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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Hongshen Zhao for the
Master of Arts in Geography presented October 18, 1991.

Title: The Geography of Tourist Hotels in Beijing, China.

APPROVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

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This thesis, utilizing data obtained through the author's working experience and on extensive academic investigation, aims to establish and analyze the locational deficiency of some 100 foreign tourist hotels in Beijing and its origin. To do so, an optimal hotel location is first determined by analysis of social, economic, cultural and environmental features of Beijing in relation to the tourism industry.

Specifically, a standard package tour program of Beijing is established and then analyzed in spatial and

temporal terms, the result of which is further mapped by using a weighted mean center technique. The international tourists and the hotels in which they stay are segregated in space from domestic tourists by the fact that domestic and foreign accommodations are different in affordability, a common phenomenon of tourism in a developing country. Some 70% of foreign tourist hotels in Beijing are remote from tourist attractions, causing unnecessarily long travel time and traffic congestion.

The origin of the locational problem lies in bureaucratic mismanagement in building new hotels in the 1980s. Urban land use practice in Beijing, characterized by arbitrary transfer, neglected the role of differential value of land in locating tourist hotels. The rationale behind the clustering of tourist hotels in the Eastern City relates to the traditional influence of Beijing's commercial center. However, with the rapid growth of international tourism in the last decade, the function of a majority of hotels has undergone fundamental change. The increasing role in tourism requires a shift of location of hotels from the East City to the northwest suburbs. Contrary to the locational economics in free market societies, Beijing's hotel locations have not adjusted to their changing roles.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN BEIJING, CHINA

by

HONGSHEN ZHAO

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
in
GEOGRAPHY

Portland State University
1991

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To my wife Yuhua and son Peng Peng

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I am a native of Beijing, which is in part the reason I took interest in this topic. China Youth Travel Service was where I learned and practiced tourism as a tour guide and interpreter. My thank goes to my hometown that nourished me and to my friends at CYTS of whom I cherish a good memory.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

TOPIC AND PURPOSE

The core of the thesis deals with the locational weakness of some 100 tourist hotels in Beijing, China. The research is significant in the following three respects:

First and foremost, it establishes the locational deficiency of tourist hotels in urban Beijing, with a view towards policy recommendation for hotel land use in the future. So far no research has yet touched on the morphology of Beijing's tourism accommodations that "reflects their holiday function and is shown in their form, structure and land use" (Lavery, 1974, p. 177). Second, the research itself provides a chance to observe 1) various aspects of China's tourism industry: its characteristics, principles, policies, status, conventions, and on-the-spot tour operation in relation to hotel location analysis, and 2) tourism "as a component of the urban fabric" (Wall, Dudycha, & Hutchinson, 1985, p. 603) of Beijing, emphasizing the interaction between tourism and urbanization in the context of China's social transformation and especially urban economic reform in the last decade. Third, this thesis examines two aspects of international tourism in

China: how a developing country's destination builds its tourism facilities and how foreign tourists are accommodated in spatial terms.

The specific objective of this research is three-fold: to establish the locational deficiency of the existing tourist hotels, to investigate the optimal location of tourist hotels (OLTH), and to explain the formation of the locational deficiency from the viewpoint of historical, cultural, urban, economic and tourism geography.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

When Beijing embarked on a program of expanded activities in international tourism in the early 1980s, it had only seven hotels, with 3,345 rooms considered suitable for foreign guests (Beijing Institute of Social and Economic Development, or BISED, 1989, pp. 352-3). In 1999, after a decade of hotel boom, one observer could report that Beijing "has 110 hotels with a total of 40,000 rooms catering to overseas tourists" (Han, September 17-23, 1990, p. 18). "Tourism hardware" (Dai, April 8, 1991, p. 3) as it is termed in China, had indeed increased in terms of hosting capacity, but there were other problems.

Since 1985, when the deficiencies connected with hotel construction were first brought up (Zhou, 1990, p. 33), two hotel weaknesses have been frequently highlighted.

First, hotel supply has outpaced demand, resulting in

low occupancy rates. Based on an 11% annual increase in overseas arrival, International Tourism Reports (ITR) estimates that the average hotel occupancy (AHO) for the city (on 40,000 rooms) would be 26% (1990), 27% (1991), 29% (1992), 31% (1993), and 34% (1994) (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1990, p. 44). The projected AHO for the joint-venture hotels in Beijing alone has recently been estimated to be: 54% (1990), 53% (1991), 49% (1992), 53% (1993), 56% (1994), and 60% (1995) (Tong & Cheung, 1990, p. 19).

Second, the mix of hotels has not matched demand for different classes of accommodations. According to J. Joshua Placa, "there are enough of the five-star and four-star properties, but there is definitely a niche for the three-star hotels" (1988, p. 1). Han Jianguo notes that "Since most of the visitors coming to China belong to middle and lower income strata, they prefer to stay in middle- and economy-grade hotels" (1989, p. 9). The cry has been loud for correctly setting "a proper ratio between high-class, medium, and low-class tourist hotels" in Beijing (Shen, 1987, p. 7).

Closely related to the first and second weaknesses, the third weakness of Beijing's tourist hotels is their inappropriate location in relation to tourism attractions. This is the focus of this thesis. Few critics have examined the location problem of Beijing's tourist hotels.

HYPOTHESIS

In viewing the spatial pattern of tourist hotels against that of typical tourist attractions of Beijing, one discovers that most tourist hotels are clustered at distances away. As a result, travel distance and time for foreign tourists is much longer than needed. Tourists have to spend much valuable time during their limited stays shuttling in tour buses because a significant portion of tour traffic starts out and ends up in the wrong places. I observed, as a tour operator in the Beijing-based China Youth Travel Service (CYTS), that tour groups in some hotels had to spend more travel time than those groups staying in some other hotels. It can be hypothesized that there exists an optimal location of tourist hotels in Beijing that would minimize travel distance between hotels and tour spots.

Identification of such optimal location will facilitate planning the future development of the city through minimizing conflicts with other aspects of urban circulation, as well as enhancing the experiences of international visitors and thereby generating increasing flows of foreign tourists.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN

The method for determining locational deficiency of tourist hotels is to match two locational patterns, one serving as the model and the other representing the actual distribution situation to be evaluated. Both patterns are obtained through sequential analyses of tourists and tourist attractions. The analytical path is illustrated in the flow chart (Figure 1).

ANALYTICAL PATH

To get the model location pattern of tourist hotels, the first step is to develop a standard package tourism program of Beijing (SPTPB) which is, by definition, stable in content. The next is to link these attractions in the SPTPB by constructing a tourism routing network in space. Then a geographical analysis further identifies the routing network in spatial and temporal terms in order to derive an intermediate area that is the optimum location of tourist hotels (OLTH).

It requires several steps to derive the actual locational pattern of the existing hotels. First, it is necessary to sort out domestic and foreign tourist hotels,

Figure 1. Analytical Path of Location Deficiency of Tourist Hotels in Beijing.

which can be achieved through addressing the fact that Chinese and foreign tourists tend to be spatially separated in hotel choice because of affordability. The city's two clustered hotel areas (Figure 2), with 82% of total hotels, are found in its eastern and northwestern parts (Liu & Bai, 1990, p. 236). Then, a comparison of hosting capacities--including number of hotels and rooms, hotel classes (stars), hotel ownership, and other factors--determines the areal hotel gravity center.

To explain the formation of locational deficiency of Beijing's tourist hotels, which is another goal of this research, the causative analysis is based on human ecology: the way the human landscape is arranged reflects the interaction between human activities and the environment over time. "All human landscape has cultural meaning" (Lewis, 1979, p. 12).

That human and physical factors have typically affected hotel building can be observed in three sequential phases of Beijing's urban evolution. From early 1900 to 1949, part of old Beijing, "the classic Chinese city" (Brunn & William, 1983, p. 413), was subjected to foreign colonization that included the emergence of the first modern hotel. Between 1949 and 1980, the urbanization of Beijing featured "a peculiar blend of pragmatism and idealism" (p. 440) and, finally, in the 1980's, the consequences of fundamental economic reform further transformed the city.

Figure 2. Tourist Hotels In Urban Beijing.
Base map: Brunn & William, 1983, p. 443.

QUANTITATIVE TECHNIQUES

Apart from descriptive analysis, I have utilized several geographic quantitative techniques. Statistics concerning tourism activities, numbers and characteristics of tourists, and accommodations are frequently presented in the text. The weighted mean center technique has been selected to determine the optimal location of tourist hotels. The first step is to obtain the mean center of tourist attractions which is

located by a pair coordinates that provide that point which is most typical or representative of the distribution of a large number of points representing some tourism phenomenon. (Smith, 1989, p. 194)

As an arithmetic indicator of spatial equivalence, the mean center "represents an average location, not an average of the characteristics of the phenomena to be found at that location" (Silk, 1978, p. 24).

In practice, there are many actual factors affecting the location of a mean center in the real world; as pointed out by Ebdon, to calculate the mean center one should be aware that various points are "assigned different weights:"

. . . the mean center treats each point as being of equal importance whereas the weighted mean center allows each point to be assigned a weight proportional to its importance. (1977, p. 109)

In the case of the study area in Beijing, the difference of the speed limit between the urban area and the suburbs is significant in altering the mean center, which should be

taken as the weighted mean factor. Meanwhile, in determining the gravity center of Beijing's tourist hotel areas, about nine hotel variables are used in addition to pure location of tourist hotels.

Among the original work presented, the basic part is the design of the standard package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB) by which a stable network of tourist attractions is derived, thus making the establishment of the optimal location of tourist hotels (OLTH) possible. The technique for deriving the OLTH is a spatial and temporal analysis of the SPTPB which is statistical and descriptive in nature. A diagrammatical analysis is also designed to measure the locational efficiency of the optimal hotel location by using a bus trip.

FOCAL POINT

In order to find an effective point to focus on in the study, a locational issue needs to be addressed broadly first in the stage of research design. According to the "spatial decomposition" process (Muehrcke & Muehrcke, 1986, p. 240), location is just a "basic element" of the spatial relations in a given destination. In other words, a locational issue is significant only when it is viewed in association with a set of spatial relations. From the point of view of tourists, these spatial relations refer to travel from home to a destination and travel within the

destination. Focusing on the latter, "an extension of the trip from home" (Kaiser & Helber, 1978, p. 145), this study mainly concerns travel between hotel and tourist attractions within greater Beijing.

Such travel is critical in evaluating the locational efficiency of tourist hotels. In essence, the logic behind tourism travel is rather simple: tourism travel requires time, but the length of paid vacation is always limited. Therefore, to shorten the time spent in travel by tourists becomes significant in enhancing tourism experience. The question now is: how to reduce tourism travel. As the formula

$$\text{time (t)} \times \text{speed (s)} = \text{distance (d)}$$

implies, there are several alternatives: increasing speed (*s*), increasing time (*t*), combining the two, or decreasing distance (*d*) itself.

Specifically, given *t*, *d* can be shortened if *s* is increased. In big cities (such as Beijing), speed has a role to play, bus speed being somewhat accelerated to reduce the time. But *s* cannot be counted on, largely because speed limits have been strictly enforced. Even though *s* works, it is an unstable contribution to the resolution. Given *s*, on the other hand, a longer *t* may relatively shorten the distance. But this option is extremely impractical because

travel time (t) is more important than anything else in a destination. "As tourism spans greater distances, travel time (often to a greater degree than money) generally becomes the controlling factor" (Kaiser & Helber, 1978, p. 145).

As indicated, only the distance variable tends to be static, safer, and more influential in cutting travel time. Once d is shortened, t can be lowered without any need to increase s . To go a step further, if a portion of travel distance were eliminated, there would be no need to bother about time and speed in the first place. So, cutting distance is the best solution to the problem of travel efficiency. In return, to allow tourists to travel efficiently, a hotel location should be able to cut back unnecessary travel distance. If places of origin and destination between which travel takes place, are located a reasonable distance from each other, tourism travel will be minimized. This is how shortening travel distance between hotel and tourist destinations becomes the focal point in this research.

DATA

Three basic sets of data support the research: hotel information (location, rooms, ownership, year of building, and classes or stars), tourist counts, and profiles of tourist attractions (mainly their locations). The first set

is more substantial and extensive in quantity and variety and represents much of my effort in data collection; the other two sets are smaller and relatively straightforward. Explanations about some data are needed.

The analysis uses a series of counts of overseas tourists. In most cases, this data is "a rough 'tourist' count including business, leisure and VFR arrivals" (EIU, 1990, p. 34). It does not provide a statistical basis for sorting out tourists based on purpose of stay. With regard to the division of arrivals, Murray Bailey and Jill Hunt from The Asia Travel Trade estimate empirically that about 50% of foreign arrivals are on business and the remaining 50% are on leisure (1986, p. 28). In contrast, data on Chinese domestic tourist counts tend to be sorted by purpose of travel, making analysis much easier.

With regard to the variable of hotel ownership, China-foreign joint-venture ownership implies--though not necessarily in all cases--better service, better management, and higher star ranking, representing a useful identifier of hotels catering to tourists. Although

there is no credible NTA [National Tourism Administration, the official name should be General Administration of Travel and Tourism, or GATT] count of hotels run by foreign management groups at present (Bailey & Hunt, p. 40),

various other channels, Chinese and foreign, furnish data in this respect.

No official Chinese hotel source is currently available with updated hotel information for this research. Even otherwise authoritative travel guide book authors find themselves unable to keep pace with developments beyond briefly mentioning estimations. But the fragmentary information gained from reading news reports, articles, and even advertisements in Ren min ri bao (People's Daily) (overseas edition) has been very useful. Hotel information is listed in Appendix A: The Inventory of Hotels in Beijing.

Fortunately, to gather data has not been very difficult, mainly because hotel information is contained in a variety of guidebooks or other travel literature. In most cases, I have used chapters about Beijing in general guidebooks on China and specialized guidebooks on Beijing. Some influential travel guides, for example Kaplan's China Travel Guide Book, constitute more than one source because they are updated every year.

To analyze the locational issue of Beijing's tourist hotels, many other sources provide insights into the topic. In this respect, the overseas edition of China's official Ren min ri bao (Chinese ed.) and Beijing Review (English ed.) are particularly useful Chinese sources. China Business Review and China Market are Hong Kong-based magazines that generally represent Chinese thinking because many of their contributors are natives of China.

In addition to basic statistics and analyses of hotels

and attractions, I have employed tourism research theories and findings from both Chinese and Western sources, paying attention to both early and contemporary works: The Geography of International Tourism by Ian M. Matley, Tourism Analysis by Stephen L. J. Smith, A Geography of Tourism by H. Robinson, D. Pearce's Tourist Development, Geography in America edited by Gary L. Gail and Cort J. Willmott, Linda K. Ritcher's The Politics of Tourism in Asia, Chinese Geography and Environment (a journal of translation), and some other articles found in The Annals of Tourism Research. Among writings by Chinese scholars is a piece by Hou Renzhi, a well-known Chinese historical geographer at Beijing University. A recently-obtained book--Bei jing de lu you fa zhan zhan lue (The Strategy of Tourism Development in Beijing)--presents a wide range of research conclusions concerning the Beijing tourism industry. The book was compiled by the Beijing Institute of Social and Economic Development (BISED). Contributors include professors from Geography Departments of Beijing University and Beijing Normal University; others are research fellows from national or municipal urban planning and environmental agencies. It should be said that this book is a particularly authoritative source on Beijing tourism development.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Tourism geography is a "growing" academic area (Pearce, 1991, p. 4). To present a general picture of this body of knowledge, I first review the literature concerning the definition of tourism geography, its research topics, and challenges and then examine more specifically literature on hotel location.

TOURISM GEOGRAPHY

Definition

A definition of tourism geography had not yet solidly been formed by 1989, according to the influential Geography in America (Gaile & Willmont, 1989). Tourism geography has been seen as part of a broader geography of creation, defined as

all phenomena related to the experiences and processes involved in the use of leisure time. No individual or group has defined the three general topics under which recreation geographers function--recreation, tourism, and sport. (Mitchell & Smith, 1990, pp. 387-8)

Actually, leisure geography is also somewhat incorporated to the discussion.

Recreation is closely related to leisure. Briefly, if leisure is taken to mean time in which activities (or inactivity) consciously decided

upon are undertaken, then the relation of recreation and leisure is very close. (Clawson & Jack, 1966, p. 7)

As H. Robison points out in discussing interrelations among the three, both tourism and recreation take leisure as the precondition of their existence.

Holiday-making and tourism are, of course, only a part of the much wider field of leisure. Holiday-making and tourism cannot be indulged in unless one has the leisure or available time for its pursuit. (Robinson, 1976, p. 18).

The specific differences among tourism, recreation, and leisure geography are, if any, more in degree than in kind, because three types of activity are pursued for pleasure, covering five stages of a recreation experience: (1) "anticipation including plan," (2) travel to the "actual site," (3) "on-site experience," (4) travel back home, and (5) recall of the experience (Robinson, pp. 33-5). "In many ways, the whole outdoor recreation experience is a package deal" (Robinson, p. 35).

With regard to the relative immaturity of tourism geography, part of the reasons lies in the fact that its history dates back only 60 years, beginning in 1930 when K. C. McMurtry published the article "The Use of Land for Recreation" (Mitchell & Smith, 1990, p. 387). This was a historic piece "publicly recognized by the international geographical circle to be the first essay on tourism geography" (Pang, 1990, p. 2). Smith complains that "there is still no single accepted operational definition for

'tourism' and traveller" (1989, p. 17).

Tourism study has not reached the point where a "cohesive body of knowledge" gives it definition as a cross-disciplinary field; as a "specialized sub-discipline" in geography, economics, management, sociology, anthropology and other disciplines, it is still in the formative stage (Pearce, 1991, p. 4).

Tourism and Geography

Tourism overlaps several disciplines. Ian M. Matley notes the close ties of tourism and geography in his The Geography of International Tourism:

The subject of tourism lends itself ideally to geographical analysis. There is scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications and there are few branches of geography which do not have some contribution to make to the study of the phenomenon of tourism. (1976, p. 5)

To be more specific, according to Charles Stansfield, economic geographers have much to say about locational aspects of tourist facilities regarding movements of tourists, routes of transportation and other aspects of spatial organization. Urban geographers find much of interest in the relatively virgin field of urban and resort tourism (1971, pp. 164-166). Besides,

a cultural geographer also has much to contribute to analyzing the historical and cultural attractions of urban centers, as well as to assessing the importance of historical, ethnic, and religious factors in the location of tourist attractions. (Matley, 1976, p. 5)

Many scholars tend to interpret tourism geography from various schools of "inside knowledge" (Coppock, 1987, p. 223). Michell and Murphy point out the "unique" role geography plays to the study of tourism from the perspective of disciplinary priority.

No other discipline concentrates on the question pertaining to the location of tourism phenomena. The "where" questions tend to be ignored or assumed away by most other disciplines and thus geographers make unique contributions to the research frontier. (1991, p. 59)

Stephen L. Smith summarizes the characteristics of tourism geography from the scope of geography itself, indicating that "tourism implies travel from one place to another. The movement of people in space means that tourism is fundamentally a geographic phenomenon" (1989, p. 11). He also described tourism geography as:

movement in space, the sense of place, the effects of tourism activity on the environment, and the structure of networks, landscapes, and regions are part of geographer's stock-in-trade and should be integral aspects of tourism analysis. (1987, p. 255).

Robinson regards two out of six outdoor recreation elements ("variables") that "are of interest above all others" to geographers: "*distance*" and "*mobility*" (1976, p. 19).

Another approach is based on human or social needs for leisure. Cosgrove and Jackson pointed out that

If people spend as much time at leisure as they do at work, then the study of the distribution of recreational behavior as an economic activity is as important to geography as the study of coalmining. (1972, p. 13)

Topics and Research

Pearce identified six broad topic areas in 1979 as constituting the major components of the geography of tourism:

spatial patterns of supply, spatial patterns of demand, the geography of resorts, the analysis of tourist movements and flows, the impact of tourism and models of tourist space. (1989, pp. 4-5)

In terms of regional analysis, tourism geography consists of five sectors that could become the skeleton of research:

In terms of the tourist's destination, these [the travel and stay attributes] can be grouped into five broad sectors: attractions, transport, accommodation, supportive facilities and infrastructure. (Pearce, 1991, p. 2)

In addition, Michell and Murphy generalize, based on their potential implications for tourism development and theory, four geographic research perspectives or "considerations" (1991, p. 59). The environmental perspective considers the environment as a "totality" of tourism activity, "incorporating natural elements and society's modifications of the landscape and environment." The regional perspective emphasizes "the significance of place identity." The spatial consideration is based on the fact that "tourism involves travel." The evolutionary view calls for a "broader temporal view of tourism development."

Research levels vary from country to country, and, as Coppock states, to identify the contributions of research is "not easy because of the 'multi-disciplinary' nature of the

leisure field" (1987, p. 223).

"China has just started its tourism research" (Yang & Jiang, 1985, p. 4). On the one hand, some progress has been made in the study of tourism: to meet the teaching needs of universities and colleges, three general books and two textbooks on tourism geography have been published. These include Zhong guo lu you di li (Tourism Geography of China) by Pang Guiquan (1990) and Lu You gai lun (An Introduction to Tourism) by Yang Shijin and Jiang Xinmao (1989). More and more research essays and popular science articles have appeared (Chen, 1990, p. 1). On the other hand, the need for more research on applied projects, such as the weaknesses of Beijing's tourist hotels, is self-evident. So far I have not found any similar research by Chinese geographers on the locational deficiency of Beijing's tourist hotels.

In the developed countries, tourism research is somewhat more advanced, but has tended to be uneven:

One of the most characteristic features of the development of the geography of international tourism has been that it has rested almost exclusively in the hands of European geographers. (Matley, 1976, p. 4)

This situation may have changed since the statement was made 15 years ago, but it shows how wide the gap used to be. Today, "by almost any measure, recreation geography is flourishing" (Mitchell & Smith, 1988, p. 402) in North America. However, much remains to be done because

"recreation geography and recreation geographers make up a small proportion of the total number of disciplines and individuals making contributions" (p. 400).

The major barrier is the lack of easily accessible databases, resulting in subject-matter diversity (p. 403). Another barrier, or bias, is that tourism geographers from the developed countries tend to focus more on tourism issues in the developed countries than in developing countries.

Literature on China's tourism--"the last frontier of tourism" (Oudiette, 1990, p. 123)--particularly on tourism geography researched by Western tourism geographers, appears to be limited. Taking The Annals of Tourism Research for instance, there have been only two articles on China's tourism published in it over the last decade--"The political evolution of Chinese tourism policy" by Linda K. Richter (1983) and "International tourism in China" by Virginie Oudiette (1990). Both are more from the perspective of political science than from geography. In general, American geographic research on China has been dominated by "population and urban studies" (Karan, Shrestha, Dickason, Hafner, Oshiro, & Al-Khameri, 1989, pp. 510-1), even though tourism can be related to the realm of urban study. One may ask why this is so.

Tourism in China has not been "an easy one to investigate" (Richter, 1989, p. 23) because China "remains a closed society with information other societies consider

totally innocuous treated as neibu (restricted materials)
 Chinese tourism policy is in a considerable state
 of flux, making it difficult for researchers."

From 1985 to 1990, however, China has "considerably
 improved" (EIU, 1990, p. 24) its level in tourism data
 collection and publication. According to International
 Tourism Reports (ITA),

The first Yearbook of China's Tourism Statistics
 was published by the NTA in 1985, demonstrating a
 genuine attempt to present the kind of travel
 statistics which the more developed destinations
 routinely published. Till then, there was clear
 official reluctance to reveal even the most basic
 figures. This was in part merely the approach to
 information dissemination in general in China, but
 in some cases it was simply that the information
 did not exist. (EIU, 1990, p. 24)

The basic guarantee about this development is that
 China has pledged time and again that she will not close the
 door to the outside world once it is opened up; the policy-
 makers in China's tourism industry have been "fully aware"
 of the need to standardize China's tourism in international
 level (Dai, April 8, 1991, p. 3).

Broadly, several research aspects of tourism geography
 need greater attention in the years ahead. According to
 Mitchell and Smith, investigations are required to:

emphasize issue-driven research as a top priority.
 . . . Apply traditional geographic concepts and
 models more fully and more often to research
 efforts. . . . Further develop basic
 understandings through an increased emphasis on
 patterns and processes. . . . Examine the
 implications for recreation, tourism, and sport on
 changing demographics and economic structure. .
 . . Provide greater spatial insight into

environmental, social, and economic impact studies. . . Study the needs of special groups in the population. (1988, p. 404)

It must be pointed out that these research aspects are essential but may not necessarily reflect the practical needs of tourism geographers in the developing countries.

LOCATIONAL THEORIES OF TOURIST HOTELS

With regard to the availability of literature in this particular area, "there is little published research on site-selection, principles and procedures in tourism," observed by Stephen L. J. Smith (1989, p. 132). Although this might be still the case of today, efforts have been made to gather as much information as possible. Incidentally, all the location theories and models to be reviewed have been selected only on the basis of their potential implications for the issue of tourism hotel location. In practice, theories and models are of "limited utility to site-selection problem because too many variables and issues are assumed away" (p. 135).

The Economics of Hotel Location

Land-use economics as applied here is market-economy-oriented--the bottom line theory governing this research. (But it does not necessarily mean that planning economy cannot adopt it.) In this regard, as Smith points out, "classical location theory is usually traced back to the work of von Thunen" (1989, p. 133).

How does von Thunen's model underlie tourist hotel location, which was originally used to explain land-use economics of agricultural production? The focus of von Thunen's location model was shifted in 1930 "from rural land-use pattern to urban development and industrial lands" (p. 134). The major "modification" of his model was "the replacement of his central market-place with a localized resource used by some particular industry." This progress, according to Smith, was noticed by Ohlin B. in 1935 in his book Interregional and international trade. Even though there are now various versions of von Thunen's model and "this line of enquiry" has become much more complex, "the central role of transportation in determining land uses has been seminal." It is in this sense that von Thunen's location theory can shed light on the economics of tourist hotel location.

Given the same presumptive value as von Thunen's model, the urban city is monocentric with only one "market place" at the center of the city and one "farm producer" or "firm" to be the supplier (Dicken & Lloyd, 1990, p. 18). In the tourism version, I replace the market place by a tourist destination and substitute for the producer a hotel (TABLE I), simply because, in the analogue sense, a tourist attraction is supposed to be served by a tourist hotel rather than the other way around. Tourist accommodation is an integral part of the total tourism product, it is not,

however, "the reason for a tourist choosing to visit a particular destination" (Goodall, 1989, p. 78).

TABLE I

ROLE CONVERSION: APPLICATION OF VON THUNEN'S TRADITIONAL LOCATION MODEL TO TOURISM

TYPE	traditional version	tourism version
supply	farming land	hotel
demand	market place	tour attraction

The role transfer being established, the travel distance between hotel and destination is therefore governed by the "invisible hand" of spatial economics as illustrated.

As Dicken and Lloyd explain the location economics of the traditional version of von Thunen's model:

the market price is the price received by the farmer when he sells his product at the market. His net return is this price less his costs of production and the cost of transporting his product from his farm to the market. As production costs are assumed to be the same everywhere, the only factor that can influence the farmer's net return is the cost of transportation. (1990, p. 53)

The conclusion applicable to tourism is that a farmer's higher net return is determined through reduced transport costs (Rutherford, Logan, & Missen, 1967, p. 45). Von Thunen's model implies that the shorter the distance a farm is from the market place, the less the transportation cost becomes, or, to put it differently, the more benefits a farmer gains. In locational terms, therefore,

the greatest advantage belongs to land immediately adjacent to the market center, and the advantage declines as distance from the market increases. (Dicken & Lloyd, 1990, p. 53)

In the case of tourism, a hotel closer to a tourist destination will have higher locational advantage than more distant hotels because a tourist will save travel time. Ultimately, "reductions in transport cost (in this case, transport of the consumer) may radically alter the competitiveness of a product" (Coppock, 1987, p. 66).

In explaining the economics of spatial interaction, some other geographical models or systems are also found useful. One of the three bases influencing transportation and interaction developed by Ullman, is "transferability" (Robinson, 1976, p. 97), that is, "if transfer costs, in time and money, exceed the ability and willingness to pay, then interchange will be prevented." Although this principle appears more obvious when evaluating long-distance travel, the essence underlying travel remains the same within a destination, because the length of time at one's disposal, like the cost of a journey, tends to be a highly-controlled factor in either case.

The gravity model has been modified to "accommodate several stops on circuitous trips and to include visits to nearby destinations" (Michell & Murphy, 1991, p. 63). It was found that physical, operational, cultural, and climate variables "account for certain travel pattern, but did not conform to the distance decay function of the gravity

model." A new variable to modify the gravity model used in this research is speed difference between traveling in urban and suburban areas. The higher the travel speed, the more the physical distance shrinks; the lower the travel speed, the longer the time-distance becomes. This effect is significant in analyzing the standard package tour program (SPTP) in spatial and temporal terms as discussed later.

Land Use Practice in China

Does von Thunen's location model work in China? Are some locational elements under the market system appreciated in China? Again, this is a key question involved in understanding of hotel location issue.

The traditional view of China's land use can be typically seen in the following comparison between Western countries and China. In Cities of East Asia edited by S. Brunn and J. Williams, A. K. Dutt said that

In the West, especially in the United States, urban land use in the West is determined by the interplay of private and public interests, with distance and access to transportation routes playing major roles. All of these forces are modified in varying degrees by zoning restrictions and land use codes. None of this exists in China, where the city government has virtually absolute power over allocation of land use. (1983, p. 442).

Several essays on China's land use theories more or less confirm this view. Ye Yaoxian, a Chinese contributor, published "Lun tu di de you chang shi yong" (On the use of urban land with compensation) in Ren min ri bao (February 11, 1988, p. 2). He put forward the view that 1) "urban

land is a kind of natural resources with [economic] value,"
 2) the existing urban land control system in China has seven weaknesses, and 3) seven measures are suggested on how to implement the new use of urban land with cost.

His first point represents a reformative thought in land use theory in China of 1980's as against the fact that traditionally land had not been regarded as a commodity for circulation as formulated by The Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Adopted on December 4, 1982, Article 10 on "General Principles" under Chapter I of The Constitution states that,

Land in the cities is owned by the state
 No organization or individual may appropriate, buy, sell or lease land or otherwise engage in the transfer of land by unlawful means. All organizations or individuals using land must ensure its rational use. (Encyclopedia of New China, 1987, p. 689)

He further points out that the present control system of land that is mandatory-allocation, free of cost, and not subject to term constraints has seriously discouraged urban economic vitality.

According to Ye, the main weaknesses of the existing land control system in China are that: (1) differential land income has not been collected; urban construction has lost an important source of funding for urban development; (2) as a result of using land without compensation, land use in urban cities, especially in downtown areas, has been extremely irrational (this point relates to the locational

issue under discussion); (3) the existing urban infrastructure cannot be fully utilized; (4) it creates difficulties for making and implementing a master urban plan for further development; and (5) land cannot circulate for more profits.

Among proposals to mend such faults, Ye suggests that in special economic zones and economic and technology development zones the transfer of land use rights should be compensative. Theory and practice in land use are undergoing reform in China, although more debates are required on how to develop a theory and measures catering to China's distinctive state situation.

While introducing western theories and models and evaluating China's weaknesses in this regard, Chinese scholars have not implied that the western land system is perfect.

In most economically advanced nations the confusing spatial growth patterns of cities have been attributed to individual freedom to own land and use land as a commodity, and to speculate in land for lucrative financial gain. (Fung, 1981, p. 194)

Both theory and practice suggest that a mixed land use system would be a better solution to China's urban land problem. This would minimize "a common problem in many industrial countries" of urban sprawl that, locationally, includes low density housing, ribbon development, and leaf-frog development (p. 194).

Locating a Tourist Hotel Region

Obviously, in von Thunen's model "it is physically impossible for all farmers to occupy the central locations" (Rutherford, et al, 1967, p. 45). Likewise, tourist hotels cannot all be piled up at the optimal location to enjoy its relative advantage. Hotels' dispersion in space becomes inevitable. It is possible, however, to place a number of hotels closer to the optimal hotel location. This lends itself to the idea of a "tourist hotel region." A clustering of hotels on a site minimizing travel distance is being particularly significant to a big city like Beijing.

In fact, what merits more attention is determining how to properly design and build a tourist hotel region in space. The principle of this locational process is to realize "the harmony required between the various elements of the travel plan, the local environment, and infrastructure" (McIntosh & Goldner, 1986, p. 316).

In Tourism Planning, Smith (1989) suggests some practical ways to harmonize various factors in the course of locating a tourism hotel region:

by examining patterns of personal travel. . . .
There is a close, interdependent relationship between spatial structure and movement patterns within a spatial system. If you can identify the movement of commodities or people for a particular activity within a spatial system, such as an urban area, you can deduce (in theory, at least) some understanding of the structure of that system.
(Smith, 1989, p. 183)

Relating to the decision-making of hotel location, McIntosh

and Goldner note that

before any investment in hotels and similar lodging facilities is made, the traveling and vacation habits of the prospective guests should be studied to tailor the facilities to the requirements and desires of guests. This is extremely important and conforms to the "market orientation" concept in which major decisions on investment begin with the desires of the potential customers (McIntosh & Goldner, 1986, p. 316).

Kaiser and Helber say the same thing but in different words:

"The site allocations should follow the pattern of utilization needed to support the logical, anticipated activities of visitors" (1978, pp. 85-86). The key point of locating a tourism hotel region is to study "travelling and vacation habits" so as to find out "logical" and "anticipated" implications of tourism activities in a given destination (Ibid).

Standard Package Tour Program (SPTP)

A tourist attraction in the context of this research is better defined "as an empirical relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight*, and a *marker*-a piece of information about a sight (MacCannell, 1976, 41). Generally speaking, the study of attractions has been "limited to specific forms of tourism or types of recreational facilities" (Pearce, 1988, p. 118) with "little attempt to incorporate these analyses into a broader examination of tourism as a whole." Neil Peiper further indicated:

Despite the fact that the literature on tourism frequently mentions attractions, the treatment is

usually less detailed than given to other topics. Moreover, the treatments given attractions in much of the literature often lack scientific qualities. (1990, p. 368)

Some literature mentions the idea of patternizing tourism activities in one way or another, but the ultimate purpose of such efforts seems to be concern for tourists' operational benefits, or second-hand effects. In other words, a patterned tourism program has not been applied to the locational design of tourist facilities, such as hotels. P. C. Forer, D. G. Pearce, and M. C. Elliot have suggested constructing "the travel pattern of circuit tourism" (Michell & Murphy, 1991, p. 63) which is "a form of time-geography, where the tourists seek to maximize the benefits of travel subject to the constraints of time and money."

As far as the methodology of constructing a standard package tour program (SPTP) is concerned, some examples are constructive in terms of their quantitative nature. In New Zealand, coach tour package travel patterns identified "gateway centers and a hierarchy of attractions based on their differing lengths of stay." Pearce and Elliot both came up with a trip index which "provides a gauge of the relative time spent at a particular destination during circuit tours" (Michell & Murphy, 1990, p. 63-64). Although a trip index is used only "to differentiate between day-trip and stopover destination, and between short and long stay destinations" (p. 64), it touches on the idea of designing an optimal tour plan by timing a tourism program.

To define a tourism package is a complex task. One must consider regional differences, identify the nature of tourist destinations, consider the form of travel, determine the length of stay, and assess tourists themselves. A tourist destination in a developed country can be different from one in a developing country in terms of tourism management, governmental policies, and other elements. A world-class historical city differs from a small commercial city in which tourist activities may be less focused and less generalized. Domestic tourists and inbound tourists may not appreciate the same itinerary, thus creating a different flow pattern of tourists in the destination.

Combining tourism theory with his first-hand experience in operating day-to-day tour programs, the author suggests three points for constructing a SPTP to provide a spatial reference to optimal hotel location: 1) finding the Central Place of a tour destination, 2) determining the frequently-visited attractions within the given destination, and 3) characterizing these items more specifically in spatial and temporal terms.

Smith states that Walter Christaller's Central Place theory "has had little to contribute to tourism research" (1989, p. 134). However, it is this author's contention that it has in fact a theoretical role to play in any study involving selection of attractions for overseas tourists.

According to Christaller, goods and services are

logically arranged in a central place:

The central places would be arranged in a very precise manner both vertically (in terms of their relative importance or 'pecking order') and horizontally (in terms of their relative location). (Dicken & Lloyd, 1990, p. 25)

This concept is applicable to a tourism destination because "tourist resources are in principle no different from any others [goods]; one may market that for which there is an existing demand" (Cosgrove & Jackson, 1972, p. 13).

Theoretically, the spatial extent

varies from one good to another, being most extensive for high-order goods (generally those of high value that are purchased relatively infrequently). (Dicken & Lloyd, 1990, p. 38)

It follows that the higher a tourism good or service ranks in a destination, the wider the service area or central place of the given tour destination becomes. The market area of an international tourism destination is far beyond the border of the country in which this destination is located. To conceptualize a SPTP catering to international tourists, one needs to identify high-order visits within the destination. The main body of a SPTP, proportionally, should consist of higher-order attractions with only some medium- and lower-order-visits.

Apart from spatial analysis, a SPTP should be further sharpened in temporal terms by analysis of conventional tour schedules. For instance, one day's trip is usually divided between two destinations, morning and afternoon, with a lunch in between. As always, such a division has temporal

and spatial aspects, which form the theoretical basis for analyzing the hierarchical composition of the SPTP.

ACCOMMODATIONS LOCATION

Accommodations are vital in a set of spatial relations in tourism, because they "are used by the same users repeatedly over entire vacation or business trip periods" (Gunn, 1988, p. 113). Also "the distribution of accommodation is the most widely used measure of spatial variations in the tourist industry" (Pearce, 1988, p. 113). Since a tourist usually stays in one hotel and visits more than one attraction in a destination, the hotel begins and ends a day's trip, and the same is true for the entire duration of a stay. The hotel is the hub of a tourist travel network within a destination. Also importantly, hotels "must be properly placed in the regional plan," for, as McIntosh and Goldner point out, "hotels are permanent structures and grace the landscape for a long time" (1986, pp. 313-315). A further discussion of several other aspects of the hotel location issue follows.

Economics-based Grouping

To identify whether a hotel is properly located, J. C. Liu and T. Var use an economic approach. To study the locational aspect of the lodging industry in Victoria, B.C., according to The Use of Lodging Ratios in Tourism, they use standard accounting procedures to identify and classify the

roles of hotels. The higher the quantity of a hotel's business transactions is with other services, the better is its location. Their analysis provides guidelines for planning the location of hotels (1980, pp. 406-427). Their approach is instructive because it does not simply rely upon relative hotel location, which may not be linear in areas with irregular terrain, such as a mountainous city, a city on the bend of a river, etc. Following Liu and Var's example, to identify the optimal hotel location, I therefore use, in addition to physical location, hotel rooms, classes or stars, and ownership.

Destination Perspective

In a destination like Beijing, Shen calls for keeping the proportions of high and low hotel class at a reasonable rate:

Spain, known as the 'Kingdom of tourism,' has over 3,000 hotels below the three-star level, but has fewer than 100 luxurious hotel. The proportion of luxurious hotels in Britain is less than 10 per cent of the total number of hotels . . . Internationally, the proportion is kept at 10 percent for high-class hotels, 40 percent for medium, and 50 percent for low-class ones. (1987, p. 6)

Purposely-built hotels and accommodations for the exclusive use of holidaymakers" (p. 82) was mentioned by Goodall, whose concept matches the distinction between business hotels and tourists hotels that I have used to analyze the function-location relation. In this regard, Pearce reminds us of the fact that

it should be borne in mind, particularly in interpreting distribution patterns, that not all accommodation is directed at or used by tourists, in the sense of those travelling primarily for pleasure purposes. (1988, p. 114)

Goodall also introduces the concept of "new tourism," pointing out that

mass tourism of the 1970s and 1980s is being rejected: tourists no longer want en masse, standardized and rigidly packaged holidays; instead they want 'designer product,' i. e. customized holidays which provide them with authentic tourism experiences and cater for individual demands more closely. (p. 89)

Although the new concept has been felt in China in terms of accommodating more FITs (foreign individual tourists), "new tourism" seems more suitable for developed countries than for developing countries, where conditions do not allow for individual design of tour programs. As indicated earlier, group-packaged tours still dominate in China.

Significance

The significance of locating tourist hotels properly is multi-fold. Although a clustered hotel area is different from a "tourism region," they share a host of similarities. Commenting on the "tourism region," or "tourist enclave," Pearce writes:

Firstly, scale economics in infrastructural provision can be achieved by concentrating development in a limited number of areas. This can be a significant factor in any new area and in developing countries in particular where infrastructure deficiencies may be severe. (1991, p. 95)

He adds,

enclaves may be consciously promoted by planners and governments as a means of limiting contacts between residents and tourists in order to reduce the social and cultural pollution of the latter. Thirdly, market forces draw developers to a limited number of sites with the concentration of tourist plants promoting a stronger image in more distant markets.

In summary, the advantages of a tourist hotel region are saving of infrastructural funds, freedom from negative social impacts (community confrontation), and building of a stronger image, of which the first two seem directly related to this research. One way to look at social impacts of a tourism hotel region is from the perspective of the urban traffic system, a viewpoint I will adopt in the chapters ahead.

Until now, most literature on the concept of the tourism hotel region has been on the pro-side. On the negative side,

one consideration in planning is intelligent spacing of hotels in a given area. Hotels spaced too close together tend to have a mutual value-reducing effect. Views are cut off, and structures are lowered in value. (McIntosh & Goldner, 1986, pp. 313-315)

Here, avoiding excessive hotel concentration merits attention. In fact, when curtailing travel distance between hotel and attraction is suggested, it does not mean that no existing hotels are reasonably located, nor that all hotels should be piled up in the same optimal area without logical spacing.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOCATIONAL PATTERN OF TOURIST HOTELS IN BEIJING

This chapter describes how tourist hotels are arranged spatially in Beijing as a prelude to evaluation of hotel locational efficiency. From the viewpoint of human ecology, a given type of spatial pattern of landscape is the product of interactions between human beings and the environments they live in. "All of society's attitude and priorities are displayed in the landscape" (Knowles, 1983, 6). To study the locational pattern of tourist hotels, it is necessary to first study tourists in terms of their "behaviors" displayed in space through selecting hotels. The analysis employs two approaches: description and visual identification.

TOURIST PROFILES AND SPATIAL SEPARATION

Two Categories of Tourists and Hotels

Tourists are separated in space in Beijing. Tourist, as a general term, refers to both Chinese and foreign tourists. In Beijing (as well as in China as a whole), the division between them is remarkably spatial. These two categories of tourists and their locational patterns in the form of hotel selection are the main concern of this chapter.

Chinese domestic tourists are often called neibin in Chinese, meaning "the guests from within [China]." Foreign tourists, on the other hand, are highlighted as waibin for the fact that they are "the guests from outside [China]." Hotels in Beijing correspondingly are divided into two categories: hotels catering to foreign tourists and those designated to serve domestic tourists.

The foreign tourist hotels meet at least conventional standards for hosting international tourists "largely as a result of foreign run joint venture hotels which have brought world class facilities and international management practice to China" (EIU, 1990, No. 3, p. 40). The best of them are five-star hotel properties, most of which are also Chinese-foreign joint venture projects. Beijing tourism authorities designated ninety-seven foreign tourist hotels on October 15, 1987 (BISED, 1989, p. 364). In space (Figure 2), tourist hotels mainly cluster in two areas within the city: Eastern and Northwestern Beijing. Obviously, the Eastern City has more tourist hotels than the Western area.

The term "domestic hotel," on the other hand, refers to those that have not been designated to host foreigners because of their lower quality of facilities. Domestic accommodations include some small or medium hotels (lu guan), hostels and inns (lu dian), dorms (su she), and public bath houses (yu chi) which usually offer their bed facilities for overnight tourists between 10 p.m. and early

the following morning. Numbering 3,564 (Liu & Bai, 1989, p. 236), separated accommodations of various types for domestic tourists, being "plainer and more rustic than those for foreigners" (Richter, 1989, p. 37), are spread all over the city without any strong tendency toward clustering.

Affordability and Spatial Separation

Affordability is the key factor accounting for the segregation of foreign and domestic tourists. The ability of domestic tourists to afford accommodations in Beijing is unlikely to change within a short period of time. In 1987, the average daily rent for a standard tourist room in a joint venture tourist hotel was 115.5 yuan (equivalent to \$21.8 based on the exchange rate of July 6, 1991) per tourist bednight (Han, 1989, p. 9). This is almost as much as the average monthly wage of a skilled Chinese worker. The starting rent for a room in an inn for ordinary Chinese, however, is just about five yuan (\$0.933) per tourist bednight. The separation through hotel choice is fundamentally a matter of affordability.

Table II and Table III present results of a survey done in 1985 by teachers and students from the Beijing Institute of Tourism. Hotel preference is obvious. The more expensive the room rate is, the fewer Chinese tourists who are able or willing to pay to stay. The study shows that only 2.14% (Table II) Chinese tourists preferred to stay in tourist hotels, while the rest tend to stay in small and

TABLE II

THE CHOICE OF ACCOMMODATIONS BY DOMESTIC TOURISTS IN BEIJING
(IN PERCENTAGE)

visit type	tourist hotels	hotels (inns)	hostels (inner)	bath house	private homes	camping
business	2.95	37.09	52.54	1.12	5.18	1.12
conference	4.87	30.66	58.48	0.57	3.72	1.72
home visit	1.18	11.37	15.29	0.39	70.98	0.78
marriage	1.67	43.89	22.22	1.67	28.89	1.67
study	1.23	25.06	64.20	0.74	7.04	1.37
shopping	0.63	39.25	36.08	3.16	14.56	6.33
tour	1.65	43.03	32.45	2.23	18.87	1.76
medical	0	27.47	39.56	3.30	28.57	1.10
total	2.14	36.06	45.13	1.39	13.68	1.60

Source: Xing and Wu, 1989, p. 116.

medium hotels (36.06%) and hostels (45.13%). Xing and Wu note that

due to lower level of consumption, domestic tourists prefer, in most cases, to put up with the greater uncomfortableness of simple hotel facilities in order to cut back financial expense as much as possible. (1989, p. 115)

TABLE III
SUBJECTIVE CHOICE OF ACCOMMODATIONS

visit	=< 5 y/b/n	5-8 y/b/n	8-15 y/b/n	=> 15 y/b/n
business	60.66	30.46	6.58	2.30
conference	49.96	40.29	9.86	2.90
home visit	74.65	17.51	1.84	5.99
marriage	55.26	34.21	4.74	5.79
study	67.00	26.82	3.83	2.35
shopping	68.99	27.85	3.16	0.00
tour	74.17	18.01	5.04	2.78
medical	86.52	11.24	1.12	1.12
total	65.78	25.84	5.74	2.65

yuan: Chinese currency

\$1 = 5.73 yuan (based on the exchange rate on June 6, 1991)

y/b/n: yuan/bed/night

Source: Xing and Wu, 1989, p. 116.

Table III indicates that 65.78% of domestic tourists chose to pay the lowest room rent (five yuan), while only 2.65% tourists would pay more than 15 yuan/bed/night. Considering the fact that the rate range beyond the threshold of 15 yuan/bed/night is very wide, one can assume that the higher the room rent becomes, the fewer the domestic tourists able to pay it. The percentage of those

able to pay to stay in tourist hotels is somewhat lower than 2.65% indicating preference. The 2.14% as shown in Table II appears to support this assumption. However, nobody knows for sure who actually ends up paying the room bills for those 2.14% of domestic tourists, since one form of corruption denounced in recent years has been that many people enjoyed high-class accommodations at the expense of Chinese "tax payers."

Secondary Factors

Various other factors contribute to hotel segregation between overseas and domestic tourists. The influence of these factors tends to be short-term in comparison with affordability.

A phenomenon of tourism unique to China is that the form of currency separates foreign and Chinese tourists in the selection of hotels. Overseas tourists have become the main source of China's hard currency:

They [overseas tourists] also are the group mostly targeted for developing foreign exchange and consequently, the category towards which most of the tourist infrastructure development is directed. (Richter, 1983, p. 402)

The Bank of China issues special "Foreign Exchange Certificates" (FEC) to foreign tourists when they change foreign currency into Chinese money, mainly because China needs to repay foreign investors and managerial personnel in hard currency. The FEC therefore become almost the only form of money accepted by tourist hotels. A self-financed

Chinese tourist, unless he or she spends FEC obtained through a lawful channel, is normally not accepted in the tourist hotels. The FEC practice, in effect, prevents ordinary Chinese from using tourist hotels and helps segregate foreign tourists.

Another factor affecting the spatial separation between foreign and domestic tourists is that for a long time Chinese tourists (citizens) were not allowed to enter tourist hotels and other facilities designated for overseas tourists. As late as 1984, one observer could say, "Any place foreigners work and sleep and many places they shop are cordoned off by security guards who keep ordinary Chinese out" (Terry, 1984, p. 24). It seemed to be true the other way around:

They [foreigners] are encouraged by officialdom to use stores and shops catering exclusively to non-Chinese and they are steered to restaurants that have specialty secluded rooms for alien patrons. (Bonavia, 1978, 14)

In recent years this policy has been relaxed, but the actual separation in space remains. Although most of Beijing's tourist hotels now allow the general public to enter and use part of their facilities (shops and restaurants), only a tiny portion of Chinese tourists can afford to stay in tourist hotel rooms overnight and do not alter the spatial pattern of segregation.

Group travel also contributes to the spatial separation. Since 1978, over 80% of overseas tourists have

been on a group basis (Cai, 1989, p. 78). Group travel is characterized by pre-reservation through a few travel services. In other words, hotel rooms and their locations are pre-determined without individual choice by overseas tourists. If there is any hotel location request from foreign clients, it is entirely a matter of selection among existing tourist hotels. Nowadays, many tourist hotels and travel services in Beijing and elsewhere in China are integrated into "group companies" in which business sales, management, services, and marketing are interlocked on a cooperative basis, so that foreign tourists end up more easily staying in the tourist hotels owned by the group. Thus, the spatial separation is further strengthened by administrative means.

THE SPATIAL PATTERN OF TOURIST HOTELS

Urban Beijing is divided into two general areas of hotels catering to foreign tourists: East and Northwest sections, with the city's north-south axis as the dividing line. Within these two areas are some 100 tourist hotels.

As shown in Figure 2 (p. 8), the East City is a highly-concentrated hotel area. Fanning-out from the city center's Tienanmen Square to the Capital Airport, the area has most of the prestigious hotels and newly-built deluxe hotels--the Holiday Inn Lido, the Beijing-Toronto, the Jianguo, the Sheraton Great Wall, the Changfugong Palace, the World Trade

Center, the Beijing International, the Kunlun, and the Zhaolong, to name a few. The east section contains approximately 85 hotels catering to foreign tourists (TABLE IV) with 25,692 rooms (72.08% of the city's total), among which ten are five-star hotels (83% of city's total) and 36 are joint venture hotels (83.72% of the city's total). As shown by the progressive circles in Figure 2 (p. 8), this area has a much higher total number of hotels, a greater number of the higher classes of hotels, and substantially more hotel rooms than the Northwest area.

By contrast, in the northwest part of the city, there are fewer hotels and even fewer top-quality hotels. Among these is the Friendship Hotel, claiming to be "the largest hotel in Asia," which has most of its hotel rooms used exclusively by foreign experts and their families. Rooms for foreign tourists are much fewer. The Angler's Resort functions as the State Guest House and is not open to general tourists. Including some newly built hotels like the Xiyuan, the Shangri La, and the Xindadu, there are now thirty-six hotels (29.75% of the city's total) with about 10,000 rooms (27.92% of the city's total) in the Northwest area. Only seven joint venture properties, or 16.28% of the total, are registered in this area.

Table IV is an areal hotel comparison of Northwest and East Beijing. It indicates that the East City is the gravity center of Beijing's hotel location. A question left

for determination is whether or not the East City is the optimal location for tourist hotels.

TABLE IV
THE CONTRAST OF CONCENTRATION TENDENCY
BETWEEN EAST AND NORTHWEST HOTEL GROUPS

hotel variables for comparison	tendency (east) %			tendency (northwest) %		
	no. of hotel	city total	kind total	no. hotel	city total	kind total
hotel	85	70.25		36	29.75	
rooms	25,692	72.08		9,951	27.92	
5-star	10	8.26	83.00	2	1.65	16.67
4-star	24	19.83	72.72	9	7.44	27.28
3-star	14	11.57	60.87	9	7.44	39.13
2-star	21	17.36	70.00	9	7.44	30.00
1-star	8	6.61	72.72	3	2.48	27.27
China ownership	49	40.50	62.82	29	23.40	37.18
joint venture	36	83.72		7	16.28	
data not available	8*	6.61*		5*	4.13*	
average		28.52	72.26		11.74	27.68

* as an adjusted factor.

Source: The Inventory of Hotels in Beijing, p. 120.

CHAPTER V

FROM TOURIST ATTRACTIONS TO OPTIMAL LOCATION OF TOURIST HOTELS

As stated at the outset, a primary purpose of this paper is to identify the focal point of tourist attractions in Beijing in order to establish the optimal location of tourist hotels (OLTH) and thereby establish whether the East City, in which most tourist hotels are now located, is efficient in location. This is done through structuring and analyzing a package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB) in spatial and temporal terms.

A DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH

Geographic Conditions of Analysis

The study area is linear in space, as if all the point-to-point relations are displayed on a plain map because the terrain of Beijing is essentially featureless. For the alluvial fan of the Yongding and Chaobai Rivers (Figure 3), on which Beijing is situated, appears flat enough so that an eight-meter difference in elevation across the urban area of 87 sq. kilometers under study can be ignored (Dong, 1985, p. 69).

Also, the geometrical form of the city (Figure 4) tends to facilitate location analysis

Figure 3. Spatial Distribution of Attractions in Beijing. Base map: Bleu's China.

Figure 4. The Geometrical Structure of Urban Beijing. Map Source: Brunn & William, 1983, p. 447.

because the urban layout of Beijing is "like a chessboard" (Kuan and Kuan, 1987, p. 119) with "almost every unit . . . rectangularly shaped" (p. 143). Thus, the relation between two spots can be shown by a connecting straight road or the sum of several shorter straight roads. Because a straight line distance between square street blocks is much easier to compute than curved or otherwise irregular ones, the urban

layout facilitates comparison.

Not considering traffic congestion, the typical tourist travel distance in Beijing has always been long. On an average, a tourist travels about 350 kms (field finding in China Youth Travel Service [CYTS]) over four days, based on the standard package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB). If a tourist travels at 50 km/hr, it takes seven hours, or one tourist-day long, which is essentially a quarter of the entire allocated touring time in the stay. So, reducing travel distance would benefit tourists in terms of travel efficiency.

Demographically, Beijing has grown into a super-large city with 9,930,000 urban residents, including a floating population of 1,200,000 (Lu, February 16, 1989, p. 3). In addition, Beijing has 450,000 motor vehicles and 7,500,000 bicycles that are used by 54 percent of its residents (Lou, 1990, p. 37). Some 90 percent of the public transportation load is on surface roads (conventional buses and trolley buses); only ten percent is on subways (Lu, February 16, 1989, p. 3). However, the excessively heavy traffic is carried by only a few main roads; therefore, "traveling speed is decreasing with each passing year". Although greatly improved in the last few years, urban road infrastructure is still inadequate to digest the huge traffic flow. So, the benefits of keeping tourist hotels away from the already-crowded urban city are twofold:

increasing tourism travel efficiency and relaxing city traffic on the micro level, that is, preventing some traffic from happening in the first place.

Tourism Resources and the Formation of the SPTPB

Beijing has accumulated a rich collection of historical, cultural, and natural resources for tourism purposes. In July of 1991, the U.N. designated five world-class cultural relics in China, three of which are located in Beijing: the Forbidden City, the Great Wall, and the Zhoukoudian "Beijing (Peking) Man" site (Bi, July 26, 1991, p. 1). The locality of Beijing goes back 500,000 years. Among the oldest of the world's cities, Beijing has a recorded history of 3,000 years. It has been China's capital for 850 years, and a towering cultural legacy has accumulated for tourism.

The standard package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB) refers to higher order selected from among a great number of tourist attractions in Beijing. To be included, attractions should be 1) visited with high frequency by tourists over time and 2) widely accepted as those that one "must see."

Ren min ri bao presents as its version of major tour attractions and visits the following: Tiananmen Square, the Forbidden City, the Great Wall, the Ming Tombs, the Temple of Heaven, the Summer Palace, the Lama Temple, the Glazed Tile Kiln Street, the Panda in the Beijing Zoo, and the Beijing Opera (Cui, February 2, 1990, p. 8).

A recent study (Table V, below) indicates that, by using a minimum threshold of 10,000 international tourists and 4 million domestic tourists per year, seven "hot spots" in Beijing stand out: the Palace Museum (Forbidden City), the Temple of Heaven, the Great Wall at Badaling, the Ming Tombs (mainly Dingling), the Summer Palace, the Beihai Park, and the Beijing Zoological Garden (Yu & Wang, 1989, p. 151).

TABLE V

SEVEN "HOT SPOTS" IN BEIJING (VISITOR IN TEN THOUSANDS)

Forbid- den City	Temple of Heaven	Ming Tombs	Great Wall	Beihai Park	Summer Palace	Beijing Zoo
200	190.06	174.45	159.69	112.04	94.84	65.52

Source: Wang and Yu, 1989, pp. 173-4.

In addition, the following tour program was designed and recommended by the author of a foreign travel guide book:

- Day 1: Tian An Men Square, Imperial Palaces, and Jingshan.
- Day 2: The Museum of Chinese History and Chinese Revolution, Beihai Park, Temple of Heaven and tour of Dazhalan and Liulichang.
- Day 3: Summer Palace, Temples of the Western Hills, Fragrant Hill, Ruins of the Yuanmingyuan, and the Great Bell Temple.
- Day 4: Great Wall and Ming Tombs (Malloy, 1988, p. 193).

Considering various versions of typical tour programs of Beijing and, especially, the seven major attractions, besides including such minor activities as shopping, free time, and other visits, the SPTPB seems to be the following:

1. The Great Wall and the Ming Tombs,
2. The Summer Palace, Beijing Zoo, and the Western Hill (Fragrant Hill Park, Sleeping Buddha Temple)
3. The Forbidden City, Tiananmen Square, the Temple of Heaven, and the Lama Temple, and
4. Shopping in Friendship Store and Wangfujing, and other visits.

In this standardized program, the sequential order of four groups of visits can be rearranged, and that of items within each group is also changeable. For instance, some groups prefer to visit the Ming Tombs in the morning in order to avoid the biggest crowd and parking hassle at the Great Wall. Shopping, as it is quite brief, tends to be flexible. The cross-group change is also possible except for items in groups 1 and 2 that are highly stable, largely because the sites of each group are in the suburbs, requiring a full-day excursion.

Below the SPTPB is analyzed in spatial and temporal terms so that the optimal location for tourist hotels (OLTH) can be derived, for the OLTH is the argument at the core of this research.

Spatial and Temporal Analyses

Some logical implications of space can be derived from the standard package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB). In spatial terms, tour attractions and visits in the SPTPB are conducted in two areas: the urban and Northwest suburbs, which is why Yu Shiying and Wang Lin find "a distinctive sense of concentration and direction" (1989, p. 150) in Beijing tourism. In appearance, these two areas are

different in size. But a roughly equational relation can be obtained if both are measured by driving speed limits (urban: 35 km/h; suburban: 60 km/h) respectively. The driving times across the two areas tend to be more-or-less, similar to each other if shown on a time-distance cartogram of Beijing, although the geography is somewhat distorted: "features are pulled apart in congested areas and squeezed together along high-speed path" (Muehrcke & Muehrcke, 1986, p. 115). In temporal terms, the SPTPB shows another equational relation. Combining travel time to and from a given attraction with the actual length of stay on each tour spot, a tour program can be divided into several half-day-long time blocks (units). Thus, there arises a possibility of matching the operational time unit (half-a-day) of the tour program with the geographical location of tourist attractions.

Before proceeding, it is first necessary to know the Average Total Length of Stay (ATLS) of tourists in Beijing. According to issue No. 3 of International Tourism Report (1990), the ATLS in Beijing was 4.7 days in 1987 and 4.2 days in 1988 (foreigners: 4.1; overseas Chinese: 5.3; compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan). The latest Chinese source indicates that the ATLS is now 3.9 days (Lin, 1990, p. 8). The Strategy of Tourism Development in Beijing provides a figure of 5.2 days for 1985 as the ATLS. An average figure over a five-year period is shown in TABLE VI.

TABLE VI
AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY (DAY)

year	average stay
1983	4.27
1985	5.20
1987	4.70
1988	4.20
1990	3.90
total	4.46

Since bus trips starting from the hotel is the main concern in the analysis, and overseas tourists normally have to check out of the hotel in the morning of the fourth day (one additional day's charge is imposed if guests remain past noon), there is no meaning to 0.46 day in the sense of tour operation. Therefore, it is appropriate to take four as the Average Total Length of Stay (ATLS) in Beijing.

Within four days, the time distribution in relation to the location of attractions tends to be as follows (ignoring the ordinal factor for now):

- a. The Great Wall and the Ming Tombs (1 day),
- b. The Summer Palace, the Beijing Zoo, and the Western Hill (1 day),
- c. The Forbidden City and Tienanmen Square (0.5 day),
- d. The Temple of Heaven and the Lama Temple (0.5 day), and
- e. Shopping and other "modern items" such as visiting a school, a prison, a hospital... (1 day).

Combining the spatial and temporal analyses, the standard

package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB) can be described as:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 2.0 \text{ days (NW suburbs)} \\
 +) 2.0 \text{ days (urban)} \\
 \hline
 4.0 \text{ days (Beijing)}
 \end{array}$$

or

ATLS in NW suburbs = ATLS in urban area

As indicated, a tourist staying in Beijing for four days would spend two days inside the city and two days outside the city, which is the second equational implication of the SPTPB.

As explained above, the order of visits in a given day and the order of four daily tours can be ignored because they have no influence on the equation. No matter the order in which the SPTPB might be conducted, the two-day-out figure is determined and so is the two-day-in.

This is confirmed by Les Guide Bleu's China guide book:

At present, tourists are only permitted to stay for a short time in Beijing, and during their stay two excursions are generally organized for them in the vicinity of the capital. First, there is a visit to the Summer Palace which takes half a day and includes lunch; sometimes the day out ends with a visit to the Fragrant Hill. The other excursion that you should not miss is the one to the Great Wall, as far as Badaling and to the Ming Tombs. This takes a whole day. (Bleu, 1989, p. 643)

Finding the Intermediate Point

The two equational relations discussed above (same

length of stay inside and outside the city and identical time-distance effect) and their logical implication on space derived from the SPTPB deserve further attention. As arithmetic indicators, these two equations suggest the existence of an intermediate point between the central area and the Northwest suburbs which would have an equal travel time to the attractions in both directions. Because of its locational advantage, this intermediate point can be regarded as the optimal location for tourist hotels (OLTH) and, broadly speaking, the focal point of Beijing's tourism hotel region. To make it more expressive, I use OLTH to represent the sites of both the intermediate point and the tourism hotel region. To determine the location of the OLTH, I resort to the weighted mean center technique as a quantitative approach to the OLTH.

A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

The Weighted Mean Center Technique

So far the existence of the OLTH has been descriptively derived from the SPTPB. Now, with the help of weighted mean center technique, the OLTH can be drawn on a map of Beijing. The following steps lead to the mean value of a point:

1. arbitrarily drawing x- and y-axis on a map of Beijing on which are plotted all locations of attractions and visits (Figure 5);
2. determining the x- and y-coordinate of each point;

3. calculating the mean of x- and y-coordinates by adding up all the x-values and y-values and then dividing the sums by the number of points. The mean center on the map is the intersection of the mean values of X- and Y- (Hammond & McCullagh, 1985, p. 50).

On the basis of the mean value of each point, the speed limit as a weight variable is introduced to each location in both urban and suburban areas in Beijing. Thus, if driving speed in the suburbs is twice as fast as in the central city, the actual suburban distance shrinks, resulting in modification of the location of the mean center. To get the trajectory of this modification of the mean center, two sets of speed figures forming a range of speed are computed: W-1 (50 km/h, 25 km/h)--urban and W-2 (60 km/h, 36 km/h)--suburbs. Since the range covers the reasonable choices of speed in most cases, the trace of the weighted mean center left on the map becomes a convincing reference by which to determine the locational efficiency of tourist hotels.

The formula for deriving the weighted mean center is:

$$\bar{X}_w = \frac{\sum XW_i}{W} \quad \bar{Y}_w = \frac{\sum YW_i}{W}$$

(Ebdon, 1977, p. 109)

where X and Y are the co-ordinates of the attraction locations, w denotes the numerical weight assigned to each

location, $\bar{X}_w$ and $\bar{Y}_w$ are the weighted means of these coordinates, and σ_w indicates some variation in W value.

Specifically, to get the weighted mean center, it is necessary to first multiply each X - and Y - by a given weighted factor and then to add them up before dividing the sum by the total weight values of all the points in question. The process of point determination and calculation of the sums of X -, Y -, WX -, and WY - are shown in Table VII (p. 63). The mean center is marked by "+" and the weighted mean center is marked by "X" (Figure 5).

As indicated, the trace of the weighted mean center moves a bit north-southward in an area between the Northwest suburbs and the central city. The weighted mean center takes into account the effect of distance distortion due to speed difference inside and outside the city.

Diagrammatical Analysis

This is an effort to quantify the specific advantages of the OLTH by using a bus trip as the measuring unit. The diagrams are designed to visualize both spatial and temporal features of the SPTPB.

To measure the locational efficiency, one must examine location in many contexts. Here, hotel location and resulting impacts upon the city's traffic system are considered in order to give this research community significance. In Beijing, thousands of tour buses constitute a significant part of traffic pressure on the

TABLE VII

THE CALCULATION OF UNWEIGHTED AND WEIGHTED MEAN CENTERS

Attractions	x-	y-	w-1	wx-1	wy-1	w-2	wx-2	wy-2
Great Wall	08.9	18.5	50	445	925	60	534	111
Ming Tombs	12.6	17.7	50	630	885	60	756	1,062
Fragrant Hills	11.4	11.5	50	570	575	60	684	690
Summer Palace	13.1	11.0	50	655	550	60	786	660
Sleeping Buddha	11.6	11.6	50	580	580	60	696	696
Capital Airport	18.7	13.3	50	935	665	60	1,122	798
Forbidden City	14.7	09.2	25	367.5	230.0	35	514.5	322
Tiananmen	14.7	09.1	25	367.5	227.5	35	514.5	318.5
Temple of Heaven	15.3	08.7	25	382.5	217.5	35	535.5	304.5
Lama Temple	15.2	09.7	25	380.0	242.5	35	532	339.5
Friendship Store	15.3	09.1	25	382.5	227.5	35	535.5	318.5
Wangfujing	14.9	09.2	25	372.5	230.0	35	521.5	322.0
Beijing Zoo	13.7	09.9	25	342.5	247.5	35	479.5	346.5
Total	180.4	148.6	325	6410	5802.5	474	7448	6451.5
mean	13.88	11.43						
weighted mean				13.49	12.22		13.57	10.39

Figure 5. The Unweighted and Weighted Mean Centers of Beijing's Tourist Attractions. Base map: Brunn & William, 1983, p. 443.

city, partly because many bus trips start from a less-time-efficient hotel location. A traffic-trapped tourist often wastes considerable time taking a "wrong trip." Clearly, eliminating the need to take such wrong bus trips out of and back to the city by means of relocating hotels in the OLTH would directly help solve the traffic puzzle and raise the travel efficiency.

The term wrong bus trip refers to two types travel inefficiency: overly repeated trips and excessive trips. The former is obvious, because there is no point to a tourist's seeing identical city scenes repeatedly during a limited stay. The latter is a trip starting from a hotel location which is exceedingly far away from a tourist site. In other words, a portion of this travel distance is actually excessive in nature. For example, a hotel in downtown is farther from the Great Wall than a hotel near the OLTH. A tourist staying in downtown has to fight through half-a-city's traffic before reaching the OLTH, so this trip is also excessive in nature.

Of course, no matter whether a bus trip is minimal or excessive, it does represent sightseeing. The question is what degree of tolerance can be given to excessive trips that are directly responsible for inefficiency but which do constitutes sightseeing. The carrying capacity of urban traffic is raised, whose threshold can be defined by a maximum number ("four" in this study) of "minimal" trips.

Any trip beyond the limit becomes a wrong trip. The OLTH plays a pivotal role in differentiating the nature of a bus trip.

Next, tourist sites in the travel network need to be defined and classified. Generally, besides hotels, tourist sites include tourist attractions in the normal sense and traffic gateways. The traffic gateway (Beijing Capital Airport) must be seen as a special tourist attraction where a tour starts and ends. Based on use frequency, these site variables can be divided into two classes, each requiring a certain number of bus trips: once-visit-sites (ovs) and more-than-once-visit-sites (mtovs). Tourist attractions are ovs, and so are traffic gateways; a hotel is a mtovs. Two bus trips (or out and back trips) will suffice an ovs; more trips are required by an mtovs. A hotel is the hub of tourist bus trips, and a trip becomes in fact a measuring unit of locational efficiency.

The diagrams that follow (Figure 6 and Figure 7) show two areas: central city and suburbs (Northwestern and Northeastern Beijing); in between is the OLTH. The sizes of these two areas are not proportionally drawn, the purpose being to display their relative locations with the help of a directional arrow. Four-day visits, as established above, are encircled by boxes within the two areas.

To compare the two diagrams, it is necessary to assume that the hotel in the first (Figure 6) is in the central

Figure 6. Diagram Analysis: If a Hotel is Within the City. The OLTH refers to the optimal lotion of tourist hotels, also representing the intermediate point and the tourism hotel region in the discussion.

city. Over four days a tourist staying in an urban hotel would take ten theoretical bus trips, of which six trips (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) to and from the suburban sites are both excessive and overly repeated in nature. Only the remaining four trips (1, 2, 3, and 4) are minimal.

Now, what would the situation be if a hotel were built at the OLTH (Figure 7)? The nature of a program of ten trips changes dramatically. Only four trips (1, 2, 3, and 4) instead of ten will be needed within the city during a four day stay, and their nature is entirely minimal. The two bus trips to and from the airport (5 and 6) and four bus trips to and from other suburban sites (7, 8, 9, and 10) are no longer excessive nor overly repeated because they are now made within the shortest possible distance.

It appears that four within-the-city trips may be comparatively longer than the similarly-numbered four minimal trips in Figure 6. In fact, the difference in distance between the two cases is not as significant as it appears, because the assumed OLTH is adjacent to the northern tip of town.

In conclusion, although ten trips are still required by an OLTH location, they are all minimal in nature. Clarifying and replacing six "wrong" trips with efficient ones shortens both travel distance and travel time, and traffic congestion in Beijing is likewise partially relieved.

Figure 7. Diagrammatic Analysis: If a Hotel is at the OLTH. The OLTH refers to the optimal location of tourist hotels, also representing the intermediate point and the tourism hotel region in the discussion.

CHAPTER VI

EXPLANATIONS OF BEIJING'S HOTEL LOCATIONAL DEFICIENCY: A CAUSATIVE VIEW

The task remains to explain the reasons for locational deficiency of Beijing's tourist hotels. It can be approached along two systematic dimensions: horizontal and vertical. By horizontal is meant the study of hotel morphology in the context of interaction between human beings and their environment at a given time. By vertical is emphasized the fact that such an interaction is a gradual process over time.

To begin with, modern hotels are part of a city's landscapes created by man.

Tourist accommodations affect urban form and function. The actual structures contribute to the urban landscape while services and activities are aspects of urban process. (Wall, et al, 1985, p. 606)

Knowles defines the landscape "as the product of man's manipulation of the physical environment" (1983, p. 115).

He further describes the landscape as

an expression of his [man's] economic activities, his social relationships, his religious persuasions, and even his recreations. All of society's attitude and priorities are displayed in the landscape.

A complete study of hotel location should not ignore the role of human beings who are, at the same time, subject to

the constraints of time, space, environment, and society.

From the perspective of urban geography, the vertical dimension of human-environment interaction in this research on tourist hotels in an urban area can be viewed to be part of urban change as a process which

is a deeply historical one that has by now affected most if not all cultures, in a chronological pattern suggesting strong diffusion influences working with differential speed to transform regional societies. (Conzen, 1986, p. 3)

The specific question being asked is why have most tourist hotels in Beijing concentrated in the Eastern City?

As a matter of fact, the locational weakness of tourist hotels, as established in previous chapters, is closely tied to two other hotel weaknesses: over-building and a disproportion in hotel classes. The texture of locational deficiency is manifested by a clustering of higher class hotels which is, as analyzed, the outer shell of over-building and disproportion of hotel classes. Therefore, apart from targeting locational deficiency as has been done, it is logical to treat all three weaknesses as a whole. The first part of the following explanation tends to be general, in the sense of addressing the three identified hotel weaknesses together. I explore what I term the "institutional factor" underlying basic features of China's on-going urban economic system and its impacts upon tourist hotel building. In the second part, the phenomenon of the Eastern City of Beijing becoming the area of hotel

concentration is examined within an evolutionary framework of urban change. Hotels, their functions, and their locations, as well as hotels as parts of "city's function, structure, and spatial distribution, consequently affecting urban morphology and landscape" (Wall, et al, 1985, p. 606) are all subject to change over time.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Two institutional issues are targeted below:

bureaucratic mismanagement and a weak land use policy. The former identifies, in macro terms, the somewhat chaotic situation of Beijing's tourist hotel building policies in the last decade. The latter concerns, in micro terms, the composition of China's competitive mechanism in land use.

Chaotic Policy in Hotel Building

The hotel development craze was made possible by the lack of any State plan or organization for development of the sector. Approval authority lay with local planning commissions or Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Commissions (FERTCs), which failed to consider infrastructure bottlenecks and the consequences of over-building. (Tong & Cheung, 1990, p. 18)

That the institutional role was weak seems to characterize the early stage of China's urban reform. The turmoil of hotel building was a by-product on the landscape during this painful period.

To begin with, centralized control over China's tourism industry was relaxed in the mid-1980s when the principle

became "unified leadership, multi-tier administration, dispersed management and a unified way to handle foreign affairs" (Wang, January, 1990, p. 9). Hotel building was regarded as an important part of tourism. As a result, everybody, from the highest level down to the grass roots, seemed to be equally eligible to build tourist hotels. As Liu and Bai have noted:

From the various departments on the central government level down to neighborhood communities and the rural production brigades, it is well thought that operating a tourist hotel is the easiest way to make quick money. So long as a unit can find land lots to start with, the unit would be very anxious in looking for a foreign partner to start a hotel project. (1989, p. 237)

On the national level, the decentralization of the formerly-centralized urban planning system gave rise to five departments which shared control over the country's hotels. Another source says that

as a result of weak macro planning of tourist hotels throughout the country, particularly in major tourist cities, hotels have developed too rapidly, and the administration of hotels is too dispersed. Now more than 900 hotels in the country are led by 350 different administrative departments. (Wang, 1987, p. 10)

My argument is that when the centralization system was relaxed, the positive part of the system was weakened while its negative influences on human or departmental behaviors were still lingering on, resulting in the fact that several higher governmental organs and influential individuals competed with each other in reshaping the hotel landscape. In other words, a single central authority was replaced by

several. Many hotels in downtown Beijing were typically built under this situation. In the following passage, Bo Xicheng, director of Beijing Tourism Administration, blames such a resultant hotel concentration in one tiny location for what he calls "internal waste":

At present, the internal waste in the tourism industry is too high. . . . Take the approval for the construction of hotels for example. Last year, the Beijing municipal government decided that the construction of any new hotels should be endorsed by the city tourism administration before sending to the municipal planning commission for final approval. . . . But Beijing is the capital of all Party, government and military departments. The Beijing Tourism Administration . . . is powerless to interfere in the projects undertaken by the departments under the Central Government. Near the Wangfujing Shopping Center there are six hotels under construction. Some are built by military departments and others by the central government departments. Are they all needed? (Xu, 1988, p. 26)

Reviewing how the hotel problem became increasingly serious over the last decade, institutional weakness and its impacts on hotel locations can be seen more clearly. The hotel building problem surfaced in 1985, but it was not effectively dealt with. As Zhou puts it:

The possibility that supply would outstrip demand in the hotel industry was raised as early as 1985. Investigations made by a Beijing reporter showed that a number of hotels were renting less than 80 percent of their rooms then. A debate about the necessity of so many hotels resulted from the investigation. (1990, p. 33)

The government tried to prevent the problem from becoming even worse. On January 1, 1986, Ren min ri bao carried the then director of the National Tourism

Administration Han Kehua's interview with a journalist, during which he said that "at the present stage main efforts should be directed towards building medium-and low-class hotel" (Shen, 1987, p. 7). In April the same year, the "Provisional Standard for the Designing of Tourist Hotels" represented an attempt by the State Planning Commission to regulate building according to four clearly defined classes; the Commission urged that building concentrate on second and third class accommodations and specified that the "fourth-class should be hotels suitable both for domestic and international use" (p. 7). But it turned out that these restrictions did little to stem the building boom. The pace of building high-class hotels kept accelerating. In 1987, "of 89 hotels under construction and under planning in Beijing, 50 percent were high-class hotels" (p. 6). In this regard, the role played by some un-named individuals was frequently blamed:

The government made efforts to restrict new construction, but it boomed nonetheless because influential people were involved in the hotels. (Zhou, 1990, p. 33)

Non-Competitive Motives

Why were so many departments willing to get involved in the hotel business? Besides motivations for diversifying the economy and obtaining foreign exchange for the state, to be involved in the hotel business, especially joint venture projects, was regarded by many as an elevation of social

status (promotion), a chance of enjoying perks (like free travel overseas), and a channel of "back door" or nepotism (offering job positions for family members and relatives). As a result, ill-advised business practice became inevitable. According to Tong and Cheung who watched from the outside,

Many Chinese organizations wanted the prestige of being connected to a joint venture Approvals, therefore, were often based on the power of the backer rather than the merit of the project. According to one Chinese source, providing approval authorities with luxury goods as gifts quickly became standard business practice in order to obtain approvals at various stages of the construction process. (1990, p. 19)

In essence, tourist hotels have become physical landmarks of social hierarchy in Beijing. In this sense, the spatial separation between Chinese domestic tourists and overseas tourists, as identified in chapter IV, goes well beyond tourists, including an even wider demographic spectrum.

China's economic reform re-enlivened its tourism industry, but some of its side-effects had negative impacts upon the hotel locations. The locational problem and two other weaknesses (over-building and disproportions in classes) are directly caused by the confusion in the last decade.

Land Use Issue

A second institutional factor accounting for problems in hotel locations is the lack of a sound mechanism at the land market. The competitive role of land as a commodity

was a key link missing in the system of hotel land approval as discussed earlier in the literature review. According to critics of land use development in the 1950's

there were no specific guideline for allocating land for urban development. In the absence of such essential legislation, the problems of illicit land acquisition and wasteful use of valuable land resources by state enterprises emerged in the People's Republic. (Fung, 1981, p. 196)

Frequently, the location and the amount of land to be acquired were arbitrarily determined by the production units. Sometimes approval for use of land was granted by various levels of administration prior to the submission of the land use plans and the blueprints of construction. Furthermore, administrative officials did not investigate the subsequent use of land as originally proposed in the applications. (p. 200)

How much change has taken place in this respect since then? Relating to the current research, information on how each individual hotel obtained its lot is not available. However, some qualitative materials of a generalized nature shed some light on the issue.

Zhang Yu in Ren min ri bao (August 3, 1988, p. 4) cites two major two major channels: horizontal circulation and vertical circulation. The first mode links the state or city government with a land user and includes (1) leasing/renting (pi zu), (2) participating/sharing (can gu), (3) trust development (wei tuo kai fa), and (4) administrative allocation of land (xing zheng hua be)

which was the sole mode of land circulation under the old land control system. It is still the major form of land allocation during the

transition period of land control system. (August 3, 1988, p. 4)

The second manner of land circulation, more frequent and extensive in form among the land users includes (1) transferring land use rights with compensation (you chang zhuan rang tu di shi yong quan), (2) land transferred through merging enterprises (qi ye jian bing), (3) land circulation under the cover of real estate transfer among private house owners (zai fang chan zhuan yi yan gai xia de tu di liu dong), and (4) land trading for other things in kind (yi di yi wu). Again, as mentioned earlier, between these two basic forms of land circulation, "mandate allocation is still the predominating channel of land distribution" (August 3, 1988, p. 4). In other words, the market mechanism of land use in the form of net return, land rent, land value, and transportation cost upon which von Thunen's model is based has not yet been established in Beijing.

China-foreign joint venture hotel projects, since they are by no means permanently owned by foreign capitalists and will be returned to China sooner or later, the issue of land value did not involve in project negotiations. In other words, land approval remained basically within the old realm of arbitrary allocation.

However, it is not proper to conclude simply that China has not reformed itself in the tourism sector. As Richter points out in 1983, research on China suggests that although

the system there remains "a state monopoly of all aspects of tourism, from promotion to infrastructure to souvenirs," it is

injecting a dose of capitalism into tourism implementation through joint ventures with other countries or opportunities for citizens' private enterprise. (Matthews & Richter, 1991, p. 125)

In fact, China has begun to appreciate such capitalist elements of market mechanism as marketplace, value, and comparative advantage. Competitive bidding is frequently used in major projects, including hotel building, even though the value of land use is not part of the invitation for bid under the present system. The call for land use transfer with compensation has been loud. The China News Agency reports that Xiamen (Amoy) transferred, at the price of 2,664 Yuan per square meter, some of its urban land (15,000 sq. meters) to clients from Hong Kong and Taiwan on September 10, 1991 (Xu, September 12, 1991, p. 4).

THE EVOLUTION OF HOTEL LOCATION: A HISTORICAL VIEW

Two points of urban geography of Beijing are focused in the pages ahead within an even larger frame of space and time. First, the physical environment and the pattern of urban evolution contributed to the fact that the East City was, at one time, a reasonable focal region for hotels. Second, the conditions of urban geography that had made old Beijing the way it was changed dramatically in the early

1980's when the East City was no longer suitable for locating the mushrooming tourist hotels. The momentum of this change was because the modern tourism industry went hand in hand with Beijing's internationalization and urbanization, both of which raised new functional needs for hotels. It no longer remained logical to concentrate tourist hotels in the central business district (CBD) as in the pre-1980 years. Rather, tourist hotels should be oriented to tourist attractions.

The Origin of Location of Early Hotels

From the viewpoint of urban evolution, "reading or interpreting" (Harvey, 1990, p. 132) the landscape or geography of tourist hotels in Beijing

requires understanding the type of forces that may have caused it to evolve to its present state. Both natural forces and the activities of man affect designed and cultural landscapes"

The origin of location of early hotels in the city's eastern part had much to do with Beijing's past as "a semi-feudal, semi-colonial consumer city" (Lo, 1980, p. 133). Concerning the latter feature, Beijing owes its early hotel morphology to "this time of foreign influence" (Whyte and Parish, 1984, p. 13). Old Beijing, in the eyes of many, has always been a traditional Chinese city, and "none is more famous" (Brunn & William, 1983, p. 413). The term traditional Chinese city refers to a city surrounded by a wall, reflecting "the ancient Chinese conception of the

universe and the role of the emperor as intermediary between heaven and earth" (p. 414). There were to be few "barbarian" elements (foreign legations and modern hotels) in the layout of the urban city. Examining Beijing's situation carefully, however, this was not exactly the case.

On the one hand, due to its status as China's capital, Beijing long ago built "deluxe hotels" functioning as the hub of nation's "yi chuan" (postal) system. Lao Hansheng notes in his "Yi zhan wen hua kao" (The study of hotel culture) that in 1403 (Emperor Yongle's reign during the Ming dynasty) there appeared in today's East Jaominxiang street (in the former Legation Quarter--see Figure 8) "Hui tong guan" (a hall for gathering and joining: a guest house) catering to "representatives of domestic minority ethnic groups and foreign envoys" (September 5, 1991, p. 8).

On the other hand, unlike many coastal Chinese cities and also reflecting its status as the capital of an imperial power, Beijing did not fall into the category of a treaty port. It did contain a sizable area that shared features identical to those in treaty ports of the era. The first modern hotel was erected in this area.

What were the structural characteristics of a colonial or treaty port city that contributed to the establishment of the first modern hotel in Beijing's East City? A treaty-port city had, economically, a distinctive form of mechanism. It

represented an aggressive and dynamic new order introduced into the traditional fabric of Chinese society, a new order based on organized competition. The Westerners established themselves in the ports primarily to make money. (Bleu, 1989, p. 420)

Politically, foreigners "were under the legal jurisdiction of their respective consulates" (extraterritoriality) (p. 620). Administrationally, taxation, police forces, and other forms of municipal government were developed under Western control (p. 420). Spatially, a treaty port city or area tended to be compact in layout in order to maximize those political and economical privileges. And, in transportation terms, it "required a waterfront location accessible to oceangoing ships" (p. 336). The locational principle was to make a treaty port or area as close as possible to the modern traffic gateway of the time (ferry, railway station or airport). This locational model was particularly so in the early years of the industrial era.

What did the old Beijing look like? George Babcock Cressey outlined the old Beijing as

five cities in one. Within the great Tartar city with its magnificent 50-ft. walls are the Forbidden City of the Emperor, the Imperial City of his servants and retinue, and Legation, each with its own walls. (1934, p. 176)

The Legation Quarter (Figure 8) "once occupied a rectangle about 3,950 ft (1,200m) long and a little less than 2,300 ft (700m) broad" (Bleu, 1989, p. 621). It was one of the preeminent subordinate centers in the city by the 1920s (Strand, 1989, p. 27). It was "granted by the Qing

Figure 8. The Early Modern Hotels, Train Stations, Legation Quarter, and Wangfujing Avenue in Old Beijing. Base map: Strand, 1989, p. 2.

[dynasty] to the Western powers after the signing of the treaty of Tianjin" (Bleu, 1989, p. 620). As displayed, the former Legation Quarter in Beijing was adjacent to the early Beijing Railway Station (or East Train Station).

Why then were the Legation Quarter and the railway

station found in the eastern part of the city? A brief explanation of the location of the Legation Quarter and the railway is pertinent from the perspective of the physical aspect of Beijing.

Railway construction exploited a strip between the northern bank of the moat and the southern wall of the Tartar City. The waterway was channeled to the city's core area (the Front Gate) from the city's southeast corner at a much earlier time (Figure 9). There was an important

canal in the southern suburbs which led to Tongzhou. At Tongzhou this [canal] joined with the historically renowned Grand Canal, which linked the area to China's southern region. The northern terminus of the Grand Canal system therefore was . . . crowded with boats laden with grain and goods from the lower valley of the Changjiang [Yangtze] River. (Hou, 1986, p. 225)

Historically, the Grand Canal was the lifeline of Beijing. The East City had become the commercial hearth and the city's traffic gateway to the outside world over the years.

After its foundation as the national capital, Beijing had to rely heavily on the economic support of southern China. During the Ming and Qing dynasties [1368 A.D. - 1911 A. D.], the grain that passed along the Grand Canal on its way to Beijing amounted to 4 million picules (200,000 tonnes) annually. (Sit, 1985, p. 73)

As far as the first modern hotel is concerned, the internal need from the Legation Quarter came first. The Legation Quarter, guarded by foreign soldiers according to several imposed treaties after the 1900's Boxer uprising, was served by a church--Saint Michael--a Catholic chapel built in 1920 (Bleu, 1989, p. 621) and by clubs for

Figure 9. Waterways in the Vicinity of Old Beijing (Dadu City), the Legation Quarter, and the First Modern Hotel. Base map: Hou, 1986, p. 226.

afternoon and evening get-togethers with European indoor and outdoor recreation facilities (Dutt, 1983, p. 338). Here the "Hotel of Six Nations" or "Grand Hotel des Wagons-Lits, Peking" was built (Figure 8 & 10). It is variously described as the "only" hotel (Crow, 1913, p. 189), the "largest hotel in Peking (Beijing)" (Nagel's, 1984, p. 533) and the hotel with "modern convenience" (Crow, 1931, p. 189).

Opened in 1905 by the Campagne Generale des Wagon Lits, at the terminal point of the Trans - Siberian Route from Europe to China, the Wagons Lits was the first modern hotel in Peking [Beijing]. . . . In the years since its construction the Wagon Lits, being the only hotel in the Legation Quarter, has been one of the most important centers of Peking life-political, social and scientific. (Gum, date unavailable, pp. 54-56)

Another rare copy of a China Guidebook, The traveler's handbook for China by Carl Crow published in 1913, wrote that passengers arrived at the Station of the Government Railway of North China "inside the Chinese city and just south of the Tartar city wall, within a few minutes ricscha [rickshaw] ride of the Legation Quarter and the hotels" (p. 144). In the Legation Quarter

are located all the foreign legations, the foreign banks and hotels. It is from this central location that the visitor will make his daily excursions to the many interesting places surrounding. (p. 148)

Later on, foreign hotels, movie theaters, foreign firms, and modern commercial and financial institutions began to multiply (Gao, 1990, p. 47) beyond the Legation

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Figure 10. The Historical View of the Grand Hotel des Wagon-Lits, Peking (Beijing) before 1913. Source: Crow, 1913, p. 189. Notes to the picture: The European-style hotel was renovated several times. A big fire destroyed the building a few years ago followed by renovation. The front entrance faces west. The building at the far northern corner, one of a few survived architectures in the Legation Quarter, was a foreign bank to the right of which is the seat of China Youth Travel Service where I served. There seems to be a row cars or rickshaws parking right across the street of the hotel.

Quarter boundary. The early Beijing Hotel, "the former 'grand hotel' of Peking" (Cail, 1972, p. 68) was opened, which, "originally built at the corner of the old Legation District, was managed by a Frenchman and more or less represented France." Meanwhile, "until 1949 numerous European businesses were established in Peking, largely in the Legation District" (p. 74).

The Eastern center of hotel location and foreign business became further established with the rise of Wangfujing central business district (CBD). This was also triggered by needs from the Legation Quarter.

. . . during the Ming dynasty and up until the middle of the 19th century, it [Wangfujing] was a thoroughfare in an aristocratic quarter. The influx of foreign embassies into the Tartar city transformed this quarter and gave it a commercial importance which it has never since lost. (Bleu, 1989, p. 622)

The locational pattern of the Legation Quarter and the nearby Wangfujing CBD typically reflects that of a treaty port or a colonial city, in which

a western-style CBD grew adjacent to the fort and "native town," with a high concentration of mercantile-type office functions, retail trade, and low density of residential houses (Dutt, 1983, p. 337).

In political and economic terms, Gao Songfan more specifically points out the rationale of the Legation Quarter and Beijing's foreign business (such as hotels) by stating that foreign capitalists facilitated

the political and economic exploitation of China by opening the Beijing Hotel, United [Union]

Hospital, foreign businesses, movie theaters, and so forth. Because the legation quarter remained where it was after the destruction of the feudal dynasty and feudal power. (1990, p. 56)

Even today, the Wangfujing street is still the shopping center par excellence in Beijing. As Strand writes:

Location contrasted with the trend by modern banks and utilities to open offices clustered near government building inside Qian Gate [Front Gate], in the Legation Quarter, or in the eastern district of the Inner City. (1989, p. 101)

It is not difficult to conclude that the original sites of many modern hotels were chosen out of both physical and human reasons that were important in the past. Physically, due to the lower elevation, the city's East was channelled by the Grand Canal, which caused the area to be the first exposed to the outside world. Colonial rule represented a human factor that laid the cornerstone of Beijing's hotel location.

A Gradual Process

As seen, at the beginning years of this century, the city's Eastern part became the concentrated area for modern hotels and foreign land uses, both of which surrounded the Wangfujing CBD. This initial locational pattern, "grafted onto the indigenous system" (Smith, 1991, p. 139) in space, had far-reaching impacts on the city's East section in later years. As far as the commercial function of the East City is concerned, it, "to some extent, disturbed the rational central place structure of markets in Beijing" (Gao, 1990,

p. 56). Today's locational deficiency of tourist hotels is in part the outcome of a long process of urban evolution. To explain this, one can divide the evolution of hotels into two phases: slow growth (quantitative) (1900-1980) and sudden change in function (qualitative) (since 1980).

In the first phase, the number of hotels was smaller and the guests served were fewer. For a long time, hotels in Beijing were primarily used by the social elites for political, commercial, and recreational purposes. Hotels at this time were mainly located in the downtown CBD area with banks, theaters, shops, traffic terminals, and foreign quarters within walking distance.

Before 1949, very few hotels were built after the Six Nations and the Beijing Hotel. Between 1949 when the PRC was founded and 1980, hotels were built at a much faster pace being tied to the national phased development plan. Locationally, most were in the Eastern City. The hotels' function was very much in the traditional fashion. "The Peace Hotel, the Hsianchiao (Xinqiao) Hotel, hostels for foreign technicians, and a special transit hostel for Chinese who return from overseas" (Hu, 1956, p. 86) were all situated in the Eastern City. Interestingly, the newly-built Xinqiao Hotel, which took over the role of the abandoned Grand Wagon-Lit Hotel as an important center of political and social life in Beijing, is

set in the heart of the former Legation District
 . . . The foreign journalists in Peking have

made it their headquarters, and so it has become a kind of modest "press club" where the rare morsels of information are exchanged. (Cail, 1972, p. 69)

Meanwhile, other foreign-affairs-related land uses filled in the city's East as well. The seat of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not far from the Wangfujing CBD. More and more foreign embassies were opened up in the Eastern City, especially in the former Legation Quarter. Towards the end of the 1950's, the Beijing Railway Station and the Capital Airport were built in the city's Eastern section, further modernizing urban infrastructure in the city's East.

By contrast, in the first decade of the PRC, the only significant hotel built in Northwest suburbs of Beijing was the Friendship Hotel which was, however, not entirely business-oriented, as its name "friendship" suggested. The complex was the secluded "enclave" for thousands of Beijing-based Soviet experts and their families. Even today, the Friendship Hotel complex still mainly caters to foreign experts and their families in Beijing.

Foreign-oriented properties were further enlarged in the East City as urban Beijing underwent expansion at the end of the 1950's. The original diplomatic quarter in old town was no longer large enough to accommodate the new embassies. Beijing authorities chose the eastern fringe of town to be the site of new diplomatic quarters in the early 1960's, when China established diplomatic relations with a

dozen newly-independent African countries within a short period of time. Another diplomatic quarter was soon established to the north of this newly built one. During this period, the road infrastructure, civil utilities, forestation, and quality of life as a whole were further modernized in that area.

Beyond the diplomatic fringe, a series of industrial establishments were put up, including Beijing's first thermal-power plant providing, besides electricity, hot water and steam that was mainly consumed by the nearby foreign users and big hotels. This layout of foreign quarter-industry zoning was "to cut down air pollution because of the predominantly north and north-west winds" (Lo, 1980, p. 134). So, the locational rationale was both historical and physical.

The following passage describes this development:

A mile or so to the east of Chien Kuo Men and to the north of the great avenue leading to out of Ch'ang An, the Chinese authorities have built a second diplomatic quarter There in a huge building of several hundred apartments live the diplomats of all the nations . . . as well as some journalists. Scattered around this building are some twenty embassies When the African countries began to recognize China, it was necessary to think even bigger, so three miles to the north of the second one, a third diplomatic district has now been built And the embassies . . . have sprouted up like mushrooms here, flanked by apartment buildings. (Cail, 1972, p. 75)

From the mid-1960's to mid-1970's, urban construction in Beijing was almost suspended as a result of the "cultural

revolution." The only grand hotel built in this period was the 17-story Beijing Hotel (east wing) in 1973, partially catering to growing numbers of foreigners visiting China after China re-established diplomatic relations with the United States and Japan.

In the 1980's the role of hotels entered a brand-new phase of "sudden change" when China developed in international tourism on a larger scale. Hotels came to be used by tens of thousands of foreign tourists. Many hotels become, functionally, "pure" tourist hotels. Because of the change in purpose of stay, it was no longer rational for tourist hotels to follow the traditional pattern of hotel location. The new visitors had few interests in the CBD in the East City. Tourist attractions should have become the prime considerations in location by hotel planners and developers.

Massive numbers of foreign tourists began to pour into Beijing in the 1980's (TABLE VIII).

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF TOURISTS RECEIVED BY BEIJING
(10 THOUSAND PERSON-TIMES)

city	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Beijing	39.36	45.67	50.93	65.73	93.65	99.04

Source: State Statistics Bureau of China, 1987, p. 232.

The growing number of tourists gave rise to the need for new

hotels. Within two years (1983-1985) both the Central and Beijing authorities granted building permits to 129 hotels and diplomatic apartments. Most were concentrated in the area between the Wangfujing CBD and the Northeastern suburbs (Liu & Bai, 1989, p. 235).

The emergence of tourist hotels, as opposed to traditional hotels, represents part of Beijing's urbanization. But no sign has shown that this urban growth trend was better understood and controlled in number, mix, and location. This research emphasizes the principle of conformity between hotel's location and function: that tourism attractions should be the focal point of tourist hotels. By the same token, business-oriented hotels should center more on China's foreign trade headquarters and institutions.

While the optimal location of tourist hotels (OLTH) is established, the Eastern City grows to be an international business center, "a city within the city" (Lu, August 29, 1989, p. 3). In the last decade, more and more of China's foreign trade organizations have opened their offices there. The China International Trust and Investment Cooperation (CITIC) was headquartered there in 1985. The China World Trade Center (WTC), "the third of its kind in the world," opened in 1990 with a series of complexes including the China Grand Hotel, the Changfugong Palace Hotel, the Exhibition Center, and some WTC apartment buildings for

foreign business people in Beijing.

These two focal points can be distinguished functionally with a tourism center in the northwest suburbs and an international business center in the east town. In micro terms, if more tourist hotels were built in the northwest, efficiency in travel would have been higher and city traffic eased.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In part, this study of Beijing's tourist accommodations follows several significant components of a research agenda for studying the topic of tourist hotels in a developing country as outlined in Geography in America. The thesis takes into account "research on environmental and cultural resources and facilities" (Mitchell & Smith, 1990, p. 404); it is an "issue-driven" research, focusing on a pragmatic problem of Beijing tourist hotels; it is also a study applying "traditional geographic concepts and models more fully" to explain spatial insights about tourism, and an example of considering tourists as "a special group" among the population of Beijing.

MAJOR FINDINGS

As demonstrated by both descriptive and quantitative analyses, the locational problem of Beijing's tourist hotels has been established. The main manifestations are as follows:

First, in Beijing, China, domestic tourists and overseas tourists are spatially segregated through accommodation selection. Affordability, a root economic

factor, underlies this tourism phenomenon in space. Unless China's national economy and the living standards as a whole greatly improve, this spatial separation will not soon fundamentally change. The predominance of foreigners in higher category hotels is an important feature of tourism in China, a developing country.

Second, the spatial separation of foreign tourists in Beijing provides a special condition for analyzing the locational pattern of tourist hotels. Accommodations for foreign tourists are concentrated in two hotel areas: the East and the Northwest of Beijing. By absolute hotel numbers and other comparable variables, the East City is now the gravity center of existing tourist hotels, presuming that among foreigners in Beijing, vacationists and business people are roughly equal (50% each) in number.

Third, the East City does not occupy the optimal location for tourist hotels (OLTH), the main concern of the research, which lies in the Northwest suburbs. This has been demonstrated through structuring and analyzing the SPTPB in both qualitative and quantitative means. To be part of the quantitative efforts, bus trip carrying capacity has been computed in diagrammatical manner.

Fourth, as a result of the locational deficiency of tourist hotels, a sizable number of unnecessary cross-town bus trips by tourists are generated, having negative impacts upon both tourism travel and city traffic.

Fifth, two focal points of hotel locations exist which are distinguished by function: the international business center in the East City and the OLTH in the Northwest. Recognizing their functional and locational differences in future planning will make it possible to achieve greater efficiency of both land use and tourism travel.

Sixth, from the viewpoint of causation, the locational problem of tourist hotels reflects Beijing's urban evolution over the last 80 years, during which both physical and human attributes played roles. In addition, hotel building in Beijing lacked the benefits of land-value-based rational competition. However, it does not suggest that western system of differential competition for land is absolutely superior over China's in every respect.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on this analysis, several recommendations emerge.

This thesis rests upon three stable factors. The first is the locational pattern of tourist hotels based on the inability of domestic Chinese to afford high-ranking accommodations. The duration of this factor extends far into the future. Second, to derive the optimal location of tourist hotels, one must take into account the composition of the standard package tour program of Beijing (SPTPB). Third, the spatial and temporal characteristics of the SPTPB are likely to be fixed far into the future.

To determine the optimal location of tourist hotels (OLTH), this study has used not only a descriptive approach but also has employed quantitative techniques in geography. The result of both approaches is complementary.

A major weakness lies in the fact that the leverage of hotel room rent in relation to locational disparity was not introduced. However, Beijing's hotel price system cannot offset the locational problem. Normally, the farther a hotel is from the attraction, the cheaper the room rent is. Oddly enough, the East City has not only the most hotels in the wrong place, but it also has most of the higher rent hotels in town. Hotel price will not counterbalance, but will strengthen the locational disparity.

A second weakness is my not having considered the seasonal fluctuation of tourist arrivals. The seasonal factor has much to do with the degree of locational deficiency and its impacts on the city traffic and on the tourists themselves. It is suggested to take Beijing's high tourism season (April, May, September, and October) as a period for more intensive future study.

A third weakness is in matters of accuracy. Thus, I have found it necessary to simplify and generalize several variables. For example, all hotels are lumped into two groups, but it is not proper to evaluate those hotels closer to the arbitrary dividing line in the same manner as to those hotels situated in the center of each group. Besides,

the location theories introduced rely upon some assumptions, among them that everyone is presumed to act in the same economic manner, and that there is no difference in size and cost among activities, as noted by Morrill and Symons:

all people [tourists in this case] have equal income and information, and then consider the location of residents and activities in a city. Each city resident is equally well off, according to Von Thunen or Alonso, regardless of distance to work [travel in the city center, simply because greater distance and transport costs are offset by lower rents [room rent]]. (1977, p. 218)

Although useful theoretically, such a controlled analysis of efficiency is somewhat impractical. The simplification of variables can be challenged by complicated situations because where "there is area variability in density or income, or very strong returns to scale, equity may well be sacrificed" (p. 215). On the other hand, for tourism the simplification is acceptable because a tourist has to give up variation of choice in many ways when joining a tour group; tourism itself simplifies the complexity.

Although distortion has been reduced by introducing critical variables, such as the range of speed limits that indirectly reflect the variation in population density, more could be done in this regard. Thus, more than two areal groups could be compared to differentiate locational disparity more specifically. An evaluation of individual hotels could offer more insights than this group-based one. Likewise, an isochronic map of locational efficiency can be drawn with the OLTH at the core.

In terms of China's economic cooperation with foreign countries in the realm of tourism development, one could examine more carefully China-foreign the joint venture hotel which is "the vehicle most commonly in use" (Oudiette, 1990, p. 128). To construct "an original Chinese model of tourism" (p. 131), why shouldn't such joint ventures be governed more effectively by a centralized planning body rather than primarily be decided by foreign investors and tourism officials?

A further suggestion is a feasibility study of the OLTH in which the existing road situation, farming and industrial land use, noise level, and community reaction are considered. In other words, the OLTH concept must be connected with Beijing's urban development program. "As the predominance of the old city core is one of the major causes of congestion, a multi-center plan merits consideration" (Dong, 1985, p. 85).

Finally, this research by no means suggests dismantling any existing hotel but rather is offered as a contribution to more efficient planning of future construction. China has applied to sponsor the Olympic Games of the year 2000 in Beijing. The decision is expected to be made by the International Olympic Committee in 1993. If approved as the Olympic site, Beijing will need to build more accommodations, in addition to sport facilities, and the OLTH concept has operational significance.

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APPENDIX

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING

*: data from official Chinese source
 5: five-star hotel
 s: superior class (equivalent to 5-star)
 FC: first class hotel (4-star)
 SH: standard class hotel (3-star)
 BH: budget hotel (2-star)
 E: east, NE: northeast, W: west hotel group, NW northwest
 N: north, S: south, SE: southeast
 C: China-owned hotel
 C/F: China/foreign joint venture hotel
 NA: information not Available

A. EASTERN GROUP

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Beijing west wing middle wing east wing	5	1982 1917 1974	E	910 900*	C
Beijing Guibin Lou	5	1988	E	287	C/F
Jianguo	4	4/1982	E	457 458*	C/F
Palace Hotel Wangfujing	5	3/1989	E	600	C/F
Holiday Inn Crown Plaza	4 FC	1990	E	400	C/F
SARA Hotel Beijing	4 FC	1990	E	400	C/F
Novotel Travel Inn	4 FC	1990	E	323	C/F

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTEL IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Locatio	Room	Ownership
Heping (Peace)	4	1952 10/1987	E	500	C
Jinglun (Beijing- Toronto)	4	1984	E	695* 678	C/F
Guoji Fandia (Beijing In- ternational)	4	8/1987	E	1,133* 2,000	C
Capital Guest House	4	10/1987	E	300	C
Tian Ping	4 FC	1990	E	372	C/F
Xinqiao	3 SH	1954 1982	E	150 320*	C/F
China World Hotel	5	1988	E	1,000	C/F
Changfugong Center Hotel	5	1988	E	512	C/F
Traders Hotel	4 FC	1989	E	292	C/F
Beijing Guo- Tai Fandian	4 FC	1990	E	164	C/F
Internation- al Apartment	NA	1990	E	448	C
Tian Lun Dynasty	5	1987	E	NA	C/F
Taiwan	4	1988	E	NA	C/F
Beijing Internation- al Cultural Center	NA	1986	E	NA	C/F
Grand Hotel	4 FC	1990	E	500	C/F
Leyou	2 BH	5/1985	E	143*	C

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Ritan Guest House	2	1989	E	154*	C
Huaqiao	2 BH		E	174*	C
Huaqiao Mansion	2		E	187*	C/F
Jingguang Center	5		E	492	C/F
Jianhua	3		E	659	C
Suyuan Guest House	2		E	65*	C
Chongwenmen Hotel	2		E	344*	C
SARA	4		E	NA	C/F
SAS Royal	4		E	NA	C/F
Luck Tower	4		E	NA	C/F
Lufthansa Center	3	1989	E	NA	C/F
New Century	4		E	NA	C/F
New World Tower	4		E	NA	C/F
Railroad Apartment	NA		E	57*	C
Baile Hotel	2		E	150*	C
21st Century	3		E	300*	C/F
Zijin Guest House	1	1983	E	19*	C
Great Wall Sheraton	5		NE	1007*	C/F

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Majestic (Kunlun)	5	10/1986	NE	853* 1005	C
Universal Building	2	7/1991	NE	280	C
Zhaolong	5 S	1986	NE	270*	C
Holiday Inn Lido Beijing	4	1984	NE	917* 1029	C/F
Ramada Asia	4 FC	12/1988	NE	390	C/F
Huadu	4 FC	8/1982	NE	522*	C
Yugang	3		NE	NA	C/F
Yongan Apartment	NA	9/1987	NE	301*	C
Hilton Int- ernational	4 FC	1988	NE	270	C/F
Yanxiang	3 SH	1/1982 1985	NE	400 515*	C
Capital Airport	3 SH	1979	NE	210*	C
Movenpick Radison	3	1990	NE	423	C/F
Guanghua	2 SH	1967 1988	NE	88* 100	C
Furong Guest House	2 BH		NE	129*	C
Guangming Apartment	NA		NE	134*	C
Chaoyang Apartment	NA		NE	31*	C
Qilin	1		NE	29*	C

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Huiqiao Hotel	2		NE	228*	C
Huashu Hotel	1		NE	50*	C
Chaoyang Dabei Guest House	1		NE	162*	C
Jingyang	1		NE	125*	C
Beihai Guest House	NA		N	NA	C
Inner Mongolia Binguan	1		N	230	C
Zhuyuan	3 SH	3/1982	N	39*	C
Huילonguan	2 SH		N	339*	C
Hepei	NA		N	189*	C
Jumulangmo Guest House	2		N	46*	C
Mingyuan	2	1986	N	148*	C
Youhao	1		N	27*	C
Haoyuan	1		N	18*	C
Lusongyuan Guest House	2 BH	1980	N	25* 36	C
Wuzhou	4	1990	N	1259	C
Tianqiao	3	1990	S	670	C/F
Qianmen	3 SH	1957 1/1987	S	409* 406	C
Dongfang	2	1950's 1986	S	220* 252	C

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Taoren Guest House	3 SH	6/1986	S	145* 132	C
Beiwei	3 SH	1978 1985	S	176 226*	C
Nanhua	2	7/1986	S	79	C
Huizhong	2 BH	1985	S	342 343*	C
Jinghua	2 BH	1985	SE	162*	C
Park	2 BH	9/1987	SE	120	C/F
Le Meridian Jin Lang	3		SE	222	C/F
Beifang	2		SE	200	C
Tiantan Tiyu Binguan	2 SH	1960's 1984	SE	120 108*	C

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

B. NORTHWEST GROUP

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Xianyuan east wing	4	10/1984	NW	1383* 437	C
west wing		1950's 1985	NW	745 343	C
Tianyuan zhuang	4 FC		NW	154	C/F
Changchun yuan	3 SH		NW	76*	C

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Qinghuayuan Guest House	2 BH		NW	55*	C
Beijing University Binguang (Shaoyuan)	2 BH		NW	NA	C
Shangyuan	NA		NW	189*	C
Friendship Hotel	4 FC	1952 1979	NW	1963* 800	C
Xiao Guest House	NA		NW	99*	C
Olimpic Equatorial	4	1988	NW	500	C/F
Wannianqing Guest House	2 BH	1979	NW	140	C
Jimen	3 SH	10/1986	NW	162*	C
Yanshan	2		NW	NA	C
Dayuan Guest House	NA		NW	50*	C
Changchun-Yuan	1		NW	76	C
Zhongyuan	1		NW	91*	C
Weiming Resort	2		NW	121*	C
Beizhan	NA	1988	NW	32*	C
2nd Hostel of the State Council	NA		W	280*	C
Wanshou Guest House	3		W	150*	C

THE INVENTORY OF TOURIST HOTELS IN URBAN BEIJING (continued)

Hotel Name	Class/Star	Year	Location	Room	Ownership
Minzu	4 FC	1959 1984	W	654* 615	C
Nationalities Cultural Palace	3 SH	1980		44*	C
Hong Kong	2		W	147*	C/F
Yanjing	3	1981	W	507*	
Beijing New Era Hotel	4 FC	1990	W	762	C/F
Holiday Inn (Downtown)	4	1990	W	NA	C/F
Shangri-La	4	1986	W	807*	C/F
Angler's Resort State Guest House	5 s	1959 1979		302*	C
Xizhimen	3 SH	9/1986	NW	140*	C
Regent Diaoyutai Hotel	4 s	1990	W	262	C/F
Ziyu	3 SH	3/1984 1996	W	124*	C
New Dadu	3 SH		W	422*	C
Wanshoulu Guest House	3 SH	1950's	W	570*	C
Feixia	2	1984	W	111	C
Xuanwumen	1		W	224*	C
Holiday Inn Grand View	5 s	1990	SW	500	C/F
Qiaoyuan	2 BH		S	207	C

Sources: John Summerfield, Foder's China (12 ed.); Euelyne Qaisial Farran and Giroux's China Companion; Diete People's Republic of China; William Arrow & Company's Fieling Travel Book; Ads in Ren min ri bao (overseas ed.); BISED's Appendix, and many other articles.