



ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Annals of Tourism Research

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/atoures



Self-representations of the matriarchal Other

Yasong (Alex) Wang^{a,*}, Duarte B. Morais^{b,1}

^aDepartment of Hospitality Management, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Ackerman Hall Room 14, 911 South Drive, Indiana, PA 15705, USA

^bDepartment of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management, North Carolina State University, 4008E Biltmore Hall, Raleigh, NC 27695, USA

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 8 July 2012

Revised 25 August 2013

Accepted 5 September 2013

Keywords:

Self-representation

Critical discourse analysis

Subaltern people

Gender

China

ABSTRACT

Research examining how local people construct meanings about tourism destinations in their self-representation discourse is rare. This study aims at exposing local people's understanding about their community and touristic practices by analyzing the self-ethnographic texts written by a Mosuo man in a weblog and autobiographic texts written by a Mosuo woman in two non-fiction books. In particular, the heterogeneous gender characteristics in local people's self-representation discourse are considered. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is utilized to examine the complexity of self-representations among members of an allegedly matriarchal Chinese destination community. Most significantly, this study reinforces post-colonial feminist interpretations of the gendered meanings inherent to self-representation discourses.

© 2013 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Introduction

Understanding touristic representations and construction of destination images is critical because destination images not only influence potential tourists' decision making and satisfaction (Cohen, 2001; Mellinger, 1994; Schein, 1997) but also ultimately influence how host communities change as a result of their involvement in tourism (Jenkins, 2003). Studies of tourism representation have predominantly focused on images promoted by the state and by the media (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005). However, several scholars have alerted that local people (i.e., various types of residents of destination communities) play predominant roles in the representation process and in the co-construction of

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +1 724 357 6233; fax: +1 724 357 7582.

E-mail addresses: ywang@iup.edu (Yasong (Alex) Wang), duarte_morais@ncsu.edu (D.B. Morais).

¹ Tel.: +1 919 515 3663.

tourism experiences (Aitchison, 2001). Nevertheless, there is a scarcity of research examining how local people construct meanings through their self-representation.

A number of scholars have argued that representations of tourism destinations are not absolute or dictated by the state and the industry but rather fluid and constantly negotiated between various factions (including local people) with various levels/types of power (Bruner, 1996; Cohen, 1993, 2001; Hall, 1997). However, studies of self-representation have generally adopted an essentialist view of the local voices and treated locals as homogeneous entities (Duncan & Sharp, 1993; Spivak, 1988). Consequently, the complex, differential, and subjective nature of self-representation discourses has been neglected as have the multi-layered, contested, and dynamic social positions of the local peoples (Bruner, 1996; Cohen, 2001). Such limitation hints to the dominant postcolonial positioning of many scholars, which has prevented more critical and nuanced examinations of self-representation discourse.

A deeper understanding of self-representation discourse requires a shift from examining mainstream representations to studying local people's self-representations with their inherent heterogeneity and subjectivity (Duncan et al., 1993). Poststructural feminists, in particular, have pointed to the need to consider the gendered nature of self-representation discourses (Aitchison, 2001; Spivak, 1988) since women and men are different and such difference is constructed in language and discursive practices (Butler, 1990).

Additionally, in the current postmodern world and with the development of large-scale domestic tourism markets within developing countries, social power relations constructed in the process of representation are increasingly complex and transcend the often studied interactions between former colonized peoples and their colonizers. To identify such complex and transcendent nature of social power relations manifested in tourism representation discourses, the present study adopts the critical paradigm by building its ontological position upon historical realism and its epistemological position on subjectivism to examine the self-representation discourses of Mosuo, a unique Chinese ethnic minority group well known in China and internationally for its official classification as matriarchal. The study results support the complex, differential, and subjective nature of self-representation discourses and the dynamic process of constructing representations.

Literature review

The construction of the Other as subaltern in tourism

Tourism research has identified that tourism plays a significant role in constructing and reproducing identities which are fluid and contested (Britton, 1979; Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Schein, 1997; Urry, 2002). For example, individuals define their personal sense of identity through tourism activities (Pudliner, 2007). At the national level, nation-states construct national identities in tourism promotion (Light, 2001; Palmer 1999; Pretes 2003). Therefore, tourism is the manifestation of constructing the identity of self. Nevertheless, the self cannot be constructed without establishing an Other. As Okolie (2003) asserted, "identities are relational; groups typically define themselves in relation to others" (p. 2).

In the construction of a collective identity of self, the existence of an Other is essential. By differentiating itself from Others, a group defines its collective identity (Edensor, 2002). Such practice, termed Othering, refers to people's need to define "where you belong through a contrast with other places, or who you are through a contrast with other people" (Rose, 1995, p. 116). The theoretical conceptualization of Othering is largely grounded on Said's (1979) seminal work on Orientalism, which he defines as a way of thinking that reflects the "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (1979, p. 3). According to Said's notion of Orientalism and broader postcolonial theory (Young, 2001), the West's representations of non-Western places and people as primitive, backward, exotic and sensual are inherently related to extant colonial ideology. These representations valorize the West as the signifier of superiority in contrast to the backward Orient. Based on such theorization, tourism researchers attributed hegemonic representations prevalent within tourism promotion materials (e.g., post cards, tourism brochures, magazines and newspaper

tourism articles) as a manifestation of the colonial discourse that justifies the West's use and rule over the Orient (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2005; Cohen, 1993; Echtner et al., 2003).

The process of constructing Otherness is closely related to dualism. Such a relationship is manifested in three perspectives (Aitchison, 2001). First, the construction of the Other heavily relies on a parallel construction of "the Same," something on the opposite side of the Other. Second, this relationship is a manifestation of power relations, which concentrate power on the 'Same.' Last, this relationship is gendered whereby "Otherness is projected on to women by, and in the interests of, men, such that we [women] are constructed as inferior and abnormal" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996, p. 4). Therefore, the process of Otherness in tourism representation discourse is widely regarded as much more than promotion of a destination or a cultural attraction and rather as a manifestation of, or even as a mechanism supporting, contemporary power relations of dominance and dependence (Cohen, 1995; Enloe, 2001).

Tourism scholars, particularly cultural and feminist geographers, argue that tourism studies within the social sciences have been severely circumscribed by Western hierarchical dualism (Johnston, 2001). Additionally, according to Spivak (1988), the binary nature of hegemonic cultural discourses is also prevalent in postcolonial studies conducted by western intellectuals and eastern scholars educated in the West, because they are deeply influenced by Western positivism and logocentrism. Spivak argues that those researchers fail to consider nuances of micro and marginal cultural phenomena, and ultimately may reinscribe neo-colonial imperatives of political domination, economic exploitation, and cultural erasure in their work. Consequently, complexities in the ways that the Others fight against hegemonic representations of themselves have been overlooked because they have generally been treated as the uniform essentialized subaltern.

The term subaltern refers to a cohort of people that possess a different cultural identity from that of the dominant group, and they construct and own a space of difference (de Kock, 1992). Additionally, subaltern people, like the oppressed minority groups whose identities are central to the definition of the dominant majority, may be involved in forms of resistance and subversion against the majority (Bhabha, 1996). Often subaltern people do not have sanctioned opportunities to speak yet they invariably find ways to have a voice. Therefore, examinations of subaltern voices in tourism self-representations of the Other demand an acknowledgment of complexities and subtleties prevalent in counter-hegemonic discourses.

Alternative approach in theorizing tourism representation

Some researchers have argued that tourism is deeply imbued with gender-role stereotypes (Enloe, 2001; Kinnaid & Hall, 1994). Tourism destinations, attractions, and landscapes serving as the spaces through which power, identities, and meanings are constructed, negotiated, and renegotiated according to socio-cultural dynamics are a reflection of such a heavily gendered space (Aitchison & Reeves, 1998). Researchers have utilized different perspectives to critically analyze this gendered nature in the construction of tourism spaces. Some focused on descriptive statistics to illustrate women's position in tourism (Smith, 1976; Swain, 1976), some examined factors affecting women's participation in tourism as both consumers and producers (Apostolopoulos, Sönmez, & Timothy, 2001), others emphasized the power of patriarchal capitalism leading to women's subordination in tourism development (Enloe, 1989; Swain, 1989), and yet others stressed the importance of subjectivity in deconstructing gender relations in tourism practices (Swain, 1995).

Those studies recognize women's marginalized position in tourism employment and also acknowledge the complex power relations between men and women in tourism. For instance, Enloe (2001) pinpointed the effects of notions about femininity and masculinity on creating and sustaining global gender inequalities; Wearing and Wearing (1996) argued that gender relations reflect and reinforce social norms underpinning men's dominant power over women; and Pritchard and Morgan (2001) demonstrated the gendering of tourism experiences, images, and destinations as a part of the discursive framework which is embedded in complex cultural, social, and historical systems. In sum, tourism is a cultural arena that reflects and shapes configurations of power between the sexes.

Furthermore, postcolonial feminists extend the tenets of poststructuralist and feminist theory in tourism studies, and challenge the masculinity of postcolonial theory (McClintock, 1995). First, they

posit that white feminist theorizing does not capture the gendered tourism context at the global scope. Second, they argue that hegemonic discourses can be subverted through the construction of alternative value systems in the process of engaging and communicating with mainstream discourses (Brooks, 1997). In other words, rather than directly rejecting the dichotomies constructed in mainstream discourses, subaltern people can undermine hegemonic discourses by constructing their own way of representing themselves.

Following such argument about complex power relationships manifested in constructing gender identity, tourism scholars develop a research agenda focused on the diverse social circumstances shaping people's gendered behavior, the different ways of embodying gender, the complex and fluid nature of gender relations, and the application of multiple theories in explaining varied gendered behavior in tourism (Swain, 1995). By developing such agenda, researchers are able "...to examine how the common biological characteristic of being female or male as experienced by different groups of women and men in different social and historical circumstance" (Henderson, 1994). This study pursues this agenda through the examination of tourism representations by a minority group in China; a context of utmost social and historical complexity.

The construction of the Other in China

China was not spared the clash with western colonial powers in global pursuit of capital accumulation and colonial occupation. Under the military and commercial attacks of western colonial powers, China was defeated and became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society (Mao, 1939). In contrast with colonized countries or regions where colonial ideology was internalized, China responded to pressures for Western assimilation in such complex ways that conclusive colonial discourses never materialized (Mohanty, 1999). On the other hand, the Chinese blamed their traditional culture for the dramatic and rapid fall of China into a subordinate position internationally. They carried out a series of cultural movements from the New Culture Movement in the 1910s to the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s so as to abandon the Confucian values that purportedly caused the country's demise (Gentzler, 1977).

Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, the Chinese government enthusiastically suppressed old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits (*po sjiu*). These were declared "feudal superstitions" and regarded as the major culprit for China's backwardness (Sofield & Li, 1998). As a result, Chinese traditional culture was attacked and destroyed at an unprecedented level, and Chinese people lost much of their attachment with cultural roots. Furthermore, in the post-Mao era of the late-1980's, the development of economic reforms advocated by Deng Xiaoping, facilitated the rapid influx of foreign culture and values which Chinese people did not find affinity with (Schein, 1997) and precipitated a crisis of national identity (Sofield et al., 1998). This triggered people's need to seek their cultural roots in extant local and minority cultures—the *Xungen* movement.

With the onset of the *Xungen* movement, Chinese domestic cultural tourism grew rapidly. Chinese people, who are mostly composed of the Han, began to visit traditional Han Chinese cultural heritage sites to seek their roots, and also ethnic minority areas which were seen as survivors of Maoist era cultural homogenization policies (Gladney, 1994). As Anderson stressed, "nationalism has to be understood by aligning it ... with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being" (1991, p. 12). In the post-Mao era, the state attempted to re-imagine the nation by making a sharp contrast to earlier regime's vigorous suppression of ethnic culture, and tried to represent China as a "nation of many nationalities" (Chao, 1996, p. 211). This new imagining of the nation facilitated the promotion of images of plurality and ethnic difference. Therefore, Chinese ethnic minorities became important actors in redefining Chinese national identities.

Like the research of national identity in other countries within a context of discourse of internal orientalism (e.g. Jansson, 2005), researchers examining the mainstream discourse about Chinese ethnic minorities have also identified that domestic tourism in China facilitated the development of internal orientalism, which refers to the Han's representation of Chinese ethnic minorities as culturally primitive and politically dependent (Schein, 1997). On the other hand, researchers also assert that ethnic minorities, as proactive entities, are not docile objects of hegemonic representation but rather

active subjects engaged in the counter-construction of self-representations (Bruner, 1996; Cohen, 1993; Yang, 2011). As Gladney (1994) stressed:

minorities, too, by allowing the objectivizing gaze of the state-sponsored media, establish their identity and right to a voice in their own affairs, appropriating and turning, whenever possible, these objectivizing moves to their own benefit. In this way, the maintenance and assertion of minority “culture”, no matter how exoticized or contrived, may be seen as a form of resistance (1994, p. 117).

Extending this thesis, it can be argued that with the lack of more official opportunities to have a voice, tourism representations become venues for minorities to exert their resistance. Namely, by following the same images constructed by the state-sponsored media about themselves in their own representation discourse, minorities negotiate the objectivizing gazes of the state-sponsored media and develop ways to preserve their culture and express their values to the mainstream society. This study focuses on the heterogeneous gender characteristics of subaltern people by analyzing the self-representation discourse composed by the Mosuo, who have been classified as matriarchal by the Chinese government (Yan & Song, 1983) and who are actively involved in ethnic tourism (Yang, 2012). Although no places have been known as unambiguously matriarchal, the Mosuo culture has been officially classified by the Chinese government as matriarchal, and local people have embraced this official categorization to attract tourism. The present study examines tourism representation discourses built upon this official categorization; yet it does not investigate the extent to which the Mosuo culture is matrilineal and/or matriarchal, which is potentially a very contested discussion for a different kind of empirical examination.

The Mosuo

This study focuses on a unique Chinese ethnic minority group known as the Mosuo, who are classified as a subgroup of the Naxi. With a population of approximately 40,000 people, the Mosuo inhabit the Lugu Lake area near the Sichuan-Yunnan border in the southwestern part of China (Shih & Jenike, 2002) (see Fig. 1). Although the Mosuo are classified as a subgroup of the Naxi by the Chinese government, they consider themselves as more closely related to the Tibetans than to the Naxi. The Mosuo speak a Tibeto-Burman language, and their dominant religion is Tibetan Buddhism (Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association, 2006).

The Mosuo are well known in China and internationally due to their official classification as matriarchal (Mathieu, 2003). One of their major cultural traits is known as “walking marriage” (*Zouhun*), which is a type of traditional sexual partnership still popular among the Mosuo (Walsh, 2001). This practice “differs from marriage in that it is noncontractual, nonobligatory, and nonexclusive” (Shih et al., 2002, p. 24). Based on this notion, the Mosuo woman may host a partner in her room for the night with the understanding that the partner will return to his mother’s house the next morning. Different from other cultures where partners establish their own family after they get married, Mosuo partners remain socially and economically attached with their own birth households. Their children are taken care of by the women’s family and take on her family’s name (Shih et al., 2002).

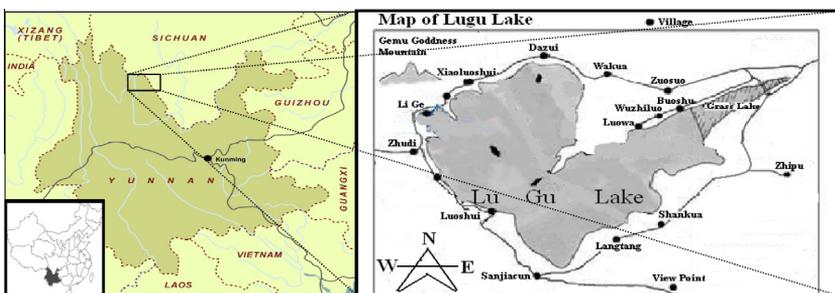


Fig. 1. Map of Predominant Mosuo Region.

Besides “walking Marriage,” another Mosuo cultural trait featured in tourism promotions is their allegedly matriarchal family structure. Under their matrilineal structure, the oldest woman is the clan leader—matriarch. She leads the family that includes several generations with her daughters and sons, the children of her daughters, the children of her granddaughters, and so on (Shih et al., 2002). The assets and income of the family are managed by the family’s matriarch and are distributed equally to all members of the household (Zhang, 1990). At home, only the matriarch and female family members can live in the main rooms, and there are no permanent bedrooms for male family members (Song, 2006).

These cultural traits form a marked contrast to China’s patriarchal and monogamous dominant social system and have served as proofs of studying the Mosuo as “living fossils” in Chinese social science based on Morgan and Engels’ Stage Evolutionary Theory (Mathieu, 1999). According to Chinese anthropological research, the Han Chinese, who occupy 91.51% of China’s population based on the 2010 census, are defined as the cultural and technical vanguard and their society has reached somewhere near the modern end of a Marxist social evolution process through which China’s minorities must pass (Fei, 1981). Consequently, minority studies in China have become a vehicle to validate stage evolutionary theory, an avenue for proving the “primitivity” of minority societies and, ultimately, a tool verifying the superiority of the Han Chinese (Gladney, 1994).

Meanwhile, such understanding about minorities’ cultural practices on the basis of Morgan and Engels’ Stage Evolutionary Theory also deeply influences the mainstream representation discourse about minorities. As a result, the Mosuo people’s unconventional cultural phenomena significantly affect their images in mainstream society. Like most of the mainstream discourse introducing the Mosuo, their traditional values are represented as primitive, backward, and inferior. For example, in *The Mysterious Kingdom of Daughters* (2002), Ding Fenglai, a Han literati, states that:

In modern civilization, the Mosuo make significant progress in their thoughts. Such change is the result of an unprecedented conception revolution. People in here are no longer conservative. They fully recognize how primitive, conservative, and backward they were, young people demonstrate strong desire to change their traditional beliefs, the old and backward status (2002, p. 243).

Study methods

To examine how the Mosuo represent themselves, the self-ethnographic texts written by a Mosuo man using a weblog and autobiographic texts written by a Mosuo woman in two non-fiction books were collected and examined. The Mosuo man named Bin Ma is the first native person using weblogs to introduce his hometown and the Mosuo to outsiders. Additionally, the Mosuo woman, whose name is Yang Erche Namu, is recognized as the first native person making the Mosuo well known to the world. Both of them employ the mainstream mass media to represent their people, and both have obtained credibility among their readers and weblog followers. In particular, the well-established self-representation constructed by the local woman in her autobiography and its large readership in mainstream society, as well as the increasing popularity of weblogs as vehicles of disseminating and researching information about tourism destinations for both hosts and guests, confirm the importance of the data collected from these texts.

Critical discourse analysis

This study takes an ontological position of historical realism (i.e., considering reality as formed by socio-cultural, political, economic, and gender values), and an epistemological position of subjectivism (i.e., assumption that knowledge is socially constructed and affected by power relations) (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In this study, language is viewed as the manifestation of power relations and a vehicle to empower some and weaken others. In tourism, as in others social dimensions, discourse is embedded with complex layers of meaning representing important socio-cultural underpinnings; therefore, a critical approach of discourse analysis is needed for their full interpretation. Accordingly, Fair-

lough's (1995) three-dimensional approach to CDA (i.e., text, discourse practice, and social practice) was adopted in this study.

The "text" dimension of the CDA approach focuses on "the linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system, and cohesion-organization above the sentence level" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 57). Through such linguistic analysis, the specific way of representing the meanings of the discourse is identified. The "discourse practice" dimension targets examining the positions of the authorship of a given discourse. Since discourse may convey many potential meanings and since one meaning tends to be privileged over others (Denzin, 1995), the self-representation discourses of the Mosuo may reflect specific meanings while neglecting other unfavorable meanings. Last, the "social practice" dimension focuses on analyzing the macrostructural context within which the discourse is embedded. This dimension of CDA approach helps unveil how power relations might influence the self-representation of the Mosuo in both weblogs and autobiographies.

In analyzing the data, several measures were taken to enable us to better unearth the meanings embedded in the data. Initially, the first author, whose mother language is Chinese, translated the original Chinese texts into English. Then the texts were translated back to Chinese by a colleague also fluent in both Chinese and English. The original and back-translated texts in Chinese were contrasted, the discrepancies between the two versions were identified and then discussed between the two authors. When appropriate, the English texts were corrected. This back-and-forth approach in the translation process facilitated the data analysis process in the text dimension by helping maintain the integrity of the original texts and begin their deconstruction. Next, both authors did a preliminary reading of the texts in English to familiarize themselves with the data and to locate major foci. A "close reading" followed, aimed at identifying critical themes and forming an interpretation of the meanings reflected in the discourses and the contexts in which they were embedded.

The authors' life experiences and nationalities brought unique depth to the analysis. The first author is a Han Chinese who visited the Mosuo community as a youth and was later educated in North American institutions. The second author is Portuguese, is also educated in North American institutions, and has conducted field research in the Mosuo region. Both authors are minorities in the foreign country where they live and are therefore, themselves, confronted with shaping self-identities that bridge acculturation and resistance. The authors acknowledged and embraced their own and each other's subjectivities in the data analysis with the aim of attaining a deeper and more critical understanding of the meanings, identities, and agendas embedded in the texts.

After the "close reading" step, a list of codes were obtained, such as "archaic", "mysterious", or "carefree". To enhance credibility, the authors made constant comparisons of their findings and continued to re-examine the data and contrast their interpretations until they reached consensus. Additionally, the authors acknowledge the polysemous nature of the texts as well as the influence of their own values, beliefs and personal life experiences in the interpretation of the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Particularly, their contrasting cultural backgrounds brought unique interpretations to the examination of the socialization processes evident in the data.

Literary expressions of self

There are numerous studies of tourism representations of host communities and peoples. However, most of these studies focus on external representations of the subaltern tourees in the destination. This study aims at examining self representation by individuals belonging to the host community; therefore, the data consisted of narratives originated from members of the Mosuo ethnic group. In the case of the Mosuo, the self ethnographies that have reached the Han masses included the autobiography authored by Yang Erche Namu and a weblog hosted by Bin Ma.

Yang Erche Namu was born in a small village near Lugu Lake. She left Lugu Lake at age thirteen and joined a local singing troupe in Yanyuan County of Sichuan Province. Later, she won a scholarship to study music with the Shanghai Music Ensemble and began her singing career at the end of the 1980's. As early as 1991, she obtained the public's attention by being featured in an article in *National Geographic Magazine*. Later, she married a *National Geographic* photographer and moved to the United States. Marital difficulties followed by divorce and health problems lead to the loss of hearing in her right ear, which brought her singing career to an end in the mid 1990's.

In 1997, she wrote her best-selling book, *Leaving the Kingdom of Daughters*, which is one of the autobiographies selected for this study. This book describes her early life in Lugu Lake and introduces the local lifestyles, customs, and culture, as well as her experiences in the outside world. This book is very well-known among Chinese people and is credited for the transformation of Lugu Lake from an unknown region into a chic tourist destination (Forney, 2002). Yang's other autobiography, *Returning to the Kingdom of Daughters*, was also selected for this study. This book focuses on her homecoming experience. Her books' profound impact on introducing and promoting the Mosuo and their culture to the outside world is widely recognized by the Mosuo and scholars.

Bin Ma, the host of the tourism weblog titled "Under Ge Mu Mountain, by Lugu Lake, Old Mosuo Village—My Paradise and Home" at *Tianya.cn*, is also a native Mosuo from Lugu Lake. According to a self introduction in his blog, he lives in the Xiao Luo Shui village in Lugu Lake area. He currently works as a tour guide in Li Jiang of Yunnan Province and frequently commutes between Lugu Lake and Li Jiang. In his blog, he explains that the purpose of hosting this blog is to "hope more people know my hometown" and "hope more people know the real Mosuo culture and walk in the real Mosuo people's world, a paradise as pure as the water in Lugu Lake" (Bin Ma, June 19, 2006). He also expresses his perplex feelings as a guide, as well as his willingness to host tourists like friends without remuneration. In his blog, he also provides a detailed introduction to his village, the local customs, culture, and also comments on the changes happening in Lugu Lake with the development of tourism. His blog is of great significance since it is the only one hosted by a local Mosuo introducing Lugu Lake and the Mosuo.

Since discourse as a way of practice always constructs a specific way of talking, the positionalities of both the female autobiographer and the male weblog host in constructing their representation discourses should be taken into consideration. Although both of them are natives of the Lugu Lake area, their representation discourses are based on their personal experiences, and so their subjective interpretation is unlikely to represent the unified voice of the Mosuo. However, given that the Mosuo are a diverse and geographically dispersed group, it would be inevitably flawed to try to capture a common voice. Furthermore, considering the scarcity of influential self-representation texts from heavily toured ethnic minorities, the selected texts provide a significant case study of how local people represent themselves and make such self-representation known to the outside world.

Findings and discussion

Analysis of the selected texts revealed that both the weblog host and autobiography writer focused on some of the same topics in their descriptions of the Mosuo people and Lugu Lake. Some similar themes within those shared topics were identified. On the other hand, some differences in the intricate ways of constructing narratives, and in power and identity dynamics were also evident. In the following section, the similarities shared by blog host and autobiography writer are introduced first, followed by their differences.

The Shy vs Emancipated Mosuo

The first major topic shared by both the blog host and autobiographer is the description of the Mosuo. When the weblog host describes the local people, he focuses on their characteristics, such as simple, honest, warm-hearted, hospitable, happy, and carefree. He states, for example, that:

if you do not mind living with a local family, you will have the chance then to be hosted by the warm-hearted Mosuo. It is totally free and safe because the Mosuo believe in Buddhism, which means that they tend to be very honest and simple.

However, the host also describes local people as shy and conservative. For instance, "As for our taboo, it is not allowed to swim nakedly because we are shy." The host also attributes the reason for them to adopt the walking marriage to their shy characteristics. For example:

Our Mosuo are shy in nature. We have adopted the walking marriage practice totally due to our "shy culture". When my girlfriend and I walk together in the village, I would feel uncomfortable if we were too close, even if we do not hold hands. In particular, facing our parents, brothers, and sisters, we would not mention any issues related to girlfriends and sex. This is a taboo for the Mosuo.

Similar to the weblog host, the autobiographer also introduces the local people's characteristics. For example:

Such beautiful pastoral scenery is like being in a fairyland. As it is said, "one place can specifically raise one group of people." Such beautiful and fertile environment nurtures our Mosuo's characteristics of being optimistic, open-minded, outspoken, industrious, brave, honest, hospitable, mutually respectful and helpful, cohesive, harmonized, friendly.

Interestingly, in the above description of the Mosuo, unlike the weblog host, the autobiographer does not mention the shy characteristics of local people at all. On the contrary, she describes local people as outspoken, natural, and extroverted. Such characteristics are also stressed in her following description of the Coming of Age Ceremony:

Every girl longs for the Coming of Age Ceremony which indicates that a girl has reached puberty and can look for boyfriend. Thus every girl hopes to grow quickly and take the ceremony. This is an important event for girls... The most unique, exciting, and impressive part of our Coming of Age Ceremony is to show oneself nakedly. The other ethnic groups do not have such custom.

Here, it is important to identify why they have such completely opposite accounts of Mosuo shyness versus sexual emancipation. First, based on the text dimension, it is apparent that both of them focus on the same issue—sex and privacy, and talk to the same audience—tourists or outsiders who are predominantly Han. Second, from the discourse practice dimension or the positions of authorship, it indicates that they attempt to represent for the whole local community from their own gender perspective. Apparently, the autobiographer portrays the ceremony based on her personal experience and expresses the feelings on behalf of local women rather than local men. Meanwhile, the weblog host utters his unwillingness to mention his girl friend and sex issues in public, and he employs "we" to represent the whole host community, but apparently such representation excludes local women. Therefore, the different versions of representation apparently are built upon the writer's own gender perspective.

Furthermore, an analysis from a social practice dimension can provide a more meaningful explanation for their dissonant accounts. From the autobiographer's perspective, the Mosuo were rarely known to the public when she wrote her autobiography in 1990's, and she often publicly expressed her strong desire of increasing her ethnic group's popularity in the mainstream society. Even in the above excerpt from her autobiography, such intention can be easily tracked. For example, she states, "the most unique, exiting, and impressive part of our Coming of Age Ceremony is to show oneself nakedly. The other ethnic groups do not have such custom". Apparently, she utilizes such a bold approach in describing the local custom to differentiate her ethnic group from others. Furthermore, by constructing such a difference with other peoples, particularly the Han women who regard personal restraint as meritorious, the autobiographer shows her defiance towards China's mainstream society. She attempts to construct an autonomous self image by affirming that the Mosuo women show their bodies under their own control and at their pleasure.

Meanwhile, from the weblog host side, his shyness account is not based on his own thought but rather the reproduction of the thesis posited by Huashan Zhou, a Chinese scholar who conducted research about the Mosuo. Even in his weblog the host recommends this researcher's book, *The Kingdom without Father and Husband* (2001), elucidating the conception of a local shy culture as the cause of adopting the walking marriage. As such, the weblog host borrows the scholar's thesis to support his argument and claim objectivity and authoritativeness. Furthermore the weblog host's account of Mosuo people's shyness exposes his desire to discourage outsiders' tendency to describe the Mosuo as promiscuous.

These observed dissonant accounts also demonstrate the different strategies adopted by locals to construct self-representations. The weblog host attempts to represent the local unique custom by utilizing the prevalent ideology in the mainstream society. To prevent outsiders from conceiving the Mosuo as promiscuous, the blog host attempts to explain local unique customs rationally and also construct a sophisticated image of the Mosuo. In contrast to the blog host, the autobiographer constructs her self-representation by accepting the images portrayed in the mainstream discourse about the Mosuo but arguing against its underpinning epistemology that contradicts the values upheld by the local people.

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that, while both voices attempt to dismiss the derogatory images created by outsiders about the Mosuo, their discursive forms of resistance differ according to their different gender identities and agendas. Such dissonance resonates the present study's theoretical thesis that tourism representation discourses manifest the complex power relations in constructing gender identities. Meanwhile, contrary to the mainstream Han culture which approves of an openly expressed sex drive in men and disapproves of it in women, the female autobiographer opts to construct an image of Mosuo women as empowered members of a gender-balanced society that contrasts with China's mainstream patriarchal society. This representation practice verifies the conceptual assertion that hegemonic discourses can be subverted through the construction of alternative value systems in the process of engaging and communicating with mainstream discourses (Brooks, 1997).

Sameness and rationalization of local customs

As the weblog host elaborates on some local customs, he makes frequent analogies between local customs and Han customs. For example, when he introduces the Walking Marriage, he writes:

When the loving relationship becomes fixed, the kitchen range will be worshiped to show respect for ancestors and spirits by presenting cigarettes and liquor to the girl's family. This is comparable to the Han engagement ceremony.

In the above example, the host serves as a cultural broker borrowing Han ways to make the local cultural phenomenon easily understood and more conventional.

Meanwhile, the autobiographer utilizes the same strategy in her introduction to local customs. She rationalizes the local custom by borrowing mainstream notions and transforms the local customs to be the conventional and easily acceptable social phenomena for mainstream readers. For example:

Both men and women have equal rights in their selection of lovers. It is the same as free-choice marriage for the Han. The loving relationship is not arranged arbitrarily. The couple cares about each other's ability, sagacity, and family property, so they must strictly comply with the principle of no kin marriage. Such principle equals our governmental policy of healthy propagation and scientific nurture and avoids posterity dysphasia caused by kin marriage. So, it seems our Mosuo have long known about healthy propagation and scientific nurture.

As indicated in the above autobiographer's accounts, she first asserts that the loving relationships among the Mosuo are the same as those of the Han. Then she explains how scientific the Mosuo courtship custom is by linking with the state's marriage policy. Borrowing from mainstream ideologies, the autobiographer rationalizes local customs and constructs an alternative self-representation which creates rational, scientific, and even advanced images of the Mosuo. Meanwhile, from the social practice dimension, her approach to addressing local courtship custom reflects her position as a writer attempting to have her book pass state censorship. By acknowledging the official marriage policy, in particular, concerning that the majority of her readers are Han people, she plays an education role for the state.

Furthermore, the weblog host employs some strategies to dislodge the negative images of his people. For example, when he comments on some immoral phenomena happening in Lugu Lake area, he writes:

That chaotic and pseudo walking marriage practice is purely the result of urban people's misunderstanding and the copy of a one-night stand in cities due to the development of tourism. . . . However, nowadays the Mosuo are influenced greatly by the Han. Some break up the family and live apart, some do not have any beliefs, and some cheat on girls in the name of walking marriage. We feel very sad.

In this example, when the host introduces the status quo of walking marriage, he emphasizes the influences from the Han and, particularly, the impacts of mainstream Chinese values on local people. The host attributes the immoral phenomena and negative parts of tourism development to sinization—or the acculturation of the Mosuo to the dominant Han social practices. By adopting such strategy, the host attempts to claim that all the negative things are brought by the Han, and the Mosuo are pure for love and innocent of vulgarity.

Compared with the weblog host, the autobiographer goes further and touches some sensitive parts of local customs that the blog host does not mention. She introduces such sensitive issues by comparing with Han conception of love. For example:

We have got used to walking marriage and do not feel weird about it. We do not feel unhappy for sharing our lover with others. For most Han, it would not be accepted to have several lovers and sleep with them in turn. If they do so, they must fight or even may kill each other.

As indicated in the above excerpt, although the autobiographer admits the coexistence of multiple loving relationships among local people, she contends that such a phenomenon is built on local people's willingness and the manifestation of lovers' harmonious relationships. Furthermore, she argues that Han people cannot have such custom due to restricted social norms and laws. In other words, she rationalizes such a phenomenon as a result of human nature or natural instinct. Following her argument, the Mosuo become the representation of freedom, openness, and sincerity, and in contrast the Han appear conservative, cold, and hypocritical.

Additionally, the autobiographer utilizes the same discursive strategies employed by outsiders in their representations of the Other. Namely, she introduces the local lifestyle and customs by generating dichotomous opposition with the modern urban mainstream ideology:

Local morals are so good that households keep their doors open, and no one pockets anything lost by others on the road. No burglary, fighting, gambling, and crime happen ever. Everyone feels safe, and it can be said that our place is a peaceful Shangri-la. We lead an honest and decent life. We do not entertain our hopes and demands beyond our ability because we do not have lofty ideals, higher pursuits, or any material things to lure us. We live naturally, easily, freely, and happily compared to those pursuing worldly fame and fortune.

By adopting such a strategy, the autobiographer constructs a positive image of the Mosuo and negates the values of the Han. Therefore, unlike the weblog host who endorses the dominant values of the mainstream society, the autobiographer creates a rationale idealizing her people's unique customs. Such an approach resonates with Chatterjee's (1989) thesis about the role played by colonized women in the construction of self-representations resisting colonial representations of the subaltern. Namely, nationalists resist colonial domination by creating images of local women as superior to Western women. In this study, the autobiographer utilizes her own rationale to dislocate the mainstream discourse and construct a superior image of the Mosuo against the Han.

By analyzing both the tourism weblog hosted by a Mosuo man and an autobiography written by a Mosuo woman, it is clearly revealed that both of them have demonstrated agency in resisting dominant negative projections of the Mosuo. Interestingly, they do this using markedly different discursive strategies and by creating dissonant self-representations. These differences reflect their positioning in relationship to their Mosuo people, in relationship to their readership, and most importantly their gender identities. These results shed further light into the complexity of self-representations among subaltern people and into the dynamic and contested processes that engender those representations (Spivak, 1988).

Conclusion

Subaltern people have been systematically portrayed as archaic, backward, mysterious, and sensual in both international and domestic tourism discourses (Gladney, 1994; Schein, 1997). Previous research has identified the colonial and nationalist nature of such representations (Echtner et al., 2003; Gladney, 1994; Wang, Morais, & Buzinde, 2009). Meanwhile, a number of researchers have argued that the images and representation of subaltern people are not static but rather fluid and negotiated (Bruner, 1996; Cohen, 2001). In particular, by adopting postcolonial and poststructuralist feminist theory, scholars have stressed the complexity of self-representation of the subaltern (Aitchison, 2001; Spivak, 1988). We posited that critical gendered examinations of subaltern people's self-representation in tourism may provide an insights into its complexity.

This paper's findings bring additional support to the claim that subaltern people indeed have the agency in constructing self-representations (Bruner, 1996; Cohen, 2001). Furthermore, the findings expose the complexity of subaltern peoples' self-representation and extend the study of postcolonialism and poststructuralism in tourism, and they reinforce postcolonial feminists' argument of the neglect of gender issues in mainstream postcolonial thought (Mills, 1998). This study has not only located the cultural differences of subaltern people in constructing self-representation, but also identified the mechanisms underpinning the different versions of self-representation by a local man and a local woman.

By utilizing critical discourse analysis, the present study exposes the macro social structure in which the self-representation discourses are embedded, identifies the interrelationship between subaltern discourses and construction of national identity in the context of post-Mao-era China, and provides a glimpse of a gendered struggle against dominant representations in a non-Western society.

Furthermore, this study brings light to the role of tourism weblogs in democratizing the creation and dissemination of tourism information at a global scale (Blood, 2002). Tourism blogs create opportunities for local voices to reach mass audiences and are, as a result, becoming a growing source of information for potential tourists searching supposedly unfiltered and non-commercialized information about tourism destinations of their interest (Rosenbloom, 2004). Meanwhile, in the act of blogging, people reflect their consciousness in their life, provide personal interpretations about their home place, and construct their self-representation (Pudliner, 2007).

The Mosuo have been the object of scholars' attention for a long time (Morgan, 1878). Initially as a purported relic of ancient social order (Mathieu, 1999), and then as key example of a group of people that change along with the societies and forces with whom they interact (Walsh 2001). As in the case of other groups that have captured the interest of the tourism industry, representations of the Mosuo tend to be essentialized and embedded with a post-colonial bias. In this study, however, we report how the Mosuo themselves are agents in shaping the images others have of them and that they do this in a markedly complex, gendered and disputed manner. It would be interesting to see additional research conducted with (not just about) the Mosuo to further understand how social norms and identities evolve as they reconcile tradition, changing livelihood opportunities and socio-political pressures in the rapidly changing China of our times.

Besides providing additional insight into the understanding of tourism representation and its underlying complex mechanisms, the findings also engender a research agenda to inform future advances in this subject. Namely, while Spivak (1988) already noted the importance of understanding the heterogeneity of the subaltern and the complexity of their self-representation processes, a more in-depth study on the representation of different subaltern groups in tourism destinations is warranted. In addition, while weblogs are emerging as an important source of information shaping pre-trip destination images, tourists have utilized strategies that encompass the use of other mass media tools such as social media, brochures, mainstream media controlled by tourism agencies and state nations. Therefore, it would be important to examine to what extent self-representations in different media are characterized with particular forms of ideological bias or with conformity to the assumed preferences of the intended audience or sanctioning agents.

References

- Aitchison, C. (2001). Theorizing other discourses of tourism, gender and culture: Can the subaltern speak (in tourism)? *Tourist Studies*, 1(2), 133–147.
- Aitchison, C., & Reeves, C. (1998). Gendered (bed)spaces: The culture and commerce of women only tourism. In C. Aitchison & F. Jordan (Eds.), *Gender, space and identity: Leisure, culture and commerce* (pp. 47–68). Brighton: Leisure Studies Association.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Apostolopoulos, Y., Sönmez, S., & Timothy, D. J. (Eds.). (2001). *Women as producers and consumers of tourism in developing regions*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Bandyopadhyay, R., & Morais, D. B. (2005). Representative dissonance: India's self and western representations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(4), 1006–1021.
- Bhabha, H. (1996). Unsatisfied: Notes on vernacular cosmopolitanism. In L. Garcia-Moreno & P. Pfeiffer (Eds.), *Text and nation: Cross-disciplinary essays on cultural and national identities* (pp. 191–207). Columbia, S.C.: Camden House.
- Bin, M. (2006). *Wo de tiantang wo de jia* (My Paradise My home). Retrieved January 20, 2008, from blogging host. Website: <http://www.tianya.cn/publicforum/Content/travel/1/82982.shtml>.
- Blood, R. (2002). Weblogs: A history and perspective. In P. Publishing (Ed.), *We've got blog: How weblogs are changing our culture* (pp. 7–16). Cambridge: Perseus Publishing.
- Britton, R. (1979). The image of the third world in tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6, 318–329.
- Brooks, A. (1997). *Postfeminisms: Feminisms, cultural theory and cultural forms*. London: Routledge.
- Bruner, E. M. (1996). Tourism in Ghana: The representation of slavery and the return of the black diaspora. *American Anthropologist*, 98(2), 291–304.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identify*. London: Routledge.
- Chao, E. (1996). Hegemony, agency, and re-presenting the past. In M. J. Brown (Ed.), *Negotiating ethnicities in China and Taiwan* (pp. 208–239). Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies.

- Chatterjee, P. (1989). The nationalist resolution of the women's question. In K. Sangari & S. Vaid (Eds.), *Recasting women: Essays in colonial history* (pp. 233–253). New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Cohen, C. B. (1995). Marketing paradise, making nation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22, 404–421.
- Cohen, E. (2001). Ethnic tourism in Southeast Asia. In T. Chee-Beng, S. Cheung, & Y. Hui (Eds.), *Tourism, Anthropology and China* (pp. 27–54). Bangkok, Thailand: White Lotus Co.
- Cohen, E. (1993). The study of touristic images of native people: Mitigating the stereotype of a stereotype. In D. Pearce & R. Butler (Eds.), *Tourism research* (pp. 36–69). London: Routledge.
- de Kock, L. (1992). Interview with gayatri chakravorty spivak: New nation writers conference in South Africa. *A Review of International English Literature*, 23(3), 29–47.
- Denzin, N. (1995). *The cinematic society: The voyeur's gaze*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. USA: Sage Publications.
- Ding, F. (2002). *Shenmi de nuerguo [The mysterious kingdom of daughter]*. Beijing, China: Zhongguo Shehui Chubanshe.
- Duncan, N., & Sharp, J. P. (1993). Confronting representation(s). *Environment and Planning*, 11, 473–486.
- Echtner, C., & Prasad, P. (2003). The context of third world tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(3), 660–682.
- Edensor, T. (2002). *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Enloe, C. (1989). *Bananas, beaches, and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Enloe, C. (2001). *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. London: Pandora.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fei, X. T. (1981). *Toward a people's anthropology*. Beijing: New World Press.
- Forney, M. (2002). The Mosuo, a small matrilineal tribe in central China, are preserving their tradition by exploring them. Retrieved May 23, 2008, from Time Magazine Website: http://www.time.com/time/asia/features/china_cul_rev/minorities.html.
- Gentzler, M. (1977). *Changing China*. New York, NY: Praeger Publishers.
- Gladney, D. C. (1994). Representing nationality in China: Refiguring majority/minority identities. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 53(1), 92–123.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105–117). London: Sage.
- Hall, S. (1997). The spectacle of the "other". In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representation and signifying practice* (pp. 223–290). London: Sage and the Open University Press.
- Henderson, K. (1994). Perspectives on analyzing gender, women and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26, 119–137.
- Jansson, D. (2005). A geography of racism: Internal orientalism and the construction of American national identity in the film *Mississippi Burning*. *National Identities*, 7(3), 265–285.
- Jenkins, O. (2003). Photography and travel brochures: The circle of representation. *Tourism Geographers*, 5(3), 305–328.
- Johnston, L. (2001). (Other) bodies and tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(1), 180–201.
- Kinnaird, V., & Hall, D. (1994). *Tourism: A gender analysis*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Light, D. (2001). Facing the future: Tourism and identity-building in post-socialist Romania. *Political Geography*, 20, 1053–1074.
- Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association. (2006). Lugu Lake. Retrieved February 3, 2008, from Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association Website: <http://mosuoproject.org/lugu.htm>.
- Mao, Z. (1939). *On new democracy*. Watertown, MA: East Gate Book.
- Mathieu, C. (2003). *A history and anthropological study of the ancient kingdoms of the Sino-Tibetan borderland – Naxi and Mosuo*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.
- Mathieu, C. (1999). History and other metaphors in Chinese-Mosuo relations since 1956. In A. Finnane & A. McLaren (Eds.), *Dress, sex and text in Chinese culture* (pp. 81–106). Clayton: Monash Asia Institute.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial conquest*. New York: Routledge.
- Mellinger, W. (1994). Toward a critical analysis of tourism representations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21, 756–779.
- Mills, S. (1998). Postcolonial feminist theory. In S. Jackson & J. Jones (Eds.), *Contemporary feminist theories* (pp. 98–112). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mohanty, M. (1999). Colonialism and the discourse in India and China. Retrieved May 2, 2008 from Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts Website: http://ignca.nic.in/ks_40033.htm.
- Morgan, L. H. (1878). *Ancient society*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Okolie, A. C. (2003). Identity: Now you don't see it; now you do. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 3(1), 1–7.
- Palmer, C. (1999). Tourism and the symbols of identity. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 313–321.
- Pretes, M. (2003). Tourism and nationalism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1), 125–142.
- Pritchard, A., & Morgan, N. J. (2001). Culture, identity and tourism representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales? *Tourism Management*, 22, 167–179.
- Pudliner, A. B. (2007). Alternative literature and tourist experience: Travel and tourist weblogs. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 5(1), 46–59.
- Rose, G. (1995). Place and identity: A sense of place. In D. Massey & P. Jess (Eds.), *A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalisation* (pp. 87–132). Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Rosenbloom, A. (2004). The blogosphere. *Communications of the ACM*, 47(12), 31–33.
- Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schein, L. (1997). Gender and internal orientalism in China. *Modern China*, 23(1), 69–98.
- Shih, C. K., & Jenike, M. R. (2002). A cultural–historical perspective on the depressed fertility among the matrilineal Mosuo in Southwest China. *Human Ecology*, 30(1), 21–47.
- Smith, V. (1976). *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sofield, T. H. B., & Li, F. M. S. (1998). Tourism development and cultural policies in China. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(2), 362–392.

- Song, E. C. (2006). Mosuo de Muxi Jiating [The Matriarchal Mosuo Families]. In N. T. M. Dashi (Ed.), *Mosuo shehui wenhua yanjiu lunwenji 1960–2005 [Mosuo Social Cultural Essays 1960–2005]* (pp. 3–25). Yunnan, China: Yunnan University Press.
- Spivak, C. G. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Swain, M. B. (1995). *Tourist gaze*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Swain, M. B. (1976). Cuna women and ethnic tourism: A way to persist and an avenue to change. In V. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (pp. 71–82). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Swain, M. B. (1989). Gender roles in indigeous tourism: Kuna mola, kuna yala and cultural survival. In V. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (pp. 83–104). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Urry, J. (2002). *Tourist gaze*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Walsh, E. R. (2001). Living with the myth of matriarchy: The Mosuo and tourism. In C. B. Tan, C. H. S. Cheung, & H. Yang (Eds.), *Tourism, anthropology and China: In memory of Professor Wang Zhusheng* (pp. 93–124). Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Wang, Y., Morais, D. B., & Buzinde, C. (2009). American media representations of China's traditions and modernity. *Tourism, Culture & Communication Journal*, 9(3), 125–136.
- Wearing, B., & Wearing, S. (1996). Refocusing the tourist experience: The “flaneur” and the “choraster”. *Leisure Studies*, 15, 229–244.
- Wilkinson, S., & Kitzinger, C. (1996). *Representing the other: Feminism and psychology*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Yan, R., & Song, Z. (1983). *Yongning naxizu de muxizhi [The matriarchal system of the Naxi nationality of Yongning]*. Yunnan, China: Yunnan People's Publishing House.
- Yang, L. (2011). Ethnic tourism and cultural representation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(2), 561–585.
- Yang, L. (2012). Tourists' perceptions of ethnic tourism in Lugu Lake, Yunnan, China. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 7(1), 59–81.
- Young, R. (2001). *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Zhang, K. (1990). Family marriage and fertility in a matriarchal society: Social survey of the Naxi nationality in Ninglang County, Yunnan Province. *Chinese Journal of Popular Science*, 2(3), 247–256.
- Zhou, H. (2001). *Wufu wufu de guodu [The kingdom without father and husband]*. Beijing: Bright Daily Press.

Yasong (Alex) Wang is Assistant Professor in Hospitality Management at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Ackerman Hall Room 14, 911 South Drive, Indiana, PA 15705. Email <yswang@iup.edu>). His research interests include tourism planning, socio-cultural impacts of travel and tourism on host community, and community tourism development.

Duarte B. Morais is in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University, USA. His research interests are sustainable community development through tourism and relationship marketing.