Independent Chinese Tourists in European Museums

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Abstract:

There are an increasing number of Chinese tourists traveling out of Asia. Chinese tourists are quickly changing the tourism industry and services worldwide. Europe as one of the most popular tourism destination welcomes more and more Chinese tourists. Independent tourists who conduct travel without a travel agency's help, account for half of these outbound tourists. The post-80s generation are the main force of independent Chinese tourists. With self-dependent travel mode and cultural/geographical distance, the independent Chinese long-haul tourists are possible exposed to more challenges and complex situation. They are exposed to all the difficulties in tourism encounter and they take all the risks and responsibility on their own. Their motivation, decision-making process, experience is worth further inquiry. Because this phenomenon is relatively recent it has addressed little academic attention so far. To contribute to fill such knowledge gap, this research conducts a qualitative research to obtain insights of independent Chinese long-haul tourists' experience. A case study of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (The Netherlands) is adopted. On the one hand, museum/cultural attraction is the one of most significant tourism resource where attracts tourists to visit. On the other hand, it is where cultural gap between west and east can be identified as a challenge for tourists.

The findings show that independent Chinese outbound tourists value self-fulfillment and self-expression. They intensively seek novelty and pursue something different than the mainstream, including their peer. They are very critical about the tourism product and also do not hesitate to compliment what is good. They look for physical engagement with the objects to have empathy, which is negatively influenced by cultural gap. And their preference and tastes are constantly changing. The findings contribute to the characteristics of independent Chinese outbound tourists and emphasise self-determination in their motivation and physical interaction in their experience.

Key words: independent Chinese tourists; Chinese outbound tourists, museum, cultural tourism

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1 Introduction

Europe is the region of the World which receives the most tourists and which earns the most tourism-generated income (World Tourism Organization, 2011). Cultural tourism accounts for a big part of all European tourism. Europe is a key cultural tourism destination thanks to an incomparable heritage that includes museums, theatres, archaeological sites, historical cities, industrial sites as well as music and gastronomy.

Chinese tourists are now travelling in ever increasing numbers outside of Asia (Pearce et al., 2013). As predicted by UNWTO, by 2020 the number of Chinese outbound tourists will reach 100 million. Europe is one of the most attractive destination for Chinese out-bound tourists. In 2011, 4.7 million Chinese tourists, accounting for 32.7% of the Chinese long-haul outbound market, arrived in Europe (European Travel Commission, 2012). As the Chinese out-bound tourism grows and begins to exert a powerful influence on many global destinations, it is both pragmatic for destination managers and stimulating for researchers to understand new and distinctive tourism behaviors, forms and characteristics (Wu & Pearce, 2016). Past researches indicated that the most significant motivations of Chinese tourists focus on the visual sense, sightseeing. However, the growing number of Chinese independent tourists and package tourists, who tend to be younger, experienced, confident, and experience seeking, have different on-site experience (Pearce et al., 2013). Existing literature have involved independent Chinese domestic tourists or Chinese outbound tourists in group. However, independent Chinese outbound tourists have received very limited academic attention.

Why is it important to focus on this group of Chinese tourists? Besides their increasing number, independent Chinese outbound tourists are in very unique condition. They are self-determined and self-dependent. They have full control over their travel but also full responsibility. Meanwhile they are exposed to significant challenges and constraints due to geographical and cultural distance. It can't be neglected that there

are a significant differences between Chinese culture and European culture. Such differences can be a very important factor that prevent Chinese outbound tourists from empathy engagement. With a very different background and history, Chinese tourists may not enjoy the cultural sites as well as the European. Sparks & Pan (2009) indicate that perceived constraints can influence tourist behavior and intention. Under such circumstance, their unique preference, motivation, personality, decision-making process etc. are fully displayed in tourism process. Museum is one of the top attractions in Europe. In Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum is one of the most visited site. Museums have a key role as repositories of historical knowledge, custodians of historical identity and community roots (Brida et al., 2012). So, museum is where many Chinese tourists would visit in Europe and face with cultural gap. By research on independent Chinese tourists in European museum, it believed to contribute to better understanding of characteristics of this group of people. Hence, theoretical and managerial implications can be suggested. The research question of this paper is how independent Chinese outbound tourists experience European cultural attractions and why. By answering this question, this paper hope fulfill the knowledge gap about the characteristics of independent Chinese long-haul outbound tourists.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 The evolution of Chinese outbound tourism

Chinese outbound tourism has resulted in considerable international attention. As a fast-developing country with a growing middle class, outbound tourism from China is becoming more affordable and desirable. However, outbound long-haul tourism remains a relatively recent phenomenon. With the relaxation of governmental policies, Chinese outbound tourism started in the 1980s and grew notably in the 1990s (Xiang, 2013). However, in 1980s Chinese outbound tourism for leisure purpose was not recognized and systematically managed by specific department. Many observers date

the beginning of Chinese outbound tourism to 1990s with the introduction of Approved Destination Status (ADS). Overseas trips for leisure purposes are officially authorized by the ADS. ADS is an administrative measure by means of which the Chinese Government permits its residents to travel to selected countries for personal and leisure purposes. By the end of January 2008, there were 92 ADS countries; and in December 2012, the number increased to 144.

With ongoing economic development of China, globalization processes that increase the global connectivity and mobility of people, transition of preference that drive Chinese tourists to seek more exotic experience etc., Chinese people appear to be crossing borders and traversing physical spaces with increasing ease and velocity. As such, it is important for tourism researchers to draw attention to Chinese long-haul outbound tourism and the emergence of diversity in modes of travel, independent travel is not excluded. Identifying the specific features of independent Chinese tourists help the host development the destination sustainably. On one hand, the destination can provide Chinese outbound tourists with products and services that appeals to their needs. Hence their experience, impression of the destination, revisit intention etc. can be maximized, while the possible constraints, conflicts, misunderstanding etc. can be minimized. On the other hand, to deal with the negative impacts brought by increasing Chinese tourists, it is also vital for the host to know better about the market so that they can react immediately, rationally, efficiently. Sustainable tourism is a common goal for most destinations. In practice, it challenges the host to come up with functional management to deal with the negative impacts and promote the positive impacts in a health pattern. Take a tourism destination in Netherlands as an example, Giethoorn receives around 300000 Chinese tourists in 2015 (Vasileiou, 2015). The large number of tourists place big pressure on this small village. Hence the local natural environment, peaceful community, livability are harmed by tourism. Objective factors like capacity for tourists cannot be denied. Here we emphasize one of the key factor, knowledge of the tourists. An interesting phenomenon is that Dutch host doesn't even know the reason enormous numbers of Chinese visitors come to this village as is not

seen as a preferred travel destination by Dutch people. It's believed that with better understanding of proper insights in the travel motivations, travel organization and behavior of Chinese outbound tourists, the host can deal with the challenges more efficiently and avoid cases like Giethoorn.

Before 2010, the favorite destinations for Chinese tourists were Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, the USA, Thailand and Singapore. Thus, at that time most Chinese tourists who travelled abroad preferred destination countries with geographical and cultural proximity to China (Andreu et al., 2013). As indicated by Prayag et al. (2015), also in the foreseeable future Chinese demand for outbound tourism to Europe may be further compromised by regional destinations in South East Asia, with whom the Chinese have greater cultural affinity and also offer better value for money. Nevertheless, despite this competition from South East Asian countries, Chinese tourist arrivals to Europe are ever increasing. As predicted by UNWTO, by 2020 the number of Chinese outbound tourists will reach 100 million. The academic literature on Chinese outbound tourism has paralleled this trend. Literature published before 2010 usually focused on destinations close to China, like Thailand, Vietnam, Japan etc. Very little attention has been paid to Chinese long-haul outbound tourism. Until recently, academic focus point has shifted from Asian destinations to more remote destinations. Europe, as the most popular tourism destination all around the world, is not excluded. Some researchers have started to study on long-haul Chinese outbound tourists with Europe as study case. However, these existing nascent studies have just provided some descriptive information or macro-overview about Chinese long-haul outbound tourists' motivations and behaviors (Wang et al., 2010; Cai et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2011; Xu & McGehee, 2012; Andreu et al., 2013). Jorgensen et al. (2017) review past research on Chinese outbound tourism and conclude that the main themes were motivations, attitudes, image, expectations, satisfaction, decision-making, behaviors, and culture. Most of the existing literatures have addressed a small number of core topics/main themes using similar methods and theories. Jorgensen et al. (2017) also argue that the predominance of studies focused exclusively on what may be described

as 'push-pull factors'. Moreover, their choice of approach was predominantly quantitative methods. Such phenomenon rarely seem to achieve a deeper understanding of Chinese long-haul outbound tourism. For example, current research does not reflect the evolving travel patterns of Chinese outbound tourists. The emergency of Chinese tourists travelling outside Asia and different modes of travel requires researchers to ask more nuanced questions like 'how exactly are they different', 'what's their actual on-site experience', 'what's the implication' etc. Based on this knowledge gap, this paper tries to in depth explore the process of experience creation of Chinese long-haul outbound tourists in European contexts where they may run into significant challenges and constraints, like cultural constraints particularly in cultural attractions (see 2.3).

2.2 Rise of independent Chinese tourists

Previous studies pointed out that Mainland Chinese outbound tourists generally show preference to travel in groups. Tourists from China were usually regarded as being more group oriented, preferring to travel in groups, especially in an unfamiliar environment (Wong & Lau, 2001). Because safety is considered to be the major consideration of most Chinese tourists. Adventurous activities provided by the tour operators usually failed to appeal to Chinese tourists due to little attention to safety issue. Lower cost in group travel is also an important reason for Chinese tourists to travel in groups. What's more, social interaction with other group tourists provide them with a sense of escaping from daily routine (Wong & Lau, 2001). A mutual finding of Chinese outbound tourists' motivation/preference is that Chinese outbound tourists value sightseeing and the natural beauty of a destination (Sparks & Pan, 2009; Dung & Reijnders, 2013; Prayag et al., 2015; Jorgensen, 2017). However, together with the increasing international mobility and growing middle class consumption patterns, there are increasing signals that Chinese tourists are gradually diversifying, both in terms of motivations and behavior practices (Arlt, 2006).

One concrete example is the rise of independent travel. In 2011, among 20.32 million outbound tourists, 7.7 million of them were non-group tourists (Xiang, 2013). Independent travel, also often examined through the form of backpack travel, is a well-established study area with in Western generating markets. Hyde & Lawson (2003, p13) define independent travelers as those 'who have flexibility in their itinerary and some degree of freedom in where they choose to travel within a destination region'. Past studies describe independent travelers as predominantly young budget tourists on extended holiday with a tendency to search for low-cost destinations, means of transportation and accommodations (Uriely et al., 2002). However, recent studies recognize increased heterogeneity in independent tourists (Paris, 2012). Paris & Teye (2010) identify independent travelers' core motivations as exploring other cultures, increasing one's knowledge, relaxing mentally, affiliation or social motives, seeking novelty and action, and desiring a perceived authentic or genuine experience.

However, Lim (2009) argues that the nature of independent travel has been frequently examined within, and primarily conceptualized from, a Western perspective in the literature. Consequently, a distinct need remains to examine independent travel for emerging markets, including China (Prayag et al., 2015). Independent travel's manifestation within the context of Chinese outbound tourism remains largely unexplored (Lim, 2009) apart from a few notable exceptions. Xiang (2013) defined that Chinese independent tourists adopt a self-organized travel mode, arranged travel itineraries and activities on their own, more or less without help from a tourism intermediary, and travelled alone or in small groups. In Xiang's (2013) conclusion, independent outbound Chinese tourists is not totally different from group outbound Chinese tourists nor independent Western tourists. Chinese independent outbound tourists could be mainly labelled as middle class in China, younger in age and with higher educational background and income level. And the main reason for them to be independent tourists is the sense of freedom they gain compared to group tourists. While they choose to do plenty of 'homework' before departure to enhance the sense of control (Xiang, 2013). Pearce et al. (2013) pointed out that they tend to be younger,

experienced, confident, and experience seeking. They tend to be more critical about local services and on-site experience, and more interested in exploring the interior part of the site. Prayag et al. (2015) segment Chinese tourists to Europe into three clusters based on their motivations. The identified segments are the constrained travelers, the group traveler and the modified independent traveler. The constrained travelers assign low importance to motives of 'self-fulfulment & socialisation' and 'shopping' but attach some importance to the motives of 'natural/cultural attractions' and 'relaxation'. They wish to travel but currently do not have the means to do so. The group travelers' motivation is similar to the constrained traveler, but with higher income and lower preference to travel alone. The independent travelers identified by Prayag et al. (2015) share some similarities in motivations and characteristics of Western and Asian backpackers. This segment has a high proportion of females who are mostly single, 21-30 years old, with limited income and are most likely to travel with friends. But they also desire some adaptation to suit Chinese travelers. On behaviors such as seeking the cultural comfort of traveling with friends and family and the importance placed on shopping, they differ from Western conceptions of backpacker travel. What makes the Chinese independent traveler different from traditional group traveler is their value on self-fulfillment and socialization with their family and friends, while the traditional traveler attaches a higher level of importance to motivation factors like natural/cultural attractions and relaxation. Sparks, Ong & Cros (2012) identified independent Chinese outbound tourists have some specific features that are different from other kinds of tourists. In their research they concluded that Chinese and Asian independent tourists show a tendency of high usage of internet forums for socialization and a short length of stay. Similar finding is supported by Prayag et al. (2015) who stresses the importance of virtual online communities to emerging Chinese backpacker scene within Mainland China, suggesting that virtual socializing with other travelers may take priority over socializing at the destination.

The Chinese post-80s generation has emerged as the key driver of Chinese outbound tourism (Cheng & Foley, 2017; Ong & Cros, 2012). This group is now claimed to account

for roughly 56.2% of Chinese outbound tourists (Li et al., 2013). Growing up in the time of China's transformation, this group is characterized by 'its optimism for the future, new found excitement for consumerism, entrepreneurship, and acceptance of its historic role in transforming modern China into an economic superpower' (Jin et al., 2014, p618). Cheng & Foley (2017) pointed out that the post-80s generation takes the position of decision-makers in their families and wield significant influence about the travel decisions of their parents and family members. This is largely due to the fact their parental generation trusts their advice based on the perception that Chinese post-80s generation is better educated and has a greater ability to seek out and obtain valuable information to make informed decisions. What's more, Cheng & Foley (2017) also indicate that Chinese post-80s have been provided with abundant opportunities to explore change, enjoy diversified choices and bring their personalities into full play, even though the Chinese socialist ideology and Chinese traditional values still color their perceptions and values. Thus, their own unique value systems have emerged and form an essential foundation that has influenced post-80s to develop a clearer sense of their own rights and entitlement, and to pursue their self-identify and self-expression. This matches Prayag et al.'s (2015) finding that Chinese independent tourists tend to value more on self-fulfillment and to a certain degree explain the reason underlying such preference. Practical management and development can benefit from the knowledge of Chinese post-80s generation outbound tourists' identified characteristics. For example, the pursuit of self-identify and self-expression can be reflected in their preferences and choices in travel which may differ from the 'main-stream' mass tourists. Hence their travel performance, demand and experience may be diverse and vary along time. It challenges the host to notice the market's multiple motivation and performance. If the market's 'voice' is unheard, a typical result is the mismatch of service and demand which can bring unnecessary deficiency. Identifying the emerging and developing demand of the market, the supply can upgrade its' own service, content and even operation pattern to keep competitive. Another topic that can never be bypassed is sustainable tourism. Like what's been discussed above with Giethroon as example, sometimes the manager need to guide

and even control the market's motivation and behavior for sustainable purpose. And knowledge of the market is the foundation to achieve such goal.

2.3 Constrains in Chinese outbound tourism encounter

Actual barriers or constraints for Chinese to travel outside the mainland had drawn some researchers' attention back in early 2000s. However, these studies usually focused on destinations near Mainland China, like Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. As a consequence, cultural constraints were covered only to a limited extent in these case studies since these destinations were geographically and culturally close to China. Hsu & Lam (2003) identified expensiveness, lack of travel agencies, short holiday periods, difficulties in obtaining travel documents, and safety as the five main barriers for Chinese outbound tourists to Hong Kong. Weifeng (2005) indicated that perceived risk is a barrier for Chinese tourists to South East Asian countries. Sparks & Pan (2009) identified having the resources in terms of time and money is a significant factor as internal constraints, and the internal constraints usually function in determining someone's intention to visit the target destination. While exchange rates, travel distance and language issue are identified as external constraints, which refer to destination's societal, economic, political etc. attributes that affect someone's belief assessment of the destination.

Resent research has expanded on these descriptive constraints that focused on personal and socio-economic characteristics to also emphasize more mental and constructionist process of travel motivation and experiences. For example, Li et al. (2011) identified four kinds of constraints faced by Chinese outbound tourists. The authors generated 12 most mentioned items as potential constraints through content analysis interviews. The items were testified by factor analysis. Then a progressive procedure of statistical analysis was carried out to cluster different types of Chinese outbound tourists. The constraints identified by Li et al. (2011) are structural constraint, cultural constraint, information constraint, knowledge constraint. The structural

constraint overlaps with the findings from earlier research as described above such as costs, travel distance and available holiday time. Structural constraints are usually reflected by objective factors, like cost and time, that could inhibit one from deciding to travel to the target destination. Cultural constraints refer to the difference in lifestyle, food etc. Information constraint refers to the information of the destination provided by the host or other sources. This reflects that Chinese outbound tourists, especially for whom with less travel experience and lower education level, depend on the information provided by travel agency and local tourism supporting service. Knowledge constraint includes language barriers and the difficulty to obtain travel document. For example, Chinese people did not begin to travel for tourism purposes until the 1980s due to the difficulty in obtaining a travel document. Nowadays Chinese residents are allowed to travel most countries for leisure purpose, but the procedure is still quite tedious and complex involving a lot of paperwork and sometimes professional assistance. The authors also pointed out that cultural, information, and knowledge constraints are significantly different among visitors with different education levels. With higher education experience, they might be less concerned about information and knowledge constraints. While respondents with only primary education level are more sensitive to the information and knowledge constraints. In Li et al.'s (2011) paper, there lacks deeper discussion and analysis of the cultural constraints. Only the respondents with postgraduate education level appear to be sensitive to cultural constraint. And how the cultural constraint affect their decision making and experience remain unknown in this paper. Cros & Ong's (2011) finding shows that exotic atmosphere and lifestyle is an attraction to Chinese outbound tourists rather than constraint. Jorgensen (2017) questions if cultural distinctiveness is overestimated by researchers. So there still remains knowledge gap about how exactly culture function in tourism process. Figure 1 conclude the constraints identified by past researchers.

Structural constraint	•Cost, Time, Distance... •Budget travel? Holiday arrangement?
Cultural constraint	•Lifestyle, Food... •?
Information constraint	•Travel Agency, Supportive Service... •Guidebook? Audioguide?
Knowledge constraint	•Language, Travel Document... •Translations? Multiple language?

Figure 1 Constraints for Chinese outbound tourists

Although Li et al.'s (2011) classification may not cover all the potential and emerging constraints and the items need more in-depth discussion, the result contribute to address the importance of constraints other than structural constraints and how the constraints can segment Chinese outbound tourists. Based on the cultural difference between west and east, some researchers have discouraged attempts to transplant the various motivation factors that have arisen from studies conducted on Western tourists to Chinese context (Hsu et al., 2010). There still remain some arguments that the treatment of culture in studies on Chinese outbound tourism has been problematic and researchers have overstated its importance (Jorgensen et al., 2017; Fu et al., 2015). For example, Dung & Reijnders (2013) found that cultural and geographical distance can be a reason that causes different tourist experience from imagination. However, Fu et al. (2015) argued that some researchers proposed cultural explanation without data-based evidence. Due to the subjectivity of culture, the small quantity of related research, uncertainty of cultural factors etc., so far there has been no widely accepted conclusion about the importance of cultural distinction in Chinese outbound tourism studies. However, knowledge/information constraint can be relatively objective, which has also drew little academic attention. Wu & Li (2015) studied on Chinese tourists to

the museums of Macau and found that information significantly influences the access quality and revisit intentions.

Faced with knowledge constraints and culture constraints, what do tourists do to respond to perceived barriers? So far, little research has covered such inquiries. Despite the fact that there is limited attention on how tourists respond to constraints, how tourists access tourism information is mentioned in relatively more research. A mutual finding is that media sources, including Internet source, TV/Film and tourism magazines play a very important role for potential tourists to gain information about a destination. On one hand, the constant development of information technology provides the foundation to expand knowledge and information of a remote destination efficiently. On the other hand, sharing tourism experience through social media has become the most common way to fulfill one's socialization needs (Ong & Cros, 2012; Prayag, 2015). In contemporary society, people receive a vast and complex amount of information, images and representations of the world via visual media (Dung & Reijnders, 2013). Sparks & Pan (2009) pointed out that television programs, friends, websites, fashion magazines/travel books are the main information sources that Chinese outbound tourists used to form an image of what the destination has to offer a tourist.

2.4 On-site experience

With the perceived constraints and prior image of a destination, how do tourists' actual on-site experiences compare to their pre-visit imagination and expectation? Very limited academic attentions have been paid to related topics with Chinese outbound tourists as research object. Lee et al. (2011) conducted a quantitative research on Chinese tourists in Korea through satisfaction perspective. The result shows that tourist expectations have a negative effect on the perceived experiential quality of the tour. High expectation may result in low satisfaction. Thus, findings indirectly uncover that how Chinese tourists perceive a destination may differ at

different stage of travel.

Similarly, Dung & Reijnders's (2013) research on how Chinese tourists experience Paris to contributes to this inquiry and proves the existence of the difference between Chinese tourists' pre-visit imagination and actual on-site perception. The authors describe how in 2004 various European countries opened up as new tourist destinations to citizens of China. As one of most popular and representative destinations, Paris has become an adjective, a synonym of an exotic, cultural, artistic European bourgeois lifestyle. Dung & Reijnders (2013) criticized that in most of the earlier tourism research, the gaze is usually from 'the west' to 'the rest'. The new tourist flow (Chinese tourists to European countries) brings an opportunity to find out about how the west is defined, imagined and experienced by the Easterners.

The paper focuses on three aspects of Chinese tourists experiencing cinematic Paris: the imagination, the experience, and the recollection of Paris. In the imagination part, the researchers analyze how French-related film and French culture (lifestyle, exotic image, romantic escapism etc.) underlying the films construct a dreamland that is familiar in their mind's eye. In the experience, the 'places of the imagination' offers fans the possibility to have a transcendent experience between two worlds: an imagined world on the one hand and that which is considered to be the 'real' world on the other. However, in this case, the tourist experiences were often less symbolic and hyper-real that those discussed in previous research. Some experiences of the locations tend to be rather superficial, supporting Lee et al.'s (2011) research that expectations and experiences of Chinese outbound tourists can be in marked contrast with their pre-visit imagination. Dung & Reijnders (2013) discuss several reasons for this. First, personalized viewing experiences through gradually intensified identification, empathy, emotional connection and social interaction are associated more with TV soap operas than films. Second, the connections between the tourists and the various Paris movies are not deep enough. Third, although it is difficult to generalize such findings based on a small number of respondents, the characteristics

of Chinese respondents do seem differ from most existing studies on media tourism. Chinese tourists in Paris cannot be simply defined as media tourists. Fourth, Paris is so popular worldwide, the symbolic meanings created by the movies are only part of a wider network of signifiers. Fifth, overcrowding transforms the romantic gaze into a collective gaze. According to Urry's (1990) tourist gaze theory, romantic gaze value the object's perceptual carrying meaning and value over its physical capacity. And the perceptual capacity is immensely variable and depends upon particular conceptions of nature and on the circumstances in which people expect to gaze up on. As for collective gaze, it refers to gazing upon some places were designed as public places: they would look strange if they were empty. The collective gaze thus necessitates the presence of large numbers of other people. The unexpected experience due to cultural and geographical distance in Paris lead the tourists reconsider the culture of Western deification in China and to reconfirm with regard to their Chinese cultural identity. They may think that the destination cities once sit up high in a leading position are actually no better than where they are from. Observation of different scenes in different districts of Paris led some of the tourists to acknowledge the 'real' Paris. For these tourists, their journeys sparked a process of negotiation in realizing their imagination and at the same time in revealing and accepting the other side of Paris (Dung & Reijnders, 2013).

Hence, Dung & Reijnders's (2013) indicated that cultural and geographical distance can be a reason that causes different tourist experience of Chinese travellers. Besides, pre-visit perceptions of a destination, in this particular case constructed on the basis of Paris-related movies, can affect tourists' on-site behavior and experience. However, there are certain limitations that prevent this research achieving a deeper understanding of this phenomenon. Firstly, the case study location, Paris itself, influences the validity of the research in both positive and negative ways. On one hand, Paris is a typical destination of which tourists hold stereotypes, like romance, representation of Western culture, role-model city for many other cities etc. With these stereotypes, the difference between imagination and actual experience can be

significantly identified. On the other hand, the over-popularity of Paris can be a disadvantage. Just like what has been discussed by Dung & Reijnders (2013), factors like overcrowding, other resources that can help tourists learn about Paris than Paris related film, can dilute the classification of 'media tourists' to 'mass tourists'. This leads to another limitation is about the target group in this research. Most Chinese tourists cannot be simply classified as media tourists even if they have seen several Paris-related films. Because their imagination of Paris is constructed based on various resources, media-related factors are but a small part of their motivation. In their methodology, Dung & Reijnders (2013) did not intentionally recruit 'media tourists' but random volunteers that actually form a group of mass tourists. Focusing on the general Chinese outbound tourists, the researcher does not contribute to independent tourists' on-site experience. Hence, Chinese independent outbound tourists' characteristic still need to study further. Constraints are discussed as reasons to the performance in Dung & Reijnders (2013). However, constraints can be the premise that affect tourists' intentions and behaviors (Sparks & Pan, 2009). To achieve a better understanding of how constraints works in influencing Chinese outbound tourists' experience process, further research need to be done.
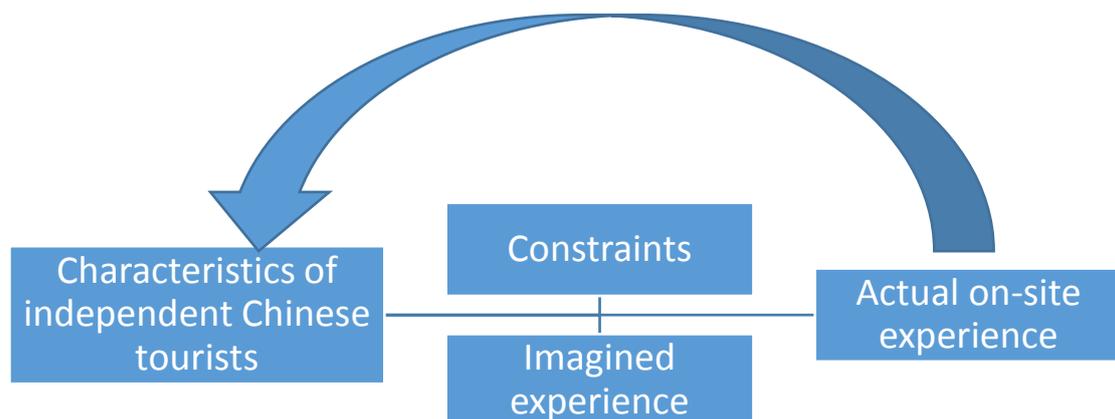

Figure 2 Conceptual Model

2.5 Museum

Many researchers have identified museums as key tourism attractions for cultural tourism consumption nowadays. Museum is one of the top attractions for culture-seeking tourists (Van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). Museum has its unique features and functions. As indicated by Brida et al. (2012), museum in particular seem to give a strong impetus to urban culture; these institutions operate at the interface of art and culture, tourism, and recreation. Museums have a key role as repositories of historical knowledge, custodians of historical identity and community roots. The overall endowment of a city exerts a pull element for urban visitors, especially when the attractions are unique, as is usually the case with museums, which play a key role in attracting tourists in European urban areas.

Worldwide, more and more clusters of museums are being developed in city centers. The creation of cultural districts and museum clusters offers several advantages. First of all, it is possible to make use of a shared infrastructure, including parking space, public transport, and access roads. Second, a cluster leads to greater visibility and a strong orientation towards the increased diversity and momentary nature of the way people spend their leisure time. It provides a whole package of attractions for tourists who want to enjoy museums (Van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). For example, Amsterdam is a highly popular cultural tourism pole with many museums (Van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). In Amsterdam, the Museumplein is easily recognizable as a typical museum cluster area. At present, the Museumplein located in the south of Amsterdam is the site of three museums of global recognition: the Rijksmuseum, the Stedelijk Museum and the Vincent van Gogh Museum. The collection of the museums there are quite different. And they complement each other chronologically in terms of content. The museum cluster on the Museumplein exerts a strong attraction by virtue of the fact that it is a concentration of museums.

3 Methodology

3.1 Case introduction

Amsterdam welcomes over 4 million foreign tourists per year (Amsterdam.org, 2018). Statistics Netherlands (CBS., 2015) shows that the bulk of foreign tourists to the Netherlands came from Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom. However, Chinese tourists accounted for the sharpest increase in 2015. Their number of overnight stays in hotels in the Netherlands soared by 33% to a total of 436 thousand. Janssen (2013) identified that Chinese tourists in Amsterdam venture out in small groups or pairs, in contrast to more stereotypical group travel with guides leading them to the next picture moment. Young urban Chinese come across as self-confident, fashionable and even noisy.

Rijksmuseum is the most visited museum in Amsterdam and it's also seen as a city identity of history and art. Amsterdam's Museumplein consists of three museums, the Rijksmuseum, the Stedelijk Museum and the Vincent van Gogh Museum. The collection of the museums there are quite different. And they complement each other chronologically in terms of content (Van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). Each museum's distinctive identity and theme are enhanced through such arrangement and comparison. So the museums can purposively attract target tourists and also function as a whole package of cultural attraction.
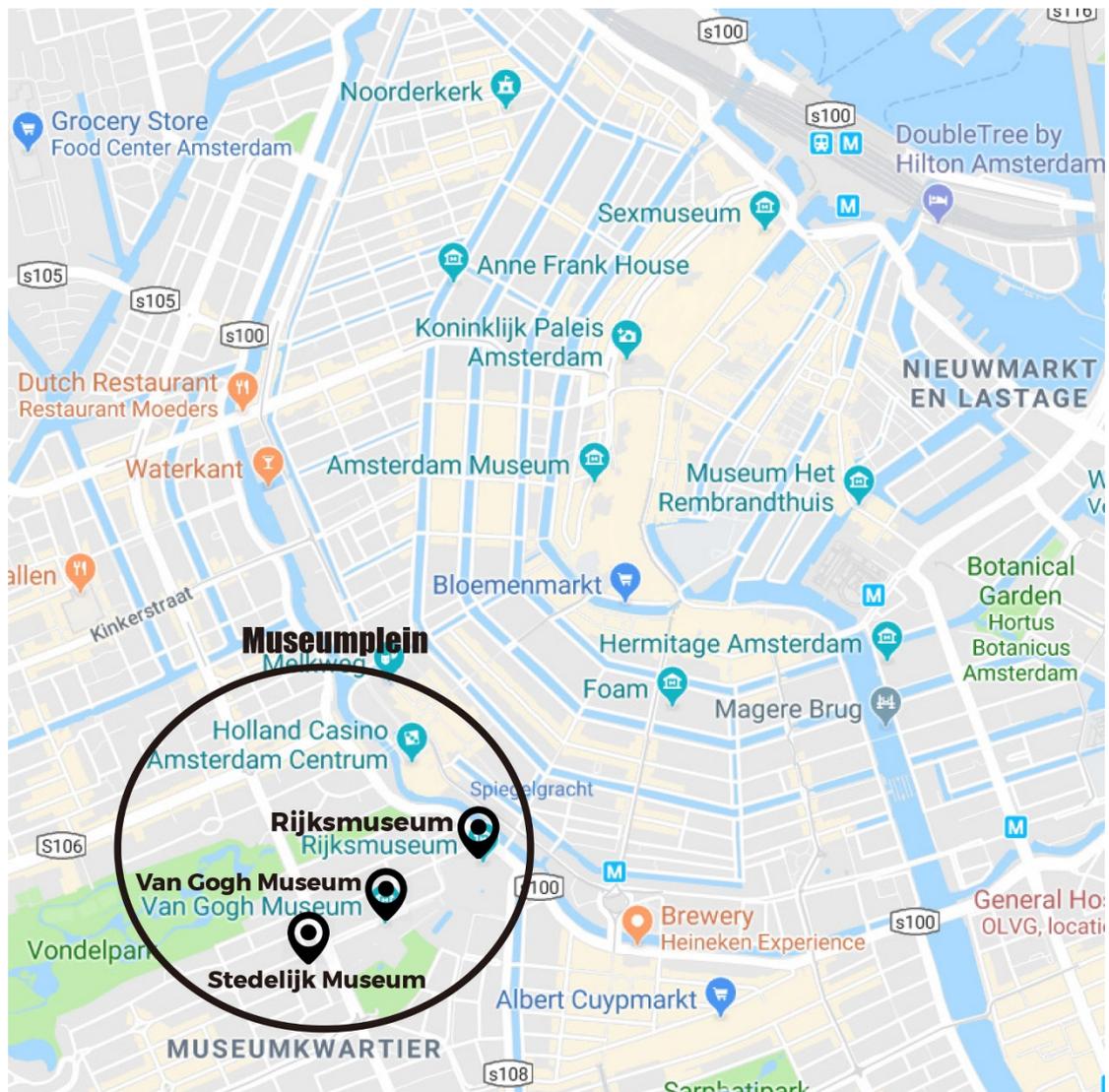
Figure 3 Museumplein of Amsterdam

3.2.1 Research approach

Qualitative research was applied in this research. The central reason is that independent Chinese long-haul outbound tourists have received very limited academic attention. Chen et al. (2014) suggested that the existing measure items for Chinese backpackers were not inclusive enough to cover all aspects of their characteristics, and they called for more qualitative inquiry approaches to generate a more inclusive measurement item pool and thus enable a more thorough understanding of independent Chinese tourists. As an intensive and exploratory approach, qualitative research helps to obtain insights into the origin of tourists'

motivation, decision-making process and on-site experience. Deery et al. (2012) suggested that in tourism research, qualitative research provides flexibility, adaptiveness, depth, and realism that a quantitative approach cannot provide.

According to Hay (2016), two fundamental questions are asked in qualitative research. One is about the social, cultural, economic, political, or environmental structure of the research target, the other one is about individual experience. Hay (2016, p6) in particular phrases these questions as 'what are the shapes of societal structures, and by what processes are they constructed, maintained, legitimised, and resisted?', and 'what are individual's experience of places and events?'. As in the theoretical framework, there is some existing literature involving Chinese post-80s generation, which is the main force of independent Chinese tourists. Some researchers (Jin et al., 2014; Prayag et al., 2015; Chen et al. 2014) have answered some questions like how certain big events like 'economic reform' contribute to their value system. This research tends to focus on a specific case, Rijksmuseum, and independent Chinese tourists' on-site experience and explore the underlying insights. The purpose is to provide some empirical inquiry and enrich the knowledge of independent Chinese long-haul outbound tourists from their actual on-site experience.

3.2.2 Positionality

Positionality can be defined as the researcher's position (socially, locationally or ideologically) relative to the research topic and the respondents (Hay, 2016). A researcher needs to be critical of his positionality and his own influence in the research. The researcher of this research project is a Chinese student at the University of Groningen, who also possess the role of independent tourists in Europe. This character gives the researcher's perceptual knowledge of the settings of independent outbound tourism. Besides, as a Chinese, the researcher is familiar with Chinese culture and context. It helps understand Chinese tourists' special verbal use, tell the linguistic nuancess of the same word, and dig the latent message in the interview. This character

can also enhance establishing relationship with the respondents by sharing mutual interest in cultural tourism. The respondents are encouraged to share their own experience and opinions. During the interview, the researcher mind not influencing the respondents' opinion and expression by personal preference and experience in tourism.

3.2.3 Research design

This research adopted semi-structure interview supplemented with participant observation. An interview is a data-gathering method in which there is a spoken exchange of information (Hay, 2016). Interview method's strengths are in line with this research's purpose. It encourages respondents to express their complex motivations, behaviors and opinions. And it also helps collect a diversity of views and experiences to gain insights into differences/discrepancy and empower the unheard.

A semi-structured interview takes into account both preparation and flexibility. An interview guide with some degree of predetermined opening questions was made beforehand (see appendix 1). The opening questions avoid piloting respondents to answer what the researcher wants to hear and encourage them to express themselves. The interview guide provides a discourse and context for the interview to take place. It can lead and remind the intended scope of the interview. Based on which, an open and free-flowing dialogue is provided to encourage the tourists to express their opinions and experiences. A semi-structured also allows the researcher to modify the verbal use and interview order on the spot. The respondents' characteristics vary and it's important and practical to 'speak their language'. For example, sometimes the researcher needs to translate academic term into 'normal language' so that they can perceive. Sometimes using some 'trendy word' and 'inside joke' according to the respondent can earn his trust. Hence it helps to build a connection between you and your respondent.

Because the researcher and the focus group are Chinese, the interviews are conducted in Mandarin. The interview in their mother tongue makes respondents feel comfortable to express themselves fully and correctly, especially for their complex opinion and value system within.

Participant observation is conducted as a supplementary method in this project to enhance the researcher's perceptual knowledge of the social and physical settings of the scene, Rijksmuseum, and the tourists' general experience within. Qualitative research gives emphasis to subjectivity which refers to the insertion of researcher's personal opinions and characteristics into research practice (Hay, 2016). Participant observation and first-hand experience help enhance researchers' general knowledge and establish rapport and communicate with respondents. Besides, observation in the interview is a way of description of respondents' emotion and latent message.

Please see the overview of recruitment in appendix 2.

3.2.4 Recruitment

A mix of random sampling, snowball sampling and online recruitment was conducted to approach independent Chinese tourists. The primary method is randomly approaching independent Chinese tourist in Rijksmuseum and conducting a face to face interview. Specifically, the researcher randomly picked Chinese tourists in the lobby. Tourists who have just finished viewing were asked if they are willing to take an interview. As for tourists who just enter the museum, I asked if they can leave their contact information to arrange an interview at a later moment. Of course, the premise is a friendly self-introduction and a brief introduction of the research and purpose. And before the start of the interview, the respondents were, to safeguard the informed consent, updated of how and where the interview content would be utilised. Respondents' privacy and confidentiality were wholly respected by promising that the conversation will be only used for academic purpose. Thanks to social media, if the respondent was not convenient to take an interview on-site but still wanted to

participate in this research, the researcher could arrange another time to make the interview through video chat. Except for video chat, the interview generally took place in the cafe of Rijksmuseum or the ground of Museumplein. The spirit is to provide the potential respondents with multiple options to make them actively take part in the interview and share their experience. In total, 8 respondents were gathered by random sampling on site.

Online recruitment is also adopted in this research. The strength of online recruitment is the effectivity. According to the fact of the situation, Chinese tourists in Rijksmuseum are mainly senior group tourists. The low effectivity of on-site recruitment brought objective challenge including costs. Besides, during the period, there's no long-term vacation in China. So the tourists approached on-site may have certain characteristics like freelancers and students studying in Europe who are more flexible to travel outside of traditional vacation periods. On top of contacting these respondents, it is important to involve the general workforce out of consideration of diversity and representativeness. On one hand, the researcher has to be critical of the tourist composition. For example, there is still workforce travelling in off-season with special arrangement of annual leave. On the other hand, online recruitment can help achieve such goal. The researcher searched by related key words and found some tourists who have posted travel experience in winter holiday on travel websites (qyer.com) and microblog (Weibo). Then I sent private chat to ask if they could participate in the research. Four of the respondents were recruited through this method, and all four interview are conducted through Wechat voice chat.

After finishing the interview, the respondents were asked to recommend acquaintance who meets the research's target and is willing to participate in the study.   Two of the respondents were approached by snowball sampling.

There's a popular way of social intercourse in China called 'giving hongbao'. And it is referred into this research as an incentive mechanism. 'Hongbao' refers to red

envelops filled with cash. It's a traditional way of greeting in big holiday and event. Nowadays 'giving hongbao' is still a custom in events like New year and wedding, but 'giving virtual hongbao' through social-media and network payment is a popular and less serious socialising method among Chinese. To encourage potential respondents participating in this research, a 'virtual hongbao' is given to the respondents as a way of ice-break as well as an award for their participation. The 'virtual hongbao' consist of small amount of money and is informed to the respondents before interview. But the specific sum of money is not informed to avoid too utilitarian participants who may intensively cater to the researchers' question and speak in grand and hollow language.

Please see the overview of recruitment in appendix 2.

3.2.5 Data analysis

Fourteen respondents in total are recruited in this research. All the interviews lasted over 20 minutes and were recorded through mobile phone's application. They were subsequently transcripted, coded and annotated manually by the researcher. The transcriptions were analysed by an inductive logic. Instead of looking out for frequencies or occurrences, it focuses on tracing and understanding the meanings social actors inscribe to objects, ideas, events, encounters and interactions (Ong & Cros, 2012). The potential subject themes are expected to be drawn from the raw data rather than from prior knowledge (Chen et al., 2018). The process included open coding, creating categories and abstraction (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Open coding means that notes and headings are written in the text while reading it. The codes were gathered in a coding sheet for further analysis. Then the codes are clustered under higher order headings (see Appendix 3). Synonyms were unified and the words with multiple meanings were clarified (Chen et al., 2018). When formulating categories by inductive content analysis, the researcher comes to a decision through interpretation. Abstraction means formulating a general description of the research topic through

generating multi-layers of categories. The abstraction process continues as far as is conceptually and empirically grounded. As a result, this procedure reduces the number of codes into broad main themes.

4 Result

4.1 Tourist component- motivation

The on-site research in that group tourism still dominates the main travel mode of Chinese outbound tourists to Amsterdam. So far, group tourists are still the mainstream in Chinese tourism market. But we should be very cautious to apply this finding to all sites or destinations. As one of the most famous sites in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum attracts group tourists whose itinerary, led by the travel agency, tries to cover all the famous sites. They are described as 'sites collecting' tourists by some of the respondents. A possible reason for such phenomenon is the off-season when the general young workforce do not have vacation to conduct travel. Senior tourists who are less likely capable to travel independently appears to dominate. To make up possible gap, the research approached some respondents online who have been to Amsterdam in winter vacation to maintain the diversity of respondents.

The research object of this paper is the independent Chinese tourists in Europe. According to the findings of this paper, the independent Chinese tourists consists of two parts, differentiated by where they are from. Some of them are studying or working in Netherlands/Europe, and the others are long-haul tourists from China. These two group of tourists are different in how they conduct their travel, like how they arrange their itinerary, if they stay overnight, the cost of travel, the possibility of revisit etc. If we try to conclude the difference in one phrase, it's geographical distance. However, as we have discussed in the theoretical framework, Chinese tourists in Europe are not only faced with geographical distance but also cultural distance. It is interesting to find out that Chinese tourists who reside in Netherlands/Europe face no less cultural gap. The respondents living in Netherlands/Europe appear to be non-

Dutch speakers and do not know more about Western culture or history than tourists from China. Tourists from no matter China or Europe cover different knowledge level of Western culture, from 'blank page' to 'having related background'. So the finding suggested that where the tourists from did not cause significant differences in their familiarity of Western culture. In the following parts, this paper will discuss in-depth about independent Chinese tourists' preference, behaviour, on-site experience etc. with respect of these two groups of independent Chinese tourists throughout the whole paper. Here what we would like to emphasise is that they share some mutual features compared with group tourists. The first is that independent tourists are more flexible in the itinerary. Independent tourists from China usually have set up a fixed plan regarding transportation, hotel and how long they would stay in the city. However, they usually default abundant time and do not set up a strict itinerary within one day:

"Today I plan just to visit museums on Museumplein. You know...this museum (Rijksmuseum), Van Gogh museum and others... If I'm interested, I'll stay longer, and if I'm bored, I may visit some other places."--GV

This finding differs from Xiang (2013) who suggested that independent Chinese tourists arrange a fixed schedule to reduce anxiety in an unfamiliar country and enhance control. Xiang (2013) also indicates that this could be tricky for independent tourists who hold the motivation for chasing freshness and unexpected surprise. The conflict lies between 'take in-depth tour' and cover as many sites as possible. Nowadays independent travelers appear to be more calm and open to accept that sometimes it is just impossible to cover all the sites:

"I thought to myself it is just impossible to visit all the sites in one or two days, so why not take it slowly. Rijksmuseum is big enough to view, let alone all the others. Especially for a museum, I think viewing museum is a slow process, you need to absorb its content."--TG

"I think there's no need to hurry. Wandering in the city and feel the traditional

European atmosphere is already good travel."--WZ

This observed attitude conforms to the claim that independent Chinese tourists, especially the post-80s generation, pursue freedom and self-decision in travel (Hyde & Lawson, 2003; Cheng & Foley, 2017). They do not want to be restricted by any regulations or stick to the plan. They want to take control throughout the whole tourism process. Actually, this ideology is very different from traditional Chinese value where obedience dominates. There are mainly two reasons that lead to this performance. The first is that nowadays the young generations are more exposed to the global value, like freedom, communication, experience-oriented etc. So in the process of travel, they are more open to adventure, freshness, excitement and novelty. As a lot of respondents say, they try to immerse in the local exotic atmosphere rather than 'collecting sites' like what they can do anywhere. The second reason lies in the motivation of escaping. Escaping is identified as an important motivation of travel in many classic literature (e.g. Iso-Ahola, 1982; Gnoth, 1997; Uysal & Jurowski, 1994 etc.). It refers to all respects like pressure, daily routine, discipline from patriarchy etc. For most Chinese employees and students, they have experienced enough competitiveness, crowd, pressure and control in everyday life. It is no surprise that they would pursue something very different on their vacation.

The second feature that distinguishes independent tourists from group tourists is their active and genuine interest in Museum/cultural attractions. From the interviews, most of the respondents showed a significant preference for cultural attractions in three forms of performance. The first is the personal interest. Several respondents indicated that interest is the crucial factor that drives them to visit museums. With mentioning the artists they appreciate, like Rembrandt and Vermeer, they indeed show a certain level of enthusiasm for cultural attractions above the average. In the interview, these respondents are very willing to share their travel experience in other European museums. They recalled some details and contents that impressed them. For example, a respondent particularly shared that she had been to Den Haag specifically for the

<Girl with a pearl earring>. Another respondent came to Rijksmuseum for the second time because she had been in a rush for the first time due to the time limitation. So this time she wants to appreciate <The milkmaid> really carefully. Meanwhile, they generally value cultural attractions over natural attractions. They tend to describe natural sites as 'similar', 'all the same'. Based on such judgement, they indicate that 'when you travel aboard, you definitely want to see something different, something local.' According to this performance, the independent outbound Chinese tourists appear to be experienced tourists who to a degree feel tiresome about natural attractions, which is very common in China, and try to seek something different. And the settings of a foreign country enhance this tendency. Their motivation of seeking novelty highly cope with the features of a museum. Hence, their choices are determined based on their original personal will, while the group tourists' itinerary is usually led by the tour agency:

'Museum is a very important factor to me. I usually search if there is any interesting museums before I went to a place.'—PP

'Actually, my past travels are mostly museum-oriented. I first went to the museum and then other sites by the way.' —Sun

The given itinerary by travel agency is filled with compromise with non-experience-oriented factors like team interest, cost control, time limitation etc. In contrast, for the interviewed independent tourists, the consistency of will and decision builds the foundation to enjoy museums more in-depth and actively than group tourists. Several respondents also indicated that in their opinion, mass tourism is just for 'collecting sites', you just go to a place and take a picture as signing in. By describing mass tourism as 'collecting sites', a part of them think it just an individual choice and the other part of them showed a certain level of contempt. For example, some respondents said 'Most Chinese tourists do not have the consciousness of visiting museums', 'Most Chinese tourists may think it boring' etc. They value the content of cultural attractions and meanwhile realize that a lot of tourists just superficially sightseeing these sites. So,

to a certain degree, they show the feature of what Larsen et al. (2011) call 'anti-tourists' who wants to escape the tourist 'bubble'. From a spatial perspective, they are still in the tourists bubble because Rijksmuseum is a must-see site of Amsterdam. However, as mentioned above, they show genuine interest and enthusiasm for museums over average level. So they believe their original intention differs from the mass tourists.

The second factor that contributes to independent tourists' active visiting is their art-related background. Several respondents major in art/history related subject in university, or once took a related course. A respondent who is an active art student in China benefit from the collections in practice:

'I would take some pictures as painting material for my study. It helps my creation and painting skills.'-- TG

What worth mentioning is that they generally would not like to apply too much professional, academic stuff into their travel. However, they cannot get rid of their knowledge structure. So here we may conclude that they hold a quasi-professional vision in travel. This quasi-professional help enriches their motivation and behavior. For example, a respondent from a Chinese art school said that he could take some pictures as painting material that benefits his study and creation. Another respondent shared that she had once been to Athens specifically for academic purpose. In their process of view, they can appreciate the artworks more in detail and depth than average visitors. It is confirmed by the respondents mentioning some art terms like 'toning', 'brush strokes'. One respondent particularly critiques that there are some strong lights unfriendly for appreciating oil painting. What's more, in their knowledge structure they can form a brief European history, especially Dutch Golden age and Renaissance, which is not typical for Chinese. For their on-site experience, the historical logic helps them to make up a visiting routine or select what works they favor. This group of tourists also show high tendency to do some research about works that

impress them after visiting. All in all, they benefit more interactions with the museum from their profession:

Thirdly, some of the independent tourists actively visit Rijksmuseum because they see it as city identity. It is not just that Rijksmuseum can be seen as a physical landmark, but also a collective presentation of a place's history and culture. Several respondents used words like 'book' and 'deposition' as metaphor to describe the significant function of museums. This part of respondents is mainly travelling from China. Their motivation is between museum-oriented travellers and 'site collecting' travellers. Due to the cost and time limitation, they tend to seek novelty more effectively. This part of independent tourists do not extremely differ from group tourists in motivation. Reputation of the sites highly leads in their choice. As a 'must-see' site, Rijksmuseum makes its fame to tourists coming to Amsterdam. The tourists cannot miss it during their decision-making process. Usually, reputation dominates in deciding where they would like to visit. Although they may not be a big fan of museums, they think it doesn't hurt to spend several hours to have a 'cultural trip'. They appreciate visiting museum as a way of 'uplift sentiment', 'cultivate interest' and 'wide horizon', which reflects how they value museum's function. The collections that impress them most are mainly material collections like jewelry, ancient clothes and equipment. They can hardly recall any details, and they tend to describe the content of the museum 'informative'. In conclusion, they show relatively less emotional enthusiasm but value the practical function of museums.

In conclusion, the independent tourists in Rijksmuseum can be clustered in two criterion (see figure 2). As showed in figure two, on the left side, the tourists can be clustered as if they are from China. However, they do not show significant difference in cultural distance. And geographical distance also do not influence on-site experience, because they usually arrange flexible itinerary within one day. On the right side, the tourists are clustered by how they see museums, consist of their motivation and

background. In general, they show different levels of interest in museums, which is a factor influencing their behavior and perspective.
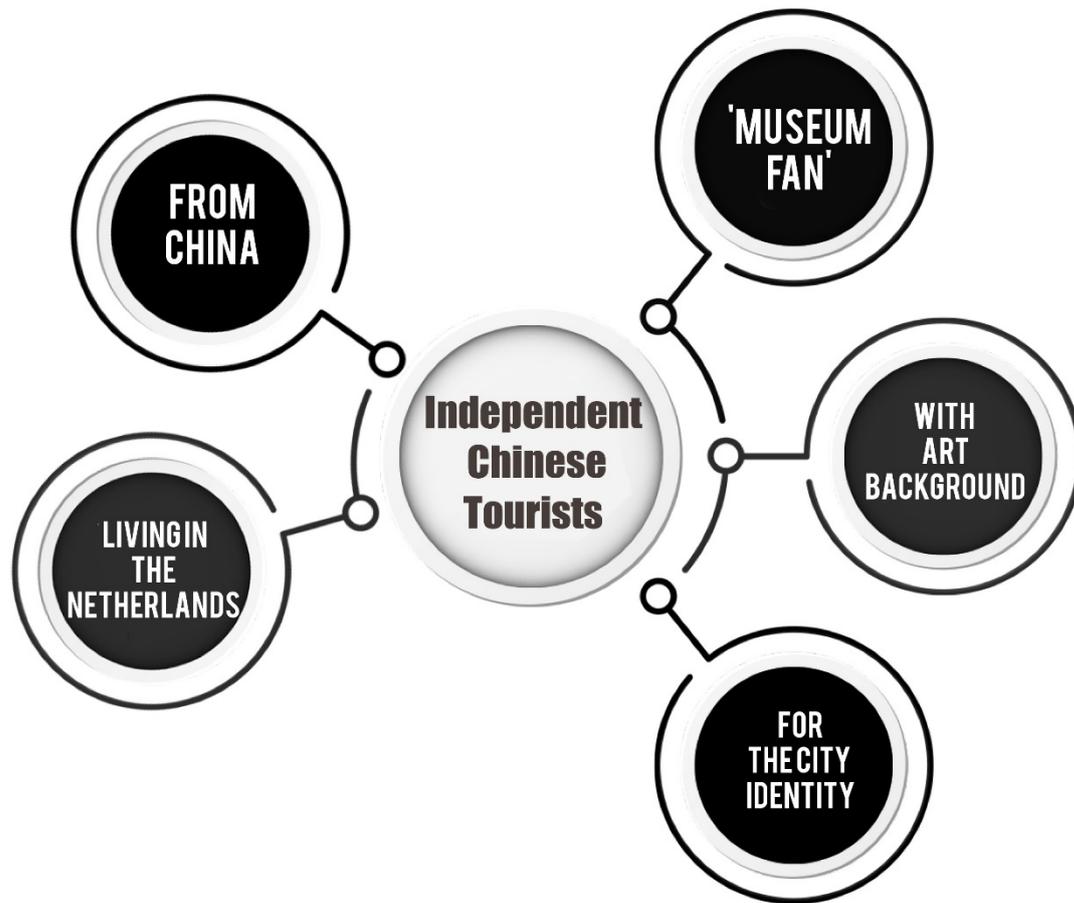

Figure 4 Tourist component

4.2 Self-dependence

To get a comprehensive picture of independent Chinese tourists' actual on-site experience, this chapter will develop along the process of the tourists' trip. For the very start, the respondents generally came alone or with one or two friends. The interviews found out that the independent Chinese tourists do not show dependence on companion. This finding disagree with literatures which suggested that Chinese tourists value socialization and collectivism (Chen et al., 2014; Hsu et al., 2010). And it also disagree with Prayag et al.'s (2015) finding that female tourists prefer travel with companion. Over half of the respondents are female and they do not see no-companion as a constraint. They do not see non-companion as a restriction that

prevents them from travelling. Several respondents even prefer travelling alone. For example, one respondent came with a friend, but they actually went separate way in the museum and set up a time to gather after viewing. They think it can spare the trouble to take into account each others' favor. Hence, they can make up a plan according to their personal preference and appreciate the works they like with sufficient time. This performance reflects this generation's outstanding characteristic, pursue self-fulfilment (Prayag, 2014; Chen et al., 2014; Xiang, 2013). Sometimes, a companion is more like a way of killing the time on the way. There are other examples are quotes like:

"I think it's better to travel alone in a museum. Because I usually visit slowly to absorb the content. If you visit with too many companions, you may end up in 'taking a glance'. So it's better to visit alone. You can also visit with like-minded friends. But it's rare, right?"--TG

"It's not a good experience to wait for others or have others wait for you. I like to stay longer when I'm in front of the paintings I like, so..."--PP

"I prefer having a companion with me. Just because you have to spend a long time and make a long way to the destination. The loneliness of long journey kills me! "--YH

Such performance coincides with their central motivation, genuine interest in cultural attractions. Their behavior is driven by this target. To a degree, their travel process can be structured by a simple pattern as attraction-oriented and self-fulfilment. Socialisation related motivation is not what they consider about. This finding differs from past research like Prayag et al. (2013), Chen et al. (2014) and Hsu et al. (2010). Their findings suggest that socialisation is as important as self-fulfilment to Chinese outbound tourists. But just like Prayag et al. (2013) themselves and Larsen et al. (2011) suggested that in a physical sense socialisation's importance may not hold true. It's because of the increasing importance and expansion of virtual socialisation. So, more and more tourists value virtual socialisation online over physical socialisation on site. In this research on Rijksmuseum, museum's settings and view pattern is not friendly

for on-site socialisation. Meanwhile, the interview also confirm that respondents are not sensitive to socialisation. Besides, Chinese post-80s generation just do not value collectivism which stresses strong relationship with family as their senior generation do. No respondent of this research came to Europe with their family. This performance and also apply to other travel experience they share.

Here we cannot neglect the latent message that independent Chinese tourists are usually capable of conducting an individual trip. Sometimes travelling with companion is not just about socialisation but also about sharing responsibility and risk. The respondents appear to be experienced tourists with high education level and at least fundamental English skill. Their experience and ability guarantee their basic needs of safety and movement. Based on such foundation, self-fulfilment and aesthetic pursuit are what they talk about. Besides subjective willing and capacity of travelling alone, objective supportive services and infrastructures are demanded by independent tourists. To a macro extend, globalization trend contributes to increasing number of independent tourists. Focusing on independent Chinese tourists' on-site experience in European museums, there are specific requirements they call for, which leads out the next finding.

4.3 Dependence on supportive service

Outbound travelling is always faced with language barrier. A quote from a respondent typically reflects independent Chinese tourists' dependence on multiple language services:

"I like visiting museums, and it's very convenient to visit museums in the Netherlands with museum card. As long as it's a famous or interesting museum, I would like to visit when I'm free. Only if there is English commentary. You know there are some small museums in small cities do not provide English translation. I have to skip them."--XL

Although the respondents all can at least speak fundamental English, which is a universal language all around the world, language barrier is still a major issue that prevents them from in-depth information and empathy engagement. So, for the tourists who like to get a better knowledge of their target museum, some guide or commentary are needed. Most respondents highly value the importance of English or Chinese commentary and see it as a fundamental service that a museum should provide. Their dependence on multiple language services is a very typical and practical performance of how independent Chinese tourists experience museums. Unlike group tourists, they cannot depend on the tour guide who can provide the information they need. To have empathy engagement with the collections, they want to know about the story behind. Three main ways for them to approach English/Chinese commentary in Rijksmuseum are audioguide, handbook and the official App. Nearly half of the respondents are willing to pay for the audioguide and think it of good quality and reasonable price. The tourists who did not choose to rent an audioguide are mainly out of three reasons. The first group of tourists are living in the Netherlands. Relative low cost of revisit makes them think that they had a second chance to make up if they had missed something interesting. The second group are selective about what they are paying, and the selection criteria are their personal preference of collection and artists. An example as a quote from a respondent:

"Um... I didn't use the audio guide in Rijksmuseum. Generally, I don't like to buy the audioguide except for those artists I really fond. Like last time I went to Spain, I paid for Picasso..."--BS

For these tourists, the physical service an audioguide can provide is not as outstanding as the content exclusive content it contains. This finding is also applied to other products in museums. Generally, independent Chinese tourists value the added value and symbolic meaning of the product. The souvenir shop is another typical example which will be further discussed in following parts. Based on the tourists' value system, self-determination and independent selection run through the whole process of the

independent Chinese tourists' behavior. Hence, the independent Chinese tourists are very critical and selective about what they consume in travel.

The third group of respondents makes the most of internet resources and coverage of WIFI networks. During the trip, if they encountered some collections that impress and interest them, they would stop for one or two minutes to look up some information on their smartphone. The young generation is exposed to the rapid development of technology, and they are used to gain information through the internet and convenient tool. The operator of Rijksmuseum does not overlook the trend. They launched an official application which is expanded on their official website and by their staff. This application is multiple-language and free to download. It shows a sense of creativity, consideration for international tourists, as well as an artistic atmosphere with artworks as scheme. However, the pity is that so far the application is far behind satisfying the Chinese users. The respondents who have downloaded this application indicated that it really needs further improvement, despite that its creativity and Chinese language option indeed appeal to Chinese users. The application itself may not deserve all the critiques. Because the deficiency may also be caused by the lack of use instruction and guidance. The user interface may not be the most friendly style for Chinese tourists. The museum can put some extra efforts to cultivate the users so that the product's function and advantage can be fully appreciated.

4.4 Socialisation

Nowadays, virtual socialisation accounts for an essential part of people' life. Several researchers have identified social media's character in tourism. Sparks (2012) and Ong & Cros (2012) point out that independent Chinese tourists show a tendency of high usage of internet for socialisation. Lim (2009) stresses the importance of virtual online communities to the emerging Chinese backpacker scene with Mainland China. Identifying such emerging phenomenon, Wu & Pearce (2014) explored their motivation of using social media, and factors like 'self-enhancement', 'self-document

& sharing', 'personal status & achievement' etc. were identified. However, this research's finding does not fully agree with past researches. What's in line with past research is the shift from physical socialisation to virtual socialisation. As pointed out above, independent Chinese tourists do not care socialisation on site. And they even think it bothers their experience. Over half of the respondents would like to share their travel experience and own interpretation on social media. In an information era, it is the most usual way for them to express themselves. However, a significant proportion of respondents do not appear to be a fan of social media, at least in mental sense. They are negative or passive about sharing their experience online. As for negative attitude, some of them just genuinely dislike virtual socialisation or socialisation and prefer staying with themselves. We cannot judge if it is good or not. It's self-determination. And we are also not sure if it can represent a general preference. Some of them passively share something on social media like a task. They feel like they have no choice but to post something as a way of 'safety check' or 'chat material' to their family and friendes. Hsu & Lam (2003) and Weifeng (2005) identified perceived safety/risk as one of the constraints for independent Chinese tourists. For tourists who passively post something to their family and friends on social media, they value of virtual socialisation may not be socialisation but simply a way of sending information and spare family's concern. As discussed above, independent tourists seek to be different or better than the others to enhance self-identity. They to a degree 'despise' mainstream behavior. When virtual socialisation became too popular and a dominant method of socialisation, it is no longer 'cool' enough.

4.5 Enhance experience and engagement

It cannot be denied that fame works for the independent tourists as well as it works for mass tourists. The independent tourists are very self-determined but not nonconformity nor anti-authority. Reputation of the site is also a leading factor of their motivation and a major reason how they know the destination. The most mentioned names in Rijksmuseum are Rembrandt & Vermeer, and their masterpiece <The Night

Watch> & <The Milkmaid>. And they are also what the 'no museum fan' can only recall. It is also not a surprise to hear Hermitage Museum and Louvre Museum in the interview when they were sharing their other travel experience in museums:

"You know the 'four biggest museums', they are really big with a lot of collections of vast and long range. There are all kinds of collections of different periods and places. Rijksmuseum is also very big, but its contents are mainly Dutch. I've been to a museum in Denmark, that one is, um... quite small. You know, you would feel like inadequate."--FX

However, do the most famous and grand museums and collections impress the independent tourists most? Does reputation dominate in their experience? The answer is negative for the respondents. Several respondents' sharing present that some relative less famous museums better impress them with empathy engagement and novelty:

"I remember Poland's Jewish History Museum which left me a great shock. It's the first time I get a close insight into their history. It amply presents their history from how Judaism independent from Christianity to World War II. I did not know the history and thought very childishly. Like why didn't they escape, why there's no rescue? Now I know better about their circumstances then and how forces from all sides work to result in the final spot. It feels like step by step and no single one can forecast the result." -- J

"I like a museum in Friesland. It's about a female agent. I think, she is just a small person, not very important, unlike a president or what. The museum also probably can't attract many tourists all around the world. But I think the design and arrangement are very outstanding. There is one room presenting the day she went to the execution ground. There are pictures presenting her look, the projection of the scene, sounds of falling leaves. It creates a very sad scene and brings you into it. I think this mode is better than viewing through showcase." -- GW

"A sinking ship museum impresses me most. It's very small, just about a size of a ship. You can finish viewing in 20 minutes if you want. I just really like the theme, I find it interesting." -- HG

The cultural gap between west and east makes it rather tricky for Chinese tourists to have empathy with western culture, especially the serious and traditional history. According to the independent Chinese tourists' experience, physical interaction efficiently help them empathy engage in what they view. The specific method are seeking novelty and interactive traveling mode.

Firstly, independent Chinese tourists showed a fevered interest in a novel theme. Besides the 'sinking ship' theme mentioned above, other respondents' share includes Pompei, Sex Museum, Mummy museum etc. These themes are very different from the 'mainstream' museums. A unique theme helps shift the focusing pointing from in-detail art appreciation to learn something extraordinary. Simply speaking, paintings of Renaissance or modern history are all 'European historical paintings' in Chinese tourists' view, especially for tourists who just want to learn a little and wide horizon. But a 'painting museum' and a 'ship museum' can enrich the diversity and excitement. This finding to certain degree agrees with Corigliano's research (2011) about Chinese outbound tourists to Italy. The result indicates that to promote the distinctive characteristics of trips and to thematise the tourism offering are considered as the main intervention required to attract Chinese tourists to Italy. A novel theme also copes with some respondents' essential motivation to visit museums, to see something different than what I've seen. This spirit still dominates in their experience and evaluation of museums. This finding provide an implication for the whole Dutch museum industry. The host can promote some small and less famous museums to Chinese tourists by highlighting their unique themes. It helps involving other cities in the benefit of tourism development and partake the crowd and pressure in big cities like Amsterdam.

For some independent tourists, seeking novelty is also a way of enhancing self-identity and self-expression. Cheng & Foley (2017) indicate that no single mainstream value dominates the Chinese post-80s generation's value system. Through economic and education reforms, information era and globalisation trend. This generation has been provided with abundant opportunities to explore change and enjoy diversified choices. Hence, their unique value systems build a foundation to develop a sense of own rights and entitlement. This result is also supported by another performance of the respondents. In the interview, they like to express their own unique preference and interpretation of the collections of artists. For example, a respondent emphasised that she dislikes the famous Van Gogh with no concealment. Another respondent admired Van Gogh's letters with his bothers over his paintings. And several respondents shared their critical opinion towards religious artworks.

A few respondents indicate they like to post their experience sentiment and thoughts on social media afterwards. They tend to experience and express something qualitatively different or even better than mass tourists. O'Reilly (2006) describes it as something of an 'elite' among the tourists. In Chinese context, there's a statement called 'despise chain'. In practice, it's something like people who go to Europe despise who go to South-east Asia, and who go to South-east Asia despise who conduct domestic travel. Even within Europe, people who go to Iceland is at priority over who go to Italy. The respondents do not go that far. However, they more or less 'despise' mass tourists who travel just for 'sites collecting'. Generally, the independent Chinese tourists have their own independent thinking, and they are longing to express themselves and fully display their personalities and tastes.

The second element that can strongly enhance independent Chinese tourists' experience is the interactive travelling modes. The museums mentioned in the interview approach such element through two kinds of ways. One is the application of modern high-tech. Nowadays, there are more and more museums and exhibitions starting applying technology like VR, multi-media, projection etc. to present a more

immersion and stereo experience. The case of Leeuwarden museum quoted above set an example. It uses multi-media to reproduce the last day of the female agent. With the projection of the scene then and the sound of falling leaves, it drags the respondent into the scene and makes her feel like walking life with the heroes. Another respondent shared his experience in a Monet's exhibition:

"There's no material painting there, the conductor told us beforehand. But it's still shocking. There's a theatre like space. It's been turned from a church. The projection is from every angle, including the roof. You are like in the film. The film tells Monet's life and his works of every period. And there is another place you can put on the VR glasses to view his masterpieces like <Woman with a parasol> and <Water lilies and Japanese bridge>. You know, it's very interesting, you have the fun without original painting." -- PM

Several respondents show that they understand it's very hard to see such application in Rijksmuseum and they didn't expect from it. However, independent Chinese tourists in Rijksmuseum still highlight the interactive travelling mode it provides, which is in a more traditional way:

"I think this mode is great! There was a staff leading us the way and give each of us a pen and some paper. You can try to copy the masterpieces by your own. The staff gave you some instruction and advice. This is fun!"--XL

The 'workshop-like' travelling mode inspires tourists to physically engage in the museum and actively interact with the artworks. Besides, there are several other traditional interactive travelling modes shared by the respondents in their other travelling experience. They are activities like event, story-telling and physical experience. It can be specific as trying on local clothes or cooking local foods. Sometimes it is participating in a local festival and feel the atmosphere. The cultural gap challenges outbound tourists to empathy with an unfamiliar culture just through

the knowledge and cultural content. Physical interaction can be seen as an efficient way to ice-break the blocks and welcome the guests.

4.6 Critical attitude towards tourism product

Like many other institutions including museum, theme park, exhibition etc., in Rijksmuseum, there's also a shop that sells related merchandising, souvenir, and cultural creation products awaits the tourists who have finished viewing. It's a central way for the operator to increase income and make the best of the collection's symbolic value. In public perception and some academic vision, independent Chinese tourists are associated with 'budget tourists'. The most famous Chinese outbound tourism information website is called 'Qiong You', directly translated as 'poor travel'. They are thought to have limited enthusiasm to purchase 'unnecessary' items. However, the purchasing power of independent Chinese outbound tourists actually covers all range from budge tourism product to luxury tourism product (Xiang, 2013). This research agrees with Xiang's finding. The respondents include student budget tourists and tourists who are less sensitive to cost. Specifically to cultural creation product, except for students who feel the product quite unaffordable, the others show a modest enthusiasm and purchase willing for the product sold in Rijksmuseum. Several respondents showed me what they had just bought in the shop. Generally, they are critical about the product and tend to assess the product from all aspects before the final decision. A large part of the respondents commends Dutch museum shop's creativity, especially the copy of the exclusive collections. Examples are quotes like:

"I really like some museum shops in the Netherlands. They print some artworks in the museum for sale, and you can buy yourself a unique frame. I'm quite into this form. Products like postcards are not worthy. You know, the cultural creation products are actually more or less the same, like postcards, pens, fridge magnet etc. Basically these kinds of stuff. So what's special are those paintings. If they are convenient to carry, I'd like to take some back to China, as gifts for friends."--HG

"I really like Van Gogh museum's shop! I have visited the museum, but I still go in for the shop everytime I pass it!"--XL

"It's a little bit expensive... I quite like buying souvenirs in museums. Like this time, I bought an impressive painting's copy. It may not be very practical and it's quite expensive, but I like this painting and it's memorable."—PP

These respondents mentioned many elements that can form a quite comprehensive evaluation criterion, including aesthetic value, creativity, exclusivity, practicability, cost, commemorative meaning and of course self-interest. Among them, independent Chinese tourists highly value the added value and symbolic meaning of the products. They prefer something that can only be purchased here. Even postcards are something that can manifest that I'm at a specific place.

If we see the whole museum as a big product. The independent Chinese tourists still tend to evaluate it in details and comprehensively. Besides fundamental services like collection endowment, multiple-language commentary, logical routine development, gallery arrangement etc., they are also critical of the museum's design, creativity, staff's quality etc. Examples are quotes like:

"I think Dutch museums have a sense of design and modernity. I remember Rijksmuseum lead in natural light as lightning. That's good."--J

"Routine development by history logical is too common. And there are some small galleries are too out of the way. The collections there are under utilisation."--GZ

"I personally attach importance to the staff's professionalism. I expect them able to answer my question. It really disappointed me when they are not familiar with their own collection."--Sun

They tend to express some critique and opinion in details. This critical attitude challenges the host to provide with better services and products. Meanwhile, the host benefits from better competitiveness and word-of-mouth. Most respondents admire

Rijksmuseum of good quality and see Dutch museum as a highly developed industry. A respondent indicates that after getting used to Dutch museums, she thought museums even in France and Italy are not as good regarding design and routine development. In their picky standard lie both challenge and opportunity.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Findings

There are four core findings in this research that frames the characteristics of independent Chinese outbound tourists. Firstly, a significant part of independent Chinese outbound tourists value the self-fulfillment and self-expression. This finding is in line with past research on Chinese post-80s generation's characteristics (Prayag et al., 2015; Xiang, 2013; Chen et al., 2014; Jin et al., 2014; Cheng & Foley 2017). Post-80s generation is the main force of independent Chinese tourists and also the target group of this research. As independent tourists, they take full control of their travel. Their decision and behavior are profoundly driven by their motivation. As in this research, there are still tourists who decide to visit Rijksmuseum because of its fame. The other part of independent tourists are actively interested in museums and cultural attractions. Based on their genuine interest, they do not place much weigh on the reputation of the site but highly value the content of the museum. They emphasize that visiting museum is a slow process and need to absorb the content. Most of them attach importance of the service like commentary. They do not remain satisfied just with 'sightseeing' and 'taking pictures', and they pursue empathy engagement with the cultural attractions. Based on self-fulfillment, self-expression is like a re-enhancement of their travel, which is a way to present their own personality and taste. In their experience process, two performances of them show how they pursue self-expression in tourism encounter. One is the fevered enthusiasm for novelty. Most of them love sharing their novel and niche tourism experience in small museums rather than the famous ones. Although their motivation is affected by the sites' reputation, the 'grand sites' usually are not what impresses them most. On one hand, novel theme

reduced the cultural gap which commonly exists in 'mainstream' historical museum. It shift the focusing pointing from a more historical/art perspective to a more exploration perspective. On the other hand, pursuit of novelty is a practical way to escape the 'tourist bubble' and be different/better than the mainstream tourists (Larsen et al., 2011). To a certain degree, a lot of them showed contempt on natural attractions and indicate they see natural attraction, which is the main motivation for mass Chinese tourists, as 'all the same'. Another performance of their self-expression is their independent thinking and own interpretation of the tourism objects. They do not conceal their personal dislike for some great artworks. They realise and emphasise the role of their personal favor.

Secondly, independent Chinese tourists highly admire creative physical interaction to engage with the collections. This is the most significant performance of their travel experience. It contains their preference for creativity and their major method to achieve empathy engagement overcoming cultural gap. Past researchers (Jorgensen et al., 2017; Fu et al., 2015; Li et al., 2011) have discussed about the role of cultural gap in outbound tourists. So far there's no solid result of the influence of cultural gap and Jorgensen et al. (2017) question if f cultural distinctiveness is overestimated by researchers. Respondents of this research see cultural difference as both positive and negative factor. Some indicated that they can't empathy with the collections as the westerners do, meanwhile some see the difference itself as an attraction. However, according to their performance, cultural gap still works as a limitation for their experience. For example, the respondents with art/cultural background are more impressed by the collections. They can recall more details of the collections and feel more achievement after the travel. In their travel process, they can appreciate the painting's color, strokes, toning etc., while the others are usually most impressed by material collections like jewelry, clothes, equipment etc. and can't recall their names. To overcome the restriction caused by cultural gap, interactive travel mode and application of hi-tech appeal to independent Chinese tourists. Take the respondent who has been to Leeuwarden museum as an example. The recreation of the scene of

the agent's last day transmit the emotion and atmosphere that words can hardly transmit. Some respondents who value cultural attractions but feel it difficult to appreciate historical collections pay attention to physically participate in activities like drawing in Rijksmuseum. All in all, simply perfect word commentary cannot satisfy tourists with cultural gap due to lack of empathy. They need and admire to involve in physical interaction. The host can mind to provide target service or travel mode.

The third finding suggests independent Chinese tourists tend to appreciate tourism product comprehensive and in detail. Meanwhile, they are also very critical and picky. This is an important feature of their experience in European museums. Except for viewing the museum's endowment in visual sense, they also value its design, space arrangement, quality, service, interactive mode, creativity and story underlying. Most of them do not pre-assume museums with fame is of the best and compliment it in a general way, despite fame is an important motivation and a guarantee of lower limit. Some of them rank Dutch museum industry over other famous countries like France, Germany, Italy etc. due to its outstanding design and arrangement. In the souvenir shop they like to purchase product with exclusive symbolic meaning even they feel it quite expensive. So, challenge caused by their critical attitude also brought benefit. Independent Chinese tourists value and are willing to pay for product with creativity, exclusive added value and symbolic meaning which is of low marginal cost.

The last but not the least is that independent Chinese tourists' evaluation criterion is uncertain. As the first finding suggested, self-fulfillment is very important in their travel process. And many of their decision and behavior are influenced by their personal preferences. However, their personal preference is no certain along time and external changes. And some of them just keep trying to be different from mainstream. Born in the period through great social, economic, political changes, their value system is influenced by both global and traditional ideology, but neither of them dominates. The independent Chinese tourists do not attach importance to collectivism as their parent generation do (Chen et al., 2014), and they also do not wholly like what their peer do

(e.g virtual socialisation). There's no absolute belief in their value system. Maybe just like what the researcher tries to do, they are also continuously exploring themselves.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings, this paper provides some recommendation for future academic research and management development. This paper suggests that XX research directions in the future. The first is the further research on independent Chinese tourists' value system. This research discussed their value system based on their performance in tourism process. Further research through sociology, anthropology, psychology perspectives can be conducted to achieve deep understanding based on theories. The second is target research on Chinese overseas students'/residents' travel. Do their travel motivation, behavior, pattern etc. have certain unique features? Is their overseas experience influential for their travel in foreign countries? Thirdly, this research's findings can contribute to the item pool of independent Chinese outbound tourists. Associated with other research (including future research), quantitative research about their perception can be conducted to give more solid recommendations for destination development.

As for recommendations for management development, the first is promotion of niche attractions. Although most tourists are motivated by the fame of the most popular sites, many non-group tourists reserved extra and flexible time for on-site arrangement. Novel and niche museum meet independent Chinese tourists' preference and can spare the over pressure of hotspots. However, so far this kinds of attractions may be under known to potential Chinese tourists. So the host can put extra effort to market the information on related websites or at the central traffic hub after their arrival. It enriches tourists' choice and promote the tourism development of where these attractions locates. Secondly, the host of museums can inform (or emphasise) the tourists of the history background briefly at the beginning of the museum or a gallery. With knowledge of the whole picture, they may better engage in

the collections and know the context of what each commentary talks about.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

	Questions
Part 1	Introduction
	How do know about Rijksmuseum?
	What drives you to visit Amsterdam and Rijksmuseum?
	There may be some unfamiliar content in a foreign museum. So, did you do some 'homework' before you came?
	Do you more or less have any art/historical/painting background?
	What makes up your mind to conduct backpack travel?
Part 2	What's your overall feeling in Rijksmuseum?
	How do you like the collections?
	-What impress you most?
	Did you use any commentary like the audioguide?
	Can you share some specific thing you've done in Rijksmuseum?
	-Did you take picture? What content did you take picture of?
	-Would you share your picture and experience with your friends/family?
	Is there any special encounter that you'd like to share?
	Does companion matters to you?
	How do you see the museum shop? Do you like buying something in the museum shop?
Part 3	How do you compare with other European/Chinese museum you've been?
	Would you go to a city specially for its museum?
	What does museum mean in your journey?
	What makes museum different than other sites you've been?
Part 4	If there's next time, would you consider travel with your family in

	Europe?
	If so, do you travel independently or in group?
Part 5	Please feel free to share whatever you like in your travel.
	Is there anything that you like to add?

Appendix 2: Overview of recruitment

Identifier	From	Background (if related)	Sampling method
BS	China	Learnt traditional Chinese painting and art history	Online recruitment
J	China	Took a course of European Culture	Online recruitment
Sun	China	Painting-City planning	Random sampling
FX	China	none	Random sampling
GZ	China	none	Random sampling
HG	China	none	Random sampling
PP	Netherlands	none	Random sampling
TG	China	Art student	Online recruitment
XL	Netherlands	Majored in art history	Snowball sampling
YH	China	none	Random sampling
PM	Europe	Painting-fashion design	Random sampling
GV	Europe	Painting-fashion design	Snowball sampling
GW	Netherlands	none	Random sampling
WZ	China	none	Online recruitment

Appendix 3: Coding sheet

Motivation	Characteristics	Experience	Perceptual knowledge	Art/Culture related	behavior	Perception of mass Chinese tourists
Must-see site -sites collecting	Art background -profession -learnt about	Big -abundant content -comprehensive -impossible to view everything	Uplift sentiment	Oil paiting	Take picture selectively -interest -famous -funny	Sites collecting -visit superficially -visit as a landmark
Landmark	View works selectively -by personal preference -by fame -by time	Interactive visit mode/immersion -activity -image and sound -VR	Fan (or not) of specific artist or work	Details of Paiting -color -toning -brush strokes	Share with friends as a travel experience rather than 'academic exchange'	Bored about cultural/historical sites
City/National Identity -quality guaranteed -book of -historical deposition		commentary	Children Friendly	Dutch Golden Age	Critical about commodity -willing to buy creative, commemorative, aesthetical, with reasonable price-like copy of the collection	No consciousness to visit museum

					-postcards like stuff are all the same	
Interest in museum	Not interested in religion related works	Multiple language	Developed industry	Impressed by material collection	No active and targeted preparation -speech by curator	Chase sites with fame
Artist - Rembrandt -Vermeer -Van Gogh -Edvaard Munch -Picasso exclusive	No preference for companion -Prefer visit alone -indifferent to companion or not	Guide -audioguide -handbook -application- limited content/need improvement	Sense of design	Book of local history and culture Historical Deposition	Can't recall any collection's name except the famous ones	
Works -The night watch -the milkmaid -girl with a pearl earring	Value cultural attraction -would/would not go to a city just for museum -natural sites are similar -rich travel experience	Design -route development -light -underutilization -room arrangement -architecture	Sense of modernity	Local identity -architecture -clothes -activity		
Museum cluster	Not keen on sharing on social	Story -empathy	Language barrier	Classic works		

	media	-solid				
-cultural site (museum oriented) vs.(over) natural…	Quasi profession	Seek novelty -small special museum	Sense of art	Not interested in religion related works		
Fame International reputation	Flexible itinerary	Empathy engagement	European traditional temperament	Renaissance		
		Supportive service -professional staff	cultivate interest			
		Collection itself is most important -Exclusive -symbolic meaning	Wide horizon informative			