Sojourners in Macau: Blurring binaries of home/away and work/leisure

Since the theoretical lens of lifestyle mobilities was introduced, there has been a growing interest in the role of mobility in weakening rigid binaries such as home/away and work/leisure. This article draws on this theoretical perspective to explore how sojourners in Macau blur spatial and temporal binaries in their adaptation to their new and temporary situation. Individual thematic interviews with 17 sojourners were conducted, revealing their choice of lifestyle as regards home/away and work/leisure patterns. Theoretically, the study demonstrates how once distinct spheres of social life such as 'home, 'away', 'work', and 'leisure' are now highly integrated. Sojourners keep a sense of being 'at home' through upholding their habitual routine; simultaneously, they feel 'away from home' by partly adopting a local lifestyle and exploiting the sightseeing and tourism opportunities. Yet long working hours can highly restrict leisure and in particular tourism activities. Empirically, this study documents different types of lifestyles among Macau sojourners ranging from selective mobilization of the local resources into a lifestyle attuned to their new temporary circumstances to almost exclusive concentration on work and cultural indifference to the new environment and the opportunities it offers.

Keywords: home and away, leisure pattern, Macau, lifestyle mobilities, sojourner

Introduction

Globalization has facilitated, in fact revolutionised, the mobility of individuals across borders (Dredge & Jamal, 2013). Recent academic enquiries have revealed much complexity in their considerations of actors of various kinds who practice a lifestyle of interregional mobility (Allon, Anderson, & Bushell, 2008; Cohen, Duncan, & Thulemark, 2015; Collins, 2016). Among them, sojourners - non-permanent residents in foreign regions - are the subject of this article, and their

mobilities and temporalities are explored. Although theoretical studies about 'lifestyle mobilities' have proposed that transnational mobilities blur the binaries between home and away and between work and leisure (Cohen et al., 2015), sojourners' sense of 'home' and 'away' and the division of their life between work and leisure during their sojourn in their temporary host region have been under-researched. Furthermore, it is of importance to develop a deeper understanding of sojourners' spatial use of tourism resources that are available in their temporary residential place. As suggested by Lew and Wong (2004), tourism is instrumental in enhancing social capital and peace building. Yet social capital is different from economic or cultural capital as it is situated in the quality of relationships and often it is shaped and reshaped by the mobilities of individuals, particularly those involving diasporas and sojourners (Coles & Timothy, 2004). As stated by Lew and Wong (2004), understanding sojourners' spatial use of tourism resources can help reveal further how tourism can contribute to the institutional building of social capital. Indeed, the core purpose of the current paper is how sojourners, away from home, adapt to local lifestyles and utilise the tourism opportunities of their temporary circumstances is a global socio-tourism phenomenon which deserves more attention.

Macau mobilities

Macau, a Special Administrative Region of China, was selected as the study region. The suitability of Macau as the locus in the study of sojourners is threefold. Firstly, Macau has a highly transient population with many sojourners. In a total population of 670,900, the non-resident workers number 193,498 (Macau Government Labour Affairs Bureau, 2020; Macau Government Statistics and Census Service, 2020a). Secondly, Macau is a world-class tourist destination, with a UNESCO World Heritage Site alongside a heavy concentration of casinos

(Wong & Kuan, 2014), attracting a total of some 38 million visitors in 2019 and ranking fifth among the top city destinations (Euromonitor International, 2018; Macau Government Statistics and Census Service, 2020c). Its tourism, gaming and hospitality sectors account for about 56.7% of its GDP (Macau Government Statistics and Census Service, 2020b). Thirdly, in spite of a rapid increase in the number of mobile actors in Asia (Lin & Yeoh, 2016), there still has been a lack of studies investigating how sojourners adjust their lifestyle in this region. As studies on relational public diplomacy emphasise (Yun, 2012), there is much unrealised potential for utilizing them for enhancing the reputations, the tourism industries, and the quality of life in countries across Asia. Scholars have for example called for further understanding of Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) tourism and the role of the hosts in this context (Janta & Christou, 2019).

Macau elicits various mobilities through its close connection to mainland China, its transient communities, and its history as a trading port. Its mobilities encompass not only the movements of people but also the flows of capital caused by the presence of casinos and foreign investment (Pontell, Fang, & Geis, 2014). According to Macau Government Labour Affairs Bureau (2020), as of January 2020, there were 118,667 sojourners from mainland China and 74,831 non-mainland Chinese sojourners. In other words, the sojourners in Macau are multinational, due to the presence of casinos and foreign investments. Macau is also the site of various fixed 'moorings' (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006), which are essential for the facilitation of mobility, such as an airport, ferry terminals, a container port, and land border checkpoints. All the above features make Macau an ideal research locus for understanding sojourners' mobilities and how they blur spatial and temporal binaries in their adaptation to their new and temporary situation. Literature on mobilities and sojourners is discussed below.

Mobilities and sojourners

The mobilities paradigm emerged as a response to the decline of fixity and rootedness in a more globalised world in which transient forms of inhabitation and identity have become commonplace (Cresswell, 2002). The interest in mobilities calls for a social scientific approach for examining them taking place on a variety of temporal and spatial scales, from global movements of refugees and/or tourists to the local movements of commuters (Hannam et al., 2006). Mobilities involve not only movements of persons but also those of merchandise, vehicles, ideas, live animals, and environmental flows. A range of specific methods designed to investigate how the social world is increasingly shaped by mobility have already emerged (Cohen, Duncan, & Thulemark, 2013; Hannam et al., 2006; Rickly, Hannam, & Mostafanezhad, 2017).

Sojourners – people residing somewhere temporarily and who are thus neither locals nor tourists – blur binary forms of thinking such as home/away, work/leisure and host/guest (Rickly et al., 2017). Brown (2009)   highlights the transformative potential of sojourners as they can facilitate cross-cultural understanding via their abilities to bridge different cultures. Consequently, the label of 'sojourner' can be applied to a diverse range of mobile people such as backpackers, international students and temporary workers (Allon et al., 2008; Choi & Fu, 2018). A mobilities perspective can help us think through the complexities of leisure, work and tourism that are problematised by the intermediate, ambiguous status of the sojourner. By moving beyond binaries, the haziness of such labels as 'local', 'expat', and 'tourist' becomes apparent so that the relations between them can be better understood.

There are two main ways to define sojourners. For some, sojourners are 'individuals who leave their home culture and live in another country for an extended period of time' (Navara &

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James, 2002, p. 695), and this includes expatriates (James, Hunsley, Navara, & Alles, 2004; Moore, 2009), missionaries (Navara & James, 2002), students (McNulty & Brewster, 2017), volunteers, and other types of mobile people. In other studies, expatriates are differentiated from other sojourners (McNulty & Brewster, 2017). In the current paper, sojourners are people who have moved from other regions and countries without intention of permanently residing in their new temporary residential region, including expatriates and their family members and students.

There is growing literature that documents the mobility characteristics of sojourners as distinct from tourists or local residents. It deals for example with the phenomenon that, due to frequent language barriers and limitations in finding local information, sojourners may access mostly exclusive, channelled, and customised information sources about the region (Choi & Wu, 2018), such as InterNations.org or Meetup.com (Föbker, Imani, Nipper, Otto, & Pfaffenbach, 2016). In addition, sojourners typically do not consider hotels as suitable accommodations during their sojourn, which is different from what is assumed in tourist tracking studies (e.g., Sugimoto, Ota, & Suzuki, 2019). Furthermore, Janta and Christou (2019) documented that unlike tourists, sojourners are unlikely to prioritise sightseeing and touristic activities in the host region. Lastly, sojourners tend to experience cultural differences in the host region and try to cope with those differences through different levels of acculturation (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Diverse aspects of such coping strategies that have been studied will be discussed in the next section. Following a short section on the methodology of this work, the analysis of interviews of Macau sojourners is presented from two different perspectives (i.e., mobilities and temporalities), before going to a conclusion.

Theoretical positions

In exploring the sojourners' mobilities, we aim to explore under what circumstances, to what extent, at what occasions, why, and why not they experience the destination in a local way. How sojourners perceive the leisure offerings available to them when they start residing in a new region is largely influenced by the accumulation of their previous cultural system(s), including those of their 'home' or 'homes'. The literature has discussed the adaptation to the local cultural systems of migrants when they move from their country of origin to a new location. Although the literature suggests that the way they perceive and 'consume' the place is different from that of a local (Carson & Carson, 2018), theoretical frameworks illustrating the cultural adjustment patterns of such mobile actors have yet to be developed.

Scholars have looked at how sojourners survive in a foreign location whose cultural system is alien to them. Cultural adaptation theory (Y. Kim, 2001) has postulated a fixed home and a destination region and has assumed acculturation as a commonly expected process. Following this, many leisure-related studies have likewise assumed acculturation as a linear process for immigrants or sojourners and proposed leisure as a path to acculturation (J. Kim, Heo, & Lee, 2016). On the other hand, the theory of cultural fusion (Croucher & Kramer, 2017) proposes accumulation, addition, and integration into a 'new home' culture and the emergence of new hybrid cultures as an outcome of immigration. Studies on expatriates by Walsh (2006) also support a co-existence of domesticity (home making), integration (building social relationship), and foreignness (sense of being in a 'foreign' place). This latter perspective, which proposes that a sojourner keeps one's acquired home cultures and chooses to partly partake in a new one, eschewing a linear pathway to full acculturation, would provide a better theoretical background to explain the reality of the modern sojourner's life.

In line with this perspective, Chan (2005) submitted that there are five possible outcomes to the encounter between the culture of one's origin and the one of the new place of residence. The first one, 'essentializing', refers to the case of a migrant refusing to be assimilated and remaining impassive upon one's encounter with cultural differences. Second, 'alternating' refers to the strategy of a migrant who chooses to stay in-between the two different cultural systems. Third, 'converting' refers to the replacement of one's original cultural system by the one of the new location, a process that often takes place because of the need to survive; as a result the old cultural self is buried by a new migrant one. Fourth, 'hybridizing' refers to a form of adjustment according to which, after years of existence between the two cultures, the migrant is comfortable with living within one's culture of origin and at the same time is not critical of the culture of the destination. There is thus at work a process of entanglement between the two cultures and, after years of residing in the destination, the migrant can exhibit an identity almost identical to the one of the locals. Fifth, 'innovating' suggests that during the process of collision of cultures within a person's mind, a degree of existential pain occurs and generates traumas which may give birth to a new form of culture, which is neither the original one nor the one of the new location.

This framework, proposed in the context of immigration, might not be fully applicable to sojourners because while it also assumes a binary of home and away, the diversity in terms of the sojourners' perceptions about home and away is more complicated than it is in the context of permanent immigration. Yet, this could be a useful point of reference to explore the process that the sojourners experience and their approach toward settling for how much of a 'fusion' their culture should become during their sojourn. Some of them may choose to engage to an extent in the path of the hybridizing process while others would prefer to stay within their original cultural system and resist assimilation. A reluctance or even refusal to be assimilated may help explain

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why some sojourners have a proclivity to spend time in what are known as 'enclaves' (Wilson & Richards, 2008), where like-minded 'expats' from the same or similar cultural group tend to congregate. Other sojourners to the contrary have transformed themselves so much that they have become culturally little different from the locals.

Although leisure theories to explain sojourners' cultural fusion have not been developed, empirical studies on similar topics, especially those on other migrants, imply that the leisure patterns of sojourners are expected to be the outcomes of an integration of a sense of home and away. Studies on the leisure behaviour of mobile actors have focused on the selective acculturation in coping with the leisure constraints in the host region or the identification of factors that affect leisure motivation and pattern such as family status, working condition, personal networks, and legal status (e.g., Collins, 2016; Stodolska & Santos, 2006). Those studies throw some light on such groups with transnational mobility, considering immigration status and social networking as well as lifestyle. Nevertheless, region-specific examinations of the local leisure choices of sojourners have yet to be performed, a gap addressed by this research.

The fact that time is in limited supply plays a central role in the designation of a place as a site of work or of leisure (Philips, 1999). Many leisure activities, such as going 'back in time' by visiting heritage sites, or feeling the fast pace of a major city, offer a particular experience of time that is part of their appeal. Leisure practices such as enjoying family time during a weekend or listening to music are in part defined by their specific temporalities and also help to define the temporalities of place (Costa, 2014; Sinclair, Tinson, & Dolan, 2019). Indeed, pace, such as in 'slow tourism', can be a tourism selling point, with destinations often promoted for the pace of life, from relaxed to hectic, that they enable or impose (Shaw, 2001).

Because daily life in Macau is conducted within tight border constraints, within an area of about 30.9km^2, and because some residents may search for alternative leisure options, they are tempted to pursue their search for leisure beyond Macau's borders (Vong, 2005). However, this might not be an option for some sojourners who would need to apply for a visa, sometimes by visiting embassies and consulates in Hong Kong or mainland China, highlighting the fact that institutional frictions can still impede the movements of otherwise highly mobile people. Furthermore, sojourners typically work during their stay while at the same time, their sojourn provides them with opportunities to have new leisure experiences. They are expected to show unique leisure temporalities in the course of balancing their work and leisure times. While mobilities theory destabilises binaries, it does not mean that categories such as 'work time' and 'leisure time' are meaningless to researchers of mobility, especially in understanding the sojourners' mobilities. Rather, it means that the distinction between work time and leisure time is imprecise, and that productive theoretical inquiries can be performed by examining the various ways work and leisure become entangled in the lives of sojourners.

Methodology

This study is based on constructivist thought, following the paradigm of Lincoln and Guba (1998), in which reality is understood in multiple ways and each individual attributes meaning to events based on how he/she perceives and experiences them. The current qualitative study cannot be free from the issue of reflexivity (Feighery, 2006). Two of the researchers would qualify as (ex-)sojourners themselves, having lived in this region for years as foreigners, while the third author is a local. Inter-subjectivity in the interviewing process and data analysis was acknowledged, as well as the status of two of the researchers as experienced sojourners

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themselves.

This study used individual thematic interviews with 17 Macau sojourners of different backgrounds. Among them, there were 12 females and five males. Three were in their 20s; six were in their 30s; two were in their 40s, five were in their 50s, and one was more than 60 years old (Table 1). Interview participants were recruited from June to October in 2015 both online and offline by posting recruitment announcements.

Specifically, purposive sampling was adopted in recruiting the interviewees. Informants were sampled to reflect a range of experience by sojourners with different backgrounds and life histories. Based on the authors' experience, a few online communities on social media where the sojourners frequently exchange practical tips, buy and sell second-hand items, and organise events among themselves were selected as the place to post the recruitment messages. In addition, one author participated in offline social gatherings for sojourners to recruit potential interviewees. Those who were interested in the study voluntarily contacted one of the researchers by email or by social media.

While all the interviews were conducted in English, the limitations resulting from some informants not being native English speakers were acknowledged. Therefore, Chinese and Korean were partially used to facilitate clear communication. The duration of the interviews varied between thirty minutes and two hours. The guiding questions that were used during the interviews are as follows:

(1) Could you share with us an account of your and your family's work and leisure activities after arriving and settling in Macau, compared to your previous life arrangements?

(2) How do you utilise space for work and leisure similarly or differently from the way you did in your previous work/life experience?

(3) How do you presently allocate time between work and life?

(4) How do you think that your age, gender, nationality, occupation, and other background elements may affect your lifestyle while staying (working and living) in Macau?

Semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded with the informants' consent and transcribed. Follow-up interviews were conducted if necessary, in order to confirm the meaning of the statements from the previous interviews. In this case, recording was not utilised but notes were taken. Raw data collected in a language other than English were translated into English.

Thematic analysis was used, acknowledging it as a method rather than an approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Recurring words and thoughts were identified from the interview scripts, and themes emerged based on the identified patterns. Braun and Clarke (2006) support the flexible applications of thematic analysis based on diverse paradigmatic positions, spanning a range of ways to describe reality, to elicit an account of the experience and interpretation of it, and also to identify the social contexts which affect individuals' sense-making. Induction resulted from familiarization with the transcribed text, coding, classification of the codes for the identification of the emergence of the themes, reorganization and review of the themes as well as the identification of the relations among the themes and subthemes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this process, epistemologically, the analysis sought to focus on the process and the context of the informants' experience and on how they give meaning to the reality described in their individual narratives.

Macau sojourners' mobilities

The informants compared the touristic resources available in Macau to their previous experience, mostly back home or in other regions where they previously lived. Such results reflect Cresswell's (2010) proposition that their mobilities reflect the way such migrants give meaning to specific places and thus build emotional attachment to them. Because Macau is small and the residential and touristic areas are next to each other, public spaces are used by both locals and tourists as well as sojourners for different purposes. Typically, the sojourners were attributing a personal meaning to the attractions that was based on their accumulated life experiences at home(s). Specifically, they tended to search for an element of 'home' in the way they chose leisure options, showing the amalgamation of both home and away instead of a focus on sightseeing that is more typical among tourists. In other words, the informants frequented typical leisure spaces not because they contained some must-see attractions, such as those included in the itinerary of a typical package tour to Macau, but because they wanted to experience a pleasant part of the cityscape.

Such a pattern also conforms to other studies on sojourners who utilised local public space, often the touristy ones for non-touristic purposes, as can be seen from the account of an excursion of Norwegian sojourners in Spain who visited the Jalon Valley out of social motivations rather than for sightseeing (Haug, Dann, & Mehmetoglu, 2007). In the same spirit, Betty reported frequently visiting the Senado Square, one of the most iconic tourist attractions in Macau, not because it is a tourist magnet but because of the type of atmosphere that she could experience there. She simply enjoyed the pleasant cityscape. 'I go there because of what's there, not because of what it is. . . . When you are at the square, there is a fountain, and across the street, there is this beautiful building'. This attitude also applies to natural attractions. In

exploring new local spots, Olivia tended to prioritise natural leisure space, with which she is familiar from home, saying: 'I really like Coloane, where it's a bit greener. I like hiking and walking, and I also like to play golf. So I've just been exploring the golf course.'

The informants who evaluated the richness of Macau's tourism resources on the basis of familiar types of leisure activities practiced back home tended to disparage Macau as a place for tourism. For example, Alice, a Filipina, did not value Macau as a place which has many leisure options because the leisure resources she is used to in her hometown – street food, markets and, mostly, nature – were different to what was offered in Macau. In her view, the leisure resources are richer in her home country than in Macau because 'there are a lot of beautiful natural places' at home, and such resources are more appreciated by her than cultural and heritage ones.

Katherine, a Korean, does not gamble, and perceived Macau as a gambling den, and little more; she described it as not being a worthwhile destination unless one is a gambler. David's attitude was similar if less extreme. If he chose to experience the UNESCO heritage sites, it was not to acquire knowledge about them, such as their buildings, but to appreciate the place emotionally by enjoying its atmosphere. He did not intend to learn about the history of Macau. He expressed that 'I've never been good at history. I am an engineer. Usually, engineers and history don't get along'. If the leisure resources did not provide what the informants liked in general, they tended to ignore them, even if they can see that throngs of tourists come to see them. In sum, when the informants utilised leisure spaces and resources, they first identified the category of the leisure facilities that fit with their original lifestyle 'at home' and then looked for germane attractions.

The informants gave examples of how they continued to satisfy the leisure tastes they had acquired at home, which illustrates a pattern reflecting a blurring of the boundary between home

and away. As the excerpts shown earlier, Betty and Olivia are the two obvious examples. They frequently visited Senado Square and Coloane, not because of their touristic value, but simply because when they were at home in Korea, Betty liked enjoying the cityscape and Olivia enjoyed immersing herself in nature. Thus, their leisure consumption in Macau, that is, visiting the Senado Square and going to the green hills in Coloane reflect a blurring of the boundary between home and away. During their sojourn, interviewees used their original work and leisure routines as reference points for their lives in Macau. They thus attempted to maintain an element of 'home' when away in Macau by pursuing familiar forms of leisure activities.

Macau sojourners' temporalities

The analysis led to themes describing the experience of a sojourner in Macau as an integrated space for work and leisure. Most informants were willing to utilise a combination of its leisure resources mainly through sightseeing and participating in leisure programs for locals. In doing so, a combination of their previous experiences at home (or multiple homes) and their backgrounds also affected their own interpretations of work and leisure during their sojourn.

Whether or not they were professionally involved in the local tourism industry shaped various levels of self-conception of Macau as a place for work and/or leisure. Specifically, because of the regional characteristics of Macau as a tourist destination with many foreign workers involved in the local tourism industry, the informants' occupation affected the extent to which their work and leisure were integrated. Noticeably, even among the informants employed in the tourism industry, a variation in the way they incorporated the tourism element in their usage of local leisure spaces was found. Cathy, employed in the hospitality industry, showed a tendency to utilise the local touristic resources as being work and leisure integrated. Expressing

herself as 'a tourist right now' in addition to her identity as an expatriate, she showed how the boundary between work and leisure is blurred by describing her work-oriented leisure activities on non-working days:

> I go to all the hotels. I am not a casino person, but, even during a weekend, my husband and I pick a different hotel, tour it all around, we try to see rooms and we go through the building and get a feel of it. That's kind of our weekend pastime.

On the other hand, the fact that an informant was in the tourism industry did not predict the way the tourism element was incorporated in the spending of leisure time. Ian, a veteran tour guide showed an opposite tendency; he stayed away from anything related to tourism during his leisure time.

> I think I have been to almost all the places in Macau that I can go to. As I was taking the tour guiding classes, I did not walk around willingly but as a part of my training. As I studied in order to get my (guiding) license, I lost interest in knowing something more about Macau's touristic places. Travelling is now my work.

Ian and Jim, both tourism workers, showed a tendency to spend their leisure time away from tourism and tourists. Ian said:

> Even people working in the tourism industry have a hard time finding things to do during the leisure time in Macau. As there are a lot of limitations in terms of the things I can do during my free time, I mostly just stay in my apartment, playing games and watching movies.

Most of those informants who were under significant work pressure, resulting mostly from long working hours, used temporal strategies to mix work and leisure in different layers of time: the length of residence in Macau; workdays and holidays; regular working days and working hours.

Firstly, the time dimension of the interviewees' temporary stay in Macau, both the time spent and the one remaining, affected the extent to which they showed an interest in exploration and sightseeing. As illustrated above, Cathy showed a high level of consciousness of the horizon of her stay in Macau. She had been in Macau for less than three months at the time of the interview. At that time, she described herself as a 'tourist', saying that 'I am a tourist right now because I know I am here for a short time'. Because of her previous life experience, which includes several episodes of life abroad, she showed an acute awareness of her time frame, and was keen to do local and unique things during her allotted time as a sojourner. She said:

> Every time I go somewhere I know I am there for only five months to two years at the most, so I try to do everything I can up front. I am trying to do everything I can because I want to live the place, know that I've experienced it.

Many sojourners indicated that they would eventually visit the local tourist attractions that they kept in mind, but did not prioritise sightseeing; they tended to postpone sightseeing until right before they were to leave Macau. David, for example, said, 'I like the beach'; however, he had never been to Coloane, where the only beaches of Macau are located. If a certain leisure activity type is not greatly prioritised, such sojourners are not much motivated to explore Macau for any opportunity it might offer. All the informants reported that they visited the Senado Square and the Ruins of St. Paul's, which are the most iconic local touristic sites. However, beyond that, attitudes varied. David, for example, had never been to the Venetian Macau, which is one of the most visited sites. Lily explained that she had a tendency to postpone local touristic experiences, saying: 'If you are staying in a country, you take it for granted. You always think, next time, next time, and you don't explore many sites'. There was for some a tendency to express the intention to cover the 'unexplored spots' by the time one leaves Macau, to finish up the wish-to-see list at

the last minute, but for now there is only procrastination. When a particular attraction was mentioned to them, some informants expressed a determination to visit it before leaving Macau. Henry described his determination to visit the historical sites of the territory.

> In Macau, it is hard to travel around by myself that much since I work. I need to find time to work. It is hot during the summer and tiresome during the winter. But I am determined to go to the places I have not yet seen before I leave.

Furthermore, a remarkable temporal pattern among sojourners in terms of workdays and holidays was that they extended their lifestyle mobilities during holidays by spending their free time beyond the borders of Macau. Especially those from remote countries used their stay as an opportunity to explore parts of Asia. Nancy said: 'While I am staying here, I should go and see the Southeast Asian countries'. Fiona's family has lived in different countries in Asia, and she had a long list of Asian countries she had already visited. Some had the experience of having been obliged to visit Hong Kong or mainland China as a part of the immigration process or for work (Alice, Betty, David). Those with acquaintances in Hong Kong were likely to visit Hong Kong more often than others (David, Elizabeth, Fiona, Mary, Olivia). David, for example, reported that he spent the first few weeks after his arrival in Macau exploring Hong Kong first, 'to meet friends' there, instead of exploring Macau.

The frequency and the likelihood of visiting in particular Hong Kong and mainland China, among other regions, were determined by the perceived ease, safety, familiarity, and the visa issues. Mary remarked, 'It's one hour from Hong Kong and we can easily go to the mainland and visit some places because we always go touring'. Thus, she was more inclined to visit both Hong Kong and mainland China than to explore Macau. The above narratives reveal that mobility was enhanced by the fact that they were sojourners. Although they had shared

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perceptions with the locals about a lack of leisure spaces which motivated them to utilise leisure spaces outside of Macau, their identity as sojourners augmented both their capacities and motivations to do so. Some interview participants expressed that their desire for tourism during their sojourn in Macau was satisfied by the opportunities it offered them to visit neighbouring regions. This attitude of upholding familiar styles of leisure while trying new experiences, including at least the exploration of vicinities, reflects Chan's (2005) 'hybridizing' and 'innovating' strategies.

Thirdly, in terms of regular working days and hours, the informants who worked long hours tended not to use the touristic assets of Macau. For example, Alice did not see Macau as propitious to leisure activities for her primarily because of her long working hours. She admitted: 'I'd rather sleep. I'd rather rest because here I am working for twelve hours, thirteen hours, fourteen hours, without break'. Accordingly, she showed a lack of interest in the leisure resources Macau offered beyond her residence. She said, 'I don't go to events or to the UNESCO heritage site'. A similar unresponsiveness was acknowledged by David, a male engineer from Malaysia in his 30s, who reported that after work, he would prefer to confine his leisure activities to the home, for instance by watching TV or surfing the Internet. He said, 'Monday to Friday, I work. Saturday and Sunday, I just relax'. Peter, a male Filipino professional, also practiced a passive relaxation-oriented leisure pattern because of work. He reported that 'during the weekends, I stay at home. Instead of going out, I would rather rest'.

It was apparent that those informants who work full time feel the time constraint and adopt a relaxation-oriented leisure pattern that precludes active exploration, sightseeing or tourism. In other words, those informants lacked time, opportunities, and motivation to experience in any depth the non-household-based leisure resources of Macau. Such sojourners

tended to adopt the 'essentializing' (Chan, 2005) strategy, unwilling to acknowledge Macau as a leisure space worth combining with their original lifestyle. Lily's statement serves as a good conclusion to exemplify such a lifestyle choice. As a single female from Malaysia working in the hospitality industry, she saw long working hours as the most significant constraint on leisure time and the reason why she struggled to appreciate Macau.

> For us, the workday lasts ten to twelve hours. We work six full days a week. So, when you are on the rest day [sic], you don't want to go sightseeing in Macau. You want to rest a bit, to go for grocery shopping and you have to do the laundry, and that's it.

Of course one cannot deny there is another possibility that some sojourners' original leisure patterns are based on relaxation and they prefer lounging at home and surfing the internet rather than wandering outdoors. Nevertheless, sojourners in this regard still adopt the essentializing strategy as they basically cease developing any relationships with the new and temporal residing environment, which is indeed also a way to remain unchanged.

Despite the lack of leisure time, the regular enjoyment of local food was common among the working sojourners as a manner of enjoying Macau in a way that does not encroach on their professional life. When asked what leisure activity he enjoyed, Henry, an engineer, replied that he goes 'to eateries with a local food culture'. He added: 'I originally did not intentionally look for restaurant experiences. After coming to Macau, I got to learn about a food culture I had not been exposed to before: restaurants, wine, and delicious dishes'. Ian, a tour guide, reported: 'What I enjoy and is new to me is the food of Macau'. The clearly important role of the dining experience conforms to findings from studies that investigated the perceptions and the behaviours of seasonal migrants, such as the study of Haug et al. (2007), in which wine and food were revealed to be for sojourners one of the top components of the experience of something

typical and authentic in the place they were staying at. It also corresponds to Chan's (2005) conceptualization of 'alternating' as an outcome of cultural encounters. Here, alternating is suggested rather than hybridizing. Although the informants were fond of their new dining experience, tasting delicious local food was only described by the informants as a 'regular enjoyment'. None of them stated that the local style of food delicacies have become their 'daily necessity' or 'must eat items'.

Another strategy adopted by some informants was to get acquainted with the immediate neighbourhood of their place of residence, of their place of work, and of the itineraries of daily activities, such as shopping or commuting, in an opportunistic way and in small doses, which would not affect their professional life. A few examples will help clarify this strategy. Alice visited a museum in Taipa Village, not because she prioritises visiting museums but because it is close to her workplace and thus easily accessible. David described a similar behavioural pattern. He lived close to the St. Lazarus district and worked in Taipa. Therefore, he explored the cityscape around both his dwelling, his quite separate workplace, and along his daily commute route. Familiarizing himself with the region does not always imply the accumulation of more geographical knowledge, but it does encourage a degree of confidence in exploring the region close to living and working spaces without a reference, such as a map or GPS. For example, even though the St. Lazarus district has a complicated street network, David said that he found it easy to walk around the district without getting lost. Furthermore, among other hotels, he frequently visited Wynn Macau, which he found 'by chance' on his way back from work:

> I was waiting for the taxi—there was no taxi to go back to where I am staying. . . . Then I just started asking the guys. . . . . A guy told me, 'Well, you can take the Wynn Casino shuttle, and from there, you can take a taxi, or you can walk or something'. [I thought],

maybe, well, sounds nice. . . . When I arrived there, I thought, 'Wynn, it looks nice. Maybe I just take a walk inside.'

Many extant theoretical investigations of lifestyle mobilities tend to highlight international work choices as being lifestyle-led rather than career-led or being necessary to survive (Cohen et al., 2015). The narratives collected in Macau suggest that the matter is not that simple. While the findings partly vindicate this view, they also echo the findings of Tuulentie and Heimtun (2014), who express that very mobile individuals cannot always afford lifestyle-motivated mobilities and are instead forced into survival-driven choices.

Conclusion

Becoming a sojourner in a foreign region provides one with leisure and tourism opportunities that were not available at home. A sojourner is typically someone who has professional activities which impose constraints on the use of time. A sojourner often knows when his/her sojourn will terminate; in any case he/she knows that it will not last forever. This means that the sojourner needs to decide the timing of getting acquainted with his/her new host region's lifestyle and culture, and partaking in leisure or tourism activities in the region where he/she is staying. Intertwined with those decisions, there is the crucial choice of attitude regarding the extent to which a sojourner wants to live in the same way as 'at home' or according to the local lifestyle or in some combination thereof. The notions of home and away become, therefore, blurred and so do the ones of work and leisure. The new leisure and tourism possibilities that their new location offer, which also may have been motivations for becoming a sojourner, are subject to possibly severe constraints by the demands of professional life.

The sojourner, therefore, has to strike a balance, subject to his/her degree of interest in embracing the local culture and of career commitment. At one end of the spectrum, some of the informants seem to have come to Macau to focus on work and choose to use their leisure time for recovery from work and for weekly house maintenance rather than to search for participation in any leisure activities. At the other end, some exploit to the maximum and as early as possible the opportunities for the exploration of their surroundings, participation in local events, tourism, and acquisition of local knowledge. Such a spectrum implies that Chan (2005)'s conceptualization of adjustment to new cultural systems, from 'essentializing' to 'hybridizing' is applicable to this case. Yet 'converting', which involves a rather complete abandonment of one's original cultural system, was not apparent among the sojourners in this study. It is probably because Chan's (2005) framework was conceived for permanent immigrants who have significant motivation to be totally incorporated into the host society while this present study focuses on sojourners. Furthermore, the immigration rules of Macau, which makes it extremely challenging for sojourners to acquire permanent residency, would deter them from trying to settle down permanently.

While it is the mobilities of the tourist and of the immigrant and their adjustment to a foreign environment that has mostly attracted the attention of researchers (Io, 2015), the literature on those subjects offers some clues of interest to the study of sojourners, who are, in terms of time frame, an intermediate category. The findings show that the perception of the sojourning region, and the everyday practices of sojourners, shaped their mobilities. It was not the fact that Macau is a world class gambling city but the sojourners' perception of it as a place without leisure options other than gambling that affected their lifestyle. The more strongly they perceived Macau as a place only for gambling, the less they appreciated Macau as a place

worthwhile for sojourners to enjoy a diversity of alternative leisure options. Some of those who

realised such limitations and were willing to try a regional diversity of touristic experiences

during their sojourn, attempted to find leisure alternatives especially in the vicinities, such as

mainland China and Hong Kong. The sojourners' leisure space utilization tended to be dependent

upon their previous experience at home or previous foreign locations, accumulated and

embodied in them. The informants utilised tourism space in various ways. Categories of

experience were more important than the type of attractions. Also, exploration appeared to often

start from the person's dwelling and/or working location, and it progressively radiated from

there. The present findings are also congruent with recent findings by Sun and Xu (2019)

according to which some tourism entrepreneurs with lifestyle mobilities were subject to long

working hours during their sojourn and their coping strategy at integrating leisure and work

varied depending on personal capacities and environmental factors.

This article illustrates how sojourners' mobilities echo with Chan's (2005) framework

and further explores migrants' possible strategies in coping with challenges that occur in

between their origin and the new temporal residences in different speeds and rhythms (Cresswell,

2010). A combination of Chan's classification as well as the theoretical lens of lifestyle mobility

can provide further insights into understanding sojourners' mobilities.

Specifically, an important remark from this article is that the long working hours and

level of exhaustion experienced physically and mentally by the sojourners may inhibit their

mobilities between work and leisure; it also hinders sojourners' level of depth and interest in

interacting with another culture. These factors to the contrary are not much considered in the

case of migrants who intend to reside permanently in their new homes. The sojourners'

adaptation strategy may thus be much more fluid and easier to shift from one strategy to another.

In contrast, immigrants' adaptation strategy to a new culture may appear to be more permanent and uneasy to change, as suggested by Chan. Unlike the sojourners, immigrants do not have a set length of stay or intention to return to their origin.

Furthermore, this study called for additional consideration of temporal strategies in challenging Chan's framework. Considering that some sojourners chose to postpone leisure because of work pressure and instead intended to hastily visit local touristic spots just before they left Macau implies that speed and rhythm of sojourner mobilities are likely to fluctuate depending on their temporal strategies. Accordingly, even the same sojourners may show a combination of different outcomes of cultural encounters suggested by Chan (2005) depending on their temporalities. For instance, some may adopt 'essentializing' mostly caused by work pressure and then suddenly change their strategies to 'alternating', trying to fully experience the local cultures just before leaving the host region.

The present study contributes to the body of empirical studies in mobilities by revealing both similarities and differences in the way the binaries of home and away as well as work and leisure are blurred among highly mobile people in Asia. Sojourner mobilities and temporalities contribute theoretical insights by providing a more diversified understanding of global mobilities in general and those in Asian host regions in particular. This research thus contributes to satisfy the growing scholarly interest in Asian mobilities (Lin & Yeoh, 2016). The study region is significant in that its economic affluence mainly caused by the gambling industry, among others, and it being a world class tourism destination, attracts a diversity of sojourners as well as tourists from around the world. On the other hand, its characteristics as a gambling Mecca may cause sojourners in this region to show unique mobility and temporality patterns to some extent. Future

studies, therefore, could examine the lifestyles of sojourners in different Asian regions as well as Asian sojourners in Western countries and other areas beyond Asia.

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Table 1. Profile of the interviewees

ID	Nickname	Gender	Age	Martial Status	From	Occupation	Duration of stay (years)
1	Alice	Female	21-30	Single	Philippines	Service worker	6
2	Garnet	Female	21-30	Single	USA	Student	8
3	Queenie	Female	21-30	Single	Korea	Interpreter	3
4	David	Male	31-40	Single	Malaysia	Engineer	<1
5	Henry	Male	31-40	Single	Canada	Engineer	3
6	Ian	Male	31-40	Single	Korea	Tour guide	2
7	Jim	Male	31-40	Single	Korea	Tour guide	2
8	Elizabeth	Female	31-40	Married	Hong Kong	Housewife	3
9	Mary	Female	31-40	Married	Philippines	Researcher	<1
10	Lily	Female	41-50	Single	Malaysia	Hotelier	9
11	Olivia	Female	41-50	Married	UK	Housewife	<1
12	Betty	Female	51-60	Married	USA	Researcher	2
13	Katherine	Female	51-60	Married	Korea	Business owner	>10
14	Nancy	Female	51-60	Married	Mainland China	Retired accountant	<1
15	Fiona	Female	51-60	Married	USA	Former businesswoman	8
16	Peter	Male	51-60	Single	Philippines	Architect	<1
17	Cathy	Female	61-70	Married	USA	Hotelier	<1