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Consumption-led Mobilized Urbanism:

Socio-spatial Separation in the Second Home City of Sanya

YUE-FANG WU

¹ *School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University*

² *Foshan Polytechnic College*

Mailing address: 329 Building, 135 West Xingang Road, Haizhu District, Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, 51027, P.R. China.

Email: enroute2009@yahoo.cn.

HONG-GANG XU

Corresponding author

School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University

Mailing address: 329 Building, 135 West Xingang Road, Haizhu District, Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, 51027, P.R. China.

Email: xuhongg@mail.sysu.edu.cn

ALAN A. LEW

Mailing address: Department of Geography, Planning and Recreation

Northern Arizona University – Box 15016, Flagstaff, Arizona 86011-5016, USA.

Email: alan.lew@nau.edu

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ABSTRACT

Tourism and recreational second home development has increased rapidly in peripheral and lower-tier cities of China in recent years. While tourism-led real estate development has been widely accepted as an effective investment opportunity, it can increase urban segregation and stratification. This pattern is seen in the resort city of Sanya on Hainan Island, China. Sanya's recreational second homes vary in form and can be categorized into (1) elite-vacation second homes (short stay, private homes), (2) lifestyle-migration second homes (short stay, commercial homes), and (3) retirement-migration second homes (longer term, seasonal homes). Unlike the segregated cities formed by displaced labor migrants in many of China's cities, seasonal recreational migrants are both economically better-off and are emerging as a dominant political force. The segregated residential spaces created by Sanya's second home development landscape further limits interaction and social network building between indigenous local residents and part-time recreational migrants. The perceived home space and feelings of place attachment towards Sanya is under drastic change, with locals feeling increasingly displaced. The new mosaic of consumption-led amenity cities in developing economies is one where traditional models of migration-based segregation are reversed. Wealthier second home migrants have the capacity for more political power than local residents, as well as relying more on non-localized social networks and multi-nodal home spaces. Consumption-led mobility is an important determinant in building explanations of socio-spatial segregation and stratification in global cities that are undergoing dramatic development change.

KEY WORDS: consumption-led migration, seasonal migrants, second home, amenity destinations, socio-spatial differentiation, Sanya, Hainan, China

Introduction

High levels of social-spatial differentiation has been noted in China's metropolitan regions under the current period of social transformation. Marketization in the housing sector, differentiation in land prices, the deepening socio-economic unevenness, as well as the path-dependency of the socialist era (Li, et al., 2006) are among the important factors leading to a high level of residential segregation in modern China. Mobility, on the other hand, introduces an ongoing processes of 'spacing', 'placing' and 'landscaping' through which the city is reshaped and reformed. The influx of new migrants is a significant factor remolding the socio-spatial landscape of the city. Among various mobility patterns, production-led migration has obtained premier attention by China researchers (cf., Gu & Kesteloot, 2002; Li et al., 2004; Li & Zhu, 2005; Li & Wu, 2006; Li & Liu, 2011). These investigations have shed light on the heterogeneous urban landscape, with its new proliferation of migrant workers, mostly from rural areas.

Migrant enclaves typically form in the peripheral areas of cities, with a mix of labor migrants from rural and less developed cities in China. Important social networks are formed within these migrant concentrations for economic reasons. Proximity to people from the same originating regions makes it easier for them to find a job and bridge the migratory gap with minimal resources (Hu, 1997; Liu & Gu, 1999; Xiang, 2005). On the other hand, emotional factors are also crucial, as bonds are formed among the various migrants in their search for consolation and a sense of security in a new environment.

Along with China's rapid development, socio-spatial segregation has taken on another representation with the production of a new social cohort of the 'Just-got-Rich' – those with high disposable income and abundant leisure options. The increasing consumption-led migration of this new social cohort has altered the country's traditional pattern of social mobility. In particular, the new upward mobility and its distinctive socio-spatial characteristics, are having a drastic impact on high amenity destinations.

The phenomenon of traveling to and settling-down in places outside of one's permanent residence for leisure and consumption purpose is common among the new wealthy cohort.

They are joining in a large scale movement from city center to the periphery, from metropolis to amenity rural, and from spaces of production to spaces of consumption. Recreational second homes are booming as a consequence of this macro flow. Three important characteristics of this consumption-led migration, compared to the production-led one, are: (1) their higher socio-economic status compared to low-skilled laborers and ethnic workers; (2) an intricate geographical consequences and social network building in contrast to the typical migrant enclaves and fortress cities formed by production labor migrants; and (3) a circulative migratory pattern of movement with volatile dwelling choices being made throughout their life cycle (McHugh, 1990; Aronsson, 2004, p. 79; Gray, 2006). Existing research on consumption-led mobility is especially pronounced in terms of the migrant's experience and their socio-cultural impact on the destination. However, the increasing mobility induced by tourism and leisure demands is bringing about a profound socio-spatial transformation in many urban destinations. Limited research, however, has focused on this change.

The study here focuses on the socio-spatial transformation induced by consumption-led migration in China. It starts with an analysis of recreational second homes, as an immediate outcome of consumption-led migration in spatial form. The study inquires into the composition of ownership, pattern of usage and the geographical mixture and isolation of second homes. Then, it investigates the interactive space and social network building in the destination. To a specific extent, it questions what makes the consumption-led mobility different in shaping socio-spatial separation in comparison to factors found in traditional urban geography studies. Based on this, it examines the self-identification and perception of leisure-induced migrants in the destination and originating areas. Consumption-led mobility is an important determinant in building explanations of socio-spatial segregation and stratification in global developing cities that are undergoing dramatic change.

Theoretical threads

Tourism-induced seasonal migration and second home development

In today's world, people sometimes move around in ways that blur the boundary between

traditional identifications and categorizations of tourists and tourism. As mentioned by Williams and Hall (2000, p. 5-27), researchers have paid little attention to "the gray zone of the complex forms of mobility which lie on a continuum between permanent migration and tourism," although these practices may be of great interest for tourism analysis as well as for social science more generally. Case studies in North America, Europe, Oceania and South Africa have depicted socio-cultural landscape changes under the circumstance of cross-border and transnational consumption-led migration (Svenson, 2004; Williams, King & Warnes, 2004; Casado-Diaz, 2004; Visser, 2004). On the micro level, for example, experiences of the retired and the pre-retired have highlighted issues of social categorization and self-identification, which refer, in important ways, to tourism. Studies have also explored the importance of non-economic personal and family lifestyle goals in the establishment of new residences in a destination, and the building of social network and encounters (Gustafson, 2002). As a consequence of this consumption-led migration, recreational second homes in amenity destinations have boomed and triggered fundamental socio-spatial change.

Research on second homes has waxed and waned since the pioneering work of Ljungdahl (1938) in the Stockholm archipelago before the Second World War and Wolfe (1951) working on summer cottages in Canada. A substantial body of research conducted in the USA and continental Europe in the 1970s (e.g., Ragatz, 1970; Clout, 1972; Tombaugh, 1970) led to the publication of '*Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?*' by Coppock (1977), which provided an early benchmark for second home research. While acknowledging the immense discrepancy in definitional issues, the discussion here draws on the central tenet of Goodall's (1987) view that a second home is a property owned, or rented on a long-term lease, that is used as an occasional residence for a household that usually lives elsewhere.

Although second homes follow a general tendency to increase in total volume and diversify in form over time, concomitant with population and income growth, the magnitude of these changes are difficult to map or measure. On the other hand, research on second homes is deterred by inconsistent terminology and their limited accessibility. Regional comparisons are difficult due to discrepancy in official statistics (Frost, 2004; Quinn, 2004). As a result, investigations on second homes arrive at widely different conclusions, thus leading to divergent policy orientations. Meanwhile the prosperous development of the

leisure second home in Asia has remained almost invisible in scholar's gaze, even though such analysis is urgently needed as second homes are growing into a central issue contributing to urban heterogeneity, socio-spatial segregation and social conflict (Walker, 1987; Halseth, 2004,).

A second home dwelling involves both movement and a pause in place, and as such, a mobile perspective is adopted in their analysis (D'Andrea, et al., 2011). In comparison to short-term tourists, the prolonged commitment of second home dwellers, both financially and geographically fixed in the destination, boosts the potential for their deeper involvement in local issues. Some migrants also hold idealized perceptions of rurality, which may conflict with the everyday practices in, and the values of, local communities (Phillips, 1993; 1998). Nevertheless, second home residents are distinct from the permanent migrants, if only for their maintenance of a dual-city lifestyle and their special sense of belonging in both places.

On the policy side, second homes provide alternatives for regional decision makers on land use and land tenure allocations. Negative impacts may result from increases in demands for additional public facilities and services, in real estate appreciation, in the reduction of affordable housing for local residents, and in rates of taxation (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2005). Land contestations are raised where diverse forms of political power are mobilized to promote divergent interests in planning over second homes development proposals (Overvåga & Berg, 2011, p. 420). Land use issues also arise when farming, forestry, and environmental purposes are in rivalry with second home activities.

Socio-spatial segregation and stratification

Spatial segregation is the predefined uneven distribution of social groups in residential space and, in some cases, a state of isolation in both social interaction and residential space dimensions (Massey & Dunton, 1988). Segregation is not a static phenomenon. It is built upon residential preferences and the mobility of individuals within the metropolis, as well as other factors (Friedman, 2011). It has been argued that the race and ethnicity of neighbours are critical in shaping the mobility dynamics underlying segregation. This is central to the classic invasion and succession model (Park, et al., 1925) as well as to theories on neighbourhood racial change (Duncan & Duncan, 1957; Park, et al., 1925; Schelling, 1971;

Taeuber & Taeuber, 1965).

Another argument offered in the literature to explain high levels of segregation is discrimination. Proponents of this perspective argue that discrimination in rental and sales markets constrains the housing choices of ethnic minorities, relative to those of the dominant majority (Ross & Turner, 2005; Turner, et al., 2002; Yinger, 1995). Economically, the affordability levels for ethnic minorities are lower, and thus they are generally less likely to live in predominantly majority neighbourhoods (Alba, et al., 2000; Iceland, et al., 2005). The alternative race-proxy perspective argues that dominant majority populations are less willing to dwell with minorities because of the negative neighbourhood attributes that they associate with disproportionately minority neighbourhoods (Ellen, 2000; Harris, 2001; Taub, et al., 1984).

Migrant enclaves are formed as a result of the concentration strategy by co-ethnics to overcome the cultural cleavage and consolidate their intrinsically shared interests. The enclave denotes a space of physical and structural separation (Waldinger, 1993) that marks the arrival of migrants into an urban area. It is a form of rupture that disturbs the existing urban fabric of a city. The concept suggests that the arrival of migrants breaks down the fabric of urban society, typically creating an underclass characterized by exploitation, poverty and crime.

Li's (2009) analysis of the emergence of 'ethnoburbs' offers another challenge, observing that the traditional pattern of low-income migrants clustering in poorer inner-city neighbourhoods appears to be partially supplanted by a new, wealthier streams of labor migrants settling directly in middle-class suburbs. The spatialities of these temporary migrant are more likely to be reliant on a range of other actors, some of whom they may share ethnicity or migrant status with, but many of whom will be urban residents who cannot be framed within the "new immigrant" discourse that characterizes both the ethnic enclave and the newer concepts like *heterolocalism* and the *ethnoburb*.

Up to now, the majority and tradition of the research on urban segregation has focused on socio-spatial transformations resulting from production-led migration. The reality exists, however, that consumption-led migration, aiming for leisure and recreation in amenity destinations, is forming another type of urban mosaic. Affected by both the market and social

discourse, the socio-economic and spatial disparity between the leisure migrants and local resident is intensified. The traditional social position of the dominant and the minority is often reversed in consumption-led migration, and a significant duality is formed. On the social perspective, the deprived locals and the privileged immigrants are polarized in the social stratum. In spatial terms, the city is differentiated into prestigious neighbourhood and poor community.

Within the scope of China, the country's exponential economic growth has given rise to a growing middle class and an expanding number of social elites. Through the cultivation of second home markets in amenity rural areas these wealthy cohorts are lured to create new movements in space and time. These new, wealthier streams of migrants are making the city even more complex and heterogeneous. The range, extent and form of urban fragmentation and differentiation incurred by consumption-led migration in an Asian context is poorly understood and in need of further investigation.

Methodology

Until recently, much of the debate on socio-spatial segregation has focused on the discovery of spatial forms of separation in Cartesian space, using one index for each social category. That category is treated, whether correctly or not, as a cohesive social group agreed upon by society at large. A *Realistic Model* was proposed in Goldhaber and Schnell's (2006, p.136) investigation in Jaffa, Israel, to describe socio-spatial segregation as an ensemble of multi-dimensional complex phenomena. This model proposes that socio-spatial segregation should be better understood at the individual level and everyday life of each individual. Concrete phenomena are registered, interpreted and analyzed in terms of interactions among different human forces. Those phenomena are then analyzed in terms of the deep structures that determine their appearances and human mechanisms that mediate between the deep structures and the appearance. The paper here focuses on the former task, to describe and register the complex individual struggles and consequences for urban socio-spatial development.

A detail analysis of segregation distinguishes among four different aspects of the

phenomenon (Schnell & Benjamini, 2001). Residential segregation, as traditionally measured, can be considered to be only one aspect of the phenomenon of social segregation. Other aspects include segregation in the daily life activity spaces of individuals, the segregation of persons in developing social networks, and the segregated structure of perceived home spaces (Schnell, 2002). Each aspect, though related, may be rooted in different social mechanisms, leading different groups to apply different segregation strategies as a combination of the four aspects of segregation. These perspectives inform our analysis of second homes in Sanya, China.

We explore and uncover nuances in the socio-spatial characteristics formed by consumption-led migration in China through the example of Sanya, a touristic city on Hainan Island in southern China that is known for its seasonal recreation migration. The *residential space* dimension is operationalized into a geographical site pattern, including the organization and management approach of the residential communities. The *activity space* and *social network* are described by behavior conducted in interactive and territorial dimensions, reflecting an agent's incorporation and integration into the destination's environment. Whereas the interactive dimension draws into activities like working, shopping, leisure and socializing, the territorial dimension contains four territorial scales of family, neighborhood, city and nation. Thus, location, object and activity are three fundamental issues in the questioning of the activity space and social network. Lastly, the *perceived home space* dimension examines the perception and self-identification for the migrants and local residents residing in Sanya. It uncovers the special sentiment towards social integration and separation within the agent's residential spaces. These perceptions include how both locals and outsiders experience social participation and community building within the context of increased consumption-led migration into the city.

In the case of Sanya, material phenomena are registered and interpreted to probe into the deep structures that dictate the physical appearance and the intermediate mechanisms that function between the explicit phenomenon and inherent structures. In this way, the paper points to the contradiction of geographical coexistence and social disintegration present in the city under transformation by consumption-led migration. A qualitative approach is employed to investigate the trajectory, life encounterings and perception of migrants. Fieldwork in

Sanya was conducted in three periods from June 2009 to January 2010. Governmental officials, local residents, leisure migrants, tourists, real estate developers and agents were surveyed to pinpoint issues concerning land use, housing, public rights, and self-identification and perception towards the city. In total, thirty-seven second home migrants, twenty local residents, eight administration officials, six real estate developers and agents participated in in-depth interviews. Non-participatory observation was also conducted to collect non-verbal information on social interaction, integration and social boundaries. Government statistical yearbooks and other documents covering major issues of urban development, housing and land use in Sanya and Hainan Island were collected for supplementary analysis.

Sanya: consumption-led seasonal migration and socio-spatial separation

Sanya city is located in the southern-most part of the Hainan Island. It is the one-and-only tropical city in China, abundant with coastal resource, scenic amenities and year-round warm weather. Regarded as China's 'Oriental Hawaii', it attracts enormous interest from both tourists and recreational second home purchasers in China and overseas. Sanya is one of the most segregated cities in China, with over 90% of the newly built commodity properties having been purchased by investors from mainland China (PBS, 2007). Local residents live in villages and more isolated homesteads. Significant contrast exists in the residential sector where gated communities of consumption-led immigrants are establishing physical and social fences in the city. The social network building between local Sanya and consumption-led migrant communities is limited.

The development of Sanya city was initiated from an agriculture-based economy. Before the 1980s, secondary and tertiary industries were stagnant and lagging far behind other coastal cities in China. The Provincial Special Economic Zone of Hainan was established in 1988, which significantly stimulated the development of Sanya. Since then, a thorough transformation has repositioned Sanya to focus on the coastal tourism and real estate industry (Liu & Bao, 2010). External investment and immigration are actively sought by the government of Sanya. The bias towards tourism and real estate industries, however, has generated a serious duality in Sanya's economic, social and housing structure, and further

aggravated the degree of dependency on the exogenous economy. With the growth of leisure-oriented real estate, the advent of speculators and speculative investment from mainland China is distorting the developmental trajectory of Sanya.

Boom, burst and rejuvenation

The residential property sector in Sanya is significantly influenced by China's macro economy and second home demand. The city's real estate industry was initiated in 1988 with the establishment of Hainan Provincial Special Economic Zone. Its trajectory can be subdivided into five periods, including the Initiation Period (before 1988), the Expansion and Housing Accumulation Period (1988-1993), the Bubble Burst and Decline Period (1994-1996), the Stagnancy Period (1997-2003), and the Rejuvenation Period (2004-present).

The accumulation of real estate bubble reached its peak starting in 1992. Real estate investment rose by 5.58 times from 1992 to 1993, significantly exacerbating property inflation (BSS, 2009). From June 1993, a series of regulatory policies were adopted to withdraw credit, reduce infrastructure investment, and clear up uncompleted construction projects. However, these policies were unable to halt runaway property prices. In 1993 alone, real estate prices had appreciated 80% (*Statistical Yearbook of Sanya*, 1994). The economic bubble burst in the beginning of 1994 with a rapid collapse in property values. Property prices declined by over 40%, leaving large areas of construction land desolated (BSS, 2000). Sanya was seriously trapped in an economic crisis induced by real estate speculation.

To tackle with this predicament, the Sanya government's real estate strategy was redirected to focus on a market that targeted mainland leisure investors and overseas holiday makers. This included a series of preferential policies for mainland investments, new house purchasing plans, and destination re-branding to transform Sanya from a sightseeing tourism destination to a leisure and holiday-making destination (PBS, 2007). Prices for commodity properties skyrocketed under these policies (Fig.1-Fig.3). These policies were further promoted by the issuing of a national strategy to establish the "International Tourism Island of Hainan" by the Central Government of China (State Council, 2009), which brought with it an expansion in off-island investments eager to explore this southern frontier of China.

<Insert figure 1-3 about here>

A severe duality in the contemporary housing structure of Sanya was created as 90% of new commodity houses were purchased by external investors who seldom stay in the community. The recent dominance of outsiders in this sector makes Sanya an excellent case site to ascertain the quantity, distribution and socio-spatial impact of consumption-led migration. The city's abnormal property development has resulted in an unequal housing regime that is biased towards the migrants, with commodity housing far exceeding the affordability of local residents (housing price-to-income ratio ranged between 53 to 143-to-1 in different parts of the community in 2009) (BSS, 2009). Residential space is stratified from both physical and psychological perspectives. Urban villages and the shabby *danwei* houses of the local residents are squeezed between the new and rapidly expanding commodity communities in the city center, turning the *danwei* neighborhoods into poor slums for local low-income groups. Recreational second homes, owned by consumption-led migrants and generally organized as gated communities, occupy the best amenity spaces in the city.

Second home ownership and migrant mobility patterns

Recreational second homes are the immediate spatial consequences of the development of a consumption-led migration market. As a significant financial investment, the ownership of a second home can be a determinant for bonding and forming a stable relationship with a destination. But questions remain whether the owning of property necessarily leads to social network building between the immigrants and the locals, and furthermore, whether there is any intrinsic difference among potentially divergent immigrant groups.

The mobility patterns of migrants can be conceptualized to mirror the usage of second home properties. This, in turn, can shed light on the efficiency of housing allocations and the underlying social problems of unequal housing attainment. Further explanation can be built on the self-identification and place attachment of migratory activity, transitioning from seasonal circulation to unidirectional migration.

The typology of second homes conducted here is based on the hypothesis that the motivations and reactions of tourism-induced migrants are divergent, and this divergence can provide a basis for the analysis of the special socio-spatial relation between different patterns

of migrants and locals. Property ownership and the mobility patterns are, therefore, our two central criteria. The typology is based on the survey with 37 second home owners. Their mobility patterns are categorized into four dimensions including *weekend vacation*, *short-term holiday*, *seasonal migration* and *permanent migration* (Figure 4). The property ownership of the migrants includes the four dimensions of *private home*, *intermittently private home*, *intermittently commercial house* and *commercial holiday home*. Three types of second homes resided by consumption-led migrants are identified in Sanya as (I) *Elite-vacation home*, (II) *Lifestyle-migration home* and (III) *Retirement-migration home*.

<< Insert Figure 4 About Here >>

Elite-vacation homes (type I) are luxury villas, townhouses and low-density properties located in gated communities in the most attractive landscape areas. They are used only occasionally during a weekend or for a short-term holiday, with social elites from mainland China and overseas being the major purchasers. These buyers possess a successful career and regard a second home in Sanya as offering a desirable place for relaxation, family reunions, and other special events. Their communities are equipped with strict entrance guards and comprehensive surveillance systems to prevent intrusions by undesired outsiders. The houses are taken care of by a property management company and are seldom subleased. As stated by one of the respondents, '*overseas house owners abound in the Yalong Bay [in Sanya]. We seldom meet our neighbours. The property management company takes care of the cleaning and ventilation. Some of the owners will come one or two times a year, and they leave after staying for a few days*' (Informant A05, from Beijing, owner of several second home investments in Sanya).

Lifestyle-migration homes (type II) include houses rented on a long-term lease or purchased for personal or family use. The age group for this owner category spans a wide range, including young families and pre-retirees who may not be able to afford the higher-end luxury housing. For the younger buyers, the houses may be inherited and would also be available to related family members during a holiday. For pre-retirees, the houses are usually visited during the winter months as an escape from the severe cold of northern China. This

seasonal migration lifestyle provides a good opportunity for them to determine whether Sanya is an agreeable place for their coming retirement. *'I will retire in a few years. I bought the house and I live here for a short period every year. I think I will maintain this kind of lifestyle until I'm retired. Maintaining a second home in Sanya brings me a new perspective of life, and I enjoy living here.'* (Informant A04, from Shanghai, bought the house in the Sanya Bay in 2009).

Diverse motivations exist for the third recreation home owner category, the *Retirement-migration home* (type III). Health care and cold weather avoidance are fundamental objectives of these buyers. Some of them purchase small units that promote themselves as retirement communities serving the aged. For those who cannot afford to buy, special health-care centers offer small flats for rent. Compared to the lifestyle migrants, retirement migrants stay for longer periods in Sanya, which deeply influences their interpersonal relationship in both Sanya and their places of origin. As mentioned by one interviewer: *'I'm already 67 years old. I come to Sanya every year. My children are busy working and it is difficult for them to spare much time to accompany me. They bought the house [in Sanya] for me and we will get together here during the Spring Festival. My old friends and neighbors are also coming to buy houses these years. The weather is really desirable for the aged.'* (Informant A02, from Heilongjiang Province in China's far northeast).

In many cases, the circulatory retiree migrations will eventually settle down into permanent residencies in either the original home or the second home location (Figure 4). As pointed out by O'Reilly (1995), stages in the changing lifecycle are key elements influencing the transformation of tourist mobility. The conversion from lifestyle migration to retirement migration introduces ongoing changes to an individual's place attachment and identity building. The second home is a crucial factor for creating an intermediary connection and building social capital for the migrants (Lew & Wong, 2004).

Socio-spatial separation of consumption-led migrants

Adopting the *Realistic Model* in socio-spatial segregation research (cf. Goldhaber &

Schnell, 2001; 2006) the socio-spatial pattern of second homes in relation to the surrounding community is analyzed through the four aspects of residential space, activity space, social network and perceived home space.

Residential space separation

Statistics from the Sanya government estimated approximately 130 second home communities in Sanya by the end of 2009 (BSS, 2009). The four main concentrations of second homes are in Yalong Bay, Dadonghai Bay, Sanya Bay and the Yuechuan area (Fig.5). The locality of recreational second homes reflects the spatial unevenness of different housing segmentations.

<< Insert Figure 5 about here >>

Elite vacation second homes (type I) are located proximate to the seaside and in mountainous areas, embracing the optimal landscapes in the city. Yalong Bay, the first “*National Tourism Scenic Spot*” in China (as nominated by the National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China) and a coastline famed for coral reefs and silver sands (Liu & Bao, 2008, p. 15), is a focal area for elite second home communities. By giving prominence to the eminent social status of their owners, exotic architectural designs are widely employed, highlighted by the tropical Bali (Indonesia) and European aristocratic ornamental styles. On the other hand, there is spare space for tourism facilities and community recreation construction, and local villages have been demolished and removed, especially from the coastal areas of Yalong Bay. By keeping a cautious distance from the local inhabitants, the new communities are able to preserve their privacy. The physical appearance of these residential areas exhibit overt contrasts between the elite landscape and the old and disarrayed rural houses. Some of the local residents are employed in the new communities, though they are predominantly assigned to disadvantaged positions. Apart from that, local residents and elite second home owners move in separate spaces and have limited direct encounters.

Lifestyle migration second homes (type II) are predominantly located in the Dadonghai

Bay and the Sanya Bay. Dadonghai Bay is a famous attraction for domestic tourists and foreign holiday-makers, where infrastructure and tourism-related facilities are customized to serve the requirement of tourists. Consumption-led leisure migrants are concentrating along the bay, leading to the establishment of migrant enclaves in those areas. The Sanya Bay area is relatively new, but is also growing in visibility with large scale property development and marketing to mainland investors. These two bays are situated adjacent to the urbanized areas of Sanya, and are thus less private compared to the elite second home areas. The degree of exclusion between the local inhabitant and migrants is lower, though a clear boundary is maintained.

Retirement-migration second homes (type III) comprise the largest category of seasonal migrant environments in Sanya. They are scattering in widely different residential areas, though residential clusters for retired migrants are being established in the Sanya Bay and Yuechuan areas. In those areas they form a hybrid, with spaces of decent high-rises and low-priced communities crowding together.

Separation exists in the spatial pattern and community organization between all of the second home communities and the local residences. Most of the second home communities are self-sufficient, thereby minimizing the necessity for contact between migrants and locals. The role of governmental offices and other administrative departments is more marginal in these spaces than in the local communities. The drastic change in urbanization promoted by the tourism industry and its related real estate investment priorities in Sanya has forcefully eradicated the city's previous spatial pattern. Consumption-led migrant enclaves are enclosed in socio-spatial boundaries, making the residential space of Sanya increasingly segregated by the influx of migrants and their different social influences.

Activity space: semi-mingling and nonlocal social networks

Different patterns of interaction and social networking are spatialized through the interactive coexistence of seasonal migrants and local residents. This analysis focuses on the major events conducted in an agent's daily life and the interpersonal relations, as well as perceptions, formed through those processes. Thus shopping, leisure activities, friend-making and help-seeking were selected as the four main event activities. The investigation concerned

where and with whom these activities were conducted, how participants perceived the interactive relations, and what kind of reactions resulted from the networking experience.

Everyday shopping is the most frequent occasion for the seasonal migrants to interact with local residents. Convenience stores, open-air markets, supermarkets and department stores in the city center are the main localities for shopping. For most of the time, the retirement migrants and the lifestyle migrants will go shopping with their families, friends and other seasonal vacationers. Since shopping interactions are usually functional, the experiences were mostly either neutral or even negative. Migrants deemed dishonest business practices among local Sanya vendors as a potential cause of conflict. Defensive sentiments among seasonal migrants, were exhibited by one informant: *'We usually get angry when we buy food in the market. The indigenous residents of Sanya are tricky. They try to cheat and speak in a local dialect. We pay higher prices for the same thing. And they never give us the right weights.'* (Informant A15, from Beijing, housewife, lives in Sanya in the winter season).

Shopping, however, was less of an issues expressed by elite second home vacationers. They go with their families and close friends, dine and shop in large and newer restaurants and supermarkets. They seldom go to the open-air markets that are crowded with the locals, and they maintain minimum interaction with either the local residents or other second homer vacationers. In their perception, Sanya is a perfect place to transcend the everyday work world and they prefer to isolate themselves in their gated community. As expressed by an informant, *'Our community is enclosed by the sea and built in the middle of the Luhitou Hill, with only one way leading out. Its distance from the fishing village and other tourism attractions preserves a tranquil, private and descent environment -- just like a castle. We seldom go to the city center, and we are not expecting more encounters with other residents.'* (Informant A01, from Beijing, female, owning a villa in the luxurious Serenity Coast development)

As for leisure activities, many lifestyle second home migrants and retirement second home migrants participate in outdoor activities with their friends and relatives in Sanya on a daily basis. They follow a similar routine, usually exercising in the community club or in public squares nearby. Children and babies sometimes become a bridge of connection for people from different parts of China, especially for the aged. However, the *laoxiang* (fellows from

the same originating area) and clanships (those with a shared surname) are still the most important personal relationships that consumption-led migrants utilize to extend their social networks and build social capital. These structures largely exclude emotional interactions between the locals and outsiders.

Some mixed public spaces are created through the advocacy of migrants from northern China. Public squares along the seaside and in the city center are bustling with noise in the evening where collective activities like *Yangko* (a special kind of dancing from northern China), ballroom dancing, and choir singing attract vigorous participation of both the local residents and the holiday-makers. This is the most frequent occasion for the seasonal migrants to interact with the local residents. As mentioned by one interviewee: *'The night activity is the closest time of interaction between the locals and the migrants. Local residents didn't have any public activity before. The yangko and dancing greatly enrich our night life'*. (Informant B09, resident of Sanya, female).

Building a circle of friendship and social network for second home tourists typically starts by establishing friendships with other immigrants, and especially connecting with their *laoxiang*. Although some of the migrants will start communicating with local residents, their relationships rarely involve any in-depth interchange. New friendships between the locals and the seasonal migrants tend to be superficial and unstable: *'We usually encounter with our 'laoxiang' from north China. We can recognize them easily from their accent. Our connection is closer, but we also hang out with people from other places. ... We have some acquaintance with local people, but no deep connections'*. (Informant A16, female, from Lanzhou, retired worker)

Some younger lifestyle migrants are inclined to stick closely to frequent communication with their friends from their place of origin. In Sanya, they are reluctant to establish any deep connection with local residents or even other second home tourists, which can bring a strong feeling of alienation towards the city. *'I'm totally separated from people here. We have nothing in common. Sometimes I make friends when I go surfing, but the connection is superficial. I also drift-apart from my old friends because I have to stay here for a period each year. I feel no sense of belonging. It is driving me crazy'*. (Informant A27, male, from Shanxi province, in his 30s, living in the luxurious Serenity Coast)

Finally, in *the interactive space for help seeking*, the preferential confidants that tourists go to for help are similar among the three leisure migrant groups. Negative responses were elicited when leisure migrants were questioned whether they would seek help from local government departments in an emergency. Most of them have the experience of being shirked-off or otherwise ignored in official departments, which they attribute to bureaucratic inefficiency in leisure migrant matters. Furthermore, since most of their interactions are so superficial, they are reluctant to talk about their personal difficulties with other migrants, not to mention with local residents. Thus, when seasonal migrants are struck by family issues, monetary issues and other problems, their intuitive reaction will lead them to turn to their relatives and close friends in their origin city, not in their second home city.

Generally speaking, the spatial cohabitation of social actors with different interests in Sanya has led to an intertwining activity space and overlapping social networks. Functional interactions exist in the interactive space and some social network building occurs, but the connections are, to a large extent, superficial and unstable. A socio-spatial boundary is constructed to deter the mixness of the locals and migrants. There is a growing sense of defensiveness and a reluctance of intrusion felt by second home migrants as negative social problems pile up in Sanya. Increasingly, the difficulty in establishing a stable relationship in Sanya also encourages the seasonal migrants to maintain and strengthen the social network in their originating areas. Thus, the interactive space and social network is further non-localized and disintegrated.

Perceived home space: local and migrant evolutions

Consumption-led seasonal migration and second home development have profoundly remolded and diversify the socio-spatial structure of Sanya.

Accompanying the second home prosperity are escalating living expenses, narrowing residential spaces, and a growing problematization in the deprivation of life resources and the marginalization of local residents. Local perceptions towards their home place are collapsing in the face of this social disintegration. Displacements of farmers and fishermen are increasing to make room for property development. What the farmers used to believe would be inherited for generations, like the homestead, the ancestral home and the farmland, are

deprived from them overnight. They are daunted by feeling of insecurity and powerless.

Through the large-scale and thorough urban renewal and city demolition experience, the local residents have become the losers. Thus their attitude toward the consumption-led second home migrants are complicated, with a gradual changing from welcoming to apathetic, and leading to indignation (Hall & Lew, 2009). Meanwhile, they cautiously maintain their economic relationship with the recreational seasonal migrants.

On the other hand, the seasonal migrant's perception has changed in a more positive manner. With the transition from lifestyle migrant to the retirement stage of their lifecycle, some of the aged migrants make the decision to settle down and maintain a permanent second-home lifestyle. They actively participate in public activities, they organize cultural affairs for the community, and they concomitantly work to bridge the communication gap between local residents and other seasonal migrants. Their previous working experience in social organizations may even help in local sub-district administration activities. Participation in these social affairs assists in establishing a deeper connection with local residents. They are, however, no longer second home tourists, though they might also not be authentic locals, either.

Conclusions and Discussion

Since the early 1980s, reform policies initiated by China's government, including a relaxation of internal migration controls and increasing economic liberalization, have resulted in the movement of millions of peasants to the cities, creating new 'urban spaces' and 'non-state spaces' (Xiang, 1996, p. 101; Zhang, 2001; Li et al., 2011). This influx has fundamentally changed the social, spatial and economic landscapes of the country's cities, making the urban scene much more diversified, lively and dynamic, but also less safe and orderly than in the Maoist era. Urban villages and migrant enclaves have formed across the country as a consequence of this production-led mobility, exacerbating problems of socioeconomic segregation and polarization (Gu & Kesteloot, 2002; Gu & Wang, 2003; Wu & Li, 2005; Ma & Xiang, 1998; Wu, 2001). In addition to this production oriented population migration process, consumption-led mobility, as a concurring geographical relocation process,

has also raised concerns for transitional Chinese cities. Consumption-led migrants, many of whom are temporary and seasonal, have proven influential in forming a new upper class in high amenity destinations. In doing so, they draw new understandings for the 'migrant enclave' and 'fortress city' characterized by underclass ethnicity immigrants in traditional urban research. The resulting socio-spatial segregation bears some new characteristics under these circumstances:

- 1) Residential segregation is structured through the polarization of prestigious neighborhoods inhabited by the relatively affluent short and longer term migrants against poor communities where deprived locals dwell. Their boundary is established in the interactive space that discourages intrusions by member from the 'others'.
- 2) The social ranking of minority migrants and dominant locals is reversed where migrants with higher socioeconomic status possess greater power to influence the development of destinations, especially in land use, housing and resource allocation issues.
- 3) The migrant communities tend to rely more on non-localized social networks over local ones. An inconsistency exists in the migrant's self-identification after their relocation, which further intensifies heterogeneity and weakness in destination's socio-spatial pattern.
- 4) The perceived home space is crystalized by urban dwellers with divergent motivation and expectation. The seasonal migrant's expectation to maintain the amenity and rebuild the city into a destination of consumption and leisure is in conflict with the local resident's desire to preserve their assets and develop in a local manner.

Different patterns of property ownership and migratory forms are also exhibited in the migrant population, exerting significant influence on the socio-physical landscape. Thus, the migrant residential second home sector is differentiated into *Elite-vacation home*, *Lifestyle-migration home* and *Retirement-migration home*. Different types of second home owners integrate differently in their new neighborhoods. Whether a property is entirely owned by a family or is rented on a long-term lease is not a significant influence for building social network in the local realm. The length of residence and the pattern of migration are crucial indicators, in particular for those living for a long period or inclining to migrate

permanently after retirement. The latter are more likely to form a bonding, stable and communicative relationship with the indigenous population.

Housing prices are another important factor in forming separation. Since land is limited, market forces that redistribute residential property according to the socioeconomic status and affordability of the buyer is a key determinant in forming the segregated residential space. For example, the *Elite-vacation homes* are the most segregated type in the destination because of this.

This segmentation on the basis of origin and socioeconomic status finds its geographical expression in the spatial differentiation of the migrant enclave landscape. The tightly-knit character of the leisure migrant enclave and its relatively self-contained nature, slow the process of immigrant integration both for the elite and affluent and for the lifestyle migration segments of the population. Ultimately, however, the superior economic status of the leisure migrant can be expected to allow this group to exert substantial control on their rate of assimilation. Again, this suggests that their high socioeconomic status provides them with more freedom of choice in the integration process, but does not guarantee a quick one-way integration with the local due to the existence of the leisure migrant enclave itself. Based on the conflicts between the upper class of leisure migrants and under class of locals, it finally leads to the formation of segmented and segregated city.

The city is growing into a new mosaic. In China, the intensity of development is such that the speed of social transformation that may have take decades to be noticeable in other parts of the world is being realized in only a few short years. Conflicts are inherently acute in this rush to the future. The deep structure lies in that, due to the varied market forces determining residential allocation and limited land for housing supply in China, the redistribution of residential space is deemed to translate the city into a more segmented and segregated one. This analysis of the consumption-led socio-spatial transformation of Sanya has been primarily descriptive in nature. Future investigations may take both quantitative and qualitative directions to enhance what has already been done in this research. Further exploration is needed to interrogate the structural forces and the social systems that may segregate social groups, and to ascertain the concrete social institutions, norms of conduct

and the impact of human agency on the appearances and patterns discussed in this paper, as well as the universality to other rapidly developing amenity destinations.

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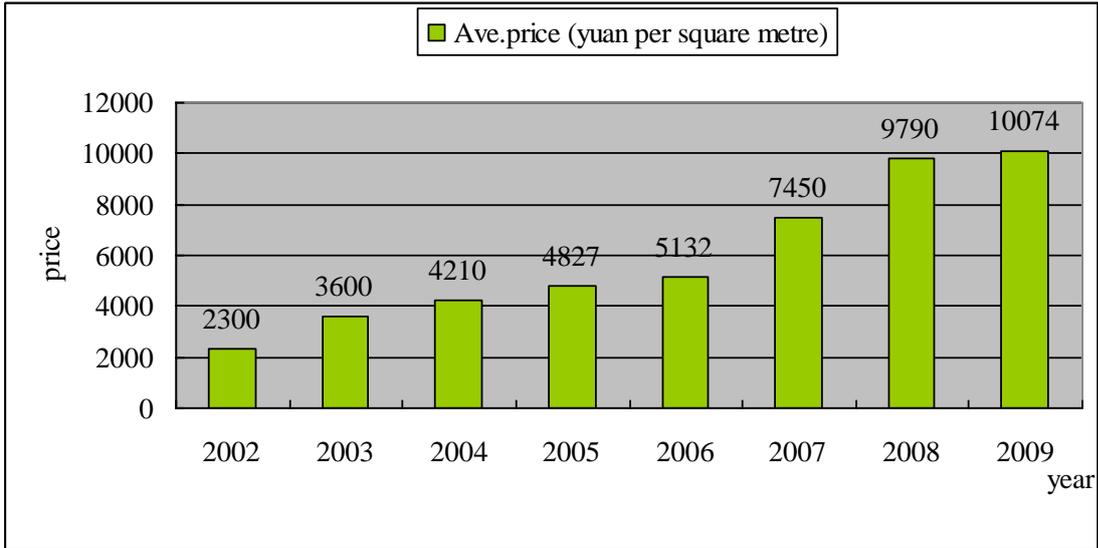


Fig.1 Average price of commodity house during 2002-2009

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Sanya, 2002-2009.*

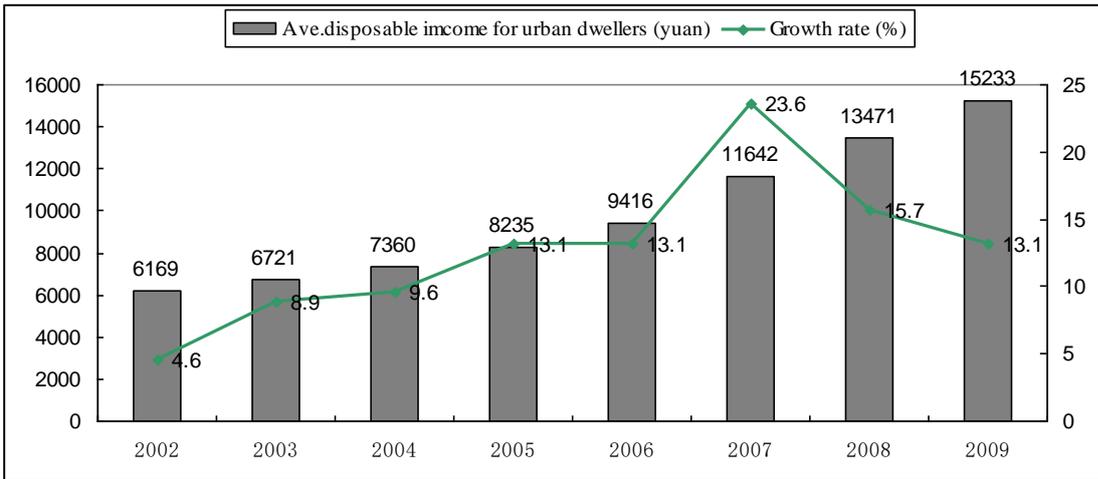


Fig.2 Average disposable income of urban dwellers and the annual growth rate of Sanya's overall economy, 2002-2009

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Sanya, 2002-2009.*

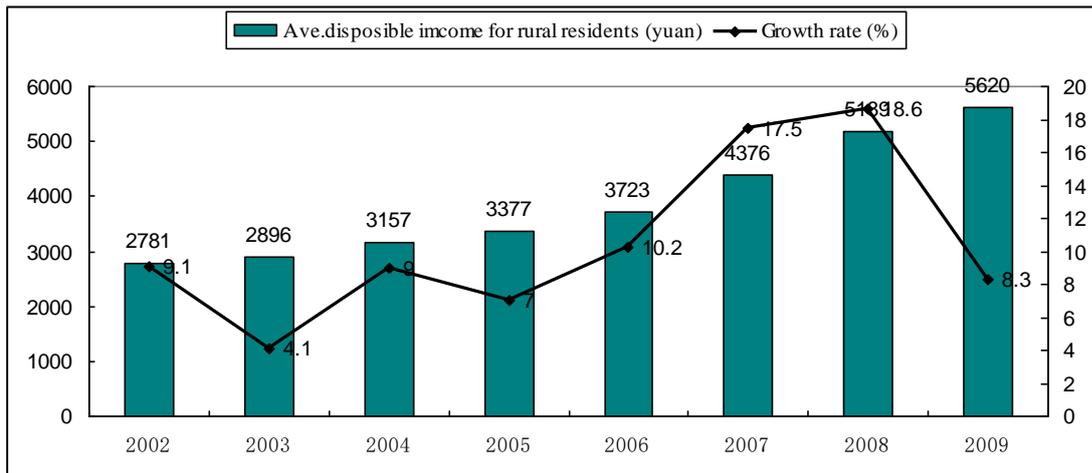


Fig.3 Average disposable income of rural residents and the annual growth rate in Sanya's overall economy, 2002-2009

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Sanya, 2002-2009*.

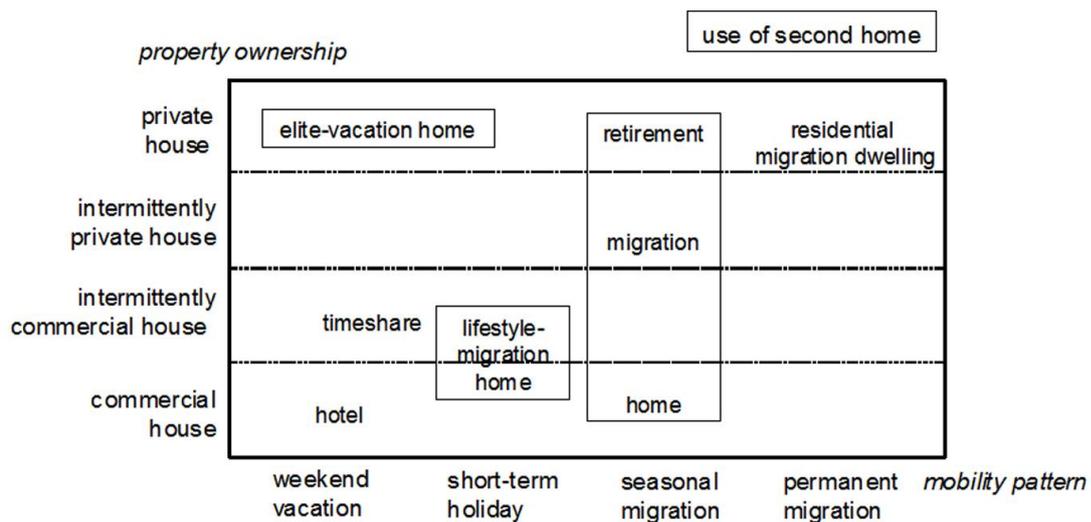


Fig.4 Typology of second home

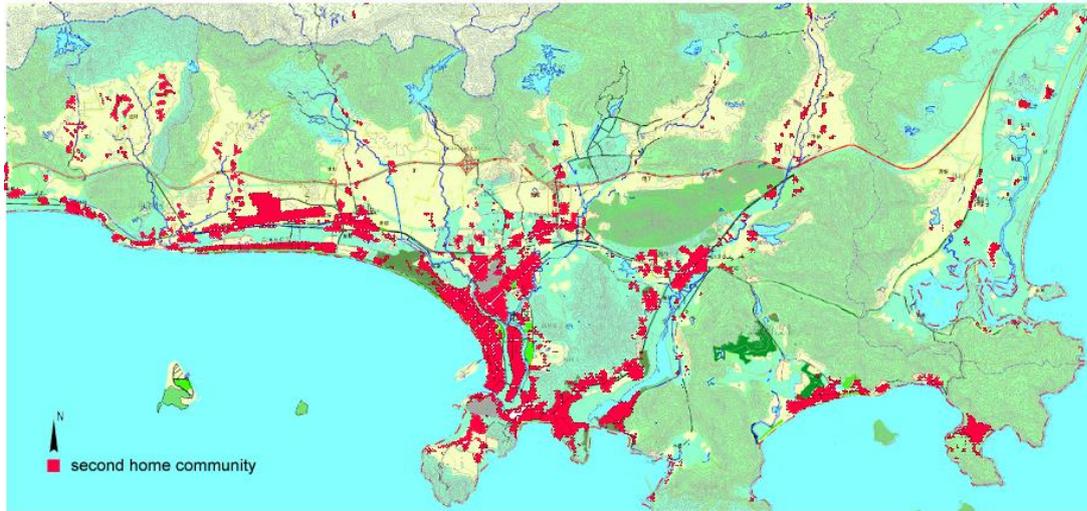


Fig.5 The spatial distribution of second home in Sanya