

研究論文

鄉愁的凝視、掃視和奇觀：多重具身視覺體制下的旅遊景觀生產

袁艷

摘要

本文以湖北兩個村莊為個案透視 2014 年以來以「鄉愁」為主題的旅遊景觀生產機制。研究發現，鄉愁旅遊的景觀生產同時受到「駐足凝視」、「閒蕩掃視」和「嬉戲奇觀」三種具身視覺體制的作用，每種體制產生身體與眼睛間獨特的配合方式，生產出不同的可見性和不可見性，為遊客創造出到達、渡過、懸置的差異化空間體驗，以此實現鄉村作為懷舊性儀式空間的功能。這三種具身視覺體制不僅構成旅遊景觀生產的多重維度，也帶來了對「鄉愁」的多種解讀。雖然三種體制都是從旅客的需求出發對鄉村的他者化再現和懷舊性表達，但它們對「他者」和「過去」的呈現並非確定和統一，而是展現出不同的面孔和意義，由此決定了遊客與鄉村之間流動的空間關係以及一種曖昧的鄉愁，偏「反思性懷舊」而非「恢復性懷舊」。這一分析框架打破了「遊客凝視」理論的二元敘事，揭示出旅遊景觀生產實踐中更為動態和複雜的視覺和空間政治。

關鍵詞：鄉愁、鄉村旅遊、視覺文化、視覺體制、身體運動

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Research Article

The Gaze, Glance and Spectacle of Nostalgia: Multiple Embodied Scopic Regimes in the Landscape Production of Nostalgic Tourism in China

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Abstract

This article investigates two villages to scrutinise the politics of visibility and the mechanisms employed in the development of “nostalgia tourism” in many Chinese villages since 2014. It goes beyond John Urry’s theory of “tourist gaze” and proposes the concept of “multiple embodied scopic regimes” as the framework to observe and to analyse, in order to depict a more systematic and dynamic picture of landscape production. It discovers that three different embodied scopic regimes are employed in the tourist development: “stop/gaze regime,” “flâneur/glance regime,” and “play/spectacle regime.” Each regime produces a unique fashion of visual pleasure and distinct mode of physical movements, manifested and afforded by different sets of cultural technologies, including the construction of village gates, viewing platforms, tourist trails, as well as the organisation of promotional events and the gamification of the attractions. The overall production of the tourist sites is featured by: (A) the intertwining of certain ways of seeing and moving within each regime; (B) the coexistence of three different regimes in the production of tourist landscape and experience. It is through these two mechanisms that the tourist sites could fulfil three layers of spatiality as a ritual space: arrival, passage, and liminality.

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Meanwhile, the coexistence of multiple embodied scope regimes also diversifies the meanings of nostalgia that these tourist sites claim to narrate. While the “stop/gaze regime” tries to represent a timeless and singular past, the “flâneur/glance regime” points to multiple images of “past” associated with different historical periods. The “play/spectacle regime,” on the contrary, totally subverts the collective identification with one united past or a set of common pasts, instead it reverses adulthood to childhood, encouraging tourists to retreat into their personal pasts. Due to such ambiguity, the paper argues that the production of nostalgia tourism in the two villages is more about “reflective nostalgia” than about “restorative nostalgia.” The manipulation of the space of villages is mainly aimed to create and sustain the desire of longing for an irretrievable home or past, instead of restoring or protecting a certain lost home or past.

Keywords: nostalgia, nostalgic tourism, visibility, scopic regimes, embodiment

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