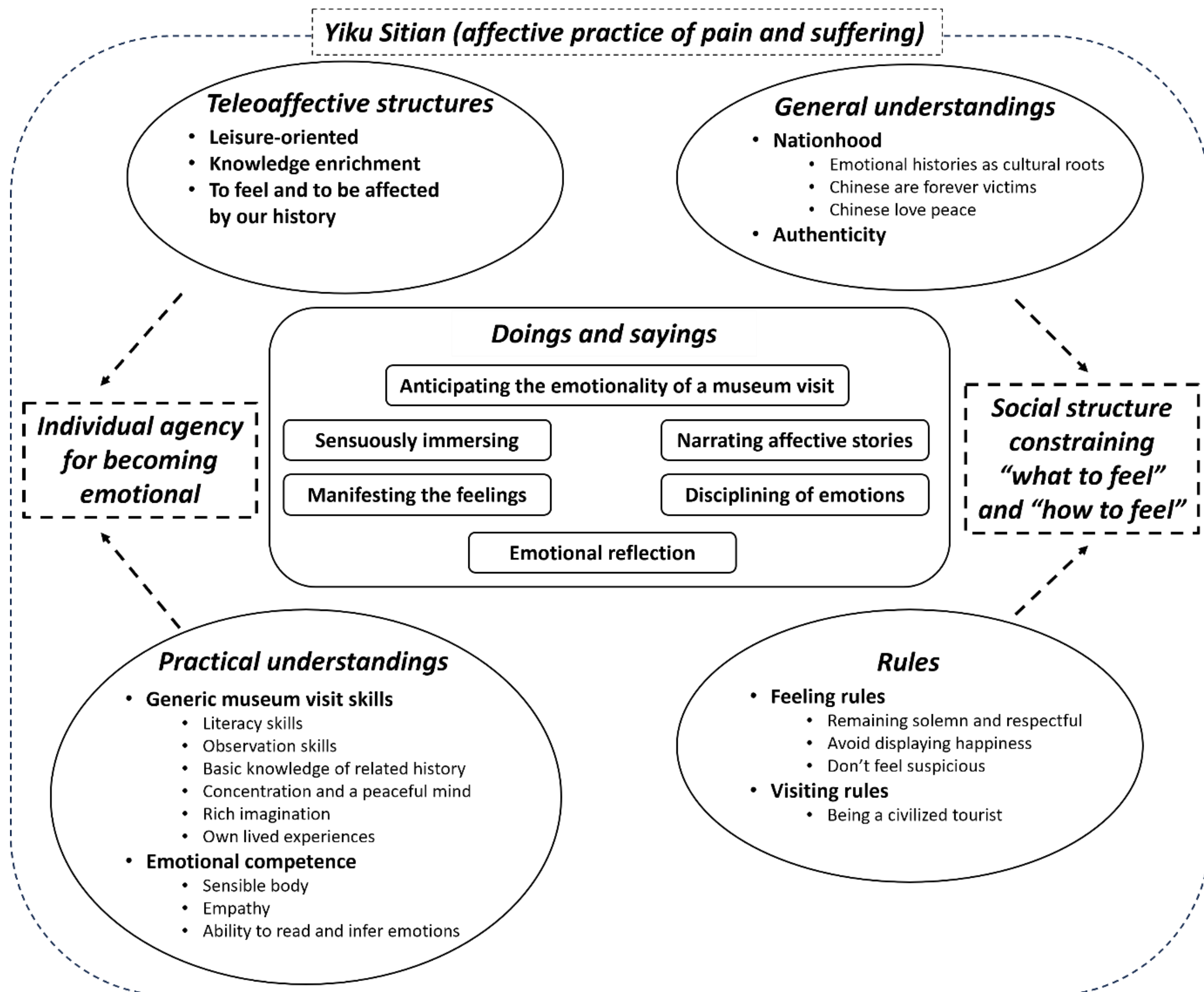
7.1 Discussion

Red tourism is an increasingly popular form of tourism in China, considering the ever-expanding number of communist heritage sites being revitalized and developed. Given the fact that red tourism is a nationwide campaign, Chinese scholars have been paying unprecedented attention to the use of red tourism resources, attraction development, and marketing strategies. Relevant academic research regarding visitors' red tourism experiences is still nascent. Most importantly, the essence of heritage tourism lies in its relational and affective dimensions visitors establish with the heritage through paying a visit. This significant quality in understanding heritage tourism experiences seems to be overlooked in existing red tourism literature, both written in Chinese and English. Although the emotional experience of red tourism started to catch academic attention, most inquiries only understand red tourism emotions psychologically. Existing studies failed to scrutinize how the affective experience of red tourism is socially constituted and organized.

Based on a qualitative design, this study seizes the opportunity to address the emotional experiences of Chinese red visitors. Schatzki's (2002) social practice theory and Wetherell's (2012) pragmatic framework to affect analysis are used as a heuristic device to explore the complexities involved in emotional red tourism experiences, which is assumed to be a cultural practice shared among Chinese tourists. The findings were categorized using five preconceived concepts in Schatzki's (2002) framework. Results unveil the activities and organizing elements of emotional red tourism experiences (see Figure 7.1). The findings under "doings and sayings" offered evidence of how emotional red tourism experiences are visitors' own enactment by engaging in different activities that are bundled together. The remaining findings under four analytical categories, including practical understandings, general understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures, explicated organizational elements of red tourism. They

collaboratively account for how an emotional red tourism experience is a social practice of "*yiku sitian*" in Chinese society.

Figure 7.1 *Activities and Organizing Elements of an Emotional Red Museum Visit*



7.1.1 Doings and Sayings of Emotional Red Tourism Experiences

This thesis provided empirical evidence to demonstrate human affects as routinized human behavior in our everyday life, while tourism activities are now part of our lifestyles. The findings under the analytic category of "doings and sayings" showed how affects are being socially constituted, reified and used in different phases of a red tourism experience. Prior to the actual red tourism participation, visitors anticipate the overall atmosphere of the place and

also set corresponding desirable outcomes. This is what participants *do* to prepare themselves *to feel*. Ingredients for visitors' performance of anticipation, such as visitors' knowledge of history, previous red tourism experiences, interpretations of Chinese collective memories, and motivations, spark and frame individuals' emotional experiences prior to physically stepping into red tourism sites. This is consistent with previous research arguing that visitors do not enter the affective atmosphere of a place in a mysteriously homogenous way (Goulding, 2023). Our affective experiences are indeed rooted in the knowledge we have and the imaginaries we hold about a place (Goulding, 2023; Goulding & Pressey, 2023; Preece et al., 2022). The anticipated emotionality of the trip orientates the emotional experience of the actual visit. Those who anticipated the trip to be an emotional one seemed much more emotionally affected by the exhibition than those who imagined an informational and functional trip.

Museums and heritages are places where stories are being told (Dimache et al., 2017; Nielsen, 2017). "Narrating affective stories" and "sensuously immersing" reiterate how storytelling can offer visitors sensory and emotional immersion experiences (Chronis, 2005; Fu et al., 2023). First, contemporary heritage and tourism research has begun to understand how storytelling is an impactful value co-creation practice in tourism enacted by both tourists and product providers (Campos et al., 2023; Fu et al., 2023; Mossberg, 2008). Human beings are natural storytellers (McAdams & McLean, 2013). Heritage tourists do not simply reject or accept stories offered by heritage or museums (Chronis, 2005, 2012). They are story-builders who construct coherent narratives of what happened in the past by sewing disparate pieces of information together, establishing personal relevance and ascribing new meanings (Chronis, 2012). Storytelling is an activity frequently performed by visitors in both museums. "Narrating affective stories" enriched our understanding of heritage tourists' storytelling practices. For instance, story (re)creating is shown to be a human routinized behavior that at least simultaneously involves visitors' rich imagination, observation skills, literacy skills, and basic

knowledge of related history. Most participants did not purposefully plan to (re)create, recall, and (re)tell stories before their visit, but they often naturally narrated history-related stories during their visit. Through (re)creating and (re)telling stories in the museum space, participants enact sanctioned emotions. Some of them even contested the structure of feelings. The study justified the fact that heritage tourists perform storytelling rather than passively receiving stories being told.

Second, "sensuously immersing" shows that visitors' onsite emotional experiences involve environmental elements such as light and darkness, sound, and tactual stimuli. In previous embodiment literature, studies informed by embodiment cognition theory assumed that sensory experiences and bodily feelings are information that subconsciously impact human emotions and behaviors (Barsalou, 2008; Lv et al., 2022; Sun & Lv, 2021). Yet, this is not necessarily the case. As an agent, visitors exercise their various competencies (e.g., rich imagination and their sensible body) to enact affective episodes or moments. Similar to how Goulding (2023) understands the process of feeling, we "must have some sort of connection, empathy, knowledge, or the ability to imagine ourselves into situations" (p. 5). Red tourists who are able to feel and eventually obtain an intense emotional experience out of their sensory experiences are those who have, for instance, vivid imaginations, the ability to empathize, similar lived experiences, high bodily sensitivity and rich knowledge about the past.

Existing heritage tourism studies clearly understand heritage evokes complex emotions for its visitors. Although moments or episodes of affects may come upon us unexpectedly, it does not mean that affective experiences cannot be sought, regulated or managed (Smith & Campbell, 2016). "Manifesting the feelings," "disciplining of emotions," and "emotional reflection" denote visitors' effort to reify, adjust, conceal and utilize emotions. These findings depart from previous studies that adopt a relatively static way of researching visitor's emotional responses. For instance, most related literature on red tourism and dark tourism is still exploring

the different types of emotional responses and their influences on tourist behavior (Nawijn et al., 2023; Oren et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2023). These findings underlined that heritage visitors have emotional agency, as suggested by leading scholars in heritage studies (e.g., Smith & Campbell, 2016; Zhang & Smith, 2019). Heritage tourists are capable of choosing when, where and how to express themselves emotionally and then how they make use of or discard these affective moments.

All in all, affective practices are human habits and routinized activities that give rise to a specific emotional state (Scheer, 2012; Wetherell, 2012). It might include the emotional work we do to achieve certain desired feelings and modify our undesirable emotions. The findings associated with "doings and sayings" in red tourism emotional experience reaffirmed how affective practices "are manipulations of body and mind to evoke feelings where there are none, to focus diffuse arousals and give them an intelligible shape, or to change or remove emotions already there" (Scheer, 2012, p. 209).

7.1.2 Practical Understandings of Emotional Red Tourism Experiences

The themes related to pre-conceived concepts of practical understandings highlighted how active use of generic museum skills and emotional competence are crucial in performing an emotional red tourism experience. Museum studies have increasingly valued storytelling as a powerful tool for ensuring the meaning-making and emotional engagement of visitors (Campos et al., 2023; Hannam & Ryan, 2019; Nielsen, 2017). However, most studies focused on how museums and attractions can harness storytelling rather than showing how visitors could be storytellers. "Rich imagination" is a key competence for heritage tourists to take up the role of storytellers. Previous studies also shared similar ideas (Chronis, 2012; Keightley & Pickering, 2012). In a recent red tourism study conducted in Shanghai Sihang Warehouse Battle Memorial, the authors suggested that red museums can tell engaging stories of the

revolutionary past. They suggested that exhibits of different forms, such as tangible replicas, video image, cultural relics, and new media technologies, allows visitors to use their imagination (Wang & Wu, 2023). Despite this being an illuminating standpoint, the authors did not further explicate the process of visitors incorporating their imagination to reconstruct the past. In contrast, findings in this thesis demonstrated in detail how visitors bring together objects in the museum and utilize their imagination to "tell stories." These stories are created partially based on sanctioned factual knowledge, and the remaining rely on imagination. This form of storytelling resembles what Keightley and Pickering (2012) described as "mnemonic imagination." That is the process regarding how imagination brings alive the past and fills up the gaps in the reassembled past.

Besides, museum researchers posited that storytelling is able to activate visitors' imagination as people might be emotionally engaged by experiences that they do not personally have (Nielsen, 2017). In one recent study, Campos et al. (2023) reported that imaginations are involved when participants imagine themselves as experiencing events in the past. The category of "narrating affective stories," which is one of the practices visitors enact, further enriches our understanding of the relationship between storytelling and imagination in museum settings. Findings of this thesis underscored that imagination is motivated not only when visitors put themselves in the story but is also crucial in filling gaps in a story and augmenting the story's settings and characters.

A comparable idea to the identified attributes under practical understandings would be "museum literacy," which was coined by Stapp (1984). Museum literacy represents visitors' ability to make a meaningful museum visit by purposefully and independently drawing upon the museum's holdings and services. Museum literacy is understood as the skills a person needs and employs in order to access, interpret, and make meaning in the museumscape (Sims, 2018; Wallis, 2018). Although museum literacy was coined in the 1980s, further scholarly inquiry

about what constitutes "museum literacy" has been limited. This concept has never been a major topic in museum studies (Lund & Wang, 2019). Knowledge acquisition in relation to museum content is frequently deemed by museum professionals to be the main purpose underlying a museum visit (Gilbert, 2016; Smith, 2006). Thus, most conceptualizations and understandings of museum literacy show a keen focus on the educational aspect. Museum literacy is limited to the skills and strategies that visitors need to have in order to gain factual knowledge in the museum, similar to library literary or information literacy. However, a museum is not only a place for conducting education but also a place where many people go to feel and to become emotional (Poria et al., 2003; Poria, Reichel, et al., 2006; Smith, 2021). Thus, the attributes of practice understandings identified here not only give more detailed descriptions of what skills and abilities are involved in existing museum literacy concepts but also contribute to the development of museum literacy by arguing the value of including emotional competence.

7.1.3 Teleoaffective Structures of Emotional Red Tourism Experiences

Chinese tourists are driven by a range of different motivations (Xu, 2015; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b). The three themes under teleoaffective structures reconfirmed that common purposes of visiting red museums are "leisure-oriented," "knowledge enrichment," and "to feel and to be affected by the history." It is suggested that the three identified themes related to teleoaffective structures frame the emotional contour of a red tourism experience. Those who wish "to feel" are more ready to emotionally engage with the exhibition. In contrast, red tourism experiences sought by those who primarily want to have cognitive learning or pleasure are less emotionally intensive in the two studied red tourism sites.

Previous studies reported similar motivations for red tourism. Visitors to red tourism sites wish to learn about revolutionary incidents and stories of heroes (Hartmann & Su, 2021; Kim et al., 2021; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b). Some of them were motivated by leisure-oriented purposes, such as escapism (Kim et al., 2021), relaxation and novelty (Xu, 2015; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b). The theme "To feel and to be affected by our history" revealed that a group of red tourists wish to be emotionally moved by their national history and desire for an emotionally rich journey. This desirable end was less prominent in previous red tourism studies. Indeed, scholars have argued heritage tourists choose to visit heritage sites or museums in order to feel and to become emotional (Poria et al., 2003; Poria, Reichel, et al., 2006; Smith, 2021). Arguably, red tourism as a form of heritage tourism offers opportunities for tourists to "feel."

7.1.4 General Understandings and Rules of Emotional Red Tourism Experiences

In the previous two sections, practical understandings and teleoaffective structures are more associated with personal factors and heritage visitors' agency in experiencing the heritage emotionally. In contrast, general understandings and rules are shared ideological elements and social norms, respectively. The findings associated with these two analytic concepts tell us about the linkage between red tourism and the overall culture in China.

Authenticity and nationhood correspond to the notion of general understandings in Schatzki's (2002) practice theory. General understanding "normatively conditioned" the manner in which practices are carried out (Welch, 2020, p. 76). Tourists' red tourism experiences, similar to most types of heritage tourism, cannot be detached from the concepts of nationhood and authenticity. General understandings cannot directly explain actions but help us to consider the relationship between culture and action in practices (Gram-Hanssen, 2021; Welch & Warde, 2017).

First, victimhood discourse was said to be a key feature in Chinese national self-identity (Carrai, 2021; Wang, 2008). The findings related to nationhood reflect how Chinese people understand themselves as victims and the prominent role collective victimhood memories played in tourism, which is part of our modern daily lifestyle. This tells us how the stereotypic and deep-rooted victimhood component in Chinese national identity is fixated and expressed through tourism.

Second, tourists' experiences are conditioned by authenticity. Some visitors choose to disengage with the exhibition because of its objective inauthenticity, while some are able to authenticate inauthentic exhibits. Nevertheless, it suggests Chinese visitors are becoming more mature and are no longer satisfied with straightforward hedonic experiences or material obsessions. Similar to observations made by researchers, Chinese tourists are now looking for in-depth experiential experiences (Liu et al., 2022; Ren, 2022).

A previous study reported that red tourists believe they should "cherish a deep reverence, keep solemn and quiet, … in good order, and do not make fun of revolutionary pioneers or national leaders" (Zhao & Timothy, 2017b, p. 104). The feeling rules and visiting rules identified in this thesis reconfirmed these shared agreements among red tourists. Tourists' careful compliance with the various feeling rules suggested that most visitors have internalized the beliefs and values CCP propagated. For instance, Chinese tourists understand they should respect the past CCP heroes and interpret the history in accordance with the master narrative crafted by the government. These observations resonate with previous studies that red tourism is successful in achieving political goals to a certain extent (Yan & Hyman, 2023; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b; Zuo, 2014).

7.1.5 Yiku Sitian

First, this study suggested that an emotional red tourism experience could be theorized as an affective practice of pain and suffering. It unpacks how red tourism offers a familiar yet new context for Chinese people to "*yiku sitian*," a unique cultural and emotional practice in China. The various doings and sayings showed how an emotional experience of red tourism is a meaningful assemblage of visitors' minds, collective memories, bodies, surrounding physical environment and objects. For example, "narrating affective stories" is one of the visitors' habitual performances that requires participants to utilize their minds. Visitors need to mindfully recreate stories using their own imaginations, knowledge of history, observation skills, and previous personal experiences. These stories become the collective/prosthetic memories of the Chinese visitors. Visitors' sensuous immersing practices illuminate how visitors harness their sensible bodies to feel. Objects and the physical environments are the most prominent elements when visitors sensuously immerse or manifest their own feelings. Not dissimilar to how Wetherell (2015) described what affective practice is, "*yiku sitian*" is "a moment of recruitment, articulation or enlistment," (p. 161) in which our bodies, subjectivities, history, social relations and context intertwine together "to form just this affective moment, episode or atmosphere with its particular possible classification" (p. 161).

Second, research suggested that red tourism and dark tourism share some similarities but differ in their internal mechanisms (He, 2012; Sima, 2017). Both red and dark tourism overlap in terms of the physical sites. Both of them are tourism phenomena that happen at sites related to war and death, such as past battlefields, memorial halls, and museums. Previous literature on red tourism conceptualized tourists' emotion-related motivations as solely positive. For example, Zhao and Timothy (2017) found that a group of red tourists is motivated by novelty and relaxation. Kim et al. (2021) incorporated only positive emotion measurements

(e.g., "I will be excited" and "I will be happy") to address the emotional experience in red tourism.

Recent heritage tourism research revealed the co-existence of both positive and negative emotions in visitor experience (Oren et al., 2021, 2022). In my study, most participants in the two sites reported their museum experiences involved both negative emotions (e.g., a sense of pain and suffering) and positive emotions (e.g., pride and hope). This is consistent with the more recent conceptualization of red tourism as a type of activity rich in emotions, being able to evoke both positive and negative emotions (Liu et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2023).

Although scholars have started to recognize that red tourism involves both positive and negative emotions, a majority of these studies have asserted that red tourism is dominated by positive emotions. For instance, Wang et al. (2020) proposed the use of emotional valance to distinguish red tourism from dark tourism. In the study of Wang et al. (2023), red tourists rated positive emotions much higher than negative ones. Previous research depicted red tourism as more focused on offering tourists positive emotional experiences, while dark tourism is centered around negative emotions.

In contrast, the findings of this thesis challenge the above assumptions. It argues that negative emotions could be an integral part of the tourist experience in red tourism (e.g., how the feeling of pain and suffering span and connect visitors' emotional performances) despite being site-specific. Although this study focuses on red tourism sites, it is interesting that visitors encountered both positive and negative emotions during their actual visit. Tourists in the two sites mobilized negative affects through various performances and transformed these negative emotions into a sense of patriotism and hopefulness. Reflecting on the reified negative emotions, tourists are determined to build a better China and practice self-cultivation. Not dissimilar to recent studies examining tourists' experiences of positive and negative emotions

in heritage (Nawijn & Biran, 2019; Oren et al., 2021), the argument regarding how negative emotions generated in heritage tourism can evoke positive outcomes is reflected through participants' comments.

Scholars called for more conceptualization of red tourism from a social construction perspective (He, 2012; Xiao, 2013; Xu, 2015). Echoing these previous calls, this study suggested that the salience of positive or negative emotions does not sufficiently differentiate red tourism from dark tourism. The key is the process concerning how negative emotions are being appropriated by tourists during and after red tourism participation.

7.2 Theoretical Implications

This study makes noteworthy theoretical contributions to red tourism, heritage tourism and practice theory scholarship. First, it compensates for the deficiency in understanding red tourists' experience. Although a tremendous amount of work published in Chinese academia has focused on red tourism, red tourists' emotional experiences have been overtly neglected. Most research took a macro perspective to explore the distribution and uses of red tourism resources (Zhang et al., 2021), red tourism products and destination development (Chen & Li, 2007; Zhou & Xu, 2019). Even though tourist experiences are studied, tourists' perceived service quality or satisfaction with a destination or attractions were used as a proxy to understand tourist experiences (Cao, 2020; Liu & Mao, 2018). This treatment oversimplified the complexity of red tourism experiences. This form of theorization fails to interrogate the core of red tourism experiences. It only navigates red tourism scholarship to a dead end. The affective, ideological, and embodied dimensions of red tourism experiences are largely unexplored. Following the "critical turn" in both heritage and tourism studies, this thesis contributes to red tourism scholarship by unpacking the complexities of red tourism. A visit to a red tourism site is not a passive history lecture or political education tour. In contrast, visitors

meaningfully engage, (re)create, and even contest the narratives delivered by red tourism sites. This study also shows how human affects span and connect all tourists' activities that are concurrently happening during red tourism.

Second, this thesis contributes to the study of affects and emotions in red tourism. Some Chinese scholars recently started to reconceptualize and clarify red tourism is a highly emotionally engaging form of tourism in which tourists' participation should be active and embodied (He, 2012; Wang et al., 2020). However, the affective and embodied aspects of red tourism have received only nascent attention in empirical research. This thesis highlights how thinking of our emotional red tourism experience as social practice troubles the dominant red tourism scholarship and enhances our knowledge about visitors' complex embodied and emotional beings in red tourism sites.

Third, echoing the call for researching red tourism as a social construction (Xiao, 2013; Xu, 2015), this study makes contributions to the conceptualization of red tourism. The notion of "*yiku sitian*" and "emotional reflection" demonstrated that negative emotions are the prerequisites for stimulating positive emotions, such as pride and hope, in the red tourism context. Having tasted the bitterness of the past through the museum visit, visitors are fond of cherishing today's sweetness. It could be said that the negative emotions encountered by participants enhanced their determination to build a stronger nation and fostered a sense of national pride and belongingness. Solely relying on emotional salience and valance risk oversimplifying the conceptualization of red tourism. The key to truly understanding and defining red tourism lies in the relational, affective and embodied aspects of this tourism phenomenon. In other words, red tourism is distinctive in how tourists generate emotions and how these emotions are put into use. This has a considerable impact on the reconceptualization of red tourism and heritage tourism research.

Fourth, this thesis benefits the study of heritage tourism and its education. Red tourism might not be only dominated by positive emotional experiences. In contrast to the existing scholarly assumption about the dominant role of positive emotions in red tourism, this thesis underlined how negative emotions are something wanted and actively sought by red tourists. It is clear that notions such as recreation or the search for hedonic and pleasurable experiences failed to fully conceptualize red tourism, similar to the case of dark tourism. This shows how red tourism is legitimate as a unique form of tourism which needs special attention. The co-existence of both positive and negative emotions in red tourism helps to differentiate heritage tourism, as well as its other sub-groups, from other hedonic tourism types.

Fifth, this study contributes to the affective turn in tourism studies by demonstrating how the concept of affective practice is one of the fruitful avenues for understanding human affect as it allows researchers to dissect what participants *do* and *feel*. We are now witnessing an "affective turn" in other social science disciplines that have started to explore the possibility of theorizing human affects from a practice theory perspective. Scholars researched the affective practice of anxiety (Jackson & Everts, 2010; Lehto, 2022), cancer survivorship-related emotions (Broom et al., 2019), "care" in laboratories (Kerr & Garforth, 2016) and eating-related disgust (Koskinen, 2023). Originally conceptualized by Margaret Wetherell (2012), the concept of affective practice offered researchers a package of theoretical propositions for the analysis of human affects. To the best knowledge of the author, this is the first study that explicitly theorizes tourism evoked emotions as social practices, particularly human affects of pain and suffering.

Sixth, this study enriches practice theory scholarship. This thesis reiterates that emotions and affects are something that participants actualized using their skills while following the logic governed by various rules and general understandings. Research suggests that emotional experience and human activities are not separate phenomena but view emotional

experiences as something we do (Scheer, 2012). Anchoring in this school of thought, I have shown with empirical evidence that the felt emotions are the result of the emotional work participants did. Together with some other affect theorists like Leys (2011) and Wetherell (2015), we believe that affects are not impersonal and not non-conscious. Participants actively draw on their imagination, observation skills, personal sensibility, the knowledge they acquired, objects around them, and so on to construct their own emotional red tourism experiences. Throughout this construction process, visitors anticipate the contour of the museum experience, immerse themselves sensuously, narrate affective stories, express their feelings through various materials, discipline their own emotional beings and reflect on their own emotions. The ethnographic findings demonstrated how red tourism, or a red museum visitation, is not just a matter of knowledge enrichment, political education, and fun-seeking activities as suggested by previous red tourism literature (Li & Hu, 2008; Zhao & Timothy, 2017b; Zuo, 2014). It is a complex network of human activities encompassing the affective, embodied and material dimensions of our lifeworld (Wetherell, 2012). These emotional works performed by us knot together as our emotional experiences. Thus, emotions are obviously not pre-conscious and do not come to us all of a sudden. In other words, affects are human practices that involve both body and mind.

Seventh, this thesis makes significant advancements to the practice theory and affect theory scholarships. Although Wetherell (2012) offered a pragmatic approach to the study of human affects, it is challenging for researchers to apply her framework. Existing research on human affects applying a practice perspective is still sparse and fragmented, which is supplied with limited empirically grounded research outputs as guidance (Koskinen, 2023). Koskinen (2023) showed how affective practice theory could be operationalized using Shove et al.'s (2012) version of social practice theory. In a similar vein, this thesis advances practice theory and affect theory scholarship by testifying and demonstrating the possibility of incorporating

Schatzki's (2002) practice theory and Wetherell's (2012) approach to affect analysis in order to allow a more systematic approach to the study of human affects as social practices.

7.3 Methodological Implications

First, this research introduces the use of mobile methods to study heritage tourists' experiences. Through investigating Chinese tourists' emotional experiences in two red tourism sites, the study shows that this approach allows researchers to capture the fleeting affective moments and tourists' spontaneous responses during a museum visit. It also enables researchers to zoom into the actual behaviors of visitors. Researchers can then identify the bundles of practices and corresponding elements rather than only seeing visitors walking in, gazing at exhibits and coming out. The use of mobile methods enables researchers to get closer to the real-time tourist experience and make discoveries. For example, negative affects were found to be the backbone of visitors' emotional experiences in the museum. These findings are inconsistent with previous red tourism studies. Wang et al. (2023) reported in their study that tourists experienced more intense positive emotions than negative emotions. A possible explanation is that the data collection in their study is a cross-sectional survey design, which cannot capture affective moments or episodes. Red tourists not only participate in heritage or museum visits, but also enjoy the scenery of rural China, where red heritage sites are usually located (Xu, 2015). They might also look for relaxation and engage in other leisure activities when they are in a red tourism destination.

Given that emotions are short-lived felt experiences (Nawijn et al., 2023; Nawijn & Biran, 2019), cross-sectional surveys possibly only probe for the overall mood of tourism participation rather than emotions central to critical "cultural moments" (Smith, 2012, p. 213) of red tourism. Tourists' intense negative emotional responses amidst their visitation of a particular red heritage might not be able to be captured using a survey. Thus, it is also advocated

that researchers who study red tourism, or heritage tourism in a broader sense, should employ better methods, as demonstrated in this thesis, such as ethnography or walking interviews, to grasp tourists' real-time affective responses, which are fleeting and not easy to surface.

Second, this thesis contributes to advancing the use of mobile methods in tourism research by documenting and discussing practical issues that need to be addressed. Mobile methods, as a relatively novel research approach, have been gaining momentum in other social science disciplines. Tourism and hospitality studies are just at the beginning of exploring its usage. While contemporary tourism and hospitality studies have applied various mobile methods (Wang et al., 2021; Witte, 2021; Yang et al., 2023), few have discussed the methodological concerns and practical issues when it is being applied, except the study of Johnstone et al. (2020). The author's reflexive account of his own experiences of harnessing walking interviews could hopefully provide more practical guidance for future studies.

Third, this thesis advances tourism ethnography in arguing how researchers' own emotional experiences of the fieldwork are crucial to the process of data curation and analysis. This thesis attempts to demonstrate how weaving researchers' own personal and emotional difficulties into the research output is fruitful for making it more transparent, confirmable and reflexive, albeit mainstream social science is still making a tremendous effort in sanitizing the research process (Lydahl et al., 2021; Punch, 2012). Farkic (2020) believed researchers' personal embodied and emotional experiences offer an opportunity to enrich their understanding of "the field" and also function as valuable resources to draw on during the data analysis process. This approach to data production and analysis also disrupts the dominant ways of doing research in the field of red tourism studies.

7.4 Practical Implications

First, red tourism experiences involve a mix of both positive and negative emotions, arguably more central to negative emotions for some visitors or in particular sites. It is necessary to take measures to provoke tourists' negative and positive emotions in red tourism sites to offer more engaging tourism experiences. Destination managers should consider whether their red tourism destination pays equal attention to both negative emotions-based and positive emotions-based tourist attractions. Regarding site interpretation, red tourism sites could utilize sad historical stories of martyrs to stimulate visitors' sense of identity and national pride. Site interpretation should evoke visitors' negative emotions by guiding tourists to recall the bitterness of the old days and contrast it with China's modern achievements and advancements. This indirect form of nation-building can be more efficient than directly glorifying the CCP's achievements.

Second, previous research pointed out that most red tourism sites have deficiencies in the design of exhibition content and interpretation methods (Zhang, 2008). Most red tourism sites still rely on conventional guiding practices that stress educational purposes and convey historical facts unilaterally. Since skills such as imagination, empathy, and sensible body are some important skills for evoking an emotionally rich red tourism experience, museum management or official interpreters can design guiding services or interpretation services that allow visitors to utilize these skills during a museum visit rather than adhering to the conventional museum guiding practices. Official interpreters can instruct visitors to imagine some historical scenes, use their bodies to sense the multi-sensory environment in the museum or incorporate narratives that are effective in evoking visitors' sense of empathy. This kind of more engaging guiding practice can facilitate visitors' immersion into the museum experience. The use of advanced technologies that harness sensory elements to enhance visitor experiences is also recommended. Possible technologies could be virtual reality and augmented reality.

These technologies are proven to be effective in engaging museum visitors emotionally (Errichiello et al., 2019; Kazlauskaitė, 2022).

Third, the Disneyfication of red tourism was considered an undesirable approach to its development and promotion, given that the goal of red tourism lies in formal historical, cultural, and ideological education (Xu, 2015; Zhang, 2008). Since tourists look for emotionally engaging experiences that are not necessarily dominantly hedonic based, the government and destination manager should uncover more revolutionary stories and use storytelling approaches to market their red tourism resources rather than offering a Disneyfied red tourism experience.

Fourth, in terms of education, museums have long been considered a place for public education and improving the level of literacy among citizens. In this study, it is found that the two museums allowed visitors to utilize a wide range of museum skills. In China, schools and universities always organize tours to red museums. However, most schools only require students to write reflection essays about their visit. A certain format and hegemonic narratives often frame these types of reflection writings. It is questioned how far these forms of reflection writing could nurture students' imaginative skills, critical inquiry skills or storytelling skills. Schools should develop museum education programs that are able to nourish students' museum literacy, such as literacy skills, empathy, and observation skills, which are crucial job skills in contemporary China.

In summary, the development and management of red tourism attractions should be based on tourists' perspective. The government, site managers and tourism product suppliers should pay attention to offering emotional tourism experiences. It is helpful in stimulating a strong sense of national identity and sustaining the red spirit, which is key to building a better China.

7.5 Limitations and Future Research

There are some limitations to this dissertation, which also relate to directions for future research. First, the nature and historical background of the two studied sites might have restricted the generalizability of the findings to other contexts. Although Nanjing and Jinggangshan were chosen in this study based on their representativeness of red tourism, both sites relate primarily to the revolutionary history of China. Red tourism is now expanding to include sites which narrate the contemporary achievements of China, such as the China Art Museum, previously the China Pavilion of the 2010 Shanghai Expo, and military museums. In the future, it is necessary to select these non-typical red tourism sites for comparative studies to verify the arguments put forward in this research.

Besides, some researchers might argue one of the study sites, which is the NMMH, as a dark tourism site rather than a red heritage. The analyses presented in chapters five and six, especially those findings centered around *Yiku Sitian* (i.e., section 6.2), serve to illustrate and justify the similarity of the two selected sites in terms of tourists' emotional experiences, as well as showcasing the impact of a particular Chinese emotional culture on red tourism experiences. Similar studies can be conducted in sites that can simutaneously qualify as both red and dark tourism sites. Hopefully, these future studies will be able to further clarify the emotional contour of communist heritages in China, whether they are dark or red or something else. Ivanova and Buda (2020, p. 7) posited that "there is not a singular way to define what constitutes that type of heritage, and there is not a fixed or correct way in which that communist heritage is experienced." Perhaps these future studies might surprise us by showing that it is conceptually misleading to classify a communist heritage site as red or dark, which is similar to Ivanova and Buda's (2020) thought-provoking argument.

Apart from the nature of the two sites, targeted participants also pose some limitations to this current study. The two selected sites are all located in China, covering domestic red

tourism only. Nowadays, some Chinese tourists travel to North Korea or Russia to learn about the revolutionary history of China and the communist past of other regimes. Thus, outbound red tourism is not being covered in this study. Furthermore, red tourism in China represents the unique social-political background of the country, associated with its history, modern development and contemporary achievements. Tourists' emotional experiences are thought to be highly relevant to these social-political contexts. Future studies should investigate the emotional experiences of red tourists who traveled across borders to validate the influence of various social-political factors on red tourists' meaning-making. It is also imperative to compare the emotional experiences of Chinese tourists and the locals in communist sites of other current communist regimes and post-communist countries. A comparison between international tourists and Chinese tourists might also generate insights into our understanding of red tourism experiences.

Third, emotional responses vary individually and differ among generations. Most participants of this study are considered to be well-educated and literate, in their 20s to 40s. They mainly originate from relatively wealthy cities in China. It remains unclear whether tourists with other backgrounds will exhibit similar behavior and obtain similar emotional experiences through red tourism participation. Besides, overseas Chinese might return to China and visit red tourism sites as a form of diaspora tourism. Their understanding and interpretation of the communist past can be quite different from the general Chinese citizens. Also, social memories fade across generations. It is crucial to compare and contrast the different emotional responses across age cohort groups according to the occurrence of important historical events, such as tourists who experienced the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward, those born after the Mao era, citizens born after the economic reform in 1978, and those who received systematic and extensive state-led patriotic education after the legitimacy crisis faced by the CCP in 1989.

Fourth, the use of walking interviews and a qualitative design give rise to certain limitations. Most participants are individual visitors who come to visit the two sites of their own will. Government, enterprises and schools often organize training tours to red tourism sites. This study failed to gain access to the latter groups of tourists. Their emotional experiences of red tourism are largely unexplored in this study. In the future, researchers could explore the differences between group tourists' emotional experiences and those who visit individually. Although the use of walking interviews allows researchers to get closer to participants' multiple realities, most of the data is still dependent on the verbal accounts given by participants. Future research could utilize research techniques in neuroscience, such as electroencephalograms or eye-tracking devices, to more accurately identify the affective moments that red tourists experience.

Fifth, this study only provided a screenshot of the affective experiences of individual red tourists. The long-term impacts of these affective moments on red tourists' worldviews and personal value systems remain unclear. A longitudinal study is needed to investigate the impact of red tourism experiences on tourists' life trajectories.

Sixth, the findings associated with tourists' sensory experiences and emotional reflections resemble the theoretical propositions in embodied cognition theory. Tourists are exposed to a range of different sensory experiences and bodily feelings that function as information in influencing their emotions, cognitions and behaviors (Fock & Ringberg, 2019). This study utilized practice theory as the central theoretical lens of which the unit of analysis is practice rather than individuals. Future studies can consider employing embodied cognition theory to study individuals' emotional experiences, as well as their cognitive and behavioral change after red tourism participation. A quantitative design might be a better suit in this regard.

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