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## **Motivations of tourism-induced mobility: Tourism development and the pursuit of the Chinese dream**

### **Abstract**

Less developed areas face the challenge of attracting and sustaining various forms of capital for tourism development. This study examines the motivations and experiences of migrant employees and entrepreneurs in the context of tourism development in rural China. In-depth interviews with migrant employees and entrepreneurs revealed that they were motivated by economic, socio-cultural and intrinsic factors to enter the tourism industry and strive towards personal achievement. Tourism development offers opportunities for individuals in pursuit of the Chinese dream, suggestions are made on the strategic planning of tourism and providing more administrative support to improve tourism supply induced mobility.

Keywords: motivation, entrepreneurial mobility, labour mobility, tourism migrants, tourism development, rural China

### **1 Introduction**

Tourism can be a driving force for many forms of mobility such as seasonal migration, lifestyle mobilities and travelling to second homes (Cohen, Duncan, & Thulemark, 2015; Lew, 2015; Sun & Xu, 2017). While these mobilities are mainly informed by the consumption of tourism services, those induced by tourism's supply side, particularly the mobilities generated to fulfil the demand for human capital, remains under researched. Migrant employees and entrepreneurs are particularly important in providing human capital and in driving tourism development in less developed areas. Migrant employees and entrepreneurs in tourism, as practitioners of tourism supply-induced mobilities, are defined as the people who migrate to a destination driven by the actual and potential employment and entrepreneurship opportunities offered in tourism development. The main objective of this study is to understand the motivations of these tourism migrants and the intertwining relationships between personal development and the physical, social and political context of the destination.

Tourism developments represent both urbanisation and counter-urbanisation movements. Urbanising rural and peripheral areas provides more employment and entrepreneurial opportunities and attracts inward migrants, while the phenomenon of counter-urbanisation encourages urbanites to move to less developed places for lifestyle and amenity reasons. Thus, motivations of tourism supply-induced migrants may vary in contexts and closely associated with the tourism development stages. The motivations of migrant employees and entrepreneurs are studied together due to the importance of both groups in providing various forms of capital and in driving tourism development. This research selects a small-scale rural destination in China as the case area for that such destinations render more salient needs on human capital for tourism development. We ask three specific research questions: a. Who are the migrant employees (MEs) and entrepreneurial migrants (EMs) into the tourism destination, b. What are the characteristics of their mobilities, and c. What factors motivate these mobilities and how do

these motivations reflect the intertwining relationships between personal experiences and social contexts of a destination?

While entrepreneurial mobility is less examined in the tourism literature (Zhou, Chan & Song, 2017), issues of labour mobility and labour markets in tourism, situated in wider social and political contexts, have been investigated extensively in terms of their structural patterns and economic impacts (Baum, 2012; Choi, Woods, & Murrmann, 2000; Deery & Jago, 2009; Konan, 2011; Lundmark, 2006; McCabe, 2010; Szivas & Riley, 1999). However, limited attention in the literature was given to the link between personal experiences and the social and structural contexts of tourism destinations. To study the motivations of geographical mobilities of tourism employees and entrepreneurs is significant in providing more in-depth perspectives on the experiences of human subjects in tourism development, it will also build theoretical linkages between the agency and the structure in tourism development and contribute to expanding the literature on tourism induced mobility. Practically, this research can help destinations in their efforts to attract and utilise social, economic and human capital for sustainable tourism development.

The flow of migrant employees and entrepreneurs is accompanied by the flow of capital (Zhang, Pine, & Zhang, 2000). Labour and entrepreneurial mobility is directly linked with the movement of human capital, namely the skills, training and other elements of human resources. The social connections that migrants have with and beyond the destination can be viewed as social capital, and the migrants' financial investments can be viewed as economic capital. This research explores a county in central China as the destination of tourism migrants and qualitatively examines the motivations of tourism employees and entrepreneurs.

In the case of China, internal migration has been a major issue in the modernisation process since the economic reforms launched in 1978, with internal migration from rural to urban areas being common. However, out-migration from first-tier urban areas is increasingly evident in China due to the effect of rising employment and investment opportunities in less developed areas (Zhao, 2002; Murphy, 2000; Ye, 2018). The Chinese *hukou* (household record) system is the primary constraint on domestic mobility. Several social benefits are associated with an urban *hukou*; nevertheless, the change from a rural *hukou* to an urban one is extremely difficult to accomplish (Afridi, Li, & Ren, 2015; Hansberger, 2015). Recent efforts by the Chinese government have shown signs of reducing the barriers to mobility caused by the *hukou* system, but the restrictions on rural land circulation have limited urban residents to live and invest in rural areas. The economic development of China has led to more decision-making related to lifestyle-oriented mobility. People's counter-urbanisation behaviour and bilateral movement, despite being in their infancy, are likely to increase and affect China's social structure and modernisation process.

In the meantime, changes in the countryside have also been significant. Tourism development is on the agenda of many county-level governments in China because of a national policy that leans toward holistic tourism development ('*quan yu lv you*' in Chinese). Local governments, as they attempt to support tourism, are facing decentralisation and a lack of funds from the upper-level government; therefore, these governments continuously encourage increased participation from the private sector and promote public-private partnerships (Zhang et al., 2000). In this current period of economic reform and urbanisation, development projects are being drawn to China's third-tier cities, counties and rural areas. One of the problems faced by tourism development in China is that these destinations lack the capacity to retain local employees (Yang, 2016). Migrant workers who once left their hometowns for urban jobs are motivated to return for tourism employment, but most of this motivation is due to emotional reasons and family obligations. Economic benefit is hardly a factor because tourism jobs are low paid, and the lack of the required skills for tourism does not provide the migrant workers with any competitive advantage (Wang & Huang, 2010).

While labour and entrepreneurial mobility is visible in tourist destinations in China, such mobilities have often been examined separately by researchers. Labour migrants in China have been examined mainly from the supply side of tourism, and entrepreneurial mobilities have been examined mainly from the perspective of lifestyle mobility, with only several mature destinations considered (Cui & Xu, 2012; He, Xu & Yang, 2017; Sun & Xu, 2017; Wang & Bai, 2017). In fact, the movement of both workers and entrepreneurs to tourist destinations is the consequence of tourism development. In the case of China, the phenomenon of tourism-induced mobilities is closely associated with the social and political environment.

## **2 Literature Review**

In this section, we review the current academic research on issues of labour mobility and entrepreneurial mobility in tourism development, and provide a contextual brief on China's unique *hukou* system and the development of third tier cities.

### **2.1 Labour mobility and tourism development**

Tourism industry has been relying on extensive labour resources, in the meantime tourism development generates jobs and employment opportunities for destinations. Tourism jobs, compared with other industries, are regarded as interesting and contemporary and are attractive to young people (Ayres, 2006). The specific characteristics of tourism employment require a high level of flexibility to meet the fluctuations of time and location (Williams & Hall, 2000). Moreover, tourism jobs have certain norms such as expecting individuals to be mobile, to change jobs frequently and to work their way from the bottom up within the industry (Cassel, Thulemark & Duncan, 2017). The lack of career development paths and high mobility resulted in the high turnover rate of tourism jobs. Recent research has identified the fragmented and multifaceted nature of decision-making regarding career mobility in tourism and hospitality (Zampoukos, 2017). Therefore, labour and employment mobility are significant practical issues faced by the tourism industry. The relationship between labour mobility and tourism development has been examined in both macro and micro levels from social and economic perspectives.

Increasing academic work has appeared in the area of labour migrants in tourism, mainly from two streams. One focuses on the experiences of international migrants in tourism and hospitality sectors. For example, in rural UK, the complexity of spatial factors, costs of labour and personal stereotypes restrict the choices of both employers and migrants in tourism employment (Piso, 2016). Migrant workers from diverse ethnicities in a London hotel were researched and the “middle-class masculinity” and labor inequality were found in the “micro-politics” of hotel employment practice (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007). Researchers have indicated that tourism workers constitute a migrant community that is less concerned with wages but more concerned with social belonging (Janta et al., 2011). International migrants tend to be drawn to tourism sectors because of their low-entry threshold, easy access, high turnover rate and lack of required skills. International migrants may have various social and political motivations to move permanently to a destination and tourism jobs provided them with possible employment opportunities.

Another stream of research emphasizes the phenomenon of tourism and the opportunity it entails to inform and induce employment and migrants into the sector. This stream of work is situated in a local scale and examines the experiences of migrants on a micro level. In the context of China's Jiuhua Mountain, domestic migrant labor workers adapted to the work and life environment in the destination and made an attempt to integrate themselves with locals (Yang & Lu, 2007). Similarly in China's Xi'an city, Wang and Bai (2017) examined tourism

labour migrants' subjective wellbeing and level of place attachment, the ethnic minority group of labour migrants showed low level of subjective wellbeing and low degree of integration with local communities. In developed countries, labor migrants in tourism are shown to have lifestyle purposes (Lundmark, 2006), while in the case of developing countries such as China, the seek of life opportunities is dominant in labour migrants' motivation (Cukier, Sharpley, & Telfer, 2002; Yang et al., 2013). In relation to lifestyle motivations, researchers also examined the experiences of working tourists and volunteer tourists (Bianchi, 2000;; Janta & Ladkin, 2009; Janta, Ladkin, Brown, & Lugosi, 2011; Joppe, 2012; Mody et al., 2016; Piso, 2016; Uriely, 2001).

In the situation of tourism development, considering labour mobility and tourism employment, academic emphases are contextually different. Tourism employment quality, job satisfaction and the prospects of career advancement are high in developed contexts (Choy, 1995); by contrast, developing countries are often characterised by both formal and informal tourism jobs for migrants (Cukier et al., 2002). The employment motivations of tourism vary significantly across contexts and across subgroups of workers (Lundberg, Gudmundson, & Andersson, 2009). The positive effects of tourism development on employment are commonly discussed in the literature, such as the creation of jobs and employment opportunities (Neto, 2010). Tourism often provides the initiation of employment (Janta & Ladkin, 2009) and a transitional opportunity as a 'refugee employer' (Szivas & Riley, 1999). Tourism jobs provide networking opportunities for migrants and enhance their social and cultural competencies (Janta et al., 2011; Piso, 2016). Issues of gender, ethnicity and class are unique in tourism employment in both developed and developing countries (Ghodsee, 2003; Levy & Lerch, 1991). Complex social relationships exist between locals and migrants in terms of gender roles and systems of stratification (Ireland, 1993). In multi-ethnic contexts, dominating ethnicities also derive higher employment positions and prospects (McDowell et al., 2007). Given the lack of consideration for human resources in tourism planning, local people often face difficulties in benefiting from tourism development (Liu & Wall, 2006). Labour quality and stability assures the sustainable development of tourism. Labour migrants provided a supplement to labour resources in tourism development and should be examined more closely with their roles in sustainable tourism development.

Overall, the experiences of labor migrants in tourism are in need of further exploration (Ladkin, 2011). Dorow, Roseman and Cresswell (2017) suggested that the new mobilities paradigm could be adopted to study the phenomenon of work, labour and employment. Connecting labour migration with other forms of mobility are suggested to be an area to examine with the mobilities lens and articulate the dynamic relations between the everyday lifeworlds and broader political, social, and economic contexts of employment. Identified from current literature, issues of tourism labour mobility are related to the geographical mobility of workers and changing places of work, and the social mobility of career development and advancement. The conventional concepts of backpackers, migrant workers, working tourists and volunteer tourists are contested in the mobilities paradigm. The experiences attached to these mobilities increasingly challenge and complicate the traditional views of the relationship among work, travel and leisure (Cohen et al., 2013; Cohen et al., 2013). Social mobility considers the change of social status and class. In summary, labour issues in the hospitality industries are scaled from the global to the local. The phenomenon of labour mobility in tourism and the interaction between the mobility of individuals and the development of the destination are in need of further theorisation based on contextual and empirical evidence. This research considers labour mobility from a geographical perspective with emphasis on labour migration. Align with the second stream of research on tourism labour migrants, this research is situated

in a development context and links the personal goals of tourism labour migrants with the sustainable tourism development of the destination.

## **2.2 Tourism entrepreneurship: Motivations, mobilities and lifestyle emphasis**

Tourism entrepreneurship, accompanied by creativity, innovativeness and diversification, is a crucial component of sustainable tourism development and a vehicle for economic growth (Lordkipanidze, Brezet, & Backman, 2005). While successful entrepreneurs represent the prosperity of tourism development and realise the goal of sustainability, the tourism industry may be criticised for its lack of entry requirements and its low skill base (Hollick & Braun, 2005). Considering the increased economic impact of tourism in both developing and developed countries, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of recognising the characteristics of tourism firms and enterprises (Shaw & Williams, 1990). With regard to the motivations of tourism entrepreneurship, an early and extensive review identified a few key factors of entrepreneurial motivations: need for achievement, risk taking, tolerance for ambiguity, locus of control, self-efficacy, goal setting, independence, drive and egoistic passion (Shane, Locke, & Collins, 2003). Reviewing entrepreneurship studies, Ateljevic and Li (2009) suggested that Weber's notion of charisma contributes to the theorisation of entrepreneurship and that personality and intrinsic characteristics largely determine whether an entrepreneur is successful. Another study used Weber's theory to reveal that formal and substantive rationality explains the motivations, choices and styles of agritourism entrepreneurs in the United States (McGehee & Kim, 2004; McGehee, 2007). The formal rationality referred to the decision-making based on precise calculation of costs and benefits, while the substantive rationality emphasizes personal values that lead their decision-making in everyday lives (McGehee, 2007). Weberian theories have also been applied to social entrepreneurship in the hospitality industry (Mody, Day, Sydnor, & Jaffe, 2016).

Researchers in the field of tourism, operating under the mobilities paradigm, have recently recognised entrepreneurial mobility as an area of tourism entrepreneurship (Zhou, Chan, & Song, 2017). A recent study conducted on winter tourism entrepreneurs in northern Sweden revealed a counter-urban lifestyle choice and a sense of temporariness among entrepreneurial migrants (Carson, Carson & Eimmermann, 2017). Tourism entrepreneurial migration has influenced both individual migrants and the destination (Lardies, 1999; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). In developed countries, where endogenous tourism development is encouraged and practised, the tourism entrepreneurship of migrants is a valuable resource for sustainable and integrated development (Paniagua, 2002). Tourism entrepreneurial mobility may be induced for production and consumption, and economic and non-economic purposes. Production-induced entrepreneurship can be considered as business-oriented, whereas consumption-induced entrepreneurship can be considered as primarily addressing lifestyle purposes (Getz & Peterson, 2005; Koh, 2006). Economic-oriented entrepreneurs may have lifestyle motives and preferences, but the recognition of profit as a survival baseline is also strong (Getz & Carlson, 2000). Non-economic motives may lead to surprising results that do not stagnate or constrain development but that instead provide new economic opportunities to engage with niche markets (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). Small-scale and family-centred rural tourism entrepreneurship tends to belong to the growth and profit-oriented group regarding the role that tourism plays in a traditional and agricultural economy, (Nancy & Kyungmi, 2004).

Lifestyle entrepreneurs are also conceptualised through their identity formation either as socially and culturally embedded or as socially and culturally independent (Bredvold & Skålén,

2016). Thus, tourism entrepreneurship is typically small scale and involves lifestyle as one of its motives (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Komppula, 2004). Entrepreneurship consists of a many elements that relate to motives, processes, operations and management (Koh, 1996; Morrison, Rimmington, & Williams, 1999). Entrepreneurs require social and financial resources to enter the field and establish businesses. Specifically, social networks are important factors that influence employment and entrepreneurship (Zhao et al., 2011; Zhou et al., 2017). Human capital, skills and knowledge of running businesses also play a determining role in tourism entrepreneurship and have been recognised as the weakness of tourism entrepreneurs (Jaafar, Abdul-Aziz, Maideen, & Mohd, 2011; Zhao et al., 2011). Therefore, tourism entrepreneurship requires the accumulation of various forms of capital for a destination's tourism development, and in turn the change and transformation of a destination can also shape the entrepreneurial environment (Russels & Faulkner, 2004).

As a summary, labour and entrepreneurial mobility into tourism destinations share common characteristics caused by the features of the tourism industry, such as the seasonality and lifecycle of tourism businesses, the service-oriented and low-skilled workforce, and the social and lifestyle aspects. Weber's formal and substantial rationality, which considers humans as rational and making economic-driven and value-laden decisions, could also apply on tourism employees to analyse their decision-making of entering the tourism industry. One research trend that may be identified in tourism studies is the increased examination of the mobile aspects of tourism employment and entrepreneurship (Ladkin, 2011; Cohen et al., 2013, Zhao et al., 2011; Bosworth & Farrell, 2011; Sun & Xu, 2017). Also, more individualised approaches are increasingly evident in the literature (Lundburg et al., 2009; Janta et al., 2011). For example, there is now more research on the role of voluntary workers in tourism and their role in the social change of a destination (Cohen et al., 2013; McGehee, 2012). The gap between the geographical nature of mobilities and other sociological, cultural and economic factors associated with such mobilities should be bridged. Studies have tended to treat labour mobility and entrepreneurial mobility as separate streams of research, and lacked a dynamic comparison of the two, particularly in the tourism context in which both labour and entrepreneurial mobility are crucial for tourism's sustainable development. Another gap identified in the literature is whether and how labour and entrepreneurial mobilities are induced by the production of tourism and the intricate role of mobility regulations and policies, particularly in the Chinese context with the hukou system.

### **2.3 *Hukou* and the Chinese context**

When China first initiated the open-door policy in 1978, the emphasis was on large cities (first tier), resources and institutional support were leaning towards these areas. The *Hukou* (household registration) system was implemented as a domestic passport, regulating population distribution and rural-to-urban migration when a large number of migrant workers flow to the urban areas for low-skilled labour work (Yang & Yang, 2010). Unlike population registration systems in many other countries, the Chinese system was designed to directly regulate population mobility and serve many other important objectives such as the distribution of public resources, desired by the state (Chan & Zhang, 1999). It is a tool for social and geographic control that enforces an apartheid structure that denies farmers the same rights and benefits enjoyed by urban residents. The two types of *hukou* are urban (non-agricultural) and rural (agricultural). The hukou of an individual is associated with a particular administrative area, and his or her entitled social benefit is restricted to that area.

The upward change of *hukou* is extremely difficult, especially for migrant workers in urban areas (China's *hukou* system, 2013). The migration from rural to urban areas is mostly labor migration. In the 1990s, annual migrant labor flow was approximately 50 to 60 million people,

of whom only 10 to 15 million permanently settled in cities (Wu & Zhou, 1996). The Chinese Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (MHRSS) has released the statistics of peasant workers in 2011; out of 252.78 million people, 158.63 million are migrant workers (MHRSS, 2011). Urban *hukou* of first tier cities can be obtained with a points system based on an applicant's education level, tax payments, and work experience. In recent years, China has instituted a variety of reforms to the *hukou* system, lower-tier cities, which are less developed and have smaller populations, have introduced comparatively easier regulations, in line with the central government's goal of channeling migrants to these areas and providing extra labor to boost economic growth. The lowering threshold of *hukou* in less developed cities is an attempt to attract more human resources and also an indication of continuous urbanisation represented by the population decrease in rural areas. While the upward change of *hukou* becomes viable for rural residents, the switch from an urban *hukou* to a rural one is impossible. The rural *hukou* is entitled to the management of farmland, forests, lakes and other natural resources.

Currently, many less developed areas in China adopted tourism as a development strategy. Initiatives such as “quan yu lv you” (holistic tourism development) and “te se xiao zhen”(unique towns) were implemented to encourage tourism projects and investments. These opportunities drive the flow of workers and capital to less developed areas. Academic studies from China have shown that the mobilities of entrepreneurs and lifestyle migrants have gained increasing scholarly attention (Sun & Xu, 2017; Xu, Ma, & Jiang, 2017; Ma & Xu, 2016), with studies conducted on mature tourist destinations, social integration and the impacts of migrants on local societies. Such migration into less developed areas is in need of more academic attention. These mobilities can be viewed as the consequences of, and participation in, tourism development. In the case of Xidi village, migrant workers returned for the benefit they are entitled to derive from tourism, because of their status as village *hukou* holders. The outcomes of development and prospects of participating in tourism prompted return migrants to seek the opportunity to grab their share, which was significantly more stable than their income as migrant workers (Zhang & Bao, 2009). Tourism-induced mobility is in need of further theorisation and empirical analysis. This study proposes a tourism-induced mobility framework that includes both migrant employees and entrepreneurs as practitioners whose motivations and experiences provide individualistic perspectives on how tourism-induced mobilities elicit various forms of capital for tourism development. This study selects an early-stage destination in China and examines the motivations of labour and entrepreneurial tourism migrants.

### 3 Study method

This study adopted a qualitative methodology. According to Flyvbjerg (2010), ‘Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory and, thus, has in the final instance nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge’ (p. 223). Reality exists in multiple forms that are constructed by different social groups, such that these constructions are not taken as true representations of reality from a positivist perspective but rather inform or alter perceptions of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This general phenomenon manifested in the participants who exhibited mobility, and open interviews were used to shed light on their individual perceptions and to reveal the organisational embeddedness of this phenomenon. Using qualitative approaches is appropriate for examining tourism-induced mobility, which is of limited research in the Chinese context.

Luotian county in central China was selected as the study area to explore the phenomenon of tourism-induced mobility. The methodology of a case study has several defining features. As summarised by Creswell (2012), a case study begins with an individual, a group, a process or a project that can be portrayed and framed with certain parameters. The intent of the case study

can be intrinsic or instrumental. A qualitative case study provides detailed descriptions and an in-depth understanding, and the lessons learned from a case study can be presented as a theoretical model. A case study is useful for generating concrete and context-dependent knowledge, and cases may also be representative of areas with similar administrative status and tourism resources. Luotian county is similar to thousands of other counties in less developed areas in China, and it is one of the enlisted ‘demonstration area of holistic tourism development initiative’ (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2016). Local governmental statistics show that tourism, which is on the political agenda as a major local industry, contributes 15% to the GDP. With immense natural and cultural resources and a government awareness of tourism’s potential, Luotian county shows the typical start-up steps that are taken by other counties that plan to develop tourism as a major industry. While many more spectacular and culturally significant places throughout China have easier access and more developed tourism sectors, the selection of Luotian county as a case attempts to eliminate the influence of destination brands on mobility motivations and decisions.

A single-case study allows for an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon and provides a holistic picture of the socio-cultural and economic features of the locality (Yin, 2013). The authors collected both primary and secondary data. With the methods of site visits, participant observation, and in-depth interviews, observational notes, memos, and interview scripts were collected. The purpose of participant observation was to provide ethnographical experiences as during the fieldwork one of the authors was also participating as temporary migrants gaining access to the locality. Gatekeepers were contacted to gain access to secondary documents and locate potential informants, the gatekeepers included one retired government official who was later employed by tourism development companies as managerial staff, one employee at the county tourism administration, and one employee at the county mayor’s office. Secondary data collected included policy documents, development plans and tourism master plans. The selection criteria of informants included their currently working on a tourism/hospitality project and being an in-migrant (having lived in Luotian for more than six months in the last year) or a returnee (having worked outside of Luotian for six months or more and having returned to participate in tourism). The gatekeepers were local government officials in charge of tourism at the county or town level. They were also interviewed about their perceptions of the tourism migrants for data triangulation. Three towns of Luotian were visited, and 26 migrants, including 11 entrepreneurial migrants (EM) and 15 migrant employees (ME), were interviewed about their initiation of and motivation for tourism-induced migration to the county. The characteristics of the migrant interviewees are listed below in Table 1. The data were then transcribed and analysed using a narrative approach that aimed to identify meaning from their texts and stories.

Table 1. Profiles of migrant interviewees

Informant code	Age	Education	Gender	Position	Years of migration
EM-1	60	Middle School	Male	President	15
EM-2	42	High School	Male	President	3
EM-3	40	College	Male	Vice president	3
EM-4	44	College	Male	President	3
EM-5	45	Post-graduate	Male	President	5
EM-6	52	College	Male	President	25
EM-7	30	College	Male	President	3
EM-8	56	College	Male	Manager/owner	5
EM-9	40	High School	Male	Manager/owner	8



EM-10	51	College	Male	Manager/owner	10
EM-11	27	College	Female	Manager/owner	2
ME-1	26	High School	Male	Technician	3
ME-2	25	High School	Female	Technician	3
ME-3	32	College	Male	Marketing director	4
ME-4	21	High School	Male	Secretary	2
ME-5	24	Middle School	Male	Security officer	2
ME-6	32	College	Male	Housekeeping director	2
ME-7	23	High School	Male	Administrative assistant	1
ME-8	26	High School	Female	Secretary	1
ME-9	33	College	Female	Project manager	1
ME-10	32	College	Male	Human resource director	2
ME-11	31	College	Male	Booking director	3
ME-12	26	College	Female	Marketing director	2
ME-13	25	College	Male	Project manager	2
ME-14	29	College	Female	Director of operations	2
ME-15	34	College	Male	Housekeeping director	1

The process of data analysis followed both deductive and inductive approaches. A deductive approach was taken to analyse secondary documents and government plans. The policies related to capital and human mobility were reviewed and interpreted along with the experiences of interviewees. An inductive, phenomenological approach was adopted to capture the common experiences expressed in the narratives of interviewees. Observational notes were treated as triangulated data and were analysed with interview scripts. Informants shared their mobility-related life decisions in the interviews. Our phenomenological analysis of qualitative data followed a structured process, which involves the following steps: describing personal experiences; developing a list of key statements; grouping statements into themes; writing a textual description of participant experiences; writing a structural description of how the phenomena were experienced; and combining the textual and structural descriptions (Moustakas, 1994, cited in Creswell, 2012). The phenomenological experience is closely linked with stories that solicit the experience of the respondents. Findings and interpretations of data analysis are reported in the following section.

## 4 Findings

First, the characteristics of the informants are reported by introducing a typology of tourism-induced mobility based on the supply side of the tourism industry and from social, organisational and geographical perspectives. Second, themes are identified in the motivation of mobilities by using the stories of workers and entrepreneurial migrants. The initiation of and motivations for migration are complex and intermingled with a number of factors, reflecting influences from the characteristics and experiences of these two groups of migrants.

### 4.1 Illustrations of geographical, social and organisational mobility aspects

This study categorises the migrant informants based on their organisational and social status. From the initiation experiences of the two types of migrants, three forms of mobility were identified, as shown in Figure 1. Figure 1 presents the general direction and manifestation of the three forms of mobility. For migrant employees, social mobility, such as the promotional opportunities of a newly developed project, represented a path of career development. Organisational mobility, from the experiences of the informants, indicated a change in business direction, expansion to the tourism sector and growth of organisation. The initiation of mobility showed variation among different groups of migrants and within different forms of mobility. Different themes emerged from the motivation and experiences of the migrants. For example, EM-1 was among the first migrant tourism entrepreneurs in Luotian and owned a tourism company with multiple businesses, such as hotels, travel agencies and tourist activity establishments. His primary form of mobility was organisational, and his tourism businesses prospered.

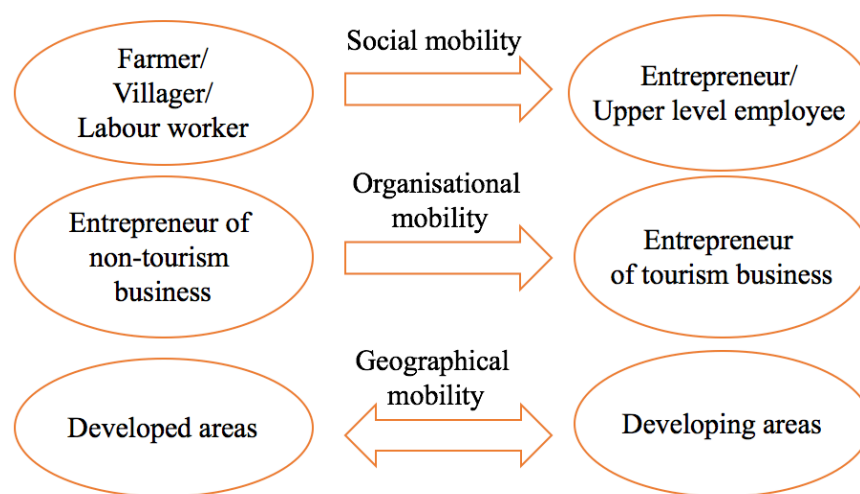


Figure 1 Illustrations of migrants' social, organisational and geographical mobility  
(Source: Authors)

Geographical mobility represents the time space feature of the experiences of tourism-induced migration to the area. From a geographical perspective, temporary migrants were assigned by tourism organisations to relocate to the destination, and permanent migrants migrated for employment or entrepreneurship. New migrants were people who had not previously resided in the destination. Return migrants were those who originated in Luotian, resided in other places and eventually returned. Geographically, the general direction of mobility flowed from urban or more developed areas to rural or less developed areas. Several migrants moved back and forth between urban and rural areas and held multiple social and economic positions. The flow, from developed areas to developing areas, indicates counter-urbanisation tendencies, with returnees moving to developed areas in the wake of China's urbanisation.

The three aspects of mobility were interconnected because individuals and organisations did not make their decisions from only one perspective. Instead, the decision-making process considered a mix of the locality's geographical features, the economic goal of expanding into tourism and the aim of being entrepreneurial or advancing a career. The motivation and initiation process are presented in the following subsection.

#### 4.2 Motivations of tourism- induced mobility

To categorise motivations, both types of migrants' experiences were analysed and interpreted. The main themes and categories are shown in Table 2. The motivations of tourism-induced mobility have three categories: economic opportunities, socio-cultural considerations and intrinsic influences. A limited number of entrepreneurs had prior tourism industry experience, most of them having moved from the retail, manufacturing, construction or consulting businesses. Tourism industries were perceived as green, low threshold and projecting satellite effects on other sectors, which were the major reasons behind migration. Regarding tourism employees, new migrants with the proper educational background were primarily at the management or director level, and their previous non-tourism experiences often related to marketing, education and government jobs. In these cases, education and skills were transferable; they had built a tourism career. For younger, mostly returning migrant workers, tourism jobs appeared to have been initiated by chance instead of by choice, with tourism being a contingency rather than a career.

Table 2. Categories and themes of motivations of tourism-induced mobility (Source: Authors)

Categories of motivation	Major themes
Economic opportunities	Tourism potential Policy trend Entrepreneurship Revenue
Socio-cultural considerations	Support local community Mitigate rural social issues Leisure and healthy lifestyle promotion Ecological and cultural preservation Family obligation Organisational responsibility
Intrinsic influences	Hometown complex Lifecycle Personal development Counter-urbanisation traits

#### *4.2.1 Economic opportunities*

Different factors comprised the mobility decision, but the primary consideration of the informants was economic opportunity, which was reflected in four major themes: policy trend, tourism potential, entrepreneurship and financial gain. Economic opportunities were important in motivating both EMs and MEs. However, EMs focused more on the potential of tourism, whereas the initiation of mobility of MEs was motivated by revenues or wages as an economic incentive and by the potential to develop local tourism. Working in tourism sectors may be unattractive for employees because of their less developed infrastructure and lack of upward social mobility in an early-stage destination, especially in inland mountainous areas.

##### *Tourism potential*

Tourism potential was inducted from the description of local resources for tourism development, newly developed rapid highway systems and potential urban markets. Economic motivations were not bluntly expressed by most of the entrepreneurial participants, and only one entrepreneur directly expressed his 'primary goal' as making money. Such motivation was embedded in the expression of rich resources, the demand for tourism and a more experience-oriented economy, and in other perspectives relating to tourism development.

##### *Policy trend*

On a national perspective, the Chinese government has released policies that develop tourism and alleviate poverty in less developed areas. From a local perspective, policy makers and county government leaders have been strongly oriented towards tourism development. As some informants stated, the government's agenda of developing tourism reflected confidence in both the local community and in the investors. The involvement of the government was deemed to be extremely important because of the lack of infrastructure in less developed areas. Policy incentives were associated with economic opportunities in some cases because such programs permitted the distribution of public resources in the completion of infrastructure, and thus reduced the cost of investment. As an EM said:

*'We visited many places, [...], finally picked this place, mainly because of the good resources, and the good location, [...]. We signed a project contract with the Water Resources Bureau and the Town council. Our contract specified that the local government builds the roads, otherwise we would not invest here'. (EM-4)*

In the preceding case, the decision was made strategically to maintain autonomy for future development. Policy incentives for small-scale businesses such as rural accommodations also attracted return migrants. The return of migrant workers significantly contributed to the thriving of small tourism businesses that can provide entrepreneurial opportunities at low cost and at low risk.

#### *Entrepreneurship*

Chinese culture places a higher value on the personal success of being entrepreneurial and being one's own boss than on working for others. The EMs in this study were mostly successful entrepreneurs before they started their tourism business/projects. The continuous search for new economic and entrepreneurial opportunities is closely linked with previous entrepreneurial experience and the EMs' judgement of current economic and social trends. Most of the MEs working in tourism were returnee migrant workers, and most of them expressed the ultimate goal of becoming entrepreneurs and starting their own businesses.

#### *Financial gain*

EMs and MEs identified the possible financial gain from the development of the local tourism industry, particularly when transitioning from other industries. In recent years, offline retail businesses have experienced difficult times because of the gaining popularity of online shopping websites in China. EM-3 was a retailer, and he and his business partners experienced decreasing revenue in their retail businesses. They considered numerous options to re-invest together, and eventually shifted to agricultural production because of the low risk and hedging value of farmland. They planned to develop agritourism in the long run because of the non-replicable location and natural resources that could attract surrounding urban markets. The economic considerations of most new MEs related to the fairly low cost of living compared with the same amount of salary in the major town area. The apparent high turnover in hotels and resorts in the mountain areas was the result of limited mobility in working in the mountains. ME-10 who worked at a major resort as human resource manager suggested that his resort should raise the salaries of employees to retain them.

#### *4.2.2 Socio-cultural considerations*

Socio-cultural motivation was dominant among the EMs, particularly returnee EMs induced by tourism. Under this category, different themes were derived from EM and MEs experiences. The four themes related to EM experiences were as follows: support for local community; mitigation of rural social issues; leisure and healthy lifestyle promotion; and ecological and

cultural preservation. There were two themes derived from ME experiences: family obligations and organisational responsibility.

#### *Socio-cultural consideration of EMs*

Most of the entrepreneurs considered their development of tourism businesses/projects to be a win-win situation with the local community. Socio-cultural motivation was indeed related to economic opportunities, and cooperation with local community was particularly important for tourism businesses in rural areas. For example, farmland circulation requires effective communication and negotiation with local farmers. In this study, the support for local community as a motivation was more pertinent in the returnee entrepreneurs. EM-1 decided to develop agritourism in his home village based on his goal of supporting the local community:

*'I was thinking about doing agritourism, not that I thought about doing agriculture first; in fact, I saw the mountains, rivers and geographical environment of my home village, I saw the left-behind elderly and children, the social phenomenon in my village, and then I reflected on what I could do to change that, and to make my home villagers have better lives. To have better lives, I don't mean giving them money but rather giving them the opportunity have better incomes, jobs and living environments, so they don't have to go out to work for others, and because I was a migrant worker, I had experienced a lot of humiliation, [...]. So I was thinking, could I help the villagers of my village work in the village, not to have to go to big cities. Other people could come here to work. This was how I was thinking'.*

One returnee EM-5 also expressed a similar sentiment towards his home village; his decision to develop an agritourism site was based on the ecological preservation of natural resources in his hometown:

*'My perception is that we need to preserve our green mountains and rivers, protect the natural resources; it is slow development now but it will be good development in the future. We can't pursue speedy development now, going after high GDP is ruining our resources, [...]. I proposed to promote agriculture, ecological agriculture and agritourism. I was familiar with the situation at home, lots of farmland was abandoned, farmers had no enthusiasm, I said I would try it, and I love agriculture, so I came back'.*

EM-2 was not a returnee; he had moved to the county a few years ago to open a retail business. His agritourism project was located in one of the poorest villages. He described that a financially win-win situation was his final goal:

*'I can drive the poor people here; around here they are not rich at all, they waste all this good farmland. Three years ago, I passed by this village, and had a flat tyre, so I went to look for help. The villagers were very kind to me, they invited me to their home, went to the town to find people to fix my tyre, and asked me to stay for dinner. I asked what they do for a living, [...] I was thinking at that time how I could realise the true value of the good farmland here; from that time on I was thinking about it, win-win is the ultimate goal'.*

The social motivation to contribute to the local community of a new migrant reflects the hospitality, innocence and kindness of the local people. This phenomenon is common in early-stage tourism destinations where tourism has not yet induced significant social effects, and where the commercialisation of local culture has yet to begin. This condition is related to the next category of internal motivation, one in which the intention to contribute and build things for the community originates in the emotional connections with the place. The social-cultural motivation of promoting a healthy leisure lifestyle through tourism is connected with the economic prospect of increasing the domestic tourism demand in China. The leisure industry was restricted in size and activity, and playing *mahjong*, a group gambling game, is a major leisure activity in many inland Chinese counties. Therefore, numerous entrepreneurs emphasised the benefits of nature-, culture- and agriculture-based tourism activities as means of promoting a healthy leisure lifestyle. Moreover, promoting such activities is perceived as

positively influencing the well-being of the elderly and families with children, and as increasing the social connectedness of the community.

#### *Socio-cultural consideration of MEs*

New MEs in the local tourism industry are principally mobilised for organisational reasons. MEs were relocated because of the shortage of tourism labour and human capital in an early-stage destination. Such relocation may be accompanied by career or financial incentives, and by a contemplated decision-making process mingling personal development plans and organisational goals. For the returnees, a dominant factor was to settle down by finding a stable job close to home. For the new MEs, the relocation was considered to be a career springboard, and the need to settle down was not urgent. While describing their experiences, the participants frequently mentioned the cost–benefit calculation by listing both the pros and cons of the mobility and their primary goal at that life stage. In several cases, returnees’ movement into the tourism industry was the result of family obligations. Helping family businesses often motivates second-generation entrepreneurs and employees to return and assist family members in the operation of small-scale tourism businesses.

Entrepreneurs who considered the social-cultural effects of their decisions were all medium-scale entrepreneurs. For large-scale external investors, mobility and tourism may be connected to the corporation’s strategic plans, while social-cultural reasons did not significantly influence their decision-making or that of small-scale entrepreneurs and MEs. For medium- and small-scale entrepreneurs and employees, the next category of motivation and decision-making, intrinsic influences, is more relevant, which explains the personal factors that contribute to the initiation of individual tourism mobility.

#### *4.2.3 Intrinsic influences*

The decision to move to an early-stage destination and participate in tourism is influenced by multiple intrinsic factors, including hometown complex, lifecycle, personal development and counter-urbanisation traits. These themes were categorised together because they indicated the intrinsic personal factors that contribute to the tourism-induced mobility decision.

##### *Hometown complex*

Migrants rendered differences in internal motivations, chiefly caused by previous social connections with the destination. Hometown complex and emotional attachment were prominent in the returnee migrants’ narratives:

*‘Sincerely speaking, I have this hometown complex, in the future I would like to come back and do something. I have been away for decades. I am going to be 50 in several years and I would like to slowly move my businesses back here, so I look for business opportunities in my hometown’.* (EM-2)

The Chinese idiom of ‘fallen leaves return to roots’ (*Luo ye gui gen*) was frequently mentioned in the interviews, which indicated a nostalgic belief that an individual shall eventually return home. The notion of a rural complex is rooted deeply in Chinese culture. Traditional Chinese society was composed of rural communities that were strongly connected via consanguinity and geopolitical relations (Fei, 1985). The Chinese society has been constructed on *guanxi*, which has been divided into *shouren guanxi* (acquaintances), *jiaren guanxi* (family) and *shengren guanxi* (strangers) (Su & Littlefield, 2001). Numerous businesses, particularly the small-scale tourism businesses, were family-operated; acquaintances and relatives were hired as employees. The emphasis on a hometown complex was primarily caused by the cultural foundation of geopolitical connection with the hometown of an individual. In addition, a hometown complex resulted from the lifecycle of migrants, who had experienced career success but who were rethinking the meaning of life and moving beyond personal success.

### *Lifecycle*

In relation to the hometown complex, which may be determined by a person's life experience, age and life stage, lifecycle is a main intrinsic factor shown in both EMs and MEs, and in the new migrants and returnees' motivation of mobility. Lifecycle influence for young returnees who were migrant workers was evident in their emotional attachment towards their parents and their intention to settle down. ME-2 spoke of his decision to return:

*I used to work outside for several years, I was all over the place, but I did not achieve much, I always thought about going back to develop in my hometown. I saw the development of this scenic area, I felt that the government was doing something big. I am from here, another reason is that it is close to home, I can take care of my parents. Young people like us, gradually we started to realise the importance of family, the importance of our parents, and I felt deeply about this. From when I was single, working my way in big cities, to now that I have settled down with my own family and child, I felt that I have become calmer, I have changed, no matter how entertaining or great life outside is, it is better to live and work calmly and step by step, it is the most steady and sure'.*

ME-7 also stated:

*I used to work in Zhuhai as a secretary in a company, I made more money back then for sure, but I was away from home, and there was always a lack of a sense of belonging. Now that I am close to home, everything is good'.*

The same motivation may not be shared by other migrant workers; compared with the returnees, more young people stayed in large cities and did not return. Through several informal conversations with these people, they demonstrated a different perspective. A few of them were married, left the children with elderly grandparents and only returned home occasionally. One such out-migrant worker said he did not want to return to work in tourism because it was difficult and tiring. He preferred to work in a factory in Shanghai and earn a similar amount of money. A few people expressed that working in large cities was a means to earn money more quickly; eventually, they wanted to purchase a car, build a house or establish a small business. The contemplation of mobility and (in)stability is a major task for young tourism MEs; for some, mobility results in a stable lifestyle while for others mobility is a necessary path for personal career development.

### *Personal development*

EMs' intrinsic influences on motivation were expressed in the determination of entrepreneurial development. For new MEs, working in tourism was principally for personal development, if emotional or family connections were not involved. Newly developed tourism projects and being relocated to a new site often present opportunities for a promotion or career development. The theme of personal development highlights the importance of social mobility, and both entrepreneurs and migrant employees have goals that are related to personal success. Young migrant employees who were relocated to work in large corporations shared their experience; they called it 'putting off family to develop career first'. ME-3, 32 years old, who was promoted as the marketing director of a resort, shared the following:

*'At our age, it is time to develop our careers. I think it was okay (to have) a little bit of hardship, but I felt fulfilled. Moreover, the company has given me a big platform, many ideas I have I could immediately implement. I really value this. Everybody has different situations, we can't generalise from one point to a whole surface. Maybe some people would pursue family life now, or settle down; I focus more on my career, and everybody has a different focus'.*

Personal development was pursued by both male and female MEs, even though the traditional Chinese perspective still holds that women should focus more on family and domestic affairs. ME-9, a 33 years old female, spoke of the new marriage law, which had

provided females and males with equal rights in marriage and encouraged women to become more economically independent:

*'We are the post-80s generation, we like to split the cost of everything, including those who are married. This means that females have economic independence and we have our own careers. I strongly agree with this; we have to be financially independent, if not, we need to ask our husbands for money, then we have no say at home [...]. Me personally, I have a strong personality; this is my career, even when I have children I will still continue to do it, as long as I have the opportunity, [...] why there are so many economically independent women, because of the new marriage law, [...] I studied it, relying on others is not like relying on yourself, what I have in my hands is truly mine, now there is also a high divorce rate, if I get divorced and don't have a job, what can I do? Now I am still young I want to make more money for when I get old'.*

Although differences were shown in the intrinsic influences on the mobility motivation of new MEs, EMs and returnees, similarities reside in the motivation of personal development, which exhibits a pursuit of social security and long-term thinking in the experiences of the individual migrants, particularly those of the post-80s generation. The sense of social security was achieved either by becoming entrepreneurs and settling down to start a family or by advancing their careers to realise the 'Chinese dream'. Mobility decisions and personal efforts were key contributors in this pursuit. The sense of social security, economic gain and social recognition in local communities were components of social mobility that were achieved by tourism migrants, particularly by those EMs who had developed more social resources.

#### *Counter-urbanisation traits*

The traits of counter-urbanisation were found among new EMs and MEs, who considered the tourism industry as a lifestyle alternative to urban office jobs. These traits might be result of personality and a preference for a rural environment. For example, EM-5 said he had a strong interest in horticulture and had always wanted to be involved with nature and trees. Another EM demonstrated his interest in agriculture while growing up; he wanted to promote traditional agriculture through agritourism. These counter-urbanisation traits were also connected with the environmental concerns previously addressed. Therefore, the move to a less developed area could be driven by urbanisation and counter-urbanisation simultaneously. The influence of the urbanisation process on rural societies gave migrants assurance and confidence on the economic potential of the rural, and the counter-urbanisation drove other groups of migrants whose mobility purposes were to avoid the urban chaos.

The mobility initiation to Luotian was a mix of interest and chance. In contrast to more developed and well-known destinations, where working in tourism may be a purposeful lifestyle decision, no strong connection with lifestyle motivations was found among MEs. Although many expressed no personal interest in the tourism industry whatsoever, some had realised and accumulated their interests through working experiences. For EMs, their interest in tourism came from personal experiences and interest. Several EMs had acquired previous experience in tourism relationships, which contributed to their forming ideas for new tourism businesses. However, the interest among MEs to work in tourism was less common. The lack of control and autonomy over professional choices made employment and mobility a less deliberate choice. Even as a tourist, the previous involvement in tourism was fairly low among MEs. Several MEs, as mentioned, were not interested in the tourism industries; employment was merely meant to provide a means for survival.

To summarise, the initiation of tourism-induced mobility was multi-faceted. The economic potential of tourism development and the advantage of personal development were the principal reasons for human migration to the area's tourism industries. The experiences of migrant entrepreneurs and employees indicated that the economic and socio-cultural aspects were



intermittent; the decision-making of social, geographical and organisational mobilities was inter-connected. The individual decisions of mobility were in fact closely linked with the national and local policy orientation and its development of tourism as a pillar industry.

## 5 Discussion

Identified from the findings, the motivations of tourism-induced employment and entrepreneurial mobilities shared common and different characteristics. The common motivational factors shared by both groups can be explained by Weber's substantive and formal rationality (Mody et al., 2016; McGehee, 2007; Weber, 2009). While most of the informants were driven by the economic opportunities elicited from tourism development and rationally calculated the possible outcomes of their decisions, a few showed substantive decision-making that was more individualized and ambiguous. There were also differences identified in the mobility motivations of EMs and MEs. Migrant employees were more restricted on geographical and social mobilities due to their low organizational mobilities. Generally migrant employees were younger than entrepreneurial migrants and there were more returnees than new migrants in the ME group. With regard to the motivations, the decision-making of employees was more individualistic, they showed less considerations of collective benefits they may bring to the communities and less counter-urbanisation traits compared to the entrepreneurs.

The influence of lifecycle was also prominent. The mobility motivations of MEs and EMs were in line with their lifecycle stages and life choices. In contrast to studies in the Western context and their heated discussions on the dominance of lifestyle entrepreneurship (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2004; Dawson et al., 2011; Marques and Cunha 2013), tourism entrepreneurship in this early-stage destination in China was stimulated by economic opportunities rather than by lifestyle. Moreover, the grasp of the economic opportunities that led to mobility into the destination was impacted by the migrants' lifecycle and life choices. For example, entrepreneurs with previous business or career success aimed at redirecting their businesses to eliminate risk. Mid-aged entrepreneurs, mainly male, had grown-up children and less family obligations, which gave them higher mobility to live away from their family. The migrant employees were younger and at a stage of building families, high geographical mobility sometimes contradict their lifecycle goals. For new migrant employees, higher geographical mobility was associated with more career advancement opportunities thus were chosen either for accumulating career capital before building a family or providing more financial capital for families based on personal life choices.

One interesting result is the aim of potential entrepreneurship expressed by migrant employees. As small and medium tourism businesses have low entry threshold, migrant employees who deliberately chose the industry often expressed the goal to start their own businesses if accumulated sufficient financial capital. This finding confirms with previous studies that entrepreneurial goals are often praised and pursued in the Chinese culture (Zhao et al., 2011). The sizes of businesses also influenced the process of migration, as businesses involving higher investment and larger scale entailed higher risks for entrepreneurs, thus more complexities in the decision-making. Policy incentives and institutional support were also higher towards large scale tourism businesses, which eliminated the administrative constraints in the entrepreneurs' mobility experiences. The perceived social benefits associated with being employed in tourism or owning a tourism related business were acknowledged by the interviewees. In this study, upward social mobility was evident as many migrants transitioned from being a farmer/villager or worker to being an entrepreneur or business owner.

In this study, entrepreneurship represented autonomy, innovation and economic opportunities, resonating with previous studies (Ateljevic & Li, 2009; Shane et al., 2003). Several features of social and innovative changes were noted, which indicated the

characteristics of social entrepreneurship in tourism development in less developed areas. Overall, the findings revealed a process of balancing formal and substantive rationality in the experiences of tourism-induced migrants. Entrepreneurs and employees involved in this study perceived themselves as pioneers in tourism development. The identification of economic opportunities was not simply a market-based choice of occupation; it was a choice based on the demand of and institutional support for tourism, which resulted in the identification of potential tourism prospects and in goodwill towards tourism development. These tourism entrepreneurship features have implications for the promotion of social change through entrepreneurship in rural China.

This study also showed that EMs and MEs entered tourism industries and moved to the destination to achieve personal and social development goals. Therefore, tourism development, as a phenomenon corroborated by the force of policy and the market, provides opportunities for changing one's social status and achieving the Chinese dream. This study supports the social features of tourism businesses examined by previous scholars that in less developed areas, tourism can offer a higher social position for migrants, women in masculine societies, children and youth and other less privileged members in the community (Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan, & Sedgley, 2017). However, the situation of China may be unique and highly influenced by national and local policies. Revealed in this study, the government policies leaning towards lower-tier cities and rural areas reinforced the appeal of the case area and the development of tourism, an indication of valuable natural and cultural resources, was a subtle addition to the appeal.

## **6 Theoretical contributions and managerial implications**

The main theoretical implication of this study concerns the introduction of tourism-induced mobility from the supply side as a framework along with the identification of conceptual linkages between these mobilities and tourism development. In this study, lifestyle choice was not found to be a primary motivation for tourism entrepreneurs, although a few other studies have shown indications of social entrepreneurship (Ergul & Johnson, 2011). This study connects the individualized mobility decisions with contextual factors such as the overall development initiatives and the mode of tourism development in China, driven by policy and institutional support. Personal development was valued and pursued by tourism supply induced migrants and the the mobilities shape the paths of personal development with the influences of external and internal factors.

Practically, this study identified the challenges of early-stage destinations in sustaining quality human, economic and social capital. Moving beyond the tourism scope, this study also contributed to understanding the wider phenomenon of urban-rural migration. Practical implications are provided to policy makers and tourism planners to take into consideration of the personal goals of tourism participants. For example, in-depth investigation and research should be undertaken prior to policy-making and plan-drafting to gain profound understandings of the locality. The provision of local and surrounding human resources should be carefully examined and the strategies to mobilise human capital should be included in the policies and plans. The mobilities of tourism entrepreneurs and employees could only be sustained when their needs for economic, social and other personal needs are fulfilled. The improvement on infrastructure and superstructure in the less developed areas would facilitate better living conditions for locals and migrants and provide better foundation for tourism development. It is suggested that mid-aged returnee entrepreneurs and labour workers in their 20s and 30s are the major groups with higher attachment to the destination and better local connections, more policy incentives such as administrative assistance on entrepreneurship, training and education opportunities, and financial services should be directed to these groups. For new migrants,

lowering barriers for rural land circulation, better regulations on rural housing rental, and equal education and medical services for migrants with non-local *hukou* could be suggested to increase and sustain their mobilities.

To summarise, this study contributes to the construction of a theoretical framework of tourism induced mobility from the supply side, consisting of three dimensions: geographical, social, and organizational mobilities. It also connects the tourism induced mobility phenomenon with Weber's formal and substantive rationality. Practically this study contributes to understanding issues of human resources in tourism development and the impact of tourism policies on individual life goals and personal development. In turn, these human experiences influence the development of a tourism destination and its sustainability. Suggestions are given to the emerging destinations to strategically plan tourism employment and entrepreneurship. A strategic plan evokes collaboration and brings integration to the development process. In terms of improving labour and entrepreneurial mobility, local labour regulations should be provided for employees at remote sites, and policy incentives may be provided to attract more young people with higher education and relevant work experience in tourism.

## 7 Conclusion

This study explored the motivations of tourism-induced mobility into less developed areas in China from individual experiences and narratives. To answer the research questions, migrant employees and entrepreneurial migrants were dominantly male in this case study, and had significant age differences. Their motivations were categorised as economic, socio-cultural and intrinsic. The categories were used to address the experiences of both entrepreneurial migrants and migrant employees, but the differences and variations were also explained. Potentially, with the development of infrastructure and technology, less developed areas in China can attract more high-skilled migrants with new industries such as the IT and software industry. However, in the early stage, due to the lack of amenities, only entrepreneurs and migrant employees with lower skill sets enter the tourism industry in pursuit of economic opportunities. The intrinsic merits of a tourism-related job overcame its low income to provide satisfaction, and despite the current difficulties in starting-up, entrepreneurial migrants dwelled on the policy support and long term vision of success. Migrant employees and entrepreneurial migrants were determined to have various motivations and decision-making experiences from the three perspectives of mobility: geographical, organisational and social. Unlike cases when geographical mobility is not considered in labour's movement into tourism (Szivas, Riley, & Airey, 2003; Hjalager & Andersen, 2001), in early-stage destinations in China, labour and entrepreneurial mobility induced by the supply of tourism is associated with a mix of factors regarding the connection between humans and places and the prospects of tourism development.

Currently, many destinations in China exaggerate their tourism resources and the role of tourism development to attract capital. However, there are more urgent needs, including that of educating employees and entrepreneurs about the complex nature of the tourism industry and the importance of sustainable development. The limitations of this study include a lack of comparison between employees and entrepreneurs, having favoured a focus on the holistic experiences of mobility. The factors related to gender and life-stage appeared to influence the motivation of tourism migrants but these were not specifically examined. Future research may adopt quantitative methods to measure the motivation of different kinds of tourism migrants in the framework of tourism-induced mobility. Comparative case studies and longitudinal approaches may offer interesting future research directions, allowing scholars to examine mature destinations and how changes in mobility patterns correspond to the evolution of a destination.

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