A content analysis was undertaken of 300 evaluations and summary reports completed by individuals who participated in scientific exchange visits to China between 1985 and 1987. The intent was to identify sources of cultural conflict, which tends to arise as growing numbers visit a destination. Four categories of cultural conflicts formed the framework within which the analysis results are reported. They were - cultural ethnocentrism, community problems, poor quality of service, and lifestyle differences. It is suggested that these cultural conflicts may be consistent with those found elsewhere when a destination begins to attract a steady flow of tourists, and strategies for their minimization are offered.

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International tourism from western countries effectively began in China in 1978. It was effectively terminated on 4 June 1989 with the government’s bloody suppression of the student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Senior officials of the PRC government, however, have indicated that its ‘open-door policy and reforms will not change’, and that ‘We must let foreign investors make money, and make more money than we do.’ A press release from the National Tourism Administration of the PRC states:

The National Tourism Administration solemnly proclaims that the safety of overseas tourists who come to China has never been affected and can be guaranteed. Tourists may carry on their visits and tours as planned. They are welcome to visit China and do not need to change their scheduled travel plans.

Although the PRC wants tourists, the key question is, will anyone want to go to China? The world watched the government’s response to the demonstrations in Tiananmen Square with revulsion. International tourism is a volatile industry; potential visitors are easily dissuaded from visiting a destination by political unrest or perceived threats to their safety. The dramatic images to which the ‘global village’ was exposed are likely to be enduring, and may well sustain a reluctance to visit China for some time.

During the 1978-1989 period, tourism development in the PRC appears to have followed the typical stages of destination evolution. A taxonomy specifying these stages has been developed by Smith, and is reproduced in Table 1. The evolution starts with a few initial explorers who fully accept the local culture, and culminates with mass tourism and charter vacations which involve large numbers of visitors who demand western amenities. The events in Tiananmen Square interrupted this cycle, and the most probable scenario is that in time it will be restarted by explorers and elites. However, this subsequent iteration is likely to take place over a much shorter timeframe because the infrastructure to accommodate the larger number of visitors characteristic of the cycle’s later phases is already in place.

The PRC offers a particularly pertinent context for gaining insights into cultural conflicts – the concern of this paper – because at the time its evolutionary cycle as a tourism destination was disrupted it was at a pivotal stage, moving from ‘unusual’ to ‘incipient mass’. A transition occurs at this point because these types of tourists are typically the first in the evolutionary taxonomy who seek western amenities. Smith suggests this transition is critical because the host culture has to make a decision as to whether it should (a) consciously control or even restrict

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tourism to preserve the country’s cultural integrity or (b) encourage tourism as a desirable economic goal and adapt its culture to accommodate it.  

The decision as to whether to restrict or encourage tourism represents an obvious dilemma for China. There is concern that increasing contact with foreigners will contribute to social and political unrest, but there is also a desire to acquire foreign exchange and technical knowledge. In the aftermath of Tiananmen Square, the intensity of this dilemma has probably been accentuated. One of the strategies used for addressing the dilemma has been to encourage Americans to visit the PRC in scientific exchange groups. It seems probable that emphasis on this strategy will increase, as it is likely to be viewed as a viable vehicle for resuscitating tourism.

**Role of exchanges**

Scientific exchanges involve groups of professionals from the USA travelling to China with the intent of exchanging technical information with Chinese professionals in the same field. From the Chinese perspective such groups are a logical response to the restrict or encourage tourism conundrum because these groups can be easily identified, controlled and regulated, and can be expected to act responsibly. At the same time they are likely to bring maximum gain to the country in knowledge, foreign trade, and currency.

A major sponsor of scientific exchange visits from the USA to China has been the US Exchanges, Inc. This non-profit organization was established in 1982 and is headquartered in the Detroit, MI suburb of Grosse Pointe. It emerged as the brainchild of Mr. Leonard Woodcock, the first US ambassador to China, who envisaged it as a natural outgrowth of the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the USA in 1978. The organization’s mission is to promote international scientific and educational interchanges, friendship, cooperation and understanding of other countries through personal contacts. In Mr. Woodcock’s words: “The perceptions of two nations with different opinions, goals and activities change when one experiences a US Exchanges trip and learns through one-on-one contact that others’ dreams are also our own.”

Since it was established, US Exchanges has sponsored over 300 scientific exchange group visits to China. After each visit, individuals are given evaluative questionnaires which solicit opinions, comments and criticisms related to their trip. In addition, group leaders are requested to submit a report summarizing the group’s activities and reactions.

This paper reports the results of an analysis of 300 evaluative questionnaires and summary reports provided by US Exchanges, to identify and analyse cultural conflicts. Cultural conflicts are the conflicts

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**Table 1. A taxonomy of the evolution of a tourism destination.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of tourist</th>
<th>Numbers of tourists</th>
<th>Adaptations to local norms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explorer</td>
<td>Very limited</td>
<td>Accepts fully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Rarely seen</td>
<td>Adapts fully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-beat</td>
<td>Uncommon but seen</td>
<td>Adapts well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusual</td>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>Adapts somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incipient mass</td>
<td>Steady flow</td>
<td>Seeks western amenities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>Continuous influx</td>
<td>Expects western amenities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter</td>
<td>Massive arrivals</td>
<td>Demands western amenities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which emerge between a host population and tourists related to such things as value systems, collective lifestyles, individual behavior, expectations, traditions, safety levels, and moral conduct.\(^7\)

The data consisted of reports submitted by individuals who participated in scientific exchanges to China between 1985 and 1987. In addition a small number of follow-up telephone and personal interviews were conducted to supplement the written summaries. The results were derived by adopting a form of content analysis. This is a generic term applied to a variety of techniques used to summarize, standardize and compare qualitative data. The key to effective content analysis is development of a framework that provides a set of categories into which the material can be arrayed. As the data were reviewed they suggested four categories of cultural conflict. These form the framework within which the analysis results are reported. The categories were cultural ethnocentrism, communication problems, poor quality of service, and lifestyle differences. Although the cultural conflicts are presented and discussed in discrete categories for ease of exposition, it will be obvious that substantial overlap exists. A central similarity of the categories is that they reflect different kinds of 'people conflicts'. This is consistent with Wolf's suggestion that in simplified terms cultural conflicts are people conflicts;\(^8\) they are about the conflicts that arise from direct and indirect associations between visitors and the people of host communities.

**Cultural ethnocentrism**

There is a tendency among people of all cultures to believe that their way of doing things is optimal. Responses from the evaluations suggested that this cultural ethnocentrism was exhibited both by the US visitors and their Chinese hosts, and that it inhibited the effectiveness of the exchange. Some respondents were obviously proud of the scientific advancement and level of technology in their fields. Their belief in its superiority led to a desire to 'share' their knowledge with Chinese counterparts whom they perceived as less advanced.

The authorities in China enforced a 'closed door' policy for a long time. At least part of the reason for this can be attributed to their belief in the superiority of the Chinese culture and political systems, a consequent desire not to 'contaminate' their traditional culture, and a deep-rooted fear of foreign domination. Given this long tradition, it is apparent why the Chinese may not be receptive to new ideas from another culture. This lack of receptivity is reinforced by the conservatism of the Chinese people. Traditional approaches are widely respected and new ideas or ways of doing things are not rapidly embraced. There is a traditional admonishment, 'Do not attempt to introduce new things, for novelties bring in their train anxieties for those who sponsor them and beget troubles among the people'.

This mutual cultural ethnocentrism proved to be frustrating to both guests and hosts. Some of the US respondents felt they were on a 'mission' to share their superior knowledge, but their Chinese hosts didn't want to learn about it! Instead, the Chinese frequently perceived the interaction as an opportunity for them to demonstrate the superiority of their own techniques and ideas. Consequently meetings were often structured so that communication was unidirectional from them to their US counterparts.

\(^8\)C.P. Wolf, 'Social impact assessment: the state of the art updated', SIA Newsletter, 29, 1977, p.3.
Respondents' frustration with this situation was obvious. Typical comments included: 'I really anticipated a meaningful exchange of ideas with my Chinese counterparts, only to find that it was very much the Chinese administrators telling us about their system'; and 'The scientific exchange was a farce. Our hosts did a good job of telling their story but monopolized most of the time and left very little for us.'

Some respondents questioned whether the Chinese had any serious intent of facilitating scientific exchange from the outset, because of their lack of preparation and lack of any apparent interest in what their guests had to offer. One respondent observed, 'The exchanges were all arranged for evenings, but most of the professional men go home early, so very few professionals would attend the evening exchange sessions', while another respondent reported:

When we got to Beijing for the first exchange meeting with our counterparts, we were told that our hosts currently were busy and had no time to spend with us to exchange ideas. It seemed that our hosts weren't really interested in a true scientific exchange, but rather in receiving dollars from American tourists and making as much as possible.

Other respondents reiterated the suspicion that their hosts were more interested in acquiring foreign currency than in acquiring scientific knowledge:

In one instance, after presentations by the Chinese, it was our turn and they said, 'no time is left'. But there was plenty of time for the Friendship Store. Many of us felt the only reason we were invited was to spend our money, since there was no interest in what most of us had to offer. We learned that at one session, the audience was composed of factory workers who had been pulled in to fill the seats.

Cultural ethnocentrism is the most obvious explanation for the hosts' lack of receptivity, but one respondent suggested that at least some of their interest may have been dimmed by exposure to too many visitor groups: 'Some hosts were not responsive to our presentations. They have had so many scientific exchanges and I felt my presentation was meaningless to them.'

If the suspicions voiced by some were correct and the primary objective was to acquire foreign currency, then the scientific exchange vehicle was effective. Using the vehicle US participants could legitimately attribute the cost of the trip as a business expense. This means it could be financed directly by their business, or could be written off as a legitimate business expense on their personal tax returns.

Communication problems

The frustrations discussed under cultural ethnocentrism in the preceding section were compounded by communication problems. The two types of communication problems identified related to language and interpretation at the person-to-person level, and to lack of advance information to both visitor and host groups at the organizational level.

Ostensibly the language problem appeared to be attributable to the host interpreters' insufficient fluency in English. Comments included, 'Interpreters did not understand English or speak it well enough to be of any assistance', and 'some local interpreters were poor at English'. However, the majority of comments on this issue suggested the problem focused more specifically on unfamiliarity with technical terms associ-
ated with the scientific exchange topics: ‘The English interpreters had problems in translating technical terms’; ‘The interpreters could not translate the metal terms’. (Translation skills required for scientific exchanges are substantially higher than those needed to meet the skills of regular tourists.) In recent years an increasing number of technical terms have evolved as technology has developed, but since China has been closed to the outside world for so long, its interpreters have not had the opportunity to become familiar with them.

The second type of communication problem respondents noted was the lack of advance information about the interests and experiences of their Chinese hosts: ‘The technical sessions were probably of little use to the Chinese because our group had no way of knowing ahead of time what they wanted to receive from the exchange session’. Some of the information provided was misleading: ‘Policies in China seem to be changing rapidly; consequently some information that was given to us proved to be incorrect’. A desire was frequently expressed for small group discussions instead of general meetings to facilitate information exchanges. Respondents preferred to spend time on useful and beneficial visits with counterparts instead of on less-relevant visits arranged by their hosts, since their stay in China was short. One respondent articulated the opinions of many others when he said:

Limit any general meetings to those required by protocol and spend most time in small groups of interest. Visitors resent spending time in general meetings in which they have no part. Eliminate meaningless visitations to schools or technical installations where neither side has anything to gain. Facility visits should be planned based on the interests of visitors. Several of us requested a visit to a dispatch office, on more than one occasion, while in Beijing. Even though we were there four days and visited other places that were of little interest to us, the request was ignored.

The physical and cultural distances between the USA and China made effective advanced communication between the exchange visitors and hosts challenging, but these distances also make such communications essential. It appeared that insufficient effort was made both by the US sponsoring organization and the Chinese hosts to exchange information on the interests and expectations of their respective groups.

Respondents commented on the apparent lack of communication between US Exchanges and the China Association of Science and Technology, which was the primary host contact organization responsible for arranging the scientific meetings in China:

US Exchanges needs to find a better way to get information to our Chinese hosts directly. Of the four scientific exchanges my delegation had, only one location (Wuhan), received the outlines and resumes ahead of time. It was possible that our delegation was unique in that respect, but lack of advance information was frustrating to our hosts as well as to my delegation.

The lack of influence which US Exchanges appeared to have over the actions of the host organization was also noted:

I cannot understand why, for someone who had arranged so many trips to China in the past and supposedly had such a good relationship with the China Association of Science and Technology, US Exchanges had no control over anything in China. Other groups who were purely tourist organizations, got to pick and choose; why could not US Exchanges?

The conflict created by the apparent disinterest of some Chinese hosts with the exchanges process, which was manifested by cutting short the
exchange time, changing the arrangements and poor preparation, might have been ameliorated by better advance communications. It appeared that many times misunderstandings and disappointing outcomes resulted from the failure of the host organizations either to inform participants on both sides of the topics and schedules, or to review the topics submitted critically to ensure they were not redundant. Insufficient information was provided on topical subjects, locations, counterparts’ interests, itinerary, culture and customs.

There was widespread agreement among respondents on what needed to be done: ‘Much more follow-up (including detailed agendas for each scientific exchange) should be carried out 2-3 months prior to the visit. There should be follow-up by US Exchanges to learn what arrangements have been made and with whom’. ‘A list of questions should be compiled from representatives of both sides to be addressed at exchanges and agreed ahead of time.’

Poor quality of service

At the unusual or incipient mass stage of a destination’s evolution, tourists typically seek western amenities and levels of service, and many respondents indicated that they were not forthcoming. Choy and Gee have pointed out that, as in other countries, employment in service positions in China is less prestigious than working in other jobs. Indeed, serving others in a formal employment context in China has traditionally been regarded as demeaning because it has been associated with servitude. A consequence of this was the low level of service on which many respondents commented. One respondent wrote, ‘The service in the hotel was horrible. The service people were unhappy with us because we complained that there were bugs in the room’. Another reported:

The hotel was modern and new, but very few staff spoke English and the waiters were not helpful at all in serving meals in the hotel restaurant. Most of us were not sure what we were being offered to eat and would have liked to have had a Chinese waiter/waitress explain the menu to us. Nobody would come up to explain. Even when the meals were served, nobody was around. It made us feel uncomfortable because we did not know what to do or what to eat.

Respondents voiced similar complaints about some of their host interpreters: ‘Our interpreter in China was surly, rude and obnoxious. He seemed not to like his job’. Even when the personality and interpersonal skills of the hosts were not an irritant, there was sometimes a lack of concern for visitors and a lack of desire to ensure their visit was enjoyable:

Our host got along well with all of us. However, her frequent response to questions about our activities or lectures was, ‘I don’t know’. Often there seemed to be more leadership necessary than she wished to provide. It seemed surprising, as she had frequently traveled with delegations to these cities on previous occasions, but she did not know anything.

Clearly there was no tradition of hospitality towards foreign visitors of the type which many respondents had come to expect as a result of their past experiences elsewhere. Interacting with service personnel is a primary way in which visitors form impressions and make judgments about their hosts. The cultural differences in expectations regarding service levels between hosts and visitors left many with negative impressions of the PRC.

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Poor quality of service is a recurring theme in the literature related to Chinese tourism, and is acknowledged by Chinese spokespeople as well as others. Commentators have suggested three primary reasons for the poor quality of service in addition to the traditional perception that service jobs are demeaning. First, there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of international service standards and visitors' expectations - a reflection of the small number of Chinese citizens who have experienced travelling, working, or living abroad. Second, individuals are assigned by the government to work in specific occupations such as tour guide or hotel worker with no freedom to select or apply for positions they prefer. Once assigned to these positions, there is minimal opportunity for advancement and relatively low wages do not permit substantial increases in the personal standard of living. Third, it has become difficult to maintain the morale of service personnel as foreign tourists receive special treatment, are accommodated in the more modern facilities, and demand services which residents themselves do not receive. To some extent this practice contradicts the political philosophy of the country. Choy and Yao observe that resentment over differing standards has been fuelled by an increasing number of unpleasant encounters between foreigners and local Chinese with the result that 'low morale and unfriendly attitudes of service personnel have replaced the naive curiosity about foreigners which existed in the early years of tourist growth'.

Lifestyle differences

Many respondents balked at doing in Rome as the Romans do. They provided numerous examples of temporary cultural shock and conflict caused by differences in custom and lifestyle. Most of these concerned differences in expectations related to accommodation and food.

The standard of accommodation received many complaints: 'The hotels we stayed in were atrocious. They were dingy with dirty linens, bugs in the room (including [cock] roaches), and the bathrooms had not been cleaned.' Two frequent complaints related to the common hotel management practice of shutting off hot water and air-conditioning at night and to the inadequacy of plumbing systems, especially in the bathrooms. 'The johns worked only marginally' [ie the toilets rarely flushed]; 'The plumbing system was awful. Water went everywhere in the bathroom but where it was intended to go' were typical comments. At least part of the plumbing problems may be attributable to the unavailability of spare parts rather than indifference, because some hotels which were constructed by foreign interests (eg the USSR) no longer have access to the parts needed for maintenance.

To the hotel management cost efficiency may have been more important than marketing effectiveness and customer satisfaction, since there was a general perception that at this stage in the destination's evolution, demand for reasonable accommodation appeared to exceed the supply and thus repeat business was not a primary concern. From a cultural perspective, most Chinese are not accustomed to having a bath at night. Further, they rationalized that since the temperature goes down outdoors at night, it is reasonable to turn off the air-conditioning. Sophisticated plumbing systems are not common, particularly outside the major cities, so few people have the necessary knowledge to maintain them.
In relation to food, there were some critical comments about the type of food, but most related to the way it was prepared and level of hygiene. These were summarized by the respondent who reported:

The food was probably the most disappointing aspect of the trip. The group complained of lack of variety. The food was too oily. The unsanitary practices included waiters drinking from teapot spouts, dishes being wiped off with the table's tablecloth and being placed in the cabinets, dishes being washed (really rinsed) in very dirty water.

Differences in food preparation and in perception of what constitutes high-quality food are inevitable. Cooking in oil is standard practice in China. Differences in perceptions of food quality were best illustrated in a subsequent interview with a respondent who naively described her experience as 'shocking':

Everywhere we went, we were given VIP treatment. We were frequently invited by our Chinese hosts to banquets. At one of them, we were informed that we were to be feasted with the best food in China. Later we found that the main dishes had been snake soup and dog meat. I was revolted.

The criticisms relating to accommodation and food result from hotel management operating under the influence of traditional Chinese custom and ignoring the expectations of their guests, and to guests expecting internationally-recognized standards to be provided. For satisfaction to occur, either the Chinese must change their service standards or the guests must change their expectations.

Misunderstandings also occurred because the Chinese scheduled the itineraries very tightly. They believed it was discourteous not to escort their hosts everywhere and provide them with a full schedule. The guests' comments reflected their frustration with this: 'Our hosts seemed to think that we were stupid and that if left to ourselves even for a moment, we would wander off and get hopelessly lost'. The exchange visitors wanted more opportunities to explore things related to their personal interests, to informally interact with local people, or simply to recover their strength for the remainder of the trip, but the Chinese did not provide for this. However, as Richter has pointed out, although the constant escort is partially a matter of courtesy, it may also be to ensure that visitors do not have contact with Chinese who might offer contradictory interpretations of political reality.¹²

Cultural differences led to different perceptions of what constituted appropriate behaviour. For example, some respondents expressed frustration with their inability to develop 'friendships' with their counterparts. However, the Chinese and US definitions of friendship are different. Americans may regard friendships made with their hosts as being relatively superficial, without substantive obligations. In China, friendship is a more serious matter implying that the parties assume mutual obligations and expect reciprocation. Thus to enter into a friendship means making a commitment to accept future obligations.

Other behavioural differences revolved around etiquette. The Chinese place much emphasis on proper etiquette. Foreign visitors are expected to possess dignity, reserve, patience and a sensitivity to, and respect for, Chinese customs and temperament. The Chinese do not like to be touched or slapped on the back or even to shake hands vigorously. A slight bow and a brief shake of the hand are more appropriate during the first meeting. They are somewhat more reticent, retiring and reserved than Americans. They avoid open displays of affection and the

speaking distance between two people in non-intimate relationships is greater than in the West. The Chinese are not a 'touching' society, nor do they appreciate loud, boisterous behaviour. Respondents were aware and self-conscious of their lack of sensitivity to these nuances and were unsure now to react in some situations because they lacked understanding of Chinese etiquette:

At our first banquet we caused some embarrassment because the leader of our delegation did not enter first and introduce the other members of the delegation as they entered. This was expected by our Chinese hosts.

There is an obvious need for the sponsoring group to ensure that the leaders they provide are qualified to give guidance to their group members on cultural differences, but this did not always occur:

It was very unfortunate that something went 'amuck' with our delegation in China. Many times we needed a leader with experience in international travel who looked after us all. The one we had on our recent trip - we were better qualified that she was.

Requests for US Exchanges to provide more information on the hosts' culture were widespread, and they were often accompanied by a request to ensure that the information provided was accurate: 'We would sincerely have appreciated some more pertinent correspondence and updated information from US Exchanges'. 'The communications that were sent out by US Exchanges were not always accurate and the publication China needs to be brought up to date'. Choy observes:

The opportunities for misunderstandings between residents and tourists become heightened in the context of most tourists' lack of knowledge of China and most residents' lack of knowledge and first-hand experience of the outside world. Under these circumstances, real communication becomes very difficult in a short period of contact time when the respective frames of references do not coincide. This becomes evident in simple but frustrating interchanges between foreign tourists and Chinese personnel.13

Concluding comments

This paper has focused on cultural conflicts, but this should not obscure the fact that many respondents found their exchange a gratifying growth experience. It was variously described as 'once in a lifetime'; 'an excellent experience'; and 'the best travel abroad'. On the evaluation forms, 91 out of the 300 respondents rated the quality of the technical exchange as excellent; 207 respondents rated hospitality of the Chinese hosts as excellent; and 201 respondents said 'yes' when asked if they would like to return to China. These proportions are encouraging (although the sample is not necessarily representative), but the cultural conflicts discussed here should not be dismissed. These same data communicate that two-thirds of respondents did not rate the quality of the exchange as excellent and one-third would not return to China.

During the early years visitors may have accepted these cultural conflicts as part of the adventure of visiting China, but a reduction in the level of tolerance should be expected as the characteristics of visitors who go to China gradually change. The early, pioneer visitors of the early 1980s may have been explorers and elites who accepted difficulties and frustrations as an expected and integral part of their experience. However, as the early phase of the mass market emerged, such visitors were replaced by those who expected a full complement of tourism

amenities comparable to those they had routinely experienced elsewhere.

There appear to be three strategies which could ameliorate the cultural conflicts identified. First, adherence to the promotional aphorism, 'don't promote beyond what you can deliver,' suggests that visitors should be provided with a realistic set of expectations before they commence their trip. They should be informed in advance of the probable limitations of their experience and the cultural conflicts they are likely to encounter, so when they do occur these conflicts are perceived as being part of the expected experience rather than irritations that detract from it.

Allied to this first action is the need to provide visitors with improved education regarding the local culture:

One of the main objectives of cultural interpretation is to assist visitors in developing a keener awareness, appreciation, and understanding of the area and culture of the people they are visiting... The better informed visitors are about a place and its people, the more respect and sensitivity they will have toward them.

A third strategy for alleviating cultural conflict is to stage apparently authentic dimensions of the culture for visitors. From the descriptions of cultural conflicts, it was apparent that many respondents were not ready to immerse themselves fully in an alien culture. Most of them wanted to experience the culture from the safe haven of a clean air-conditioned hotel with modern plumbing and US style food. This is consistent with Cohen's observation:

It was somewhat of a letdown to stay at the ultramodern hotel. The accommodations were certainly excellent, but it was as if we had left China. The hotel did not have any Chinese character to it. It was like any big hotel in the US. I suggest staying in hotels that better reflect the Chinese culture.

MacCannell recognized this conundrum of seeking authenticity but retaining elaborate amenities. He suggested that, as tourism becomes institutionalized, the host area, either to protect itself from the full impact of tourists or for commercial reasons, is likely to create contrived 'tourist spaces' in which spurious attractions are presented as if they were 'real'. In other words, it will stage authenticity for touristic
consumption. MacCannel argued this was a probable structural consequence of the development of tourism.

In most tourist-host community dyads, tourists are less likely to borrow from their hosts than their hosts are from them. International tourism fosters a form of imported development. It leads to a 'revolution of rising expectations' and increased desires for western consumerism and personal freedom. For these reasons it seems likely that after the events in Tiananmen Square, the Chinese government will seek to reduce opportunities for uncontrolled interactions between its people and foreign tourists. Hence more emphasis will probably be placed on staged authenticity because it enables tourists to be diverted from direct contacts with people. As Boorstin has pointed out, it is a way 'for the traveller to remain out of contact with foreign peoples in the very act of "sightseeing" them.'

There appear to be two main avenues for facilitating staged authenticity. The first relates to physical amenities. The challenge is to provide familiar amenities and expected standards but to do it with local flair in terms of decor, ambience, service and product. Respondents' comments suggested, eg, that many of the new hotels that have been built, are replications of western hotels and have not been adapted to incorporate the atmosphere of China. There appeared to be recognition of this need by Chinese tourism officials. Thus, Gao and Zhang comment:

Prominence should be given to China's national characteristics and to maintaining its distinctive local lifestyle and customs. Foreign tourists come to China from afar to have a look at China... In the construction of new hotels attention has been paid to Chinese traditions and to unifying buildings with the local surroundings. Interior decorations, furniture and furnishings reflect Chinese art and are full of rich oriental flavor.

A second avenue may be to provide visitors with some knowledge of the Chinese language. This would enable a higher level of authenticity to be offered to visitors. The isolation of US visitors from China and the difficulty of the language mean that few exchange visitors knew any Chinese, making any semblance of authentic exposure to the host culture difficult. Some indicated a desire to have enough language knowledge to extend greetings in Chinese; to express appreciation when helped; and to become familiar with simple phrases related to Chinese money and measurements so they felt more comfortable and confident in engaging in purchase transactions:

I would like to have gone over and learned more Chinese at the orientation. The US-China Exchanges' staff listed some things like 'Good Morning' and 'Good Evening' in Chinese. But these were not repeated at orientation so I was not sure of the pronunciations.

There is no other international trading activity which involves such critical interplay among economic, political, environmental, and social elements as tourism. Responses from this sample of visitors to the PRC offered useful insights into the type and nature of cultural conflicts which may emerge when a destination begins to attract a steady flow of tourists. Smith's taxonomy suggests that the cultural conflicts identified in this study may be relevant to tourism destinations elsewhere which pass through this stage of development. In the specific context of the PRC, identification of culture conflicts may enable actions to be taken which will mitigate their impact before the next iteration of the destination cycle reaches this transition stage.