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Tourism migrant workers: The internal integration from urban to rural destinations

Jiuxia Sun[a], Ling Ling[a], Zhuowei (Joy) Huang[b,*]

[a] School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University, China
[b] Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the unique phenomenon of tourism migrant workers (TMWs) who move from developed urban areas to less-developed rural destinations in China. It investigates the four dynamic dimensions of TMWs' integration process: economic adaptation, social integration, cultural acceptance and psychological integration. Three inhibiting factors of the integration process are identified from the socio-cultural context of Chinese society: TMWs' own social network, urban-rural differences, and sojourner mentality. This research was conducted in three stages and used both qualitative and quantitative research methods to examine TWMs' integration process from the perspectives of TMWs and local residents.

Introduction

The rapid development of tourism makes traditional homogeneous communities morph into open and heterogeneous ones by attracting non-local workers to move into these locales and reside there. These workers, referred to as "tourism migrant workers" (TMWs) in the present study, cross jurisdictional boundaries from their home to a tourism destination to work directly in the tourism industry there, and reside in that destination permanently or semi-permanently. In general, tourism migrant workers move from less-developed regions to developed countries or areas. China has a growing number of tourism workers who migrate from developed urban areas to less-developed rural areas, which can be attributed to several unique factors in China society. Dating back to 1950s, the Chinese government initiated a policy that prioritized the development of urban areas (Nolan & White, 2007). As a result, urban areas have shown more advanced capability than rural areas in economic performance, education quality, public infrastructure, housing and healthcare since the 1990s (Yang, 2013). A large number of rural residents have moved to urban areas for better jobs and living conditions (Kenneth, 2002). In the process, many rural communities remain under-developed, with their natural and cultural resources kept in a pristine, authentic state.

Development of rural areas came into the spotlight in 2005 when the Chinese government rolled out policies aiming at revitalizing under-developed rural areas of the country, which have long suffered from loss of labor and a declining agriculture industry. Follow-up plans and strategies targeting rural development have been formulated and implemented since then. Tourism has been identified as an effective development tool for many rural communities (Huang et al., 2015). The strength of rural destinations lies in their authentic local communities and original natural and cultural resources (Wang & Xu, 2014; Xie & Wu, 2008), which can be transformed into tourist attractions to draw visitors to such rural destinations. In addition, a growing number of China urban residents want to escape "mega cities" due to the stress of living there, including increasing housing prices, a competitive job market,

* Corresponding author.
E-mail address: joy.zhuowei.huang@gmail.com (Z.J. Huang).

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fast-paced lifestyle, pollution, limited outdoor space, etc. (Yang, 2017). Stimulated by these opportunities, demand for rural tourism has boomed in China since 2012. It was reported that, in 2018, there were over 3 billion visits to rural destinations and rural tourism income reached over $110 billion (https://xw.qq.com/cmsid/20190807A0A95400). These numbers steadily increased during the last decade and are expected to reach new highs in upcoming years. The fast-growing demand for rural tourism activities and products bring tremendous opportunities for rural destinations, but also many challenges. Due to China's long-term unbalanced policy, many rural destinations are short on financial resources and educated population needed to develop tourism businesses and services (Wang & Xu, 2014). Due to the abovementioned situation, cross-regional migrant workers have emerged, moving from urban areas to rural destinations, where they have certain advantages over local residents – business experience, strong financial resources, and higher levels of education – which allow them to capitalize on the prosperous opportunities presented by rural tourism development.

These migrant workers construct a new form of mobility that lies on “a continuum between permanent migration and tourism” (Williams & Hall, 2000, p. 18). They are perceived as guests by local residents (Janta, Ladkin, Brown, & Lugosi, 2011), while being perceived as hosts by tourists. The migration of tourism workers has made significant impacts on economic, social and cultural structures of the destination communities (Su & Chen, 2017). It has been noted that such migration converts traditional homogeneous rural communities with an embedded affinity to communities that contain residents with diverse identities (Woods, 2007). Consequently, the integration of these urban tourism migrant workers into rural destination communities is multi-faceted (Entzinger, 2000; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016) and can include structural spheres associated with institutional spheres, and normative (also known as cultural) spheres (Bernard, 1967; Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003). The structural spheres associated with institutional spheres denote the establishment and formation of crystallized social relationships which connects migrants to the major institutional activities of the host society, for example, economic and occupational activities, government, religion, marriage and the family, education and recreation (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Gordon, 1964). Normative spheres refer to changes in migrants' cultural and psychological orientation and identification (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Gordon, 1964).

The abundance of extant literature on migrant integration has focused on the population movement from less-developed regions to developed areas, which is often explained through pragmatic and rational economic models (Benson, 2011). In these studies, migrants are at a relatively disadvantaged economic and social status compared to residents in host societies (Yue, Li, Jin, & Feldman, 2013). However, the situation reverses in the present study: urban tourism migrant workers have more power and resources than local residents in rural destinations. This new situation leads to a different integration process (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016) and challenges previous discourses on integration (Favell, 2008). Several migrant integration studies in the tourism field have examined structural spheres (e.g., Paniagua, 2002; Su & Chen, 2017), while cultural and psychological issues of migrants and local residents in the integration process are largely overlooked. Furthermore, extant research has widely examined the migrant integration process from the perspective of migrant workers (e.g., Janta et al., 2011; Joppe, 2012), but stays short of the dynamic interactions between TMWs and local residents in the integration process.

To this end, the unique phenomenon examined in this study brings new aspects to existing research on migration and integration. Going beyond traditional migrant groups in migrant integration studies, this study aims to better understand new forms of tourism migrants and their integration process into the host destinations in today's world. In particular, two major research objectives will be achieved in this study: 1. to identify the primary dimensions of urban TMWs' integration into rural destinations by combining structural and normative domains; and 2. to uncover urban TMWs' dynamic integration process into rural destinations, including their interactions with the local community.

Literature review

Tourism migrant workers (TMWs)

Migration has long been perceived as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence that crosses jurisdictional boundaries (Bell & Ward, 2000; Lucas, 2015). Driven by a combination of self-selection and out-selection mechanisms, migration into tourist destinations include production-led migration (Williams & Hall, 2000) and lifestyle migration (Benson, 2011), both of which account for the existence of TMWs. From the perspective of production-led migration, rapid tourism development leads to a massive influx of migrant workers with different positions in the economic structure, including skilled managerial positions, intermediate posts, unskilled labor (King, 1995; Szivas & Riley, 2002) and self-employed entrepreneurs (Szivas & Riley, 2002; Williams & Hall, 2000), whose movements may be seasonal, temporary or permanent (Gössling & Schulz, 2005). When mass tourism evolves to a certain point, it causes specific shortages and structural imbalances of human and financial capitals in destinations (Williams & Hall, 2000). Thus, large amounts of migrants with diverse skills and capital tend to move to tourist destinations and work for or establish small/middle-scale tourism businesses (Szivas & Riley, 2002). The majority of existing studies have focused on production-led labor migration from less developed countries to developed countries for better payment and skill development (e.g., Janta et al., 2011; Joppe, 2012).

Lifestyle migration refers to the migratory movement driven by the attractiveness of the living environment and a more fulfilling way of life within the destination (Benson, 2011). A handful of studies have discussed TMWs in the form of lifestyle migration. For example, Paniagua (2002) found that tourism entrepreneurs in Spanish often move from urban to rural destinations at the peak of their professional career, pursuing self-employment lifestyle in rural areas with better natural environment. Vaugeois and Rollins (2007) found that lifestyle and entrepreneurship were the strongest motivations for TMWs (including employees and entrepreneurs) on Vancouver Island, Canada, as tourism employment provides a vehicle for transitioning into a more desirable lifestyle. Generally

speaking, TMWs in the form of lifestyle migration move from urban to rural destinations due to the attractiveness of countryside environment and are self-employed because the cost of setting-up a business is relatively low (Shaw & Williams, 2004).

The reasons for Chinese TMWs moving from urban to rural areas fall on a spectrum, with financial-centred goals at one extreme and lifestyle-orientated goals at the other. Some TMWs are largely motivated by the business opportunities present in certain rural destinations. They are entrepreneurs with one or more tourist-related businesses. Their migration may be temporary or seasonal, depending on the development stage of the tourism industry in the destination. They may move to another location if the destination enters the life cycle stage of decline or stagnation with lower profit margins. Some TMWs are motivated by the lifestyle in rural destinations. They used to be urban residents who suffered the overcrowding, environmental degradation, expensive housing and many other pressures of big cities. They desire for a more laid-back lifestyle and relatively unspoiled natural environment, with little concern for making more money than what is needed to survive. Their migration tends to be permanent or long-term, as they chose the destination simply because they "like the place." The majority of TMWs have some combination of these two major reasons mixed in varied degrees for migration from urban to rural destinations (Salazar & Zhang, 2013).

Migrant integration

Rooted in sociology, the term 'integration' was originally used to denote the 'glue' of a society that needs an order to overcome conflicts and differences (Favell, 2001). It now has become a widely used term to describe the aim of post-immigration polices (Favell, 2003; Goksel, 2018), swinging from assimilation (Gordon, 1964; Kymlicka, 1995) to multiculturalism (Weil & Crowley, 1994), then to a place in between, with the rise of public concerns about the influences of immigrant diversity on social cohesion and national security of the host societies after 2000s (Goksel, 2018). While there is no consensus over the formal definition of integration (Wiesbrock, 2011), it has come to a common assumption that integration is a two-way process of mutual adaptation in which both migrants and residents are engaged in multiple autonomous and interdependent spheres (King & Skeldon, 2010; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016; Wiesbrock, 2011).

For example, Heckmann (2005) defines integration as "a long-lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society", "an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society, in which, however, the receiving society has much more power and prestige" (Heckmann, 2005, p. 15) and put forward that integration process can be organized as structural integration, acculturation, interactive integration and identification integration. Taking previous researches into consideration (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016), proposed a disaggregated approach to the concept of integration, defining integration as "the process of becoming an accepted part of society"(Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016, p. 15), distinguishing three dimensions (the legal-political, the socio-economic, and the cultural-religious), and suggesting that integration process is propelled by interactions between migrants (immigrants in this case) and the receiving society at different paces and levels within the three dimensions. According to these debates, common basic principle on integration (Wiesbrock, 2011), namely, multidimensional and interactive process is the premise adopted within this empirical research.

Previous studies on the integration process of international migrants primarily follow two theoretical directions: institutional attribution theory (Lewin-Epstein, Semyonov, Kogan, & Wanner, 2003; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016) and capital attribution theory (Jacobs, 2004). The former contends that regulatory rules, institutions and organizations in various domains of society that deal with migration directly or indirectly (e.g., immigration laws, labor market regulations, national welfare state arrangements, citizenship policies) create the structure of opportunities and limitations for immigrants, and thus shape migrant integration processes and outcomes (e.g., Freeman, 2004). The latter emphasizes how the mix of capital immigrants arrive with and subsequently accumulate (e.g., financial capital, human capital, cultural capital and social capital) shapes the trajectory of their integration into the host society (e.g., Nee & Sanders, 2001). Since most studies were carried out in the context of economically or socially disadvantaged immigrants into "the urban, industrialised or post-industrial societies of 'the global North'" (King & Skeldon, 2010, p. 21), there is a dominant view that the receiving society, especially its institutional structure, is more decisive for the outcome of the process than the immigrants themselves are (Heckmann, 2005; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016).

Migrant integration was also examined based on geographical areas crossed by migrants: international migrant integration of migrants who have crossed country borders and brought ethnic and racial diversity to the host societies (Wang & Fan, 2012); and internal integration of migrants who cross regions within countries (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005). With extensive discussions about the international migrant integration, limited political and academic attentions were paid to internal migrant integration issues (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005). One reason rests on the assumption that internal migrants are more homogenous in terms of citizenship, ethnicity, and culture (King & Skeldon, 2010). This assumption does not stand in developing countries, such as China, where the urbanization process has made huge urban vs. rural differences (Lucas, 2015). For example, China's rapid urbanization has led urban areas to have more economic advantages than rural areas that rely on traditional agriculture (Huang et al., 2015). Moreover, China's *HuKou system* tends to prevent population movement and stratifies Chinese people into urban and rural sides (Chan & Zhang, 1999), as it requires each individual to "register his/her place of residence officially with the local public security officers in their home places" (Solinger, 1999, p. 12). As a result, people with non-agricultural Hukou are economically and socially superior to those with agricultural Hukou in terms of jobs, housing, healthcare and pension benefits (Chan & Buckingham, 2008). To that end, most studies on integration of rural-to-urban migrants in China have focused on the institutional barriers rooted in the HuKou system (e.g., Solinger, 1999; Wu & Treiman, 2004), examining how institutional factors influence the internal migrant integration process (e.g., Wang & Fan, 2012).

Research on integration of TMWs emerged after tourism-led migration became a phenomenon in many destinations. Some particular interests focus on the migration of TMWs from developed urban areas to less-developed rural destinations (Paniagua, 2002;

Su & Chen, 2017). These studies tend to present migrant integration as a one-sided process and pay attention to the structural dimension of the outcomes. For example, within the context of rural restructuring in Spain, Paniagua examined the participation of urban–rural migrants in tourism developments, focusing on the socio-political dimension of the integration process, and found that the majority of migrants (in this case, tourism entrepreneurs) were reasonably well integrated within the local community and involved in rural politics due to lifestyle-related goals, such as the desire to preserve the rural character (Paniagua, 2002). Su and Chen focused on the socio-economic dimension of the integration process by exploring how the business operations of migrants (again, tourism entrepreneurs) became embedded within the local society in a Chinese cultural heritage site, Lijiang Ancient Town (Su & Chen, 2017). They found that spatial embedding and social segregation coexisted with TMWs. Unfair economic redistribution and distrust could discourage migrants from socially integrating themselves into the local society.

Methodology

To fully address the two research objectives, the quantitative method of structured questionnaires and the qualitative method of ethnographic research are used in this study. This mixed method approach is adopted to explore a new phenomenon of TMWs from developed urban areas to underdeveloped rural destinations, which was underexamined in existing literature. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has proven advantageous in describing and analyzing new phenomenon in a comprehensive manner (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) and promoting synergy in research outcomes (Nastasi, Hitchcock, & Brown, 2016). This research is designed in three major stages with observations, interviews, and surveys conducted in Shuanglang over a period of nine months. The three-stage research design is guided by explanatory sequential mixed methods, which enabled preliminary qualitative data to inform a quantitative survey and, in turn, guided the design of follow-up interviews with a small sample of informants (Creswell, 2014). The first stage of this study collected preliminary qualitative data to learn about Shuanglang and urban-to-rural migration phenomenon. The second stage, informed by findings from the first, developed dimensions of urban TMWs' integration into rural destination communities through the structured questionnaire survey. The third stage followed up the previous steps by interviewing local residents and TMWs in Shuanglang, thus synergizing related information and delineating the multifaceted TMWs' integration process (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007).

Shuanglang has been selected as a prime example of a rural tourist destination for this research. Located northeast of Erhai Lake in Dali city, Yunnan Province, China, Shuanglang is a major settlement of Bai ethnic minorities. By 2017, it had about 18,890 residents, with Bai people making up 20% of the total population (National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). In the early 2000s, Shuanglang started attracting domestic backpackers, artists, and writers for its idyllic country life (see as Fig. 1). A massive influx of tourists have visited Shuanglang since 2009, with many among them hailing from urban areas and who later became TMWs. They live and work in Shuanglang for months and years. There are three reasons to select Shuanglang as the example for this study. First, it is a poor China rural destination with a rich culture and beautiful natural scenery. Tourism is a major engine of local economic development. Second, a considerable number of urban-to-rural TMWs have lived in Shuanglang since 2012 and can be approached to report on this unique phenomenon. Third, TMWs' migrant integration into the local community has been going on in Shuanglong for years, providing rich information for this study to investigate the process.

Stage I – introductory exploration

Guided by the ethnographic method, researchers first need to select a group of TMWs to study and one or multiple sites where these TMWs interact and develop shared values and assumptions (Creswell, 1998). This is the primary purpose of the Stage I data collection that lasted about a week. The second author gathered information through observation and collection of relevant files and documents in Shuanglang. First, the researcher walked the major streets in Shuanglang and visited local tourism businesses, to develop a preliminary understanding of tourism development and urban-to-rural migration phenomenon in Shuanglang (Wolcott, 1994). Second, the research visited local government officials to apply for the right of access to governmental files and documents on the history, geography, population, tourist arrivals as well as economic development of Shuanglang town. A map of tourism businesses based on the governmental street map was created through these observations and casual talks, marking the name, type and location of each tourism business. Interactions between TMWs and locals were also recorded in written notes, photos taken by the researcher during the observations, and some casual talks between the researcher and TMWs and locals. Each evening, the researcher referred to the governmental files repeatedly, reviewed the written notes, photos, and verbal conversations of that day and converted them into descriptive text. It was found that TMWs tend to work in three types of tourism businesses in Shuanglang: 1) hotels and inns; 2) restaurants, bars and cafes; and 3) shops for clothes, teas, silverware, flower cakes,[1] artwork, etc. The majority of these businesses are small-scale with no more than two full-time employees. Three villages are identified as sites for further data collection of this study, due to high density of tourism businesses shown in the map (Fig. 2): Shuanglang village, Dajianpang Village and Yuji Island.

[1] Flower cake is a kind of traditional Chinese pastry. It is named “flower cake” because its fillings use the petals of edible roses. Flower cake is a popular local food for tourists in Shuanglang and all over Yunnan Province.

Fig. 1. Landscapes and small enterprises set up by TMWs (photographs taken by the second author).

Stage II – identifying primary dimensions of TMWs' integration

The second stage employed semi-structured interviews and a structured questionnaire survey to identify the primary dimensions of TMWs' integration into Shuanglang. Measurement items used in survey were initially selected from migrant integration literature in western countries and in China, supplemented by semi-structured interviews with TMWs in Shuanglang, and finalized through pilot testing among **TMWs**.

This study examines migrant integration in structural and normative domains. Structural domains refer to TMWs' social connections with the host community, and their economic and occupational activities. The literature has suggested four distinct aspects for measuring structural domains: TMWs' perceived social distance, range of social interactions, occupation stability, and employment opportunities. Seven items were selected from literature to measure the structural domains (Bogardus, 1933; Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Fei, 2012; Zhang & Lei, 2008). Normative domains of integration refer to changes in migrants' cultural and psychological orientation and identification. The literature has suggested four distinct aspects for measuring normative domains: acceptance of social value system, group identification, adaptation to the local life, and acceptance of customs and habits of local community. Ten items were adopted from previous literature (Entzinger et al., 2003; Tian, 1995; Tong & Ma, 2008; Yang, 2010; Zhang & Lei, 2008).

In-depth interviews were conducted with TMWs who have lived in Shuanglang for over three years to obtain their perspectives of the integration process. Specific questions were asked, including their migrant integration experiences, factors that facilitate or discourage their integration, their social interactions with local residents, their perceptions of acceptance by the local society, their willingness to integrate, and obstacles to adaption. Each interview took about 30 min and was conducted in Chinese. The 17 identified items were confirmed from the interviews. Thus, the questionnaire survey was developed using the 17 measurement items of TMWs' integration on a 5-point Likert scale. The questionnaire also included demographic questions (i.e. gender, age, educational level, monthly income, occupation and place of origin) and other migration related information (e.g., residence length, purpose of migration, settlement plan). A pilot test among 20 TMWs in Shuanglang was carried out to revise the wording of the questions and to avoid any confusion. The finalized measurement items are shown in Table 1 below.

TMWs from urban areas who had crossed the city-level administrative borders and lived in Shuanglang for over three months

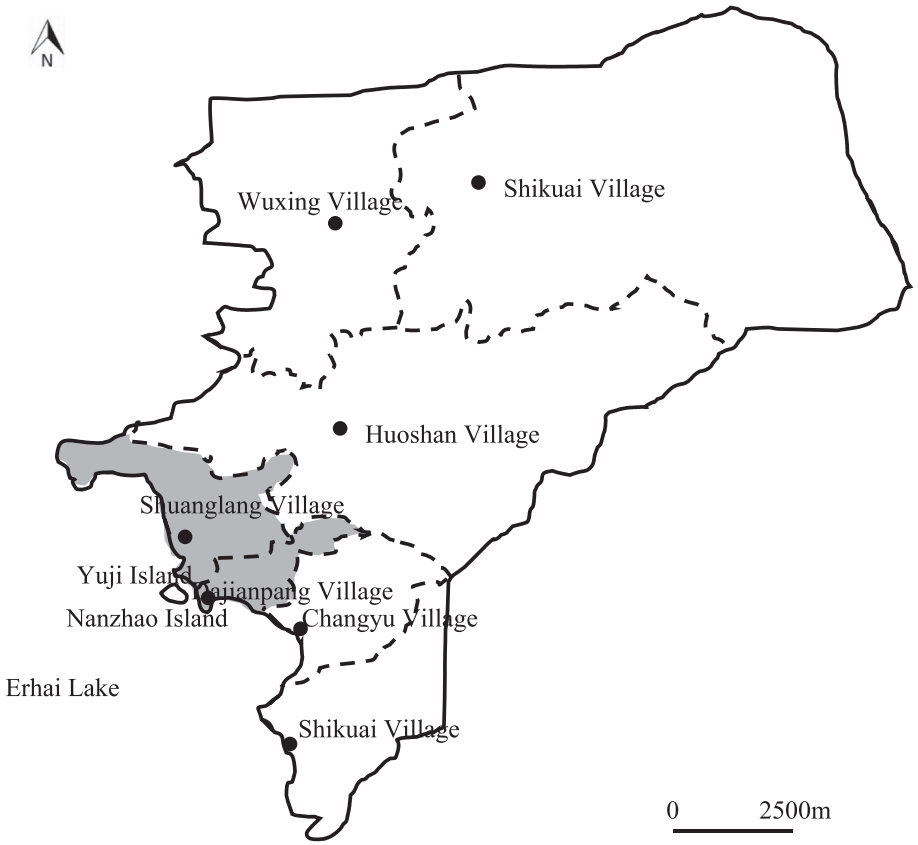

Fig. 2. The administrative division of Shuanglang Town.

Table 1
Measurement items of urban TMWs' integration into rural destination.

Domains	Items
Structural domains	I am willing to socialize with locals
	I am willing to make more local friends if possible
	I think local residents are friendly to me and are ready to help me
	If local residents meet with difficulties, I am willing to help them as possible as I can
	I have extensive local interpersonal relations
	I have a stable job here
	I think there are good employment opportunities in Shuanglang
Normative domains	I have a common language with local residents in many aspects
	I share views on many things with many locals
	I can accept the values of the local society and the way locals treat others and thing
	I feel that I am already a native of this place
	I am willing to be a member of the local society
	I feel comfortable, relaxed and secure living here
	I am used to the local lifestyles
	Shuanglang is a suitable place for work and living
	I am aware of local Bai ethnic customs
	I often act on local customs

were randomly approached to participate in the face-to-face questionnaire survey. As a result, 215 questionnaires were collected with 172 valid responses, and 54 in-depth interviews were conducted and audio-recorded. The profile of survey participants is shown in Table 2.

Stage III – investigations into the dynamics of integration process

Another round of data collection was carried out by the first and second author to achieve triangular verification (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) in Stage III. Semi-structured interviews were randomly conducted with local residents in the three villages in

Table 2
Socio-demographic profile of samples of TMWs (N = 172).

Variables	Samples	%	Interviewee samples	Variables	Samples	%	Interviewee samples
Gender				Receptionists of Inns	36	20.9%	6
Males	103	59.9%	34	Waiters/waitresses of R/B/C	9	5.2%	2
Females	69	40.1%	20	Shopping assistants	31	18.0%	5
Age				Place of origin			
18 and below	1	0.7%	1	Anhui	5	2.9%	3
19 to 23	35	19.9%	6	Beijing	5	2.9%	3
24 to 28	83	48.6%	22	Chongqing	5	2.9%	3
29 to 35	29	16.4%	10	Guangdong	15	8.7%	6
36 to 45	18	11.6%	11	Guangxi	5	2.9%	0
46 to 55	4	2.7%	3	Guizhou	4	2.3%	2
56 or above	1	0.7%	1	Hebei	3	1.7%	2
Education				Henan	5	2.9%	0
Primary school and below	3	1.7%	2	Hunan	15	8.7%	5
Middle school	40	29.1%	10	Jiangxi	10	5.8%	3
High school/vocational college	38	22.1%	14	Shandong	3	1.7%	0
Undergraduate	90	52.3%	26	Sichuan	36	20.9%	11
Graduate	1	0.6%	1	Yunnan	41	23.8%	9
Occupation				Zhejiang	3	1.7%	0
Entrepreneurs of Inns	13	7.6%	9	Others	14	8.1%	5
Entrepreneurs of R/B/C	10	5.8%	8	Residence length (months)			
Entrepreneurs of Shops	51	29.7%	17	3 to 12	95	55.2%	21
Managers of Inns	16	9.3%	5	13 to 24	37	21.5%	13
Managers of R/B/C	5	2.9%	4	25 to 36	27	15.7%	12
Managers of Shops	4	2.3%	1	37 or above	13	7.6%	8

Note:
1. R/B/C refers to restaurants, bars or cafes.
2. Amony respondent entrepreneurs, two are the owners of both inns and shops (interviewed); one owns an inn and a restaurant.
3. In subsequent section, informants' names have been changed to maintain anonymity.
4. For detailed information about each interviewee sample, see as Appendix 1.

Shuanglang identified in the Stage I. Some of them worked in tourism businesses and some didn't. Interviews were conducted in public (e.g., coffee shops, parks, etc.) or private places (e.g., informants' houses) selected by informants and agreed by informants and researchers. Following questions were asked in interviews: their understandings of local tourism development and community development, daily interactions with TMWs, settlement of disputes, attitudes towards TMWs, and the perceived impact of tourism on their lives and community. Local tourism authorities in Shuanglang were also interviewed to gain the government administrative perspective of the TMW phenomenon. In addition, multiple visits were made during this stage to Shuanglang to follow up with TMWs interviewed in Stage II and to keep track of their migrant integration process.

Overall, 41 informants participated in this stage of the data collection, including 11 TMWs (revisited), two administrative officers and 28 local residents. Each interview lasted about 30–60 min. Table 3 provides detailed information about the interviewees.

Table 3
Profile of interviewee samples of local residents and government officials (N = 30).

No.	Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	No.	Name	Age	Gender	Occupation
L01	Shan	23	Male	Entrepreneurs	L16	Rou	29	Female	Entrepreneurs
L02	Zun	40s	Male	Entrepreneurs	L17	Cheng	40s	Male	Entrepreneurs
L03	Jiao	70s	Male	Entrepreneurs	L18	Yiqi	30s	Male	Entrepreneurs
L04	Ming	30s	Male	Entrepreneurs	L19	Fang	48	Female	Entrepreneurs
L05	Liu	30s	Male	Entrepreneurs	L20	Chi	20s	Male	General employees
L06	Ya	40s	Female	Entrepreneurs	L21	Ting	20s	Female	General employees
L07	Ke	30s	Female	Entrepreneurs	L22	Yiyi	24	Female	General employees
L08	Wu	28	Male	Entrepreneurs	L23	Tian	23	Male	NOT engaged in tourism sector
L09	Jie	40s	Female	Entrepreneurs	L24	Jin	30s	Male	NOT engaged in tourism sector
L10	Guo	30s	Female	Entrepreneurs	L25	Li	30s	Male	NOT engaged in tourism sector
L11	Mei	30s	Female	Entrepreneurs	L26	Zhan	30s	Male	NOT engaged in tourism sector
L12	Kai	60s	Male	Entrepreneurs	L27	Xiong	30s	Male	NOT engaged in tourism sector
L13	Ban	40s	Male	Entrepreneurs	L28	Zao	40s	Male	Stall owner
L14	Gong	40s	Male	Entrepreneurs	G1	Lin	30s	Male	Government Officials
L15	Xuan	30s	Male	Entrepreneurs	G2	Xiaotong	40s	Male	Government Officials

Data analysis

In total, the data in this study include three sets: 1. Texts created on the basis of the researcher's observations in Stage I, which provided information about tourism businesses in Shuanglang and interactions between TMWs and locals. 2. Semi-structured interviews with TMWs, local residents and tourism authorities in Shuanglang. Recordings of the interviews were first transcribed in Chinese and then translated into English by the second author. The English transcripts were reviewed and revised by the third author and a professional proofreader, both of whom are proficient in English and Chinese. The transcripts were then translated back into Chinese and compared with the original Chinese transcripts by two graduate students majoring in tourism management to double check the accuracy of the English translation. 3. Quantitative survey data including 172 valid questionnaires.

The data analysis of this study was conducted in three steps. First, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to analyze the third dataset. EFA is employed here for the purpose of defining the underlying structure of Chinese urban TMWs' integration into rural destinations. While 17 items measuring multiple aspects of migrant integration were taken from the existing literature, a structured framework of migrant integration is missing in these studies. EFA can identify interrelated dimensions from existing items and establish a structure.

Second, two qualitative datasets were analyzed following the measurement items and dimensions found in step one to confirm and validate the EFA results. Researchers identified the texts closely related to each measurement item from the two qualitative datasets, and grouped them into each dimension according to EFA results. Moreover, to fully elaborate the migrant integration process from multiple perspectives, quotes and comments from local residents and tourism authorities were also reviewed and grouped into the four dimensions.

Third, analytic induction was employed among the texts and quantitative results to identify second level themes within each dimension of migrant integration (Clarke & Braun, 2014). In this step, researchers looked back and forth for repeated patterns of meaning across three datasets within each dimension (Janta et al., 2011). For example, it was found in the Economic Adaption Process that urban TMWs took a leading role in the local economy. This theme was constantly mentioned by TMWs and local residents, and also supported by survey data with TMWs. Moreover, inductive reasoning was used to identify some common themes across dimensions. For example, data analysis suggested TMWs tend to hold different values and beliefs with local residents that significantly influence their social interactions with locals, acceptance of local culture and identity. Further analysis of TMWs' sociocultural background identifies the urban-rural differences as the root cause of these issues in their migrant integration process.

Findings

Primary dimensions of urban TMWS' integration into rural destinations

Four dimensions were identified from 17 items through EFA. They are *social integration*, *psychological integration*, *cultural acceptance*, and *economic adaptation* (Table 4). The statement "I can accept the values of the local society and the way locals treat others and things" was deleted due to the high cross-loading. "*Social integration*" refers to TMWs' perceived social distance and the quantity of social contact with local residents at the neighbourhood level. "*Psychological integration*" refers to the affective bond and association TMWs have with local residents and residential environment. "*Cultural acceptance*" denotes TMWs' acceptance of social values and ethnic customs of the local community. "*Economic adaptation*" refers to TMWs' economic standing in local economy. Among these four dimensions, *social integration* and *economic adaptation* belong to the structural domains of the integration process, while *cultural acceptance* and *psychological integration* are in the normative domains.

Table 4
Dimensions of urban TMWs' integration into rural destination.

Factors	Items	Factor loading	Variance explained	Reliability coefficients
Social integration	I have extensive local interpersonal relations.	0.620	21.837	0.858
	I am willing to deal with locals.	0.802		
	I am willing to make more local friends if possible.	0.814		
	I think local residents are friendly to me and are ready to help me.	0.728		
	If local residents meet with difficulties, I am willing to help them as possible as I can.	0.698		
Psychological integration	I feel comfortable, relaxed and secure living here.	0.741	18.978	0.845
	I am used to the local lifestyles.	0.819		
	I feel that I am already a native of this place.	0.738		
	I am willing to be a member of the local society.	0.657		
	Shuanglang is a suitable place for work and living.	0.669		
Cultural acceptance	I have a common language with local residents in many aspects.	0.633	14.365	0.752
	I share views on many things with many locals.	0.634		
	I am aware of local Bai ethnic customs.	0.686		
	I often act on local customs.	0.688		
Economic adaptation	I think there are good employment opportunities in Shuanglang.	0.744	10.345	0.603
	I have a stable job here.	0.752		

Note: KMO = 0.862; Bartlett's Teat of Sphericity = 1198.433 ($P < 0.001$); Total reliability coefficients = 0.902.

Dynamic integration process between TMWS and locals

Migrant integration is a two-way process that involves both TMWs' integration into the host society and the adaption of local residents. This section delineates the bidirectional integration process between TMWs and local residents on the basis of the four dimensions identified in the EFA. Each sub-section presents how urban TMWs integrated into the rural community under each dimension and how local residents reacted and adapted to the changing community accordingly.

Economic adaptation process

Shuanglang is a remote agricultural community and was economically underdeveloped before the introduction of its tourism industry. Since 2009, tourism industry has developed rapidly, replacing agriculture as the primary industry in Shuanglang. TMWs from major cities in China brought with them economic, human, and social capital. As multiple hotel and shop owners noted:

Without outside investors like me, Shuanglang would still be a very poor village. Seven or eight years ago, it was a fishing village and people here struggled to make living by farming and fishing.

(Xin)

Before coming to Shuanglang, I had done a lot of business in Beijing and Shenzhen. Many outsiders like me are much better at business than locals. The locals always want to follow our steps when we introduce new, innovative programs.

(Ping)

My aunt set up a business (a flower cake shop) in Dali before I moved to Shuanglang. With her help, I got to know the important business information, like how to purchase the raw materials. Now many of our relatives and friends from our hometown have been in this business and we can provide better products at a more competitive price.

(Xian)

TMWs witnessed and contributed substantially to the development and rapid growth of the tourism industry. According to the preliminary estimates by local government, there are nearly 350 inns and hotels invested in by migrant workers in 2016, accounting for 80% of the total number of accommodations in Shuanglang. Results of questionnaire survey accord with the interview discoveries: most TMWs are well-adapted to the emerging tourism labor market, with about 80% of respondents agreeing that "*there are good employment opportunities in Shuanglang*" and 84.2% of respondents indicating that they "*have a stable job here*".

On the other hand, many local residents feel behind and disadvantaged in their adaption to the fast tourism development. Local Bai people, who lived in mountain areas and used to make livings on farming, are pushed into tourism industry as local economy has rapidly transformed from traditional agriculture to tourism. Villagers living beside the lake had the same problem, as fishing was restricted by the government for environmental protection. Zao, a local villager who sells breakfast on the main street of Shuanglang described how income sources had changed:

In recent years, no outside wholesalers have come to our village to purchase farm produce and fruits and milk become less and less valuable. There are nearly no farmers here. Almost all the young villagers have moved to the three villages by Erhai lake and work in restaurants and inns.

It is difficult for local residents to find a decent job as they don't have much managerial and technical skills. Yiqi, a local restaurant owner, said:

What motivates me to run a restaurant is I hope to help locals, at least my relatives and friends, to have stable jobs. In fact, we locals have harder lives than before. Previously we could make a living on farming and have some extra income by helping others do farm work. But now we have to find jobs in the labor market, which is difficult since we do not have enough knowledge. The most accessible job for us is to do some cleaning in hotels since we could not handle others such as working on computers at the front desk or managing the shops. Without good jobs, there is no possibility to have good income.

It has been noted that local residents who engaged in tourism enterprises have faced tremendous pressure because of limited economic and human capital. Tourism businesses operated by locals - particularly inns - are less competitive than those operated by TMWs. This problem has been reported by many local residents working in tourism industry. For example, Cheng, who runs an inn at Shuanglang village said, "*We locals have limited knowledge and speak the Bai language, so we sometimes have problems in communications*"; another local villager, Gong, who set up an inn with all his savings, contended, "*My inn has an investment of over 1 million RMB, which far exceeds what I can afford. So, half of the investment was borrowed from my friends*".

In summary, it seems that TMWs are active to integrate themselves in local economic development. They bring resources to the host community that make them advantageous in tourism business operation. On the other hand, local residents are facing challenges to adapt to the transformation of local economy from agriculture to tourism. In particular, they are constrained by their limited financial resources, education and professional skills, which keep them in the disadvantaged position in tourism development in their hometown.

Social integration process

TMWs have turned Shuanglang from a predominant Bai settlement into a mixed neighbourhood with multiple ethnic groups. It is worth of noting that many TMWs rent houses from local Bai people in Shuanglang for residence and business purposes. Lots of local residents and TMWs live in the same neighbourhood. According to the survey, 71.5% of TMW respondents reported locals as their

neighbours.

Local Bai People in Shuanglang have shown a high level of cultural tolerance and inclusiveness towards TMWs. Historically, Bai People inhabited in the junction of *Southern Silk Road* and *Ancient Tea-horse Road*, where is the international trade centre between China, Southwest Asia and South Asia. This ethnic group has been engaged with different cultures including Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. As a result, they have high tolerance of different culture and tend to be open to people from outside of their own community. Jiao, a Bai elder and head of a large local family, said:

Bai people here are especially hospitable, benevolent and righteous -it is in the genes. These features distinguish us from other ethnic groups. We inherit them from our ancestors that allow us feel peaceful and get along well with non-locals.

This was confirmed by a young local resident, Yiyi, who works at a dessert shop owned by an outsider. She noted, "*villagers in Shuanglang are hospitable and simple, and welcome non-locals coming here to do business*". The survey results also indicated that most TMWs feel a sense of acceptance and little social distance with local people. 67.5% of TMW respondents reported "*locals are ready to help*", 65.1% were "*willing to deal with locals*", and 70% were "*willing to make more local friends if possible*".

However, a close look at the survey results reveals that intergroup contact between TMWs and local residents stops at superficial encounters. 60.8% of TMW respondents in survey reported "NOT *having extensive local interpersonal relations*". It seems that working and living in the same neighbourhood did not bring further interactions between TMWs and local residents. This might attribute to the landlord-tenant relationship between the two groups based on further analysis of the interview data. From the eyes of local residents, TMWs are reluctant to socially interact with them as friends given the business relationship with locals. The following two quotes from a local family inn owner and a young villager explained the situation.

We Bai people attach great importance to Ren Qing (interpersonal ties). I used to rent a small store in Lijiang ancient town inhabited by Naxi ethnic minorities. During each local festival, I would visit the landlord with some gifts. Sometimes our family invited the landlord's family to have dinners together. While for Han people (TWMs), renting a house is like shopping for groceries in the market. Before they made contracts with landlords, they were very enthusiastic and friendly. So long as the formal contract was signed, they would change from "friends" to "strangers" to landlords.

(Gong)

The first investors have lived there for seven or eight years, but they still didn't build close relationships with us… They rarely start a conversation with us. It seems that if we visit them frequently, they would get annoyed.

(Nu)

Ironically, TMWs felt very difficult to even maintain the landlord-tenant relationship with local residents because they do not follow lease contracts. Some TMWs have experienced or witnessed disputes with the locals regarding the rapid and unreasonable increase of rent. Such conflicts of interests have resulted in TMWs' limited, superficial interactions with locals. Hu, a TMW who run a lakeside inn for five years said, "*most Bai people we know are simple and kind. If there are no the conflicts of interests regarding the rents, they would be easy to deal with. However, those rural people do not follow the law of contract. In the past few years, many landlords breached the contracts and increased the rents. To me, some of them are not trustworthy. There is no need to build close relationships with them.*"

In fact, although living within the same neighbourhood, local residents and TMWs have different social networks. One senior villager said, "*We locals have limited contact with non-locals, … Non-locals have their own jobs and friends, while we locals like to chat together in our leisure time" (Fang)*. Further analysis of the interview data reveals that 1) social ties and 2) commonly-shared values help TMWs construct their own social networks. Many TMWs in Shuanglang are relatives and friends who come from same or close-by places and they find emotional and instrumental support within the group. For example, most teashop owners in Shuanglang are from Shangrao city in Jiangxi province; most flower cake shop owners come from Hunan province; and most silverware shop owners are from Heqing county in Dali City. Ping, the aforementioned owner of an electric self-balancing car shop said:

Several years ago, my brother came to Shuanglang and set up a restaurant here. At that time, I lived in Beijing. The severe haze there made me feel terrible. When my brother invited me to have a holiday in Shuanglang, I decided to do some business here because the air is so clear, making me in a good mood. Two friends of mine also invested here. A businessman must find relevant social network, otherwise he would be disadvantaged.

In addition, TMWs who migrate partially for the idyllic lifestyle in Shuanglang stress the importance of common values and beliefs in social integration. A lack of common values makes it difficult for lifestyle-centred TMWs to interact meaningfully with the locals. Lan, an owner of a dessert shop in Shuanglang since 2012, described her social contacts:

Although I made friends in different occasions and for various reasons, the common ground is that we have similar backgrounds and dispositions. If we cannot understand and have no interest in what each other is talking about, it is impossible to build close personal ties. And that's why I feel it is hard for me to talk to locals.

To sum, although TMWs and local residents live in same neighbourhood, social integration between two groups are at a superficial level, mainly on the basis of landlord-tenant, neighbour, and co-worker relationships. Local residents and TMWs have their own social networks respectively, and seem exclusive to each other. TMWs construct their social network with other TMWs in Shuanglang based on social ties and commonly-shared values.

Cultural acceptance process

It is witnessed in TMWs' integration process that traditional Bai culture and belief encountered modern values based on market economy. It is interesting to note the reactions of local residents and TMWs in this cultural evolving process. For example, local residents tend to accept and even embrace modern values based on commodity exchange. Shan, a young villager running a family inn with his parents, described how he felt about the changes to traditional values in the local community:

We used to have a group of close friends and neighbors when I was a little boy. Everyone was warm-hearted and enthusiastic and we helped each other voluntarily. However, everything is different now; we talk about nothing but money.

Some local residents take a positive view of these changes. They learn the new culture and, at the same time, maintain their own traditions. Fang, a villager who previously worked at an inn owned by TMWs and later opened her own family inn in the Bai ethnic style, explained:

Before running this inn, I worked for others and learned how to manage an inn. Our world is very small, and we are used to our own traditions. Therefore, we must keep learning. In fact, we value advanced things. Only by making good use of advanced things can we preserve the things from our ancestry.

However, attitudes of TMWs from urban areas to ethnic Bai culture in Shuanglang are a paradox. On the one hand, TMWs are attracted to Shuanglang due to the unique Bai ethnic culture and idyllic lifestyle. They appreciate and enjoy the ethnic customs presented by local Bai People. Qing, a tea shop manager noted:

We can find something we lack in city life. They locals always have an extremely ceremonious wedding, during which they invite all their relatives, friends and the villagers to have dinners together for seven days. Sometimes we are invited and we enjoyed it. In addition, celebration for new year here also lasts for quite a long time. They have many lively activities, like dragon dances. Benzhu (Bai ancestors) is important for them. During those festivals, they hold very unique memorial ceremonies for Benzhu. All these are attractive to us.

On the other hand, TMWs recognize the different traditions and habits of the local Bai people. They find it difficult to understand these customs, and avoid learning more about them due to their superficial interactions with local residents. This notion is confirmed by some TMWs who have lived in Shuanglang over three years:

There are significant differences between our urban life and the local life in Shuanglang. They locals have many living habits we have never seen and also hard for us to understand.

(Zhi)

The minority people have their own and different ethnic things. Bai people have some taboos inherited from their ancestors. For example, sometimes, they set some special tables in their living rooms. It seems that the tables were used to hold some religious rituals. In fact, we feel somewhat uncomfortable. But we dare not inquiry about the details since we are outsiders, not close to the locals.

(Qi)

Results of the survey data analysis also confirmed the paradox of TMWs' attitude to Bai ethnic culture. About 43% of TMW respondents reported that they are "*aware of local Bai ethnic customs*" and 39% of them "*often act on local customs*." The 60–40 split in answers to the above two questions indicate TMWs' contradictory opinions to local Bai ethnic customs.

While local residents are willing to accept the modern values brought by TMWs (as indicated in the beginning of this section), the latter are not very willing to share their opinions with the former. Only 30% of TMW respondents in the survey acknowledged "*sharing views on many things with many locals*". 65% of TMW respondents don't think they "*have a common language with local residents in many aspects*". Furthermore, interviews with TMWs indicated that their value systems are unlikely to be affected by local culture even after living in Shuanglang for a long time. The following quotes from two TMWs who have lived in Shuanglang for over three years expressed similar opinions regarding this matter.

No matter how long I stayed here, I still felt that there are some different things rooted deeply in the culture.

(Hu)

We are not averse to locals and their customs, but the point is that 'they' and 'we' are of two different mind-sets. The living habits are different, so is the ideology.

(Fei)

One reason to explain this situation may be the belief held by TMWs that they are more advanced than local residents in education, professional experiences and mindset. Majority of urban TMWs in Shuanglang have bachelor degree. Zhe, a TMW and manager of a lakeside high-end inn, said:

From our perspective, we think it is hard to communicate with locals, and they are not open enough. Perhaps we think their ideology is outdated, while they cannot understand our ideology. We know more about them, so we have no patience and time to understand this group deeply.

Psychological integration process

TMWs are attracted to Shuanglang for its splendid waterscapes, abundant sunshine and slow pace of life. Over half of TMW respondents (54.1%) agreed that, "*Shuanglang is a suitable place for work and living*". They feel "*comfortable and secure living here*"

(65.9%) and "*are used to the local lifestyle*" (56.6%). Yu, a dessert shop owner, confirmed these reasons for migration:

> *After working in Beijing for several years, I felt tired and bored. And I did not have enough space and time to keep my cats there. Since I love travelling and hope to live a life with more freedom, I decided to settle down in Shuanglang. Many migrants like me are attracted by local life- peace, fresh air and unsophisticated people. Each time I went to big cities, I felt uncomfortable with the heavy traffic on the street, high-rise buildings and huge crowds of people.*

While enjoying life in Shuanglang, many TMWs do not feel emotionally attached to the local community. 66.3% of the respondents do not recognize themselves as members of the host community and find it hard to take on the identity of a local. Local residents are also aware of the intergroup boundary. Although TMWs have emerged in Shuanglang for over six years, most Bai people consistently referred to them as "*others*," and referred to their fellow locals as "*us.*" For example, Zun, a senior villager who runs a family inn, said:

> *They won't live here for long. They are here for the money, and offer whatever customers need to make more profits. In doing so, they have damaged the environment. We and our future generations live here. So the environment cannot be damaged and should be protected.*

It was further found from the interviews that TMWs' lack of a sense of belonging to the local community partially resulted from the failed integration into the local community, socially and culturally. This impermeable boundary between TMWs and local residents is also manifested in social interactions. Both locals and TMWs are aware of their identity differences and such awareness has been reflected in their interactions. Jin, a villager who joined a football team made up of both locals and TMWs shared his experience:

> *In our football team, most members are non-locals, who are very intimate and often dine together. The three or four local members rarely contact them in private. In fact, there are two groups in one team, which can be seen from the members' behavior.*

In addition to negative impacts of unsuccessful social and cultural integration, TMWs' psychological integration is challenged by their mobile lifestyle. Only 12.4% of TMW respondents decided to settle in Shuanglang, while 21.8% haven't yet decided, and 65.8% had no plan to live in Shuanglang long-term. In fact, most TMWs in Shuanglang are short-term migrants. Literally, they are sojourners, not locals. Even those who decided to settle down – in most cases, lifestyle-centred TMWs – were "forced" to adopt a short-term migrant plan, because Shuanglang changed so rapidly as a tourist destination. It has been found that the first group of lifestyle-centred TMWs have already left as Shuanglang is not the place they liked any more. TMWs who come to Shuanglang for its prosperous tourism market always prepare to leave if the tourism industry declines, or if another tourist destination offers better development opportunities. Thus, most economy-centred TMWs are highly mobile between different destinations. The mobile lifestyle and sojourner mentality of many TMWs prevents them from developing a sense of belonging to the local community, which also makes it difficult for local residents to accept TMWs as community members.

Conclusion and discussions

The present study explores the dynamic four-dimensional integration process of urban TMWs into a rural destination, Shuanglang, against the backdrop of rapid tourism development and rural revitalization in China. This study finds that TMWs fully participated in and led the local tourism development when government regulations and sanctions were absent. Their active and in-depth involvement in the local economy develops social connections with local residents. However, the social integration of TWMs into the local community stops at the superficial interactions between TMWs and local residents. Both groups have their own social networks and in-depth cross-group engagement is lacking. Furthermore, it is found that the values shared in the TMWs' social network are different from local residents. In fact, most TMWs are comfortable with their modern values, norms, and behavioural patterns and know little about the local Bai culture, although they were attracted to Shuanglang by the idyllic ethnic customs. Rather, the encounter between local traditional Bai culture and modern values carried by TMWs has caused local residents to make compromises between modernization and tradition. In addition, this study finds that TMWs were attracted to Shuanglang and fond of the attractive environment. However, they don't identify themselves as locals nor plan to live there in long-term. They have low levels of tolerance for the backward parts of rural settings.

To conclude, urban TMWs' integration process into rural tourism destinations (e.g., Shuanglang) is initiated by economic adaptation, but has made little progress in terms of social integration, cultural acceptance and psychological integration. Three major inhibiting factors are identified and summarized from the data analysis results.

1) **TMWs' own social network**: TMWs have established their own social networks that include families, friends, and business associates who are also TMWs in Shuanglang. A "comfort zone" is created, providing all levels of supports in economic and social interactions, cultural identities, and psychological comfort. Many TMWs socialize within this exclusive group but not with locals. In fact, this comfort zone brings barriers to TMWs' integration into the destination community, which is manifested as unsuccessful social integrations with locals, further impeding cultural and psychological integration processes.
2) **Urban-rural difference**: Long-term uneven policy and Hukou System in China has differentiated urban and rural areas in many aspects, such as education, infrastructure and facilities, healthcare, lifestyle, etc. As a result, urban residents in China have developed a sense of superiority to rural population (Solinger, 1999). The urban-rural difference is an important force that drives the movement of TMWs from modernized urban to less-developed rural areas that offer opportunities, good environment, authentic culture and community, but lack of financial resources and people with rich business experience and high education. Under this backdrop, TMWs' sense of superiority derives paradox in their integration process into the host rural community. For

example, despite of enjoying local culture and lifestyle, TMWs are not willing to learn much about local culture nor build close personal relationships with rural residents due to the different values.

3) **Sojourner mentality**: Most TMWs' life is highly mobile with sojourner mentality, and they regard Shuanglang as one "stop" in their migratory life. Regarding themselves as travellers with many temporary homes, they do not easily develop attachments to destinations and are less willing to integrate into local society and socialize with the locals. This psyche explains TMWs' low level of psychological and social integration into local society.

First, the present study brings attention to a unique phenomenon of tourism workers from urban areas migrating to rural communities and empirically examines their integration process. An abundance of literature on migration has focused on economic-driven international migrants and internal migrants moving from less-developed regions to developed areas. In these studies, migrants are disadvantaged and restricted by institutional factors in the integration process (e.g., Heckmann, 2005; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016; Wang & Fan, 2012). The present study differentiates itself from previous research on migrant workers by examining the urban-to-rural floating TMWs who have stronger economic status, higher education, and more professional skills than residents in the host community. Delving into the process of how this privileged group integrates into the local underdeveloped community, this study argues that inhibiting factors such as their own social network based on geography, blood and shared interests, their sense of superiority, and the sojourner mentality significantly influence TMWs' integration process into rural destinations.

Second, this study expands upon existing empirical studies on integration of TMWs into rural destinations, which regard migrant integration as unidirectional process and only focus on structural spheres (e.g., Paniagua, 2002; Su & Chen, 2017), by highlighting the bidirectional aspects of interactions between TWMs and local residents. It also recognizes the presence of both institutional spheres and normative spheres in the TMWs' integration process and develops four dimensions of this process: economic adaption, social integration, cultural acceptance, and psychological integration. Moreover, the present study adds another layer to China's unique social and cultural context as it relates to the phenomenon of TMWs and their integration process. In particular, it uncovers the double-sided effects of urban-rural differences on China's TMWs' integration into rural destinations. On the one hand, it drives the massive influx of TMWs from urban centres to rural communities. On the other hand, it puts up barriers to TMWs' social and cultural integration into the rural destinations.

In addition, this study confirms findings of previous tourism migration research in western societies and cultures, and thus contributes to the tourism migration literature in general. For example, Benson conducted several ethnography studies on lifestyle migration in Europe (Benson, 2010, 2011). His studies indicated the importance of migrants' motivations and active pursuit of shared interests in the integration process into local rural communities (Benson, 2010). Moreover, the double-sided effect of migrants' advantages over local residents with regard to social status, education, and sense of superiority have been found in the social and cultural integration (Benson, 2011). Unlike Benson's research, however, the present study was conducted in China and focused on TMW populations with mixed motivations of production-led and lifestyle-change. Nevertheless, similar results were discovered by both studies. Migrants from urban areas tend to have higher social status, better education, and a sense of superiority than local rural residents. These factors create barriers and largely inhibit the migrant integration process. Benson found that urban migrants remained framed within a culture rooted in their British middle-class dispositions. This is also noted among China's TMWs who socialize within their own networks, keep their values, and are reluctant to adopt the local one. It is worth of noting the double-sided effects of unequal status between urban migrants and rural residents exist in tourism migrant integration process across different cultural settings. Future research will benefit from this finding by further investigating the important role of this factor in the tourism migrant integration process.

Finally, the findings of this study bring attention to the integration issue in many communities in the "late, post-modernity society" (Giddens, 1990) with mobility. Mobility has been recognized as a typical socio-ecological variable (Oishi & Kesebir, 2012) in the worldwide shift from Gemeinschaft (residentially stable, traditional "community") to Gesellschaft (residentially mobile, modern "society"; To¨nnies, 1887/1957). Some of the diverse forms of mobility have been materially transforming the "social as society" into the "social as mobility," and consequently produced inner mobility (Urry, 2000). Studies on lifestyle-driven migrants in Europe and the America revealed that these migrants held flexible attitudes towards mobility and a form of multiple dwelling might emerge in a conscious chronological order (Eimermann, 2017; Hoey, 2016). Sojourney mentality of TMWs continues to be noted in the present study. It further suggests that tourist destinations are mobile, with different TMWs moving in and moving out. TMWs' inner mobility brings challenges to the cohesion and integration of today's mobile destinations, such as Shuanglang. The longstanding sojourner mentality limits TMWs' socialize within their own social groups and impede their social interactions with locals. The lack of interactions between TMWs and Locals in those mobile, heterogeneous communities threatens the social integration process. To this end, further question is raised: how 'mobile people' are integrated into a social unity and form a solid group identity as migratory movements have become an integral aspect of social life.

The findings of this study also provide suggestions for rural destinations that use tourism as a driving force for development and urbanization. TMWs and their integration into local community is always an important issue in these destinations. This study calls for attentions to local residents in the integration process and offers some helpful suggestions. For example, local residents often have difficulties in adapting to the transformative economy in local community due to their disadvantages compared with TMWs, such as low education and a lack of professional skills and financial resources. Local government should therefore consider providing legal, social, and some economic support to help local residents fit into the changing economic environment in the destination. For instance, a training/workshop system at the community level could be established to provide educational opportunities for local residents to acquire professional skills and learn about industry standards, government policies and regulations.

As this study notes, TMWs are not very attached to the host community in social, cultural and psychological aspects. To enhance

the integration, several steps could be taken. First, social events and cultural festivals that invite both TMWs and locals should be organized to foster exchanges between the two groups. Second, these groups should be asked to work together on the management of public affairs in the local community. Through personal engagement, TMWs will enhance their understandings of local community and social identity as the hosts. In addition, a community-based welfare system, such as tourism profit dividend and childcare/education benefit, could be provided to TMWs and local residents alike. In doing so, TMWs will feel like they belong to the host community and be motivated to integrate.

As an exploratory study, this study has several limitations. First, it examines urban TMWs' integration into rural destinations as a new phenomenon. It is very normal that not all the migrants are integrated into local community at the same pace. For example, 2/3 of TMW respondents were “willing to deal with locals, and make more local friends if possible.” This indicates little perceived social distance with locals in the social integration process. However, the opinions of the other 1/3 of TMW respondents were ignored in the findings due to the limited scope of this study based on the larger proportion. Future studies should investigate the root causes of the opinions on both sides. In addition, this study regards TMWs as a homogeneous group, and thus differences between TMWs were not included in these discussions. In fact, some TMWs in Shuanglang are business owners, some are business managers, and some are employees. Although the majority of tourism businesses sampled in this study are small with no more than two full-time employees, there are slight differences between TMWs due to their occupations. Future studies should be conducted to investigate the different integration challenges faced by these sub-groups of TMWs.

Appendix 1. Profile of interviewee samples of TMWs (N = 54)

No.	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Place of origin	Length of residence
M01	Ban	Male	24 to 28	Owner of a cloth shop	Shangrao, Jiangxi province	2 years
M02	Yuan	Female	24 to 28	General employee of a cloth shop	Shaodong, Hunan province	2 years
M03	Guo	Male	19 to 23	General employee of a cloth shop	Shaoyang, Huan province	1 year
M04	Guan	Male	19 to 23	General employee of a restaurant	Dali, Yunnan province	1 year
M05	Xi	Female	19 to 23	General employee of an inn	Dali, Yunnan province	2 years
M06	Lang	Male	36 to 45	Owner of a dessert shop	Langfang, Hebei province	2 years
M07	Ping	Male	46 to 55	Owner of a self-balanced vehicle shop	Beijing	1 year
M08	Su	Male	19 to 23	Manager of a vegetarian restaurant	Dali, Yunnan province	1 year
M09	Ka	Male	29 to 35	Manager of a cafe	Chuxiong, Yunnan province	3 years
M10	Fu	Male	24 to 28	Owner of a cloth shop	Nanjing, Jiangsu province	3 years
M11	Yin	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a silverware shop	Dali, Yunnan province	3 years
M12	Zhu	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a cloth shop	Chengdu, Sichuan province	2 years
M13	Qing	Male	24 to 28	Manager of a tea shop	Xiamen, Fujian province	3 years
M14	Xixi	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a cloth shop	Yueyang, Hunan province	4 years
M15	Tai	Male	36 to 45	Owner of a milky tea shop	Panzhihua, Yunnan province	1 year
M16	Shi	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a silverware shop	Dali, Yunnan province	3 years
M17	Mei	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a dessert shop	Zhanjiang, Guangdong province	3 years
M18	Chen	Male	36 to 45	Manager of an inn	Mianyang, Sichuan province	3 years
M19	Long	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a cloth shop	Dali, Yunnan province	1 year
M20	Xian	Male	46 to 55	Owner of a rose pie shop	Hengyang, Yunnan province	1 year
M21	Wu	Male	29 to 35	Manager of a restaurant	Guangzhou, Guangdong province	1 year
M22	Teng	Male	24 to 28	General employee of silverware shop	Chengdu, Sichuan province	2 years
M23	Yang	Male	24 to 28	Manager of an inn	Hongguo, Guizhou province	1 year
M24	Fei	Female	29 to 35	Owner of a cloth shop	Beijing	4 years
M25	Kai	Male	36 to 45	Manager of an inn	Foshan, Guangdong province	3 years
M26	Xin	Female	56 or above	Owner of an inn	Chengdu, Sichuan province	4 years
M27	Lan	Male	29 to 35	Owner of a dessert shop	Zhuhai, Guangdong province	5 years
M28	Lulu	Female	29 to 35	Owner of a dessert shop	Chengdu, Sichuan province	5 years
M29	Min	Male	24 to 28	General employee of an inn	Chongqing	2 years
M30	Bing	Male	24 to 28	General employee of a tea shop	Shangrao, Jiangxi province	2 years
M31	Jia	Male	29 to 35	Owner of a restaurant	Liupanshui, Guizhou province	3 years
M32	De	Male	19 to 23	General employee of an inn	Chengdu, Sichuan province	3 years
M33	Zhong	Male	46 to 55	Owner of an inn	Guangzhou, Guangdong province	1 year
M34	Jie	Male	29 to 35	Owner of an inn	Hefei, Anhui province	2 years
M35	Ji	Male	29 to 35	Manager of an inn	Luzhou, Sichuan province	2 years
M36	Han	Female	24 to 28	General employee of an inn	Nanchong, Sichuan province	1 year
M37	Xiu	Male	18 and below	General employee of a tea shop	Shangrao, Jiangxi province	1 year
M38	Cui	Male	24 to 28	Owner of a bar	Quzhou, Anhui province	4 years
M39	Tuan	Female	36 to 45	General employee of a bar	Yunnan	1 year
M40	Zhe	Male	36 to 45	Manager of an inn	Maanshan, Anhui province	1 year
M41	Qian	Female	24 to 28	Manager of a bar	Nanning, Guangxi province	2 years
M42	Xin	Female	24 to 28	Manager of an inn	Miluo, Hunan province	1 year
M43	Xiang	Male	36 to 45	Owner of a restaurant	Beijing	1 year
M44	Sha	Male	19 to 23	General employee of an inn	Chongqing	1 year
M45	Zhi	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a cloth shop	Datong, Shanxi province	3 years
M46	Jiang	Female	24 to 28	Owner of s stall	Chengdu, Sichuan province	2 years
M47	Gui	Female	29 to 35	Owner of an inn	Nanjing, Jiangsu province	2 years
M48	Bu	Male	24 to 28	Owner of an artwork shop	Shijiazhuang, Hehei province	3 years

M49	Hu	Male	36 to 45	Owner of an inn	Chengdu, Sichuan province	5 years
M50	Ge	Male	24 to 28	General employee of an inn	Shantou, Guangdong province	1 year
M51	Jun	Male	36 to 45	Owner of a restaurant	Jilin province	1 year
M52	Juan	Male	36 to 45	Owner of an inn and a cloth shop	Kunming, Yunnan province	1 year
M53	Ai	Female	36 to 45	Owner of an inn and a cloth shop	Chongqing	1 year
M54	Yu	Female	24 to 28	Owner of a dessert shop	Beijing	4 years

Note: Informants' names have been changed to maintain anonymity.

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Jiuxia Sun is a professor at Sun Yat-sen University. Her research interests include community tourism, tourism anthropology, tourism sociology and ethnic relations in tourism.

Ling Ling is currently a master student of School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University, China. She is interested in tourism, migration and mobility.

Zhuowei (Joy) Huang conducts research on consumer behavior in tourism and hospitality marketplace.