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**MOBILITY, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND EARLY-STAGE TOURISM
DEVELOPMENT**

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Ph.D

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The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
School of Hotel and Tourism Management

Mobility, Social Capital, and Early-stage Tourism
Development

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

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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Lingxu Zhou

Abstract

The world is constantly on the move. Human mobility has long been a subject of social science since the colonization era until the upsurge of urbanization and globalization. People have become refugees, sojourners, migrants, tourists, and commuters in the age of increasing globalization, glocalization, and counter-urbanization. When tourism and migration are both examined as forms of mobility, a contextual perspective is adopted. This study establishes the connection between these two concepts. Destinations often lack human, social, and economic capital in early-stage tourism development. In an era of highly increased corporeal mobility, the manner in which inward migration to certain destinations influences tourism development and the overall progress of a destination should be investigated. Set in a remote county in inland rural China, where domestic tourism migrants are drawn from development opportunities driven by tourism industries, this study contextually addresses the issue. Specifically, this study investigates the phenomenon of tourism supply-induced mobility in an early-stage tourist destination in China, and identifies the experiences, expectations, and prospects of domestic tourism migrants as well as those of local communities.

The relationship between tourism and migration is considered a causal one in this study, as permanent or temporary human mobility is viewed as an end result of tourism development. Furthermore, social capital broadly refers to the socio-cultural and political aspects of an individual and a community that are indispensable to personal and collective progression. The concept is categorized as a personal social network, institutional support, and community openness in this study. An initial

conceptual framework was built on the literature review and research questions. The conceptual framework was subsequently revised and consolidated based on the findings of this study. Qualitative methods were utilized to collect and analyze data. In the analysis, the study follows a constructivist and relational paradigm, as well as integrates approaches in phenomenology and narrative inquiry for data analysis and interpretation. Results of this study present the experiences of entrepreneurial migrants and migrant employees in tourism in terms of decision making and managing various relationships, challenges, and future prospects. From the standpoint of tourism projects and community-based tourism development, results are provided in relation to the experiences of tourism actors and social capital.

We conclude that early-stage destinations need to attract, select, and sustain human capital. Social capital has a vital role in this process. We also establish the relationship between mobility and social networks. This study contributes to the theoretical development of integrating social capital in tourism research, as well as connecting tourism research with the mobilities paradigm. Practically, this study provides policy and planning suggestions to tourism development and rural development in China. Future studies need to quantify the dimensions of tourism development, social capital, and mobility to generalize and operationalize the results. Situations in non-Chinese, particularly Western, contexts need to be further examined for comparison.

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List of Abbreviations

ANT: Actor Network Theory

AI: Attracting investment

EM: Entrepreneurial migrants

HFH: Happy Farmer's Home

LG: Local government

LC: Local community

ME: Migrant employee

MHRSS: Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security

NDRC: National Development and Reform Commission

NSBC: National Statistics Bureau of China

PCC: Political Consultative Committee

SME: Small and medium enterprise

TFYP: Twelfth Five-Year Plan

TVE: Township and village enterprise

VFR: Visiting Friends and Relatives

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Background

People have become increasingly mobile in many aspects, and movement from place to place has become convenient. Mobility, which can be physical or virtual, can occur by traditional means or through social media. Specifically, mobility can be in the form of flying in for a conference or holiday with physical presence or doing business or connecting with friends from afar through the Internet. Metaphorically, mobility is also called circulation. Mobility is beneficial for the individual as it is for society in the same manner that a healthy body needs circulation in its veins and arteries. Mobility is observable and measurable, conveys ideological meanings, and is embodied (Hannam, 2009). Human mobility can be both “free” and constrained, as well as motivated and demotivated. The social sciences of mobility have formed several perspectives for research on the subject (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2007; Hannam, 2009). The “mobilities turn” has occurred from traditional research on transport geography, migration studies, and tourism research, and has adopted a more holistic view of the world on the move (Cresswell, 2010).

Tourism is an activity of being mobile and is thus considered a major form of mobility. Tourism as a set of industries can become sources of mobility in terms of tourism employment. Mobility and immobility can be linked with power, social status,

and social structure (Hannam et al., 2007). Human mobility is associated with the mobility of social relations possessed by an individual. This research connects the concept of mobility and social capital in the context of tourism development in rural China. In such area, out-migration is dominant, but in-migration and return migration may provide new energy for rural revitalization. These inward migrants and their experiences, which are induced by tourism development, are the main subjects of this research. Particularly, in less developed areas, labor shortage and the lack of economic, social, and cultural capital hinder economic growth. Such phenomenon appears in potential tourist destinations. The focus of this research is on less developed destinations with limited branding effects on attracting inward migrants. The use of the term “mobility” rather than “migration” takes into consideration the increasingly blurring boundary between tourism and migration. In this research, mobility, other than specified, refers to human mobility. Therefore, in some chapters it is used interchangeably with “migration”. This research will identify the experiences of tourism migrants, their role in tourism development, and the manner in which social structure influences their experiences.

1.1.1 Tourism and mobility

Tourism is a global phenomenon with distinct localized characteristics in terms of planning tourism destinations and managing tourism industries. The movement of people is an essential component of tourism. Migration is another important research area under the scope of mobility studies. A causal relationship exists between migration and tourism. Migration can generate tourism flows based on kinship and friendship

network ties; meanwhile, tourism can generate migration to fulfill labor demand and the search for the location of employment, retirement, or lifestyle (Williams & Hall, 2000). Migration and tourism nowadays have a considerably more blurred boundary because of increasing geographical mobility. For instance, tourism has become a driving force for seasonal migration, such as traveling to second homes (Duval, Hall, & Müller, 2004; Hall & Müller, 2004; O'Reilly, 2003). Migration has also generated return visits to home countries (Duval, 2003). Thus, tourism as a form of temporary mobility is distinct from permanent migration based on a time–space scale. This scale is essentially two dimensional, with length of stay and distance from home represented on the x and y axes, respectively (Bell & Ward, 2000).

Tourism-related migration can be categorized from the perspective of consumption and production (Williams & Hall, 2000). Categorization is essentially determined by the primary motivation of migration, whether the purpose is for consuming tourist destination or producing for tourism. Therefore, tourism-related migration can be defined as the change of residency to a destination for tourism production or consumption purposes. Williams and Hall (2000) identified four types of tourism-related migration, namely, labor, return, entrepreneurial, and retirement migration. The four types all render mixed consumption- and production-based tourism activities.

Tourism and migration are two distinct but inter-related processes in the wide sphere of global economy, which significantly rely on the circulation of capital and labor. The movement of population is not simply about the structural pattern and individual characteristics and propensities; it is also associated with wider social, economic, and

political contexts. In terms of labor circulation, labor mobility and labor markets in tourism have been investigated extensively (see Deery, 2002; Ladkin & Riley, 1996; McCabe, 2001; Riley, 2004; Szivas & Riley, 1999). An important research subject is the migrant tourism worker or the working tourist, who migrated legally or illegally, and then found tourism-related employment (Bianchi, 2000; Cukier, Sharpley, & Telfer, 2002; Janta, Ladkin, Brown, & Lugosi, 2011; Uriely, 2001).

The flow of tourists as well as migrants is accompanied by the flow of capital (Grubel & Scott, 1966; Zhang, Pine, & Zhang, 2000). The use of the term “capital” can narrowly refer to physical and financial possessions. Capital comes in physical, human, and social forms (Bian, 2002). Tourism economists provide sufficient insights into the management of financial capital and the economic effect of tourism in general terms. However, such insights are limited from a mobile and flux perspective. Studies that link tourism and migration have grasped the movement of human capital, namely the skills, training, and other human resource elements that determine labor mobility and the transformation of personal identity. In terms of the circulation of social capital, tourism researchers tend to examine social capital as a driving force for visiting friends and relatives (VFR tourism) and return visits of immigrants (Larsen, Urry, & Axhausen, 2007; Hung, Xiao, & Yang, 2013), and as the organizational and social support in small-scale tourism development of a destination (Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004; Jones, 2005). Thus, the circulation of social capital in tourism migration lacks research attention.

From the production viewpoint, tourism development intrigues employment taken by and investment from people from outside of the region or country (Hunter, 1995; Paniagua, 2002). The social structure and relationship of migrant groups have not been studied in tourism literature. In developing countries, issues of tourism migration and social capital from the production perspective are of particular significance in job creation and economic development through the cultivation of destination resources in a collective manner (Ashley, Boyd, & Goodwin, 2000; Patterson, Gulden, Cousins, & Kraev, 2004). The current study attempts to bridge the gap by investigating the formation, possession, and mobilization of social capital associated with tourism migration in the context of a developing country, China.

Tourism and migration as two separate but similar concepts are connected with place attachment and identity (Haug, Dann, & Mehmetoglu, 2007; Torkington, 2012). As tourism often occurs before many tourism-related migration could happen, the branding of a place can contribute to the decision of migrating to a particular place (Torkington, 2012). However, the decision-making process is complex and involves several push and pull factors. To objectively examine the effects of tourism development as a social or economic activity, the effect of destination brand shall be eliminated. Given that this research aims at the production side of tourism-related migration, less developed destinations in the early stage of tourism development are regarded as capable of inducing tourism production-led mobilities with limited effect of the destination brand. Nonetheless, this study is not implying that place attachment and place identity are unimportant. The relationship between individual migrant and destinations is explored in this research.

The decision of tourism-related migration can be viewed from two aspects. The individual aspect suggests that an individual may have the freedom in contemporary society to relocate for the purpose of consumption or production. The structural aspect asserts that migration decision is, to a certain extent, influenced by the social structure and class habitus. Migrating for lifestyle, retirement, or second homes is more common in developed than in developing countries as explained by counter-urbanization theory (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Hence, a more in-depth and empirical evidence-based conceptualization of tourism migrants and their experiences of mobility is required. Developing countries are researched extensively in the context of global south–north migration patterns and labor market demand and supply in labor migration studies. The cheap labor and economic conditions of these countries are frequently investigated (Choi, Woods, & Murrmann, 2000; De Haas, 2005). Labor markets in tourism are dynamic and unregulated due to the ease of access, low skill requirement, and mobile career structure of tourism employment (Riley, 2004). Therefore, tensions and dilemmas exist between large corporate players and small tourism enterprises on the level of stability and advancement opportunities that they provide.

In summary, tourism in many developed countries is associated with seasonal migration, lifestyle migration, and the phenomenon of second homes. By contrast, tourism in developing countries creates employment or entrepreneurship opportunities, and thus attracts labor migration or entrepreneurial migration to popular destinations. In China, tourism and the flow of population are important social and economic phenomena. Labor migration is obvious, but more observable is the flow from rural to urban destinations. Entrepreneurial migration has started to appear in second- or third-

tier cities or tourism destinations with complication and distinction due to the socio-cultural, economic, and political characteristics of the country. Issues in land ownership, cultural diversity within the country, economic imbalance between coastal and inland areas, and the political practice of state socialism create such complications. This study specifically focuses on the Chinese context and examines tourism production-induced migration from a sociological standpoint. Tourism-related migration in China is a new area of research and a considerable expanse merits investigation. Issues for investigation include diverse research orientations that focus on different scales of migration as well as various issues related to migration, gender and ethnic equity, employment, and so forth.

1.1.2 Social capital and social networks

Social capital and social networks are used as interrelated but different terms in the academic literature. Social networks are perceived as stocks of social capital, and social capital is the obvious or latent value provided by all of the members in shared networks (Lin, 1998, 2000; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). In the late 1990s, social capital became a popular subject for social science research in the Western world. Generally, the use of social relations as resources can be used for personal gain. On the subject of capital, classical capital theory can be traced to Marx (1933). This theory explores the exploitation of laborers by capitalists for the gain of surplus value. Based on neo-capital theories, Lin (1999) categorizes capital as human, cultural, and social. Meanwhile, Bourdieu (1986) classifies capital into three forms, namely, economic, cultural, and social.

Other capital theories, such as physical, natural, ecological, and financial capital, appear under different guises in the academic literature. To distinguish social capital from the other forms of capital, a simple comparison is made among human, physical, and social capital. Table 1.1 presents the comparison and explanation derived from three aspects of investments, results, and goals. Physical capital, overt from the name, requires investments in physical materials to create tools for the purpose of consumption. Human capital refers to the capital possessed by individuals in skills, intelligence, and knowledge, and it aims to facilitate individual abilities to act. Economic and cultural capital can be associated with physical and human capital.

Table 1.1 A comparison among three forms of capital
(Source: Adapted from Coleman, 1988)

	Physical capital	Human capital	Social capital
Investments	In materials	In person	In relations
Results	Create tools	Create skills/capacity	Create social resources
Goal	Facilitate production	Facilitate abilities to act	Facilitate collective action

Social capital, in turn, emphasizes investment in social relations based on the mutual recognition of benefits. According to Lin (1999), social capital is perceived as investments on embedded and valued social resources with an expected return. Social networks are the primary resource and core element of social capital. Furthermore, social capital is divided into structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Bridging and bonding social capital are also categorizations of the concept. Bridging connects social capital from outside the community and bonding

social capital refers to the social relations generated within a closed structure (Putnam, 1993). Therefore, social capital can be explored from the individual, organizational, community, and society levels (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The measurement of social capital largely depends on the research scenario. Indicators of social capital are also varied and selected under specified rationales. An argument focuses on whether social capital can remedy all of the social problems, in which positivity tends to be associated with this concept. Several researchers agree on the creation of human value and intellectual capital as the consequences of social capital (Coleman, 1988; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). By contrast, Portes (1998) suggests that both the positive and negative sides of social capital should be given attention.

Although social capital is a Western concept, Chinese publications on this subject have appeared in recent years. In the context of China, social capital is often examined interchangeably with the Chinese term “guanxi” (Warren, Dunfee, & Li, 2004; Szeto, Wright, & Cheng, 2006). The distinction between the two is difficult to articulate. Guanxi is a Chinese word that consists of two characters, namely, guan (关) and xi (系). However, for the subtlety of its meaning, the word remains untranslated in the literature. Originating from Confucian thought, guanxi represents a system of social connections in a society in which kinship associations are of particular importance. Guanxi relationships represent the societal and cultural norms of “renqing” (favor or influence), which are social networks acquired for practical purposes.

Sociologists have identified the connections and distinctions between social capital and guanxi relationships (Fan, 2002; Huang & Wang, 2011; Zhai, 2009). The general

academic perception is that guanxi is a cultural-specific form of social capital and primarily applies to the individual and business levels. “La (pulling) guanxi” refers to stock social capital by entering a positive relationship for a specific purpose (Luo, 1997). To utilize social networks and stock social capital, la guanxi is a protocol and typically conducted in the dark and causes an ethical dilemma (Fan, 2002; Szeto, Wright, & Chen, 2006).

The social network is a well-established research area that uses several instruments and approaches to evaluate diversity, homogeneity, and other characteristics of networks. According to Lin (1998), social networks are resources for social capital, and privileged groups have better and larger networks, and therefore, have a wider access to social capital. Moody and Paxton (2009) suggest a combination of the “emotional” content of social capital and the structure of social networks. They provide an example that several researchers demonstrate “the average distance between everyone on the planet is six handshakes,” but “no discussion of what sorts of social processes can be carried across those handshakes” is presented (Moody & Paxton, 2009, p. 1495). Understanding networking processes and the manner in which trust, reciprocity, and mutual awareness are generated by and conducted within these processes is appropriate.

The phenomenon of migration, especially international immigration, is often examined in relation to social capital (Aguilera, 2005; Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Portes, 2000; Portes & Landolt, 2000). For example, the original notion of declining social capital in the United States proposed by Putnam (1997, 1998, & 2001) is associated with the increasing diversity of communities due to immigration policies. The implication is that

migrants rely on their closed network ties to adapt to the new environment. Although mobility is viewed as a barrier to access and maintain social capital, migrants often exert effort to retain links with their homeland while building new social networks in the host country (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). This observation can also apply to VFR tourism when migrants maintain social capital in homeland by their return visits (Lew & Wong, 2004). However, the relationship between social capital and mobility is more dynamic and needs to be placed in different contexts. Further research is required to further develop the theoretical and empirical evidence in this area.

1.2 Problem Statement

Early-stage destinations in less developed areas lack internal capabilities to provide sufficient human and economic capital for tourism development. Hence, tourism-related migration can have a significant effect on inducing human and economic capital. This section analyzes the problem in three aspects, namely, challenges of tourism development at an early stage, experiences of tourism migrants, and current situation of tourism in China.

1.2.1 Challenges of early-stage tourism development

Tourism development in less developed areas faces numerous challenges at the initial stage. According to the tourism area life cycle proposed by Butler (2004), tourism destinations undergo various stages in their life cycle. The development stage appears after the exploration and involvement stages. In developing countries, local governments have a crucial role in planning, coordinating, and regulating tourism development (Tosun, 2000; Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999). At the development stage of a destination,

more external organizations provide services and facilities and participate in tourism industries, such as accommodation, restaurants, built attractions, and so forth (Butler, 2004). The role of the private sector is increasingly strong. When no surplus labor can be absorbed or special skills are required, inward labor migration occurs to meet the demand required by a growing tourist market (see also Butler, 2004).

During the early stage of tourism development, funding comes from the government and external or foreign direct investments. Hence, local control of tourism development is weak and community participation can be low, especially in developing countries (Liu, 2003). Nonetheless, early-stage tourism development is expected to create employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for local residents. However, local people, specifically the youth, are uninterested in tourism employment because of the low pay in tourism jobs and seasonality features of the tourism industry. In the case of Zhangjiajie National Park in China, local young people would rather leave their hometown for higher-paying jobs in urban areas than be employed in the local tourism industry. Meanwhile, labor workers from other areas migrate to the destination area and occupy tourism positions (Zhong, Deng, & Xiang, 2008). This situation is relatively common in early-stage tourism development, when local human capital is insufficient for management or professional positions. Consequently, the benefits of migrants/immigrants and local people from these positions are limited to low-paying and low-skill jobs (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996).

Therefore, the distribution of tourism economic outcomes and the relationship between internal and external participants should be well balanced to strategically

manage the effects of tourism for sustainable development. The development of mobility studies is also concerned with the role of external actors and migrants/immigrants; migrants might be able to bring positive influences to tourism development, and these influences could create the potential for innovation and internationalization (Williams & Shaw, 2011), networking and bringing resources and partnerships beyond the local scope (Paniagua, 2002), and contributions of working tourists and migrant hospitality workers to the overall tourism labor market (Ladkin, 2011). External actors of tourism development can bridge the ties of a destination and strengthen the capabilities of a destination (Haugland, Ness, Grønseth, & Aarstad, 2011).

Additionally, research on tourism investment has been largely from the economic perspective (Dwyer & Forsyth, 1994; Mahony & Van Zyl, 2002; Tisdell & Wen, 1991). Tourism investment from private actors significantly contributes at the early stage in terms of infrastructure and facility building and providing employment opportunities in local communities. Tourism investment has been investigated in terms of scale, impact, and incentive; tourism investment from socio-cultural and political aspects and from individual perspectives should be examined (Ashe, 2005; McKercher, 1993; Jenkins, 1982; Mohammed & McCowen, 2001).

In less developed areas, the inward movement of labor workers, entrepreneurs, and various scales of investment toward a tourism destination can be of vital importance because of limited local economic and human resources. These factors influence tourism development economically and socio-culturally. The selection of less developed tourism

destinations should be rational to exclude the influence on migration decision from sophisticated destination branding. Given that destination branding is a multi-level integrative system, various actors and stakeholders are involved, and the system evolves through several development stages. The capabilities of a destination can be reflected in its ability to attract and sustain capital, manage external and internal actors, distribute tourism outcomes, and manage the effects of tourism. Globally, tourism and hospitality industries have experienced numerous changes because of the increasing mobilities of hosts, guests, and related organizations and communities; thus, people are increasingly drawn to be employed in these industries for lifestyle reasons (Urry, 2002). From the industry perspective, retaining quality employees is difficult due to the negative image and several other characteristics of hospitality and tourism work (Duncan, Scott, & Baum, 2013).

1.2.2 Experiences of tourism migrants

The discussion on tourism-induced migration has become a popular research topic (Williams & Hall, 2000). Attracting human and economic capital from other industries and from other areas is a major task for tourism development; although numerous incentives are drawn to achieve this goal, the migration process is not determined solely by these incentives but is conducted by the work of several forces at different levels. The role of tourism migrants, as hospitality and tourism workers, or as small business operators, has been traditionally examined from a macro scope in the tourism development literature (Cukier, 1994; Bianchi, 2000). Researchers have started to demonstrate increased interest in the experiences of these migrants and their micro

relationship with and influence on local residents, host community, and tourism development (Bosworth & Rarrell, 2011; Janta et al., 2011; Lundmark, 2006). However, the literature has yet to explore the micro mechanisms and deconstruction of individual migrant experiences in terms of decision making, entry mode, settling down, personal development and integration with host communities, future intentions and plans, and so forth.

Tourism-related mobility has witnessed a trend in academic research regarding the movement of labor, skills, and capital in tourism development, especially when the movement direction exhibits signs of counter-urbanization (Duncan et al., 2013). The increasing mobilities of workers, tourists, and hosts have driven the emergence of working tourists and lifestyle entrepreneurs in tourism destinations, thus increasing the complexity of the relationship among travel, work, and leisure (Duncan et al., 2013). Moreover, the participation of migrants in hospitality services has challenged the conventional concept of host and guest. For instance, this situation has raised the question on whether a migrant as service provider is a host or guest (McNaughton, 2006). The phenomenon of these various forms of mobilities is changing societies that generate and receive these mobilities; in the meantime, new doors to research are opened. The situations in developed countries and developing countries can be quite different. Developed countries are traditionally viewed to be on the generating side of these tourism-related mobilities, whereas developing countries are at the receiving end. The flows of these mobilities are increasingly diverse because of the speed of economic development. Work, leisure, and lifestyle factors are compounded in the characteristics

of different forms of tourism migrants, triggering multi-disciplinary and in-depth conceptualization of tourism-induced mobility and migration.

As Ladkin (2011) has stated, "...migration for tourism employment could be an area that can develop in connection to mobility theory, thereby partly addressing the claim that tourism studies have yet to embrace higher level theories of mobilities" (p. 1141). Thus, the phenomenon of tourism-induced migration in the light of social and spatial theories of mobility should be examined. The employment and entrepreneurship of migrants have been associated with the personal social relationships and characteristics of migrant communities, but the social relational characteristics of the host communities are often neglected in the investigation (Janta & Ladkin, 2009; Zhou, 2004).

Introducing the theories of social capital into tourism mobilities is appropriate. The flexibility of the concept allows for the inclusion of the social relational features of individual migrants as well as organizational/community characteristics. Migrants acquire social networks in adapting to the new community. The migration process denotes leaving the comfortable nest to start a different life elsewhere, which is accompanied by changes, challenges, and prospects. In this process, migrant social networks have a substantial role in assisting in the adaptation, mitigating the challenges, and increasing the prospects. Social capital is embedded in social relationships; maintaining old relationships, constructing new relationships, and converting these relationships into social capital in practical situations are important for migrants. The connection between social capital and mobility has been identified in the literature, but

such connection requires further specification in terms of the types of mobility and the role of social capital in the mobility generated by tourism industries in particular.

1.2.3 Current situations in China

In the case of China, internal migration has been a major issue in the modernization process since the economic reform in 1978. Internal migration from rural areas to urban areas is common in China. Out-migration from first-tier urban areas is increasingly evident in China due to the effect of rising employment and investment opportunities in less developed areas (Zhao, 2002; Murphy, 2000). The Chinese *hukou* (household record) system is the primary constraint of domestic mobility. Several social benefits are associated with an urban *hukou*; nevertheless, the change from a rural *hukou* to an urban one is extremely difficult.

The recent efforts of the Chinese government showed signs of reducing the barriers of mobility caused by the *hukou* system, such as opening *hukou* registration in second- and third-tier cities and towns to rural migrant workers (“Reform on household,” 2013). The economic development of China brings more lifestyle-oriented mobility decisions. In early 2013, a young couple from Beijing decided to move away from the pollution and high work stress, and live in the relaxing tourist town of Dali for an entire year. Their story spurred numerous discussions on the Internet and brought interest to the lives of migrants living in peripheral tourist areas (“Beijing young couple,” 2013). Although only at their infancy, the counter-urbanization behaviors and bilateral movement of people are likely to increase and affect the social structure and modernization process in China.

Tourism has become a major focus in the national policy of China. The following strategies are emphasized in the “Twelfth Five-year Plan” of the Chinese central government (“Tourism Bureau Answers,” 2011):

- Tourism should be industrialized and market-oriented;
- Domestic tourism should be prioritized with the goal of tourism development by the end of 2015 to have an annual increase of tourism employment by 600,000 people; and
- A goal for the share of tourism industries in national GDP is to reach 4.5%.

One of the problems faced by tourism development in China is the lack of capabilities of the destination to retain local employees (Zhong et al., 2008). Migrant workers who left their hometown for urban jobs are motivated to return for tourism employment, but mostly for emotional reasons and family obligations. Economic benefit is hardly a factor because tourism jobs have low pay, and the lack of the required skills for tourism does not provide them with any competitive advantage (Wang & Huang, 2010).

Tourism development is likely to be put on the agenda from local government at the county level because of the government policy that leans toward nationwide tourism development. Local government is facing decentralization and a lack of funds from upper level government in supporting tourism; therefore it is continuously encouraging increased participation from the private sectors (Zhang et al., 1999). In this period of economic reform and urbanization, development projects are drawn to third-tier cities, counties, and rural areas in China. However, the mobility of labor and capital in tourism development remains largely contextual, particularly when the level of tourism development varies throughout China.

Attracting labor and capital is more difficult during the development at the early stage and in less developed inland areas (Professor Guangrui Zhang, personal communication, May 15, 2013). Therefore, this study focuses on the initial stage of tourism development in less developed areas to explore the research problem. The tourism migration process involves not only using various incentives to attract inward migrants, but also retaining human and economic capital to achieve sustainable tourism development.

China is characterized by traditional Confucian values and a distinct political system. Social capital and social relationships are built differently from Western cultures, thus generating different influences on both geographical and social mobility. Early-stage tourism development lacks market scale and brand awareness, although inward tourism migration is an economic process that is concerned with the resources, potentials, and risks; however, this stage is also a social process that involves the networking and information exchange of various actors. In a family-oriented society, the value of social networks and social capital in the migration experience can be especially influential. In tourism development, the lack of human capital is a serious issue (Liu, 2006). The situation is more severe in rural areas. Tourism-related human capital can be created by forming help groups and offering organizational support through effective social networks. The role of social capital in positively enhancing human capital has been proved in previous studies in tourism and other fields (Coleman, 1988; Teachman et al., 1999; McGehee et al., 2010). Economic capital can also be brought into the community in the form of migrant remittances and from external investments outside of the community. Social capital helps generate economic assets through networking for

financial purposes (Bian, 2003). However, the contribution of these effects of social capital to the tourism migration process and influence mobility has yet to be determined.

In summary, early-stage tourism development lacks human and economic capital and faces numerous challenges in retaining skilled employees, entrepreneurs, and investments. The mobilities of tourism migrants to destinations for tourism development can substantially support local tourism development. The characteristics of these mobilities and processes of tourism migration should be further explored under a socio-cultural framework, in association with contemporary behaviors, such as lifestyle orientation, counter-urbanization, welfare-seeking, and the concept of social capital.

The observation of the author regarding internal migrants who participate in tourism-related projects in an inland area in China contributes to the exploration of the research problem. Practical issues emerged from brief communications the author had with migrant and returnee entrepreneurs, including the transition from other businesses to tourism, recruitment of local residents as employees, challenges of collaborating with local government, and the enjoyment of developing tourism attractions and living in rural areas. The understanding of the experiences of tourism migrants can contribute to the attraction and retention of labor and capital in early-stage tourism development.

1.3 Research Goal and Objectives

This study aims to understand the role of social capital in tourism supply-induced mobility by exploring the experiences of tourism migrants. The study context is set in an inland county in China, which is at its initial stage of tourism development. The

following four objectives and relevant research questions are raised to meet the research goal:

Objective A: To identify the characteristics and sources of mobility of tourism migrants

Major characteristics include demographics, education level, length of migration, source region of migration, prior relationship with the migration destination, previous experience, and form of participation in tourism. The selection of tourism migrants (i.e., labor and entrepreneurial migrants) is based on social mobility. The other characteristics of mobility should be identified as well.

Research questions:

A1. What are the demographic characteristics of tourism migrants and their modes of participation in tourism?

A2. Among the migrants, how many are return or new migrants?

A3. What was the decision-making process toward migration?

A4. What are the motivations of migration and to what extent do lifestyle choices influence motivation?

A5. What are the previous professions of the respondents, and how did they become involved with tourism?

A6. How do they adapt to their new place and new life?

Objective B: To explore the role of tourism supply-induced mobility in tourism development

This objective aims to understand the involvement and influence of migrants on local tourism development and whether tourism development serves as a driving force for internal migration. Specifically, the participation mode and social mobility of migrants are examined, and the patterns of employment, entrepreneurship, and investment in local tourism development are revealed. The prospects of local tourism development and future lives perceived by individual migrants are also crucial components under this objective.

Research questions:

B1. What is the extent of the influence on migration decision of the characteristics of tourism development?

B2. What are the migrant attitudes toward working/investing/conducting business in tourism?

B3. What are the challenges that tourism migrants have faced and are currently facing?

B4. What are the prospects for the personal development of migrants and tourism development in the area?

Objective C: To examine the role of social capital in tourism supply-induced mobility

This objective identifies the social capital from three perspectives, namely, social networks of migrants, institutional support, and community openness. Furthermore, this study explores the roles of these perspectives in migration and tourism development. Social capital from social contacts, informal networks from family and friends, and formal organizational networks are examined in relation to the experiences of migrants.

Social support from local communities is also evaluated. Local residents and other organizations that participate in and lead tourism development represent local communities in this study. Their attitudes are important in the overall outcome of tourism development.

Research questions:

C1. What is the role of social contacts in migrant experiences in terms of decision making, seeking employment/entrepreneurial opportunity, starting up, and settling down?

C2. What is the nature of these social contacts (friendship, kinship, acquaintances, etc.)?

C3. What are the levels of social support from local community and governments received by migrants?

C4. What are the levels of openness of local community toward external tourism development projects and tourism migrants?

C5. What is the attitude of local communities toward tourism development projects led by external actors and tourism development in general?

Objective D: To compare the experiences of labor migrants and entrepreneurial migrants, and new migrants and return migrants in tourism development and social capital

The main research questions under this objective distinguish the processes of social capital circulation, accumulation, and utilization in the experience of different types of tourism migrants.

Research questions:

D1. What are the differences in migrant characteristics and the extent of lifestyle as motivation of migration?

D2. How do decisions of migration differ in terms of the influence of individual social capital?

D3. How do different types of migrants differ in terms of institutional and community support received?

D4. How do attitudes and prospects differ in terms of tourism development?

The literature on tourism development, tourism employment and entrepreneurship, tourism migration and mobility, and social capital in tourism studies is reviewed to achieve these objectives. A conceptual framework is constructed to guide the study. Primary qualitative data are collected from an inland county, Luotian, China, which remains at the early stage of tourism development. The research method used in this study is described in Chapter 4, including a detailed explanation about the data collection methods and data analysis.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Research in tourism has a limited focus on the concept of social capital. The study on tourism-related domestic migrants in China as the largest developing country is also an area that requires extensive empirical investigation. This study seeks to contribute to mobility studies and tourism development in developing countries by applying social capital theory at the individual and community levels. Previous tourism researchers used

time-space theory to explain the pattern and motivation of mobility and spent considerable effort on the consumption aspect of tourism migration (Muller, 2008). The present study focuses on the production aspect of migration and attempts to contribute to the conceptualization of mobility in rural areas, especially in the forms of tourism migration. It identifies the possible occurrences of behaviors, such as counter-urbanization, lifestyle-orientation, and welfare-seeking, in China that is undergoing economic and social reforms.

The existing research on social capital and tourism development fails to specify the stage of development and focuses on the communitarian approach of conceptualizing social capital. Theoretically, this study hopes to determine the influence of social capital on early-stage tourism development using various conceptualizations of social capital to bridge the gap in the literature. The study reveals the role of social capital in achieving development goals for both destinations and individuals. Adopting the cultural elements of social capital, this study views the processes of *la guanxi* as investment on social capital, and thus, contributes to the understanding of social behavior in terms of the accumulation and utilization of social capital. Moreover, the relationships between social capital and mobilities in practice are examined. Contributions are made to the fields of entrepreneurial mobility and labor mobility, as well as to the circulation and mobilization of social capital that is associated with these types of mobility.

Tourism development and employment have distinctive characteristics that attract people to invest, open businesses, or work for leisure, other than simply to visit an area. Therefore, this study seeks to provide insights into occupational and social mobility,

which is a unique research area in tourism. This study also contributes to understanding tourism employment, labor situation, entrepreneurship, and tourism investment in the rural areas of developing countries. Previous studies of labor and entrepreneurial mobility became two separate streams and failed to acknowledge the similarities and differences as well as their significance to tourism development. Hence, this study attempts to connect and compare entrepreneurial and labor mobilities in the tourism context, and to contribute to understanding the stratification of social structure and the role of social capital in different forms of mobility.

Practically, this study hopes to contribute to tourism development and policy making in rural areas. Tourism development in rural China is largely a government-led activity; therefore, political networking is important in bidding for development projects. Social inequality exists particularly in the networking process and prevents business investment and market transparency. For migrants in rural areas, employment opportunities may be difficult to obtain unless social networks are utilized. Thus, this study identifies the social environment for tourism employment, investment, and entrepreneurship in less developed areas, and provides suggestions to ensure equal and open policy making to attract human and financial capital.

The urbanization process in China has brought both negative and positive consequences; for example, rural areas experienced a significant “hollowing” effect (Liu, Liu, Chen, & Long, 2011), such that many villages have been left with children and elderly or completely abandoned, and new apartments in townships and small cities are constructed to relocate the rural population. The socio-economic context in China

should be considered, and the implications for a balanced and integrated development environment should be provided.

Migrant labor workers, entrepreneurs, and return migrants can be attracted to less developed areas by economic opportunities brought by tourism. This study identifies the potential to attract and retain labor and capital for tourism development. Exploring the experiences of domestic migrants in developing tourism is important in terms of understanding the effects of tourism as a driving force for regional economic and social development. Tourism provides employment and investment opportunities, but conflicts exist in distributing the benefits among local and non-local participants. Thus, this study contributes to the collaboration and participation of internal and external actors by providing insights into the relationship among different stakeholders and the challenges they face in tourism development.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This study comprises 10 chapters as follows:

- **Chapter 1, Introduction:** It presents the study background, major associated areas, problem statement, and research objectives.
- **Chapter 2, Literature Review:** It discusses the relevant literature on tourism development, mobility and tourism, social capital and social networks, and proposes a conceptual guide for this study.
- **Chapter 3, Study Context:** It describes the background of tourism development and migration in China.

- **Chapter 4, Methodology:** It explains in detail the methods for data collection and analysis.
- **Chapter 5, Tourism Supply-induced Mobility: Geographical, social, and organizational perspectives:** It presents the findings and discusses the sources of mobilities from the three aspects and the initiation of such mobility in the study area.
- **Chapter 6, Establishing Tourism Projects in an Early-stage Destination:** It describes the findings and discusses the process of establishing tourism projects that are experienced by migrants in this study. The analysis considers the Attracting Investment (AI) scheme, in which incentives from local governments are provided to attract non-local investors to invest in local projects.
- **Chapter 7, Experiences of Entrepreneurial Tourism Migrants: A phenomenological analysis:** It presents and discusses entrepreneurial migrant experiences in tourism and inward mobility in the study area.
- **Chapter 8, Experiences of Migrant Tourism Employees: Mobility and instability:** It presents and discusses the employee experiences of working in tourism and living a mobile lifestyle. This chapter also sheds light on tourism employment and human resource planning in an early-stage destination.
- **Chapter 9, Community Involvement, Social Capital, and Tourism Development:** It uses the stories of tourism development to discuss the role of community involvement and social capital in tourism development, and provides theoretical modifications on the previously constructed conceptual guide.

- **Chapter 10, Conclusion:** It summarizes the key findings of the study and its theoretical and practical implications. The limitations of this study and directions for future research are also presented.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Introduction

The three purposes of literature review are to create a map of key concepts that inform and frame this study, to identify trends for research from the relevant literature, and to summarize and identify research gaps. The process starts with reviewing the current studies on tourism and human mobility. This step is followed by analyzing the review of literature on tourism development, employment, and entrepreneurship, as well as relevant research in social capital and social networks. A summary of the chapter, including potential research trends and gaps identified in the literature, are presented in the final section.

2.2 Tourism and Mobility: Conceptual development

Discussion on mobility is popular in tourism studies (Hall, 2005; Williams & Hall, 2002). Hence, tourism studies should contribute to broader debates in the social sciences of mobility by formulating approaches to understanding the movement undertaken by individuals and not merely tourists (Hall, 2002). In fact, studies on mobilities are far from a restricted field of geographical and physical mobility, and contain a wide range of mobilities from various perspectives. This section of the literature identifies key research on tourism and the mobilities paradigm in terms of conceptual development and tourism-related migration.

The social sciences of mobility have emerged as a wide field of study. With the impact of globalization and the rapid development of technology, the concept of mobility has changed in recent years. Traditionally, mobility is a field of study that is dominated by geographers and sociologists. McGinnis (1968) described the study of mobility as the study of “paths of points.” “Points” refer to various locations and “paths” denote the motion through “points” on a temporal scale. Buscher, Urry, and Witchger (2011) used “mobility” to refer to a movement and a “movement-driven” social science in which “movement, potential movement, and blocked movement, as well as voluntary/temporary immobilities... are all viewed as constitutive of economic, social and political relations” (p. 4). The social lives of individuals are produced and organized by five independent mobilities, namely, the corporeal travel of people, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel, real-time virtual travel, and communicative travel through person-to-person contact (Buscher et al., 2011). Human mobility chiefly deals with corporeal travel and movement of people; this type of mobility fits tourism the closest in the mobilities paradigm, and tourism researchers seek alternative means of conceptualizing tourism (Hall, 2005).

Substantial conceptualization efforts have been made to include tourism under the contemporary mobility scope (Williams & Hall, 2002; Hall, 2004; Hall, 2005). A special issue of *Tourism Geographies* was dedicated to this topic in 2000, and several geographers have made significant contributions in conceptualizing tourism and mobility.

Tourism can be perceived as a temporary form of mobility from a time–space conceptualization approach (William & Hall, 2002). A diagram was developed and popularly used (Hall, 2004) to distinguish tourism from other forms of mobility. The extent of mobility is defined according to three dimensions, namely, number of visits, time, and distance (Figure 2.1). This figure clearly shows that human mobility is essentially a form of interaction between people and place. Various types of tourism are also presented in the diagram according to the three dimensions.

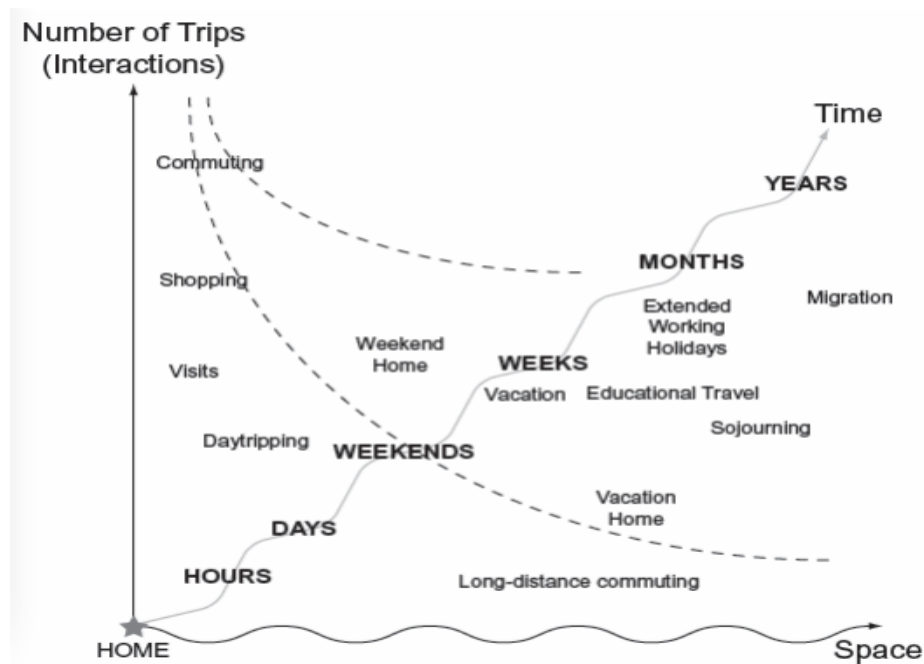


Figure 2.1 Representing tourism mobilities in time and space (Source: Hall, 2004)

Mobilities can be classified as permanent and temporary based on the duration of trips and the reason for movement (Table 2.1). Permanent and temporary mobilities are more straightforward classifications despite frequency or distance. In fact, frequency of interaction or visits is typically determined by the reason for movement. A reason for movement can be categorized as production- or consumption-oriented. In the case of

Australia, production-oriented temporary moves include agriculture, mining, government, professionals, transport and construction, and trades and laborers. Consumption-oriented temporary moves include mainly holidays, visits to friends and relatives, education, and healthcare (Bell & Ward, 2000). Compared with other segments of temporary mobilities, tourism has a particular significance in terms of the large flow of population and its effects on destinations. Patterns of domestic and international tourist flows can inform the patterns of temporary mobility on both scales. In the case of EU enlargement in 2004, tourism is closely connected with the discourse on mobility and citizenship (Coles, 2008). The freedom to travel without boundaries has become a civic right within the EU; however, in some developing countries, travel remains a privilege, and mobility is viewed as a representative of power, wealth, and social status.

Table 2.1 A typology of permanent and temporary moves (Source: Bell & Ward, 2000)

Duration of trip	Reason for move	
	Production- related	Consumption-related
Permanent relocation	Labor migration	Housing adjustment Family visits
Temporary At least one overnight stay	Business travel Long- distance commuting Seasonal work	Excursions Vacations Seasonal migration Extended recreational travel Conferences and conventions Study and residential courses Hospitalization Incarceration
Diurnal move	Commuting	Shopping Recreation

Duval (2006) has applied grid/group theory to explain tourism and migration by combining the notion of transnationalism. Participation and belonging in transnationalism are used to rationalize tourism and migration mobility. Grid/group theory is used to provide further explanation for international migrants and tourist behavior based on transnationalism. It is more applicable when social connections between people and place are considered, such as the return visits of migrants (Figure 2.2). Tourism is categorized as strong in transnational participation, but weak in transnational belonging. Migrants and tourists are perceived as different social groups with different levels of participation in transnational activities. However, grid/group theory does not provide either the temporal or the spatial perspective on potential transformation between tourists and migrants.

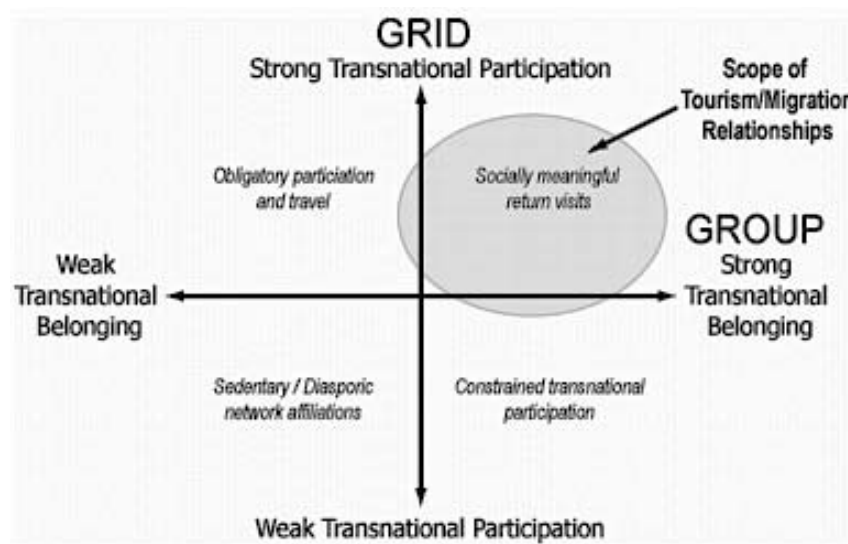


Figure 2.2 Grip/group theory applied to migration and tourism (Source: Duval, 2006)

Tourism geographers conceptualize tourism as a temporary mobility on a time–space range (Hall, 2004; William & Hall, 2000). From a sociological viewpoint, tourism offers

physical “co-presence” with people and place, whereas mobility represents a form of power in the society (Urry, 2002). People nowadays are constantly “on the move” virtually or physically. However, corporeal travel should not be substituted by virtual or imaginative travel for the “co-presence” outcome it generates. Urry (2002) has elaborated three bases of co-presence, namely, face-to-face, face-the-place, and face-the-moment. These bases for co-presence represent a compulsion for proximity, and proximity can only be achieved through mobility. As the world becomes increasingly global and mobile, living a life that is constantly “on the move” becomes possible. Thus, tourism then should not be viewed based on different ontological grounds from everyday life, as it can be informed by the routines of daily lives, such as commuting to work and driving to shops (Larsen, 2008).

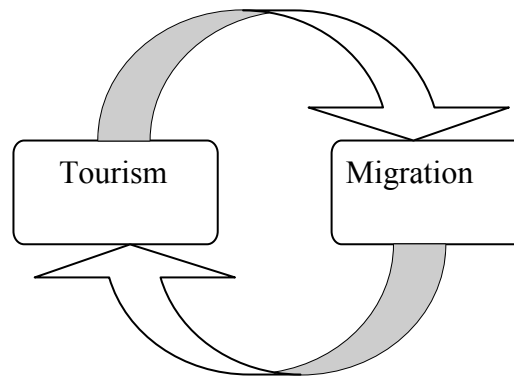
The social sciences of mobility have influenced the field of tourism to examine tourists, hosts, and destinations from a mobile perspective and application of mobile methods (Buscher et al., 2011). However, the connection between tourism and human mobility lacks the consideration of social mobility. Social mobility refers to the mobility within a social system (Osella & Osella, 2000). Individual social mobility often relates to job attainment, career development, and change of classes on the social ladder (Bian, 2003). Social mobility in tourism is concerned with the social status of participants in tourism industries. The conceptualization of mobility in the tourism field thus far does not include the studies of social mobility and the change in individual social status associated with the change in physical location. The traditional sociological subjects of tourism studies are gender and inequality issues, power distribution, and host–guest social relationship (Cohen, 1988; Urry, 1994; Cukier, 1995). A larger number of studies

have started to consider the mobile characteristics of tourism employment and entrepreneurship (Riley, 2004; Bosworth & Farrell, 2011). As the world shrinks with the trends of globalization and glocalization, increased attention should be given to the mobility of humans as a social process.

2.3 Tourism-induced Migration

Recent studies on tourism and mobility have largely addressed the phenomenon of tourism-related migration, which is also the focus of this study. The migration of populations has a long history in the world, and it has established multiple domains of research from various disciplines. Different countries have diverse census criteria for identifying a migrant. However, a more general definition of migration considers a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence (Lee, 1966). The existing literature provides two directions for examining tourism and migration, namely, from tourism to migration and from migration to tourism (Figure 2.3). Tourism can be a driving force for employment and entrepreneurship, labor relocation, capital investment, and choices for lifestyle and retirement (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Gustafson, 2002; Williams & Hall, 2000). Migration, especially international immigration, also affects the participation of migrants in tourism businesses and activities and generating VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism (Cooper, 2002; Janta & Ladkin, 2009). The current study focuses on the effects of tourism as a driving force for migration, whereas the former research direction is also named as tourism-induced or tourism-informed migration (Williams & Hall, 2000).

Tourism production and consumption induce migration



Migrants become tourism participants

Figure 2.3 Two directions of research on tourism and migration (Source: Author)

Tourism-induced migration can be identified from the production and consumption perspectives (Williams & Hall, 2000). The types of tourism-related migration are classified into production-related, consumption-related, or both. Empirical studies are often context-based because migration is strongly policy-related at the national and international levels (Cooper, 2002; Page & Feng, 2000). Numerous forms of migration have been investigated in relation to tourism, such as labor, entrepreneurial, retirement, and lifestyle migration, and the phenomenon of second homes. These forms of migration sometimes overlap (Duval et al., 2004; Muller, 2002; Williams & Hall, 2000). Related studies are reviewed to present the progress of empirical studies on various types of tourism-induced migration.

2.3.1 Labor migration and working tourists

The dominating form of migration induced by tourism production is labor migration. Tourism is a generator for jobs and employment. Labor migration in tourism and

hospitality industries is an important source for labor markets and a critical foundation for tourism production (Williams, 2012). International immigrants also tend to be drawn to tourism sectors for the low-entry threshold, easy access, high turnover rate, and lack of skill requirements (Janta & Ladkin, 2009). The specific characteristics of tourism employment require a demand of labor for high flexibility to meet fluctuations in time and location (Williams & Hall, 2000). Two considerations of the migration of tourism labor are the scale of demand and the speed of tourism development (Williams & Hall, 2000).

Only a limited number of empirical studies in tourism has targeted migrant labor workers as research subjects. In an earlier research on Spanish workers in a Costa Brava resort, labor forces consisted largely of women from rural areas, and the resort labor migration only provided a temporary improvement of their life conditions (Lever, 1987). In the context of Jiuhua Mountain in China, domestic migrant labor workers used different approaches to adapt to the work and life environment in the destination and attempted to integrate themselves with locals (Yang, 2007). Migrant workers from diverse ethnicities in a London hotel were studied, and “middle-class masculinity” and labor inequality were found in the “micro-politics” of hotel employment practices (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007). Labor workers in tourism with lifestyle purposes can be temporary migrants or commuters; nevertheless, this type of seasonal migration typically does not induce permanent migration to the destination (Lundmark, 2006). The experiences of labor migrants in tourism as well as the labor situation in tourism require further exploration (Ladkin, 2011).

Uriely (2001) proposed a typology of tourists within the tourism-work nexus and categorized four types of tourists into traveling professional workers, migrant tourism workers, non-institutionalized working tourists, and working-holiday tourists. Distinguished by the role of traveling and leisure in motives, the latter two types of tourists are categorized as working tourists, whereas the former two as traveling workers. This typology is used in capturing a social group in-between tourists and migrants, and is generally conceptualized in the context of migrant tourist-workers (Bianchi, 2000). The distinction between tourism consumption and work has been blurred by the change in mobility patterns in the post-industrial era (Biranchi, 2000). Migrant tourist-workers represent a new division of class in social stratification that is different from that of labor workers.

The mobilities of hospitality workers have undergone a paradigm shift in the increasing numbers of working tourists and voluntary workers. The temporary or permanent movement of hospitality workers combines spatial and temporal factors, and influences key stakeholders and employees (Duncan et al., 2013). The conventional concepts of backpackers, migrant workers, working tourists, and volunteer tourists are contested under the mobilities paradigm. The experiences attached to these mobilities increasingly challenge and complicate the traditional views of the relationship among work, travel, and leisure (Cohen, Duncan, & Thulemark, 2013; Duncan et al., 2013). Therefore, labor issues in the hospitality industries are scaled from the global to the local. Globally certain destinations attract certain types of workers, whereas various local workers shape the hospitality industry and influence the destination. To individual

mobile hospitality workers, mobilities and immobilities, decision making, and experiences with paid work or voluntary work also require exploration.

Szivas and Riley (1999) investigated inward labor mobility into tourism from other industries during economic transition. Excessive labor flows into tourism are beneficial in an economic transition. Disadvantages, such as dislocation of human capital, low pay, and low satisfaction upon entering tourism as a contingency, emerge when labor moves from more productive industries into tourism. Szivas and Riley reported that people move from various industries into tourism, and the change of employment positively affects several dimensions, such as job security, career prospects, and social status. In the research of Szivas and Riley, the three most rated statements of motives of having tourism-related jobs are “I wanted an interesting job,” “I wanted to work in pleasant surroundings,” and “I wanted a job in which I could deal with people.” Four orientations of tourism jobs were summarized into economic advancement, intrinsic value, escape route, and potential for entrepreneurship.

Meanwhile, Vaugeois and Rollins (2007) identified eight groups of motivations of tourism employment that emerged through factor analysis. The eight motivations are change of circumstances in labor market, image of tourism, improvement from previous occupation, lifestyle desire, fitness of tourism jobs to education, profitability and quick money, potential for entrepreneurship, and variety and ability to move round. In total, five orientations were identified, namely, refuge, positive, entrepreneurial, instrumental, and wanderer orientation. This study duplicated the results from Szivas and Riley (1999). Both studies emphasize tourism employment as accessible and associated with

positive motivations. The two studies were both set in contexts in which other industries were in decline, and tourism served as “refuge employer.” Hence, in economies in transition, tourism has a central role in absorbing displaced labor.

2.3.2 Entrepreneurial migration

Entrepreneurial mobility is a neglected area of research (Wright, 2011). International migrants often choose entrepreneurship as a style of employment, whereas more often they are linked with labor mobility. For example, in European countries, structural factors and demographic characteristics of host countries have affected the integration and participation of migrants in labor markets (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009). For example, in Bali, Indonesia, migrants in tourism industries principally came from nearby islands (Cukier, 1995).

Studies on entrepreneurial mobility are limited. Wright (2011) emphasized the importance of geographical and organizational mobilities as important components in entrepreneurial mobility. In the case of heritage towns in China, migrants select the location of entrepreneurship based on the tourism attractiveness of the natural and human environments as well as regional economics (Xu & Ma, 2012).

Tourism has also induced entrepreneurial migration. The importance of tourism in facilitating entrepreneurial migration is reflected in the search of spaces and creating opportunities (Williams, Shaw, & Greenwood, 1989). In a tourism-dependent economy, the effects of tourism in attracting entrepreneurship are even larger to both business and amenity seekers in tourism areas (Snepenger & Johnson, 1995). Whether entrepreneurial migration aims for production or consumption depends on decision making.

Entrepreneurs from developed countries are more strongly motivated by lifestyle, social reasons, and self-employment, rather than business prospects (Lardies, 1999; Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Williams & Hall, 2000). Entrepreneurial migration into rural areas in Spain was examined to represent a phenomenon of “counter-urbanization” and to determine the contribution of migration to rural tourism development and rural restructuring (Paniagua, 2002).

In a study conducted on entrepreneurial migrants in the United Kingdom, Bosworth and Farrell (2011) revealed that in-migrant entrepreneurs positively influenced local tourism development and rural economy. Entrepreneurial migrants take risks and opportunities and maximize their resources, as well as value local embeddedness. Migrant entrepreneurs who have proactive local networks have successful businesses that revitalize the rural economy. Bosworth and Farrell asserted that the social networks of entrepreneurs are significant in tourism entrepreneurship, and that the social and economic spheres of entrepreneurship are often interconnected. Therefore, entrepreneurship is contextually influenced. This premise brings in the argument on local embeddedness and economic activity. Another study conducted in rural England indicated that migrant entrepreneurs have distanced themselves from confined rurality and relied less on rural settings for resources (Kalantaridis & Bika, 2007). Social embeddedness is important in reaching a wider market and resources when rural locality is only of a certain size. Migrant entrepreneurship subsequently becomes a driving force for integration between rural areas and regional, national, and even international economies.

Migrant entrepreneurs may conflict with local communities; however, the relationship is improved by participation in community activities and the permanence of migration, rather than the status of migrants as returnees or not (Paniagua, 2002). Although migrant entrepreneurs in developed countries have a stronger lifestyle emphasis on decision making, they also have high education level and are at a later stage of the life cycle; the least profit-oriented entrepreneurs can still contribute to the rural economy (Bosworth & Farrell, 2011). Meanwhile, migrants in developing countries seek employment and entrepreneurial opportunities that can offer high income and social status. Two important factors that determine the decision of migrants to be involved in entrepreneurship are capital availability and specific knowledge (Gössling & Schulz, 2005). An increasingly popular phenomenon in tourism and hospitality entrepreneurship is social entrepreneurship, which also occurs among migrant entrepreneurs (Ball, 2005; Egul & Johnson, 2011; Schaper, 2012; von der Weppen & Cochrane, 2012). Social entrepreneurs balance the profit-seeking goal of businesses with a social quest or goal to promote social values and social change by integrating such goal into business models (Cho, 2006; Mair, Robinson, & Hockerts, 2006).

Thus, tourism entrepreneurial migration has different meanings to and influences on both individual migrants and the destination. In developed countries where endogenous tourism development is encouraged and practiced, the tourism entrepreneurship of migrants is a valuable resource for sustainable and integrated development (Paniagua, 2002). The phenomenon of entrepreneurial migration in tourism development in developing countries has yet to be examined but the current literature on tourism-related

migration in developing countries suggests that labor migration dominates the area (Gössling & Schulz, 2005; Zhao & Lu, 2008).

As previously mentioned, entrepreneurial migration in tourism can be for production and consumption purposes. Production-induced entrepreneurship can be classified as business-oriented, whereas consumption-induced entrepreneurship can be primarily for lifestyle purposes. Tourism development in developing countries uses the mixed exogenous and endogenous approaches; therefore, developing tourism requires long-term external public and private investments (Tosun, 2001).

In the case of tourism development in China, attracting enterprises and investments is a major approach adopted by local government, which is in the center of tourism planning and development (Bao & Zuo, 2008). Long-term investors can also be classified as entrepreneurial migrants, who have a close relationship with governments and directly participate in infrastructure development and establishment of tourism enterprises and development projects. The phenomenon of tourism investment is unique in China for the negative effects of system loopholes and corruption (Bao & Zuo, 2008).

2.3.3 Lifestyle and other forms of migration

Lifestyle migration has become a phenomenon in several countries and has drawn research attention. However, this phenomenon lacks a common definition of lifestyle migration and extensive conceptualization. The quest for a desirable lifestyle, similar to the quest for authenticity by tourists, is often used as the primary motive for lifestyle migration, and this quest is individualized and fostered contemporarily by social changes (Torkington, 2010, 2012). Lifestyle migration intersects with tourism in terms

of destination and lifestyle choices, and is facilitated by the construction of ideals in tourism marketing (O'Reilly, 2000). Lifestyle entrepreneurship is increasingly examined in the context of tourism and hospitality (Peters, Frehse, & Buhalis, 2009). As a way for migrants to sustain their livelihoods and a motive for lifestyle migrants, lifestyle entrepreneurship is gaining popularity in developed countries (Shaw & Williams, 2004; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Domenico (2005) reported that lifestyle entrepreneurs in tourism have a subjective definition of life quality, and suggested the expansion of business-oriented models to explore lifestyle entrepreneurship. Lifestyle entrepreneurship in tourism appears to have numerous motives for business start-up, primarily consists of small and medium enterprises (SMEs), and lacks innovativeness due to extreme seasonality and the general uncompetitiveness of the industry (Hollick & Braun, 2005). The motives for tourism migration may consist of mixed lifestyle, social, and entrepreneurial dimensions. Therefore, previous categorizations may overlap with lifestyle migration.

Other forms of tourism-related migration fall under the umbrella of lifestyle migration, such as the phenomenon of second homes and retirement migration, which principally appears in developed countries (Duval et al., 2004; Muller, 2002; O'Reilly, 2003; Rodriguez, 2001). One form of tourism-related migration is return migration, which is studied in relation to labor, entrepreneurial, lifestyle, and retirement migration (Williams & Hall, 2000). Compared with new migrants, return migrants have local kinship networks and previous social relationships and contacts. Combined with urban experience and economic capital gained through migration, return migrants have the resources to establish tourism businesses in rural areas (Kenna, 1993). Tourism

development opportunities can evoke the flow of return migrants primarily for the social and economic benefits (Wang & Huang, 2010; Zhang & Bao, 2009). Tourism-related migrations are typically unidirectional flows of people to various tourist destinations. Although migration is based upon permanent or semi-permanent residential changes, the characteristics of tourism employment can be the criteria for categorizing migration as permanent or seasonal/temporary. When tourists become seasonal migrants, the association is with a change in identity (Haug, Dann, & Mehmetoglu, 2007).

The recent conceptualizations of lifestyle mobilities have moved beyond lifestyle migration. Cohen et al. (2013) suggested that lifestyle mobilities serve as the fine line between travel and migration. They distinguished lifestyle migration as either seasonal or permanent, whereas lifestyle mobility has no pre-set intention. Discussions on lifestyle mobilities elucidate a breakdown of the established binary concepts of work and leisure, and being home and away. Emphasis of lifestyle mobilities has posed a high significance on identity (Cohen et al., 2013). Moreover, this concept has been connected with the theories of territoriality and neo-nomadism, and transnationalism in contemporary mobilities. Lifestyle mobilities can be associated with urban nomads (D'Andrea, 2006, 2007). In the Western world, these nomads pursue lifestyle choices principally in the field of art, fashion, wellness, and spirituality. Given that lifestyle is largely subjective, several entrepreneurial studies link lifestyle motives with the pursuit or outcome of quality of life and wellbeing; the possible provision on sports, adventure, and nature-based activities, and the independence of tourism entrepreneurship attract individuals to fulfill such individualistic outcomes (Peters et al., 2009).

2.3.4 Typology of tourism-induced migration

The academic literature introduces various forms of tourism-induced migration. The typology in the literature comes from various grounds. Different types of migration have distinct characteristics of patterns, motivation, and migrant experiences; nevertheless, their relationships to tourism are not unified. Although one can roughly classify different forms according to migration purpose and tourism production or consumption, several forms are exerting both perspectives and have no clear boundary. To provide a more vibrant typology of tourism-induced migration, an attempt is made to cluster the various forms of tourism migrants from human mobility based on the review of existing studies. The forms of migrants might overlap when the sources of mobility are dynamic (Figure 2.4).

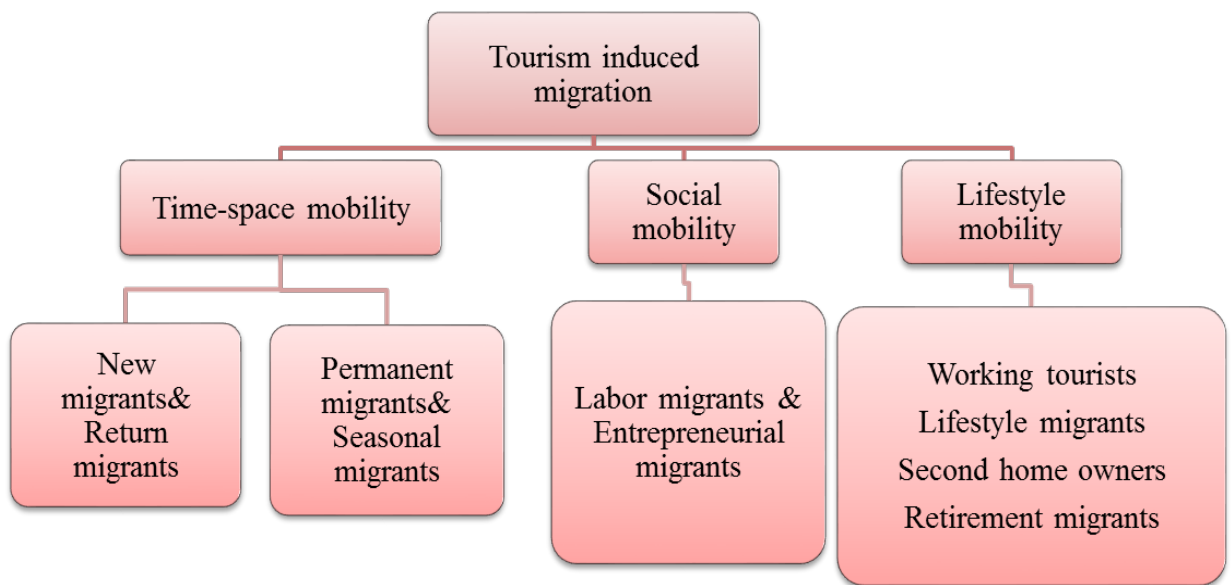


Figure 2.4 Typologies of tourism-induced migration (Source: Author)

Time-space mobility emphasizes the temporal and spatial relationships the migrant has with the destination (Bell & Ward, 2000). The typologies under this condition include new migrants and return migrants, and permanent migrants and temporary/seasonal migrants. Social mobility refers to employment and social status of individuals (Osella & Osella, 2000). Labor migrants and entrepreneurial migrants fall into this cluster. Lifestyle mobility addresses the form of mobility that is driven by lifestyle choices. Working tourists, lifestyle migrants, second-home owners, and retirement migrants can be classified as couriers of lifestyle mobility. This study chiefly focuses on the cluster of tourism migrants possessing the characteristics of social mobility. This sector has more practical implications in production-based development environment. Other sources of mobility are considered as characteristics of the migrants. Time-space and lifestyle components are identified in the comparison of labor and entrepreneurial migrants.

The three methods of clustering migrants are parallel, but an individual migrant can simultaneously possess the three types of mobility. Tourism migrants have different time-space-related characteristics, lifestyle motives as major or minor consideration for their reason of migration, and differences in social status and identity. Tourism consumption and tourism production both embark on the inward movement of people; thus, various forms of migrants can also be categorized according to the relationship between migrating decision and tourism. This study focuses on the development of tourism in rural areas in China. Based on the existing literature on tourism and migration in China, the forms of migration are principally related to the production aspects of rural destinations, which guarantee the potential informants for this study (Wang & Huang,

2010; Zhang & Bao, 2009). Chapter 3 presents the detailed review of the situation of internal migration in China.

This study employs the social mobility typology of tourism migrants and targets labor and entrepreneurial migrants as research subjects. However, other sources of mobility, namely, time-space and lifestyle, are included as the characteristics and motivation factors. Social capital and social networks are the major resources that tourism participants, locals or migrants, have in dealing with tourism development at a destination (Zhao et al., 2011; Zhang & Bao, 2009). However, the amount and type of resources possessed by new and return migrants can also be significantly different. Therefore, this study classifies tourism migrants into new and return migrants when examining their experiences.

2.4 Social Capital and Social Networks

Social capital is a concept that has been developed and applied in different fields over the last three decades. Social networks are essential components and indicators of social capital. Tourism participants require social capital at various levels to accumulate and utilize social resources. This section introduces the concept of social capital and identifies suitable research agenda for applying social capital in tourism development research. Finally, this chapter discusses the association of social capital and social networks with mobility and employment.

2.4.1 Conceptualizations of social capital

The term “capital” was first introduced by Karl Marx as materials, instruments, and substances that can be used to generate more materials, instruments, and substances

(Marx, 1891). Only under certain conditions could one object be viewed as capital, that is, when such object is used to make benefit or create value. Since Marx, “capital” has moved far beyond the political economic domain and has been put after words to form “physical capital,” “human capital,” “cultural capital,” “ecological capital,” “financial capital,” and “social capital.” In a narrow sense, “capital” refers to everything that humans keep for value and produces more value, which makes “capital” a universal word. Compared with other forms of capital, the emergence of social capital is closely linked with the original concept of capital because of the increasing usage in political economic concerns and application in various aspects of society (Callois & Schmitt, 2009; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995). The conceptualization of social capital had its peak era in the late 1990s and early 21st century.

The work of Putnam (1995, 2001) on social capital is influential. He emphasizes the features of social organizations, including trust, norms, and reciprocity, which facilitate cooperation and coordination for mutual benefits. Public and private as well as formal and informal social relationships can become forms of social capital. Putnam particularly points out the erosion of social capital in American society based on evidence that membership in organizations has decreased. He focuses on the political effect of social capital and uses measures, such as service at local voluntary organizations, number of club meetings attended, number of club memberships, turnout at presidential election, and number of public meetings attended (Putnam, 1995). His notion of social capital is significantly associated with civic participation in a democratic society.

Social capital can be interpreted as social relationships that are exploited to generate value. Lin (1993) defines social capital as resources of social relationships that can be utilized for personal gain. Many Chinese sociologists have followed Lin's definition and applied the concept of social capital as resources borne by social relationships (Bian, 2003). This network approach can be traced to Granovetter (1973), who studied strong and weak network ties. The strength of a network tie is a combination of network characteristics, such as time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocity service. Micro interpersonal interactions can form a pattern on the macro level, which could transform weak ties into resilient ones. The study of Bourdieu (1986) on conceptualization of social capital is instrumental as well. Networks that constitute social capital should comprise two characteristics, namely, durability and institutionalization. Investments are required to change contingent relations into social relationships that can secure some form of material or symbolic profit. Social capital, in the sense of institutions, requires constant exchanges and efforts for reproduction. Social capital as "credentials" entitles the possessors with "credits" (Bourdieu, 1986).

Social capital is conceptualized by four approaches, namely, communitarian, network, institutional, and synergy (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The communitarian approach views social capital as institutionalized networks and can be measured as the participation in voluntary associations (Putnam, 1995, 2001). Network approach comes from the original definition of social capital based on social relationships among individuals (Lin, 1993, 1998). The institutional approach emphasizes the importance of institutions and the role of state as generating social capital. As an additional approach, the synergy approach emphasizes both community engagement and institutionalized

networks. Another categorization from Portes and Landolt (2000) stresses that social capital can be viewed as a source of social control, family-mediated benefits, and resources mediated by non-family networks. They point out the unclear distinction between social capital as an actual social resource or the capacity to secure social resources.

Researchers have presented several dimensions of social capital, as well as aspects of its measurement. The groundbreaking work of Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) categorized social capital as structural, cognitive, and relational (Figure 2.5). A substantial amount of work has subsequently adopted this categorization, and specific measurement items have been developed according to each of the three dimensions. Structural social capital captures network density, connectivity, and hierarchy, and focuses on the impersonal entity of networks. Relational social capital refers to more personal networks and the behavioral aspects in social relationships, such as trust, norms, and collective action. Finally, cognitive social capital is categorized from a more mentality-related aspect. This type of capital confines the shared meaning or representation of resources, which is often measured by shared vision and language (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

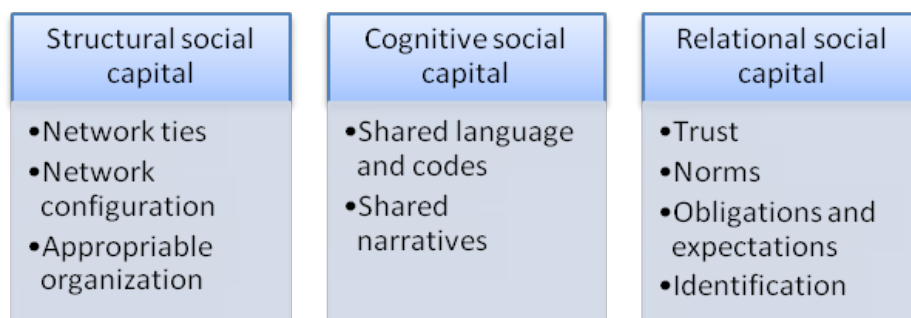


Figure 2.5 Structural, cognitive, and relational social capital
(Source: Adapted from Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998)

Putnam (2001) used formal membership of institutions and participation in different forms of informal networks as indicators of social capital. Community social capital is often investigated for its manageable size and association with the underlining collective function of community. For example, collective efficacy, sense of community, neighborhood cohesion, and community competence are used as measuring constructs for community social capital in a public health study (Lochner, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1999). Another set of items developed for social capital measurement by Onyx and Bullen (2000) includes community participation, social agency, proactivity, trust and safety, neighborhood connections, family and friend connections, tolerance of diversity, value of life, and work connections.

Network diversity seems to be the best proxy to measure social capital for a non-network analyst (Bian, 2008). Bian proposed four network measures, namely, network size, network ceiling, network diversity, and network composition (ties to officials, professionals, and managers). His research on social capital among Chinese urbanites indicated that social class and occupation have a strong relationship with social capital. Social stratification is drawing increasing attention in the context of China during the period of economic transformation and revolution. Related studies and the context of China are further introduced in Chapter 3.

No universal standard or a set of items is available for measuring social capital due to the breadth and depth of the concept. Moody and Ghoshal (2009) pointed out that social capital research headed into two directions, namely, “structure of networks” and “content of social capital.” They identified structure of networks as “patterns of

connection independent of social meaning,” and content of social capital as “socially meaningful feelings, values, or connections.” A more inclusive approach is suggested to combine these two aspects. Creative methods should be used for measuring social capital. This study tackles the emotional elements within the structures of networks by investigating social capital experientially and experimentally in terms of the design of methodology.

2.4.2 Social capital, guanxi, and Confucian culture

Investigating social capital in the Chinese context should draw in the popular concept of guanxi as form of unique social networking under Confucian culture and ideology. Researchers distinguish guanxi from social capital and intertwine these two concepts. Studies on migrants in China apply social capital and social networks. This section reviews relevant studies on these subjects.

Social capital is a Western concept; nevertheless, Chinese scholars have made successful and fruitful endeavors in the conceptualization and application of this concept in the Chinese context in the last three decades (Zhang, 2011a, 2011b). Chinese sociologist Zhai Xuewei (2009) uses a metaphor of the two sides of a coin to describe the relationship between these two concepts. The major distinction though, is identified as the context in which the concepts are proposed. Further explained, guanxi is a system rooted in family-oriented society and social capital is rooted in civil society (Zhai, 2009). In sum, a logical standpoint lays on the live dependency between and among people. The collective cultural ground of China increases the interdependency on family and friendship, and a lack of citizenship and civil organizations becomes obvious in the

Chinese society. Another discussion raised by Zhai is that the conceptualization of both concepts can be used to investigate a social phenomenon, but the complexities underneath should be clarified. Nonetheless, the study of social capital in China should not only focus on social structures, but also incorporate the concept of *guanxi* in personal networks and kinship associations to obtain solid conceptual bases.

Guanxi, compared with social capital, is more individual based and concerned with one's ability to "*la guanxi*" (Su & Littlefield, 2001). Yang (2003) categorized *guanxi* into three types and the rules applied in these *guanxi* types. *Jiaren guanxi* refers to family and kinship networks and is ruled by obligation. *Shouren guanxi* includes friendship and acquaintance networks, and is ruled by reciprocity. *Shengren guanxi* comprises stranger networks, and is ruled by instrumentality. This categorization does not distinguish *guanxi* from normal social networks. The mere existence of a business relationship does not guarantee the accumulation of social capital, and the process of "*la guanxi*" is to affirm the accumulation of social capital (Carlisle & Flynn, 2005). Small businesses and entrepreneurs often require *guanxi* effort to garner social capital to maintain legitimacy (Carlisle & Flynn, 2005). *Guanxi* is proven to a double-edged sword, which can be helpful in terms of generating trust at the management level. *Guanxi* simultaneously prevents the construction of an efficient social justice system and lowers the ethical standards (Warren, Dunfee, & Li, 2004). In the case of business networking of foreign companies in the Chinese contexts, *guanxi* can be manifested without the involvement of corruption when the process of building social capital and maintaining business ethnics is carefully planned (Szeto, Wright, & Cheng, 2006).

Fan (2002) believed that the potential benefit of guanxi is tactical and is not a competitive advantage for an individual. This practice involves unethical and corruptive acts when guanxi is utilized between a businessperson and a government official. Thus, the web of guanxi is complex and may go deeper than it appears because every network can be harmful. People need to possess the appropriate connections and the skills and ability to master and utilize guanxi to achieve better outcomes. In the case of job seeking in China, networks and guanxi have distinctive characteristics. The most helpful networks provide influence, rather than information, and people use indirect ties to find better jobs than those who use direct ties (Bian, 1997). In fact, guanxi is the most significant factor in locating intermediaries, who have strong ties to both parties.

Therefore, more objectively, guanxi should be viewed as a reflection of the networking effort that has both negative and positive effects at various levels, rather than a special and biased network. Social capital introduces the goodwill of social relationships that have a democratic sense within the concept. Therefore, in this study, the effort of networking, “*la guanxi*,” will be investigated as a means of accumulating and maintaining social capital to achieve personal and group goals. However, separating guanxi from social capital is unnecessary because both dynamic features of civic and family-orientation exist within a transforming society, such as the Chinese context. The rationales behind “*la guanxi*” and the legitimacy of the networking process in terms of ensuring social equality and justice should be considered.

2.4.3 Social capital, networks, and migration

Social capital as political participation has been extensively investigated in migrant studies (Berger, Galonska, & Koopmans, 2004; Jacob & Tillie, 2004). Social networks are valuable sources for social capital, but migrants derive different types of social support from various network ties; this situation implies connections and differences between bridging social capital and bonding social capital in the experiences of new migrants (Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). The network approach of social capital is widely applied to the employment and experiences of migrants in destination countries/regions. Social capital influences migrant wages indirectly and directly. In the case of male Mexican migrants in the United States (Aguilera & Massey, 2003), social capital determined the process of attaining and the type of job they had. Another study conducted on Puerto Rican migrants suggested that females benefit more positively from social capital, and the capacity of social capital to provide labor market information is the most practical advantage (Aguilera, 2003). Family compositions as a form of social capital and the values of education and language skills as human capital highly influence the probability of migrants to be self-employed (Sanders & Nee, 1996).

Urry (2002) identified the implied relationship between social capital and mobility under the communitarian approach of Putnam's conceptualization of social capital. Putnam (2000) neglected mobility-related issues, such as long commuting, as outcomes of globalization and internationalization. Urry (2002) stated, "Social capital depends upon the range, extent, and modes of mobility, and interventions that reduce, channel or limit such mobility may weaken social capital and hence generate new forms of social

exclusion” (p. 34). Participation in social activities requires the connection among groups of diverse class, gender, and age physically or virtually. Mobility systems provide opportunities for participation to occur, and consequently enhance the level of social capital. Larsen et al. (2007) extended the connection between social capital and mobility into VFR tourism. As mobility increases, people have mobile connections with family and friends from a distance. Networks and social ties are strengthened through mobility, and social capital can thus be regenerated.

Social capital, therefore, has been viewed as both prerequisite and outcome of mobile lives. In terms of social mobility and job attainment, social capital has a significant role, which is evident in numerous social capital and occupation-related studies (Flap & Volker, 2008; Mouw, 2003). Social, cultural, and economic capital influence job attainment, but social capital allows individuals to access cultural and economic resources possessed in their social networks (Flap & Volker, 2008). People with high social capital have a higher level of social class and are more likely to utilize their connections in the labor market (Lin & Erikson, 2008). Thus, various types of migrants may have different qualities and densities of social networks as well as varied levels of abilities to utilize these networks in their social lives.

Studies on social networks in China are often linked with the social stratification of urban and rural distinctions. After the economic reform in 1978, the social class structure of China has changed dramatically since the Mao period. Abundant studies have been conducted on urban China, whereas studies conducted in the context of rural China are rare, despite the more profound transformation that occurs in the area (Bian,

2002). Social mobility of migrants is an important research subject because of the increasing number of migrant workers in urban areas, indicating the relationship between the change of geographical and social environment and that of social identity and status. Family and kinship in rural areas have a unique supporting role in the social support network, of individuals, which represent strong network ties that are more resilient in financial support compared with social and emotional support (Zhang & Ruan, 1999).

Human capital and social capital in urban areas have significantly influenced the job attainment and social identity of migrant workers (Chen & Wang, 2005; Ji & Ying, 2006; Li, Yang, Ren, & Jin, 2007). Drawing from Granovetter's (1973) notion of strong and weak ties, strong ties have a greater influence on the level of life satisfaction of migrants, and weak ties determine their job status (Chen & Wang, 2005). Another study conducted by Li et al. (2007) on migrant workers in Shenzhen proved the influence of weak ties on the social mobility of migrant workers. In the case of urban residents in China, however, strong ties rather than weak ties are more frequently used to acquire jobs, and both direct and indirect networks influence job acquisition (Bian, 1997; Bian & Ang, 1997). Hence, migrant workers have less strong ties with them in their migratory experiences, and the presence of weak ties is more significant. The social status of migrant workers is generally inferior in the social stratification system (Li, 2004). Migrant workers from more developed coastal areas have higher job status and income than workers from less developed inland areas (Li et al., 2007).

Ma (2002) examined the relationship between social capital and return labor migration in China. He argued that skilled returnees are keener to mobilize social capital and utilize human capital through the migration experience with social capital to enhance their entrepreneurship. The utilization of social capital by accessing information has proven to be the most useful in increasing income. Ma emphasized the importance of considering the motivation of social capital mobilization and highlighted the role of social capital as a remedy for market deficiencies in the contexts of developing countries (Ma, 2002). Migration certainly influences the social and personal lives of individual migrants. Changes in human capital and social capital are associated with the migration process and the reverse flow. Thus, the inclusion of social factors is necessary in the examination of migrant experiences in a “new” place.

2.5 Social Capital and Tourism Development

Rural society faces several changes that are influenced by economic development, urbanization, and globalization. In many parts of the world, tourism has become a useful tool for improving the rural economy and revitalizing rural society. Increasing research attention has been given to sustainable tourism development in rural areas (Bramwell & Lane, 2004; Cawley, Masat, & Gilmor, 2007; Hall, 1999, 2004). Several researchers have started to examine tourism development from the community and regional standpoints that focus on social characteristics (Canoves, Villarino, Priestley, & Blanco, 2004; Greffe, 1994; Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004). Traditional studies on tourism development chiefly focus on stakeholder involvement, strong business and organizational networks, and collaboration; meanwhile, the concept of social capital can

be well adopted to explain the importance of such engagement and connections within rural communities (McGehee, Lee, Bannon, & Perdue, 2010). The application of the concept social capital has been increasingly evident in tourism studies.

The application of social capital in tourism studies is classified into two categories, namely, social capital associated with tourism production/development, and social capital associated with tourism consumption. Social capital is examined from the consumption of tourism as a driver for VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism and migrant return visits (Hung, Xiao & Yang, 2013; Lew & Wong, 2003, 2005). From the destination standpoint, social capital facilitates innovation and cooperation as well as other forms of capital, and thus significantly contributes to tourism development (Macbeth et al., 2004; McGehee et al., 2010). Rural tourism studies, however, predominantly utilize social capital from the production/development standpoint (Shu, Chin, Li, & Tsai, 2010; McGehee et al., 2010; Park, Lee, Choi & Yoon, 2012). The positive influence of social capital generally contributes to tourism development in rural areas. This study applies the concept in the Chinese context to evaluate the more practical influences of social capital on tourism development.

Social capital can be mapped out as an outcome and a causal factor in tourism development, as well as serve as a mitigating tool for coping with the effects of tourism (Table 2.2). Moreover, most of the studies on tourism regard social capital as embedded in communities and as a driver for collective action and a tool for management, planning, and development. This study views social capital from different perspectives, namely, institutional support, community openness, and individual networks. Therefore,

social capital is used as both a causal factor as influencing migration and tourism development and an outcome of migration in terms of individual networks.

Table 2.2 Social capital as independent and dependent variable in tourism development research (Source: Author)

Social capital as causal factor/instrument	Social capital as dependent factor/outcome
Social capital drives tourism development (Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004)	Tourism (re)produces social capital (Jones, 2005; Misener & Mason, 2006; Heimtun, 2007; Nordin & Westlund, 2009)
Social capital and tourism entrepreneurship (Zhao, Ritchie, & Echtner, 2010)	Volunteer tourism propels social movement (McGehee, 2012)
Social capital as coping strategy and adaptation tool (Johannesson, Skaptadottir, & Benediktsson, 2003; Adger, 2003)	Participation in rural tourism business and activities positively influences social capital (Park, Lee, Choi, & Yoon, 2012)
Social capital improves networking and collaboration (Hall, 2004; Grangsjö & Gummesson, 2006)	

Various scales of social capital, individual, organizational, community, and state are available. In tourism studies, the level of social capital and conceptualization approach also varies. The following discussion presents a brief introduction of concepts, such as community capital and countryside capital, and a review of more detailed social capital literature. The approaches of conceptualizing and utilizing social capital for tourism research are then summarized, and directions for future research are proposed.

2.5.1 Social capital and tourism development: Regional/community scale

“Countryside capital” has drawn the attention of tourism researchers in recent years (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006). The term “capital” is traditionally used in economics as monetary assets. The definition subsequently became more inclusive and

ubiquitous; that is, as intangible and tangible resources or means of production, capital refers to having value or potential to be converted into economic capital. In relation to rural development, “countryside capital” is associated with the concept of “place” (Garrod et al., 2006). The countryside as a specific place has certain resources and features that become capital assets and industries such as tourism, which significantly relies on such resources and features. Three forms of capital, namely, physical, natural, and social, are commonly identified to represent “countryside capital” (Garrod et al., 2006). Discussions on physical and natural capital have long been established in the tourism context in terms of landscape, infrastructure, and natural environment. The application of “capital” in tourism studies requires substantial clarification on the definition, ideology, and scale of the terminology (Macbeth et al., 2004). The accumulation of and investment in rural capital have proven to be important for both rural community development and tourism development (George et al., 2009).

Community capital has also been used in tourism studies. Flora (2004) identified four forms of capital that are crucial in community development, namely, human, social, financial/built, and natural; this categorization is frequently adopted by tourism researchers (George et al., 2009; McGehee et al., 2012). Among the four types of capital, social capital is more extensively investigated in tourism studies, possibly due to the constant debate and theorization of this concept for the last two decades. Other forms of capital, however, are often indirectly mentioned. For example, financial capital can be viewed as investment, revenue, and economic gains, whereas infrastructure, transportation, and facilities for tourism development are forms of built capital. Human resources, education, and management studies focus on the human capital of tourism,

and a large number of studies examine natural and ecological resources. Cultural capital is also suggested as an important component of community capital, especially in the context of tourism, in which culture is often reproduced and consumed (George et al., 2009; Macbeth et al., 2004; McGehee et al., 2012). Several scholars also categorize cultural capital as human capital (Coleman, 1988) or social capital (Garrod et al., 2006). Capital has become a ubiquitous term, and the categorization of community capital is substantially debated. Hence, focusing on one form of capital, social capital, for the close and sometimes causal relationship it has with other forms of capital, such as physical and human, is more applicable (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Moreover, social capital has sophisticated theoretical foundation and practical implications at various regional/community and organization/individual scales.

The use of social capital in academic research on tourism outweighs that of the other forms of capital. Possible reasons include the assertion that social capital directly reflects the complex nature of human relationship and its wide application in several disciplines. Therefore, community capital in the forms of natural capital and financial/built capital is more straightforward and explicit in conceptualizing and quantifying. However, social, cultural, and political capital may overlap (Macbeth et al., 2004). Social interactions, institutions, and resources can be part of the cultural domain of a community, as well as for political purposes. Research on rural tourism has increasingly been seen to apply social capital theory in numerous aspects. Social capital tends to be discussed in the context of rural communities for its more distinguished role in small and closed structures, as well as for its claiming to diminish in the

modernization of rural areas (Woods, 2011). The current study hopes to reflect and provide insights into this phenomenon from the situation in China.

McGehee et al. (2010) identified the positive relationships between perceived social capital and most of the other forms of perceived capital in tourism. They also developed a regional tourism system inventory for the case study area. Modified from the capital model of Flora (2004), their study used built, financial, political, social (bridging and bonding), human, cultural, and natural capital as indicators for community tourism capital in the perception of tourism participants. An earlier study emphasizing the role of capital in regional tourism (Macbeth et al., 2004) proposed the concept of SPCC (social, political, and cultural capital), which bundles social with political and cultural capital as a whole entity of community values to evaluate “tourism readiness.” The SPCC is suggested to contribute to the development and innovation beyond the tourism scope. At a regional level, social capital is understood from the communitarian approach, in which government, voluntary associations, and other institutions have a significant role in generating and maintaining social capital.

On a smaller scale of community, Jones (2005) investigated social capital within a community-managed eco-camp in Gambia, Africa. Social capital was utilized to understand social and environmental changes brought to the local community by ecotourism operation; meanwhile, a comparative study was conducted in an adjacent non-tourism village with the same set of indicators. Structural social capital was demonstrated to be significantly higher in the ecotourism community for its high adherence to associational norms and rules. Cognitive social capital was also determined

to be relatively higher in terms of reciprocity and sharing, conflict mitigation, trust, and honesty. Hence, social capital can be examined within the overall tourism effects on a community. Tourism management requires strong social organizations, networks, and cooperation; however, inequity, power distribution, and interpersonal conflicts may be generated from tourism (Ashley, 2009).

Empirical studies suggested various but generally positive effects of community social capital on tourism development. Rural tourism communities in Korea have been examined using the relational factors of social capital; trust, norms, cooperation, and networks, and social capital have been demonstrated to be positively associated with the crops that farmers grow and the tourism activities they offer (Park et al., 2012). Park et al. (2012) assumed that high social capital encourages farmer involvement in tourism development, and the implementation of policy programs can increase community social capital. However, studies revealed contradictory results regarding the influence of the length of stay in a rural community on the level of social capital. Park et al. (2012) reported that a longer length of stay in a community reduces social capital, whereas McGehee et al. (2010) revealed a contradictory result, that is, a longer length of residence increases social capital.

From a different perspective and a different continent, Jóhannesson, Þór, Skaptadóttir, and Benediktsson (2003) suggested that social capital could initiate coping strategies in tourism through networking, innovation, and identity forming in a case study on rural communities in Iceland. Destination life cycle has also been associated with the involvement of social capital. In the case of a ski destination, new actors considerably

replaced old actors in tourism development; thus, the composition of community social capital continually changed throughout the destination life cycle (Nordin & Westlund, 2009). Presenting a close tie between social capital and human capital is reasonable because the flow of population and emergence of new organizations and businesses caused by tourism development and destination transformation characterize the foundation for changes in community social capital. Further discussion on human capital is presented later in this thesis. One notable contribution of the aforementioned study is the investigation of social capital on a longitudinal aspect, whereas most current studies examine social capital on a static basis.

In sum, social capital has an overall positive influence on tourism development. To maintain transparency and high social capital, vertical bridging with external actors should be improved and horizontal bonding within a community should be weakened (Jones, 2005). Social capital being more important than other forms of capital in the level of community is an arguable premise. However, social capital is the indication of community collective value, upon which participation, engagement, trust, reciprocity, as well as other norms of community are clearly practiced. In the tourism context, although relatively underinvestigated, social capital has an increasing occurrence. The contexts of research while utilizing social capital should be carefully considered.

2.5.2 Social capital and tourism development: Organizational/Individual scale

Social capital is often applied in identifying the role of organizations and individual social resources possessed through formal and informal networks. Tourism organizations and associations can synthesize resources and enhance collaboration

among stakeholders (von Friedrichs Grängsjö & Gummesson, 2005). In rural development, membership in Local Action Groups (LAG) is regarded as social capital and used to evaluate the effectiveness and success of the leader initiatives of the European Union (Nardone, Sisto, & Lopolito, 2012). Krishna (2004) identified six activities that essentially utilize social capital in the context of rural India, namely, membership in labor sharing groups, dealing with crop disease, dealing with natural disasters, trust, solidarity, and reciprocity. Participation in various organizations or help groups is the source of social capital, which provides collective action and collaboration. Individual agents and organizational leadership are also important elements. They serve as glue to ensure the cohesiveness of an organization or community and provoke the utilization of social capital when necessary (Bodin & Crona, 2008).

In rural areas in general, local organizations and associations linking with social capital have a strong effect on regenerating rural resources and sustainable rural development; however, positivity can only be assured with the appropriate technology, institutional support, and high market demand (Bebbington, 1997). This finding provides evidence of the linkage between social capital and the political and economic systems. Social capital as conceptualized from current theorists in the West is only valid under a democratic political system and a market economy. Social capital is possessed in groups with common goals; for example, natural resource management helps stakeholders on decision making, managing conflict, and synergizing government and local institutions (Adger, 2003; Bodin & Crona, 2008). The role of voluntary organizations and associations also varies among contexts; meanwhile, the number and nature of voluntary organizations and associations in developed countries are

considerably different from those in developing countries (Putnam, 2001). Thus, the social capital accumulated from these organizations can be of a different application.

At the individual level, social capital is conceptualized as a social resource that an individual can manifest. Zhao, Ritchie, and Echtner (2011) examined three dimensions of social capital, namely, cognitive, relational, and structural in individual tourism and non-tourism entrepreneurs. They reported that structural and relational social capital contribute to tourism entrepreneurship, but cognitive social capital is marginal. Another study conducted among recreational farm owners in Taiwan analyzed the relationship between social capital and future cooperative intention and concluded that social capital is a crucial factor in facilitating future cooperation (Shu et al., 2010). The social networks of an individual are viewed as sources of social capital (Lin, 1999). Therefore, the benefits of social capital at the individual level may be a result of social networks. The connections between social capital and social networks should be identified; meanwhile, social capital is widely inclusive, and social networks can be used as direct indicators of social capital at least at the individual level (Lin & Erickson, 2008).

2.5.3 Social capital and the theme of integration

Social capital may be less researched in tourism; nevertheless, many other related concepts, such as networking, partnership, and collaboration, are frequently seen in tourism studies. Networking and collaboration can be viewed as the possible outcomes and effects of social capital. Social networks as resources are the core element of social capital. Although many tourism researchers consider the importance of social networks in business collaboration, integrated development, and destination marketing and

planning, due to the lack of explanatory power, the influence of social capital is often carried out by leading actors of the community or stakeholders who hold central roles in community social networks (Bodin & Crona, 2008). In a rural context, social capital is also reflected in community participation and engagement (Pretty & Ward, 2001; Sharp, 2009), stakeholder involvement (Pretty, 2003), and development policies (Shucksmith, 2000).

Rural areas are ecologically fragile and culturally sensitive. To develop tourism in rural areas, an integrated approach should be used to engage various tourism actors, sustain the rural landscape, stimulate the rural economy, and provide an authentic tourism experience (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003). Integrated Rural Tourism (IRT) is a development approach initiated by the European Union project SPRITE, from 2002 to 2005 (Saxena, Clark, Oliver & Ilbery, 2007; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008; Saxena & Ilbery, 2008; Oliver & Jenkins, 2010; Panyik, Costa, & Ratz, 2011). This concept resonates with integrated rural development and fits into the new rural development paradigm. The IRT sets sustainability and empowerment as the objectives of development and integrates all of the actors involved in tourism (Saxena & Ilbery, 2008). Sustainability and empowerment can be achieved through endogenous and bottom-up resource use, with benefit from internal and external networking and embeddedness.

Integrated rural tourism often occurs in small communities, and it encourages rural communities to “incorporate new sources of income as complements to rather than substitutes for existing activities” (Saxena et al., 2007, p. 4). The concept of IRT consists of seven dimensions, namely, networking of business and institutions, scale of

tourism distribution, endogeneity of resources and products, sustainability, embeddedness of tourism in the entire local area and population, complementarity of tourism in providing benefits to the local community, and empowerment at the local level (Saxena et al., 2007; Ilbery & Saxena, 2009). The core emphasis of integration as a major theme in tourism development lies on functional networks among stakeholders. Inter-firm networking is a driving force for the development of core competencies (Denicolari, Cioccarelli, & Zucchella, 2010). Stakeholder involvement and partnership are also crucial forms of integration (Chase, Amsden, & Phillips, 2012).

The analytical framework proposed by George et al. (2009) for understanding tourism development the divided types of development based on supply- or demand-driven and problem- or opportunity-based. An integrated form of tourism development is based on economic opportunity and demand for tourism (Figure 2.6). In this case, the theme of integration is reflected as an ideal positioning of development. Contrived, deliberate, and responsive development approaches should all aim toward an integrated development approach. When economic opportunity and tourist demand work in place, the economy both inside and outside the tourism sector should be diversified. This diversification may require evolutionary strategies. The authors emphasize that the community needs to control tourism planning and development in their own hands. Community participation and involvement can also be viewed under the theme of integration (Tosun, 2000, 2006).

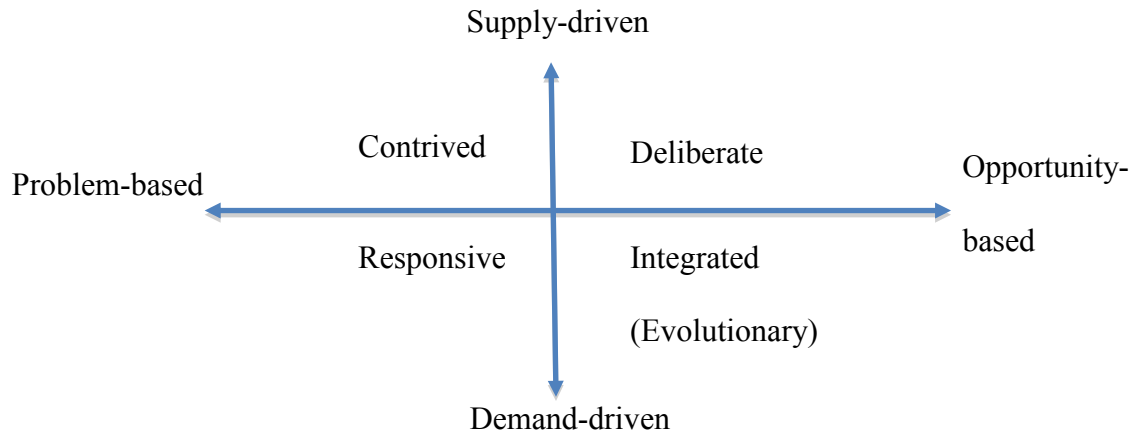


Figure 2.6 Analytical framework for understanding tourism development
(Source: George et al., 2009)

Integration in tourism can be broadly related to the collectivity of local tourism businesses, the match between tourism production and consumption, and the integration between tourism and other industries locally and regionally. In this study, integration focuses on the participation and relationships of internal and external actors in tourism. Specifically, this study primarily focuses on external actors. The concept of endogeneity requires an in-depth understanding in a developing context, or determining the extent and participation of “outsiders” in tourism development. In this study, tourism migrants are perceived as external actors in tourism, and their characteristics are discussed in the subsequent section.

The theme of integration in development can also be related to social capital. For example, IRT requires collaboration among various stakeholders along with the sustainable management of resources (Cawley & Gillmor, 2008). As both a theory and an approach, IRT is constructed through “social networks that are embedded,

endogenous, and empowering” in the localities in which tourism occurs and among actors who may have various degrees of integration (Saxena et al., 2007). In fact, the three approaches of embeddedness, endogeneity, and empowerment can be connected with social capital, which can be used as a tool for evaluating integrated development (Figure 2.7).

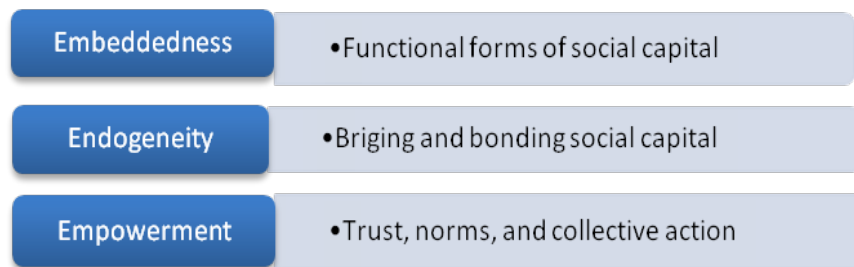


Figure 2.7 Integration and social capital in tourism development (Source: Author)

Embeddedness refers to the networks and social relationships within an economy (Rutten & Boekema, 2007). Social capital comprises the values of the networks that create mutual benefits. Endogenous development is recommended in bottom-up development programs, in which local resources are utilized and local community is the beneficiary (Woods, 2010). Endogeneity refers to a combination of endogenous and exogenous approaches that balance external and internal resource and actors. Social capital on the bridging level connects and attracts external actors, whereas bonding social capital integrates internal actors. Situations that involve migrants, as a form of external actor, can be analyzed by applying the concept of endogeneity and social capital to illustrate the roles of migrants in local development. Embedded networks and endogenous/exogenous resources are utilized, whereas empowerment is likely to be

developed, given that the outcomes of social capital build trust, norms, and facilitate collective action.

The influential work of Granovetter (1973) on the notion of strong ties and weak ties highlights the significance of weak ties in individual egocentric networks. Granovetter suggested that weak ties are more likely to range in a larger circle, and therefore, have the potential to provide information from different sources. The findings from Granovetter have been subsequently discussed and experimented on by numerous studies. One study conducted by Jack (2005) on the network ties of entrepreneurs proved otherwise. In the situation of entrepreneurship, strong ties are proven to be the most important and the function of network ties is more significant than the frequency of contact. However, strong ties can be more problematic than weak ties after entrepreneurs have started their businesses (Jack, 2005). Latent and inactive contacts can be activated when necessary. Under certain conditions, community disclosure can occur from a high level of social capital, which will likely limit the access of outsiders or newcomers for business or development initiatives (Portes & Landolt, 2000).

A more established network analysis in tourism destination management has been proposed (Baggio, Scott & Cooper, 2011). Both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used to analyze networks. Inter-organizational networking at the destination level showed that more industrialized destinations have dense and mature networks and better integrations of organizational clusters (Scott, Cooper, & Baggio, 2008). Networks among different actors at the regional level are the driving forces for integrated tourism development (Saxena, Clark, Oliver, & Ilbery, 2007). Networking in tourism has

become a new direction for tourism research, as determined by the fragmented nature of tourism. Theoretically and practically, networking at different levels is of immense significance in tourism development and management. According to Halme (2000), the networking process in sustainable tourism development involves learning and transacting knowledge as well as collaborating with multi-stakeholders. In networks with public-led development, the knowledge bases of actors are often largely different. Hence, Halme (2001) suggested to focus on guiding public actors into creating new loops to facilitate two-way communication.

Tourism aims to connect people with places. Connections are the major components of tourism in many aspects. Tourists are connected with destinations physically through transportation, and spiritually via their interaction with the destination and by having travel experiences. Regional, national, or international tourism businesses are connected for cooperation, collaboration, and competition in various forms. Connections at the micro and macro levels are the foundations for networks. In tourism studies, business networks are discussed under the destination development stream, and the focus is on small-scale tourism businesses (Tinsley & Lynch, 2001; Hall, 2004). Networking and partnership are substantial in destination marketing (Bhat & Milne, 2008; Hede & Stokes, 2009). Formal and informal business networks facilitate interactions that shape tourism products (Petrou, Pantiziou, Dimara & Skuras, 2007).

Thus, studies on participation, collaboration, partnership, and other networking-related concepts perceive recognition for mutual benefits as a foundation for collective action, which is also the goal of social capital utilization. Therefore, social capital can be

included in tourism studies for more in-depth investigation. The use of a network approach to represent social capital is recommended, especially for the measurement of social capital.

Social network analysis is a more established methodology for statistical measures of social capital (Lin, 1999; Bodin & Crona, 2008). Examining the tourism phenomenon using social capital requires the derivation of the appropriate parts of this concept and application to suitable contexts. As mentioned by Moody and Paxton (2009), the advantage of social capital is flexibility in being able to manifest in various disciplines.

2.5.4 Applying social capital in a tourism development paradigm

Confusion regarding the concept of social capital persists. First, the concept is unclear, that is, whether social capital should be viewed as a social resource for informal and formal relationships and memberships, or as the ability of an individual, a group, or an organization to secure and accumulate those resources. Second, whether social capital is easily alterable or not is arguable. Although social capital is applied as an independent variable, it is often viewed as a durable asset that requires time and effort to establish. Used as a dependent variable, however, social capital is fluid and changing, and easily influenced by internal and external factors.

Research purposes and contexts utilize different approaches of social capital to fit the research agenda. Tourism researchers generally treat social capital as an existing durable asset rather than an easily alterable construct, particularly from the supply side (Jones, 2005; Jóhannesson et al., 2003). Therefore, considering social capital as a straightforward social resource with benefits is a more suitable approach, instead of

using social capital as a more complex construct relating to individual or group ability. Although social capital is more commonly used as an independent variable, social capital can be accumulated or diminished over time (Krishna, 2012). The complex nature of social capital should be acknowledged when dealing with the concept and proposing causal assumptions on its relationship with practical problems. More longitudinal studies are required for verifying the process of social capital accumulation.

According to different approaches used to conceptualize social capital and the levels of application of the concept, the conceptualization and application of social capital with a specific research agenda should be identified (Table 2.3). Table 2.3 summarizes the potential approaches and application scales in tourism and links them with the positive impact of social capital. On the community/regional scale of application, social capital is best conceptualized by the communitarian and institutionalized approach. A research agenda can emphasize the positive effects, such as networking and communication in terms of governance, regional tourism development, community participation, and so forth. On the organizational/individual scale of application, adopting the communitarian, networking, or synergy approaches is suggested. Organizational and individual social capital are usually more connected with organizational and personal benefits in cultural and economic aspects. Hence, emphasizing the effect of social networks, cooperation, and accumulation of human capital is important in this context.

Table 2.3 Conceptualization of social capital and tourism research agenda

(Source: Author)

Scale of social capital	Research agenda	Positive effects	Negative effects of low social capital	Conceptualization approach
Regional/ Community	Government/Institution's role and governance	Social control and civic engagement	Unequal distribution of resource and unbalanced development	Communitarian, Institutional
	Sustainable tourism policy and planning	Public supervision, partnership	Exclusion of local community and low quality of life	
	Regional tourism system	Networking and innovation	Management and governance problems	
	Tourism marketing and partnership	Networking and collective action	Economic payoffs	
	Community participation and engagement	Empowerment and inclusion, community trust		
Organizational/ Individual	Tourism entrepreneurship and SME	Utilization of social resources, networking and collaboration	Low information and resource access	Communitarian, Network, Synergy
	The role of local organization/help group	Skills, education and training, collective action	Low human capital	
	Personal experiences	Trust and reciprocity, resource sharing	Individual/organizational conflicts	

Future research connecting social capital and tourism development should incorporate practical problems in the locality, and consider different political, social, cultural, and other systems. On the scale of regional/community social capital, future research can focus on social capital in different economic/political systems, and the manner in which social control is achieved in tourism development and the management of rural areas. For example, a study could investigate the influence that collective action and benefit sharing, as carried out by social capital, might have on the role of tourism development in poverty alleviation. Moreover, the politically related elements of social capital and their influence on how peripheral society copes with sustainable tourism development are of some research interest.

On the organization/individual scale, tourism entrepreneurship and small operations continue to be the dominating business model used in rural tourism. Including social capital and social networks in the study of tourism businesses and entrepreneurs will create significant research space in this area. Moreover, the connection between social capital and human capital should be further cultivated. For example, research could explore the role of formal and informal organizations in equipping participants with the necessary skills and knowledge and the potential for knowledge creation through social capital building.

The flow of population and change in education or professional status can also influence the social capital of tourism participants. Social capital, as both an independent and a dependent variable, should be analyzed, and further research on a

longitudinal scale is required to monitor the transformation of social capital in the light of changes and development at various community and individual levels.

2.6 Tourism Development and Social Mobility

This section connects tourism development with social and organizational mobility issues in tourism, namely, employment and entrepreneurship. Migrants in tourism are of diverse social positions and class divisions. Therefore, understanding the social mobility characteristics of tourism employment and entrepreneurship and the impact on the development of a tourism destination is necessary. This section reviews the related studies on tourism employment and entrepreneurship that lean towards rural contexts and developing countries.

2.6.1 Characteristics of tourism employment

Employment in tourism can have an influence on the national, regional, and individual levels. One positive effect of tourism development that is often emphasized is the creation of jobs and employment opportunities (Johnson, Snepenger, & Akis, 1994; Neto, 2003). Identifying the driving force of tourism employment as consumption or production is important when considering tourism as a tool for economic development (Johnson & Thomas, 1990). The major characteristics of tourism employment include seasonality, dominance of service jobs, high turnover, low entry barrier, and gender and class distributions (Choy, 1995; Jolliffe & Farnsworth, 2003).

Tourism employment renders different perspectives in developed and developing countries (Cukier-Snow & Wall, 1993). Tourism employment quality, job satisfaction, and the prospects of career advancement are high in developed contexts (Choy, 1995);

by contrast, both formal and informal tourism jobs and migrants are largely involved in developing countries (Cukier, Butler, & Hinch, 1995).

The employment motivations of tourism vary significantly by contexts and by subgroups of workers (Lundberg, Gudmundson, & Andersson, 2009). Herzberg's Two-Factor theory of work motivation suggests two types of needs are required in work motivation, namely, the hygiene factor that is concerned with the basic survival needs of a worker, and the growth needs that pertain to intrinsic work factors related to completing job tasks (Lundberg et al., 2009). Applying the theory on seasonal workers in tourism, researchers indicated that workers constitute a migrant community that is less concerned with wage, but more concerned about social belonging in tourism jobs.

2.6.2 Tourism development and employment

Levy and Lerch (1991) investigated tourism workers in Barbados and identified gender inequality in the tourism industry, in which women workers typically acquire more network resources to attain employment. Men had more upward opportunities and more stable positions in hotels than women. Gender and class variations also reflect in tourism industries. Complex social relationships exist between local and migrants in terms of gender roles and system of stratification (Ireland, 1993). In multi-ethnic contexts, dominating ethnicities also derive higher employment position and prospects (McDowell et al., 2007). Tourism employment is particularly important in less developed areas in terms of the effects on the local social structure. Given the lack of consideration for human resources in tourism planning, local people have difficulty in benefitting from tourism development (Liu & Wall, 2006). Lack of human capital and

properties of tourism-required skills is the largest obstacle in human resource issues in tourism development (Conlin, Baum, & Cooper, 1994).

Liu and Wall (2006) proposed a conceptual framework (Figure 2.8) in studying tourism-employment related issues. Their framework emphasizes the role of tourism policies in integrating education institutions and tourism industry to target different forms of employment and generate appropriate human capital.

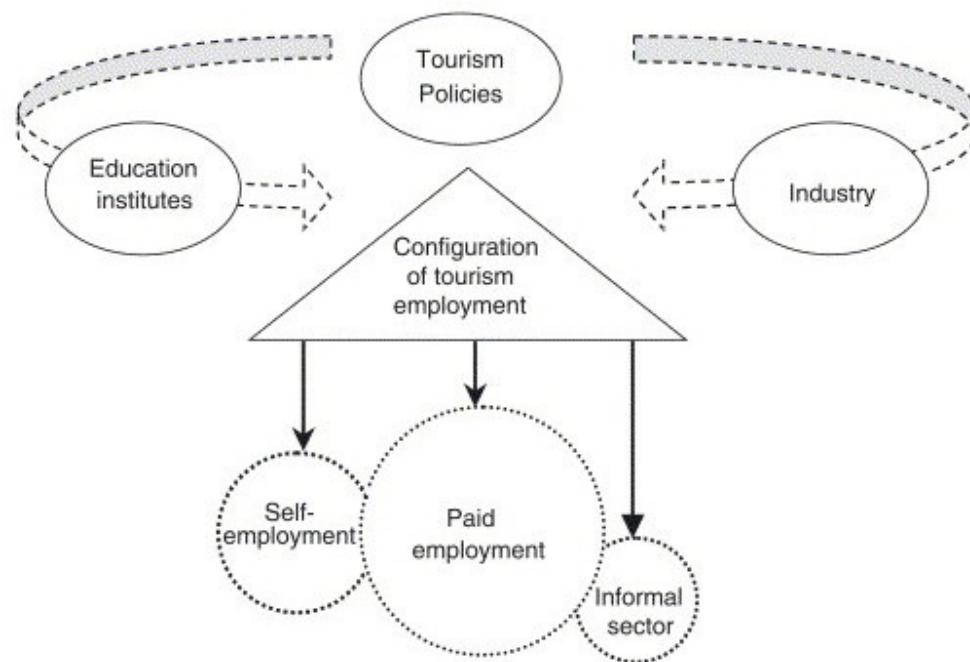


Figure 2.8 Framework for studying tourism human resources and employment issues
(Source: Liu & Wall, 2006)

Figure 2.8 shows that on the macro scope, tourism policy shapes the manner in which education institutes and tourism industry may influence the configuration of tourism employment. Therefore, linking with previous reviews on rural development and tourism development approaches is important in evaluating tourism development

policies. These policies constitute the forces of generating particular types of tourism employment and human capital required in the destination. This research, which was drawn from the previous study, identifies the co-productive roles of policies, development approaches, and locality-driven social and organizational contexts to build the overall environment for tourism migrants and to shape their experiences in tourism development.

From a micro scope and a more “urban” perspective of tourism-related employment, Ayres (2006) examined career stories from tourism managers. Tourism career is considered a new career, and mentoring programs are powerful career management tools. Tourism jobs are regarded as interesting and new, and people who eventually pursue tourism careers have more intra-industry and intra-company experiences. This research indicates that tourism careers have high mobility in terms of career development. In the meantime, managers in tourism industries encounter certain barriers, such as age, access to a mentor, limited education, female gender, indigenous background, and willingness to be geographically mobile. Employment and career development within tourism industries have increasingly become mobile and flexible because of the dynamic characteristics of tourism as a mobile activity. The attitudes of young people toward tourism as a career receive diverse results from different countries, which are influenced by policy and support systems (Airey & Frontistis, 1997). As tourism employment is still generally viewed as contingent work, educational and industry educational framework and support are necessary in exerting new career concepts (Hjalager & Andersen, 2001).

Thus, tourism-related employment has considerable appeal, and its role in providing soft skills and balancing the transitional economy could not be neglected. Tourism often provides the initiation of employment, particularly for migrants (Janta & Ladkin, 2003), and a transitional opportunity as a “refugee employer” (Szivas & Riley, 1999). Tourism works provide networking opportunities for migrants and enhance their social and cultural competencies (Janta et al., 2011). Issues of gender and class are unique in tourism employment in both developed and developing countries (Ghodsee, 2003; Ireland, 1993; Levy & Lerch, 1991). However, in developing countries, tourism can offer a higher social position for women in the community. Several studies have examined tourism employment from an economic perspective, but this research area needs to underpin social issues within this field. For migrants who have limited social resources, women in masculine societies, children and youth, and other less privileged members in the community, tourism employment can make a huge difference in their lives.

2.6.3 Characteristics of tourism entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is one major characteristic of tourism industries, and self-employment is a primary motivation for working in tourism-related sectors (Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007). Migration and entrepreneurship are also strongly linked in tourism (Lardies, 1999; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). The importance of recognizing the characteristics of tourism firms and enterprises has gained awareness under the growing economic impact of tourism in both developing and developed countries (Shaw & Williams, 1990). However, entrepreneurship in tourism and hospitality is

underinvestigated and lacks theoretical framework in this specific domain (Li, 2008). Tourism entrepreneurship is typically of a small scale and involves lifestyle as one of the motives (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Komppula, 2004; Szivas, 2001). Entrepreneurship consists of a large number of elements that relate to motives, process, operation, management, and so forth (Koh, 1996; Morrison, Rimmington, & Williams, 1999). The current study examines tourism development in rural areas, considers the rural tourism perspective of entrepreneurship, and identifies the linkages between tourism entrepreneurship and tourism development in rural areas.

A definition of the tourism entrepreneur is proposed as “a creator of a touristic enterprise motivated by monetary or non-monetary reasons to pursue a perceived market opportunity legally, marginally, or illegally” (Koh & Hatten, 2002, p. 25). The existing academic work generally classifies tourism entrepreneurship into two types, namely, lifestyle- and autonomy-oriented tourism entrepreneurship and growth- and profit-oriented tourism entrepreneurship (Getz & Peterson, 2005; Koh, 2006). These two types of tourism entrepreneurship have different modes of operation. For example, accommodation and restaurant sectors have more growth- and profit-oriented entrepreneurs, whereas bed and breakfast and art and crafts sectors have more lifestyle- and autonomy-oriented entrepreneurs (Getz & Peterson, 2005). Economic-oriented entrepreneurs may have lifestyle motives and preferences, but the recognition of profit as a survival baseline is also strong (Getz & Carlson, 2000). Non-economic motives may have surprising results that do not stagnate or constrain development, but provide new economic opportunities to engage with niche markets (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). Small-scale and family-centered rural tourism entrepreneurship tends to belong to the

growth and profit-oriented group for the role that tourism plays in a traditional and agriculture economy (Nancy & Kyungmi, 2004).

Entrepreneurs require social and financial resources to enter the field and establish businesses. Social networks are important factors that influence employment and entrepreneurship. Social capital also affects tourism entrepreneurship. From the destination standpoint, some residents opt to start up tourism businesses, whereas others decide not to pursue this option.

Zhao et al. (2011) aimed at determining the relationship between individual social capital and tourism entrepreneurship in rural Guangxi, China. Two groups of respondents were selected, namely, tourism entrepreneurs (ENs) and non-tourism entrepreneurs (NEs). Comparing the results from NEs and ENs, this study suggests a strong entrepreneurship culture in rural Guangxi. Moreover, tourism entrepreneurs have a relatively higher education, more willingness to take risks, and a higher household wealth. The structural dimensions of social capital indicated positive effects on start-up entrepreneurship, whereas relational and cognitive dimensions were deemed to be insignificant. Human capital, skills, and knowledge of running businesses also have a determinant role in tourism entrepreneurship and have been recognized as the weakness of tourism entrepreneurs (Jaafar, Abdul-Aziz, Maideen, & Mohd, 2011; Zhao et al., 2011).

2.6.4 Tourism development and entrepreneurship

Tourism entrepreneurship is a crucial component of sustainable tourism development; entrepreneurship is often accompanied by creativity, innovativeness, and diversification,

which are all vehicles for economic growth (Lordkipanidze, Brezet, & Backman, 2005). Therefore, similar to the discussion on tourism employment, entrepreneurship should be associated with tourism policies and planning for development. The change and transformation of a destination can have notable effects on shaping the entrepreneurial environment (Russels & Faulkner, 2004). Meanwhile, successful entrepreneurs represent the prosperity of tourism development and realize the goal of sustainability. In the case of rural Sweden, rural tourism entrepreneurs encounter several obstacles that are related to economic and social issues, learning process, and market issues (Lordkipanidze et al., 2005). Stimulating entrepreneurship requires policy support and access to various networks for skills and training, business planning, and collective marketing. In the example of the Australian Landcare programs, however, rural tourism entrepreneurs have an ineffective understanding of tourism mechanisms and limited information channels to grasp the opportunity to enhance their business (Beeton, 2002). Meanwhile, in a remote rural area in South Africa, the tourism entrepreneurial situation is of limited attention and quite marginal, and faces the challenges of survival and upgrading livelihood (Ndabeni & Rogerson, 2005).

2.7 Research Trends

After reviewing the academic literature from the field of tourism development, tourism development and social capital, and mobilities and tourism, several research trends are identified. Tourism research remains dominantly multi-disciplinary, and several researchers have suggested a celebration of the diversity of tourism research (Tribe, 1997). The research trend in the field of tourism has in fact adopted the approach

and become more increasingly inclusive. The interdisciplinary approach of tourism research is defined as “a process of mobilizing different institutionalized disciplines through dynamic interaction in order to describe, analyze, and understand tourism’s complexity” (Darbellay & Stock, 2012, p. 453). A trend exists in conceptualizing and researching tourism from interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary approaches, as identified by Tribe (1997, 2010). This trend acknowledges the existence and appropriateness of various disciplines in understanding the complexity of tourism, which defines tourism as a “specific relationship to the world” (Darbellay & Stock, 2012, p. 444).

This interdisciplinary approach has become particularly characterized in the emerging field of mobilities. The concept of mobilities in research represents a groundbreaking formation of the research on movement, which seeks an interdisciplinary and new paradigm stemming from the traditional research on transport geography, migration studies, and tourism studies (Cresswell, 2010). The production of social identity and the notion of “society” are also being challenged because of the many scales, forms, and sources of mobility (Urry, 2000). Mobility is indeed a geographical fact, but many components of this concept benefit from theorizations of other disciplines, such as sociology, cultural studies, and economics. A relational perspective should be adopted in conceptualizing mobilities, similar to the relational definition of tourism. Geographically, mobilities are the spatial relationships between humans, objects, and ideas, whereas these relationships co-constitute subjects, spaces, and meanings (Sheller, 2011). The idea of relational sociology subsequently fits in the mobilities paradigm; in connection with social networks, mobilities can be applied in the structure of mobile

social networks, and the relational social meaning created in these networks (Mutzel, 2009). Furthermore, the conceptual development of social capital centers on the relational approach and calls for the integration of the “structure of social networks” and the “content of social capital” (Mood & Paxon, 2009, p. 1440).

The current study attempts to follow the interdisciplinary trend of tourism and mobilities research to explore the phenomenon of tourism-induced mobility. More specifically, a trend is detected in tourism studies that examine the mobile aspects of tourism employment and entrepreneurship (Ladkin, 2011; Duncan et al., 2013, Zhao et al., 2011; Bosworth & Farrell, 2011). As Duncan et al. stated, “a more social scientific and interdisciplinary approach can challenge more conventional management thinking of hospitality labor processes” (p. 14). The mobilities framework is suitable for exploring the issues of tourism and hospitality work, and a trend of more individualized approaches is evident in the related literature (Lundburg et al., 2009; Janta et al., 2011). More recently, the trend can generate more research on the role of voluntary workers in tourism and their roles in destination social change because of the appearance of alternative forms of tourism such as volunteer tourism (Duncan et al., 2013; McGehee, 2012).

Tourism development studies indicate a trend of a more systematic application of the concept of social capital, and this concept is increasingly applied in a rural context (Jones, 2005; Park et al, 2012; Zhao et al., 2011). The theme of integration in tourism development is significantly reflected in community-based tourism, rural tourism, and tourism that involves small operations and in less developed areas. Another trend is the

taking of the scale and degree of integration into account and incorporating integration with network studies, governance, and collaboration of stakeholders in a tourism context (March & Wilkinson, 2009; Scott et al., 2008). Tourism entrepreneurship has been closely related to enterprise and start-up abilities, which continuously require a network perspective for investigation (Zhao et al., 2011; Bosworth & Farrell, 2011).

In sum, an interdisciplinary trend exists in mobilities and tourism studies. Most previous studies consider tourism as a component in the wide mobilities paradigm. If tourism is perceived as a form of relationship among humans, objects, and spaces, then the issue of how this specific relationship, or particular dimensions of it, induces mobility, and what are the social, environmental, and cultural forces in the connections between tourism and mobility, is of immense potential for future interdisciplinary research. The research trend influences the initiation and formation of this study. This research also hopes to contribute to applying the interdisciplinary approach in tourism. The mobile characteristics of migrant workers and social components in tourism employment and entrepreneurship are increasingly investigated, which coincides with recent development of the mobilities paradigm. More individualized, yet integrated approaches are evident in the studies on tourism development. The application of network theory and social capital will add new perspectives to the area of research.

2.8 Research Gaps

From the review of literature, several research gaps have emerged. First, the existing literature lacks a micro perspective of integration. A linkage potentially exists between the concept of integration in tourism development with bridging and bonding social

capital, external and internal actor networks, and with tourism-induced mobility. Therefore, this study will examine migrant experiences based on tourism development-related activities and consider the micro forms of integration from the networks of tourism workers and entrepreneurs. In particular, areas with tourism development at early stage are characterized by high public and private investment on tourism projects and infrastructure, but low perceived benefits (Upchurch & Teivane, 2000). Hence, sustaining economic capital and human capital by providing opportunities and prospects on potential development is important. In the meantime, more attention should be given to less developed areas on several issues, such as the lack of human and physical capital and policy support.

Second, the field of tourism migration requires interdisciplinary conceptualization that is not limited to a geographical standpoint. Previous research only focuses on tourism mobility chiefly from the time–space classification. Research on tourism migration seems to have stagnated after its initial blossoming in the early 21st century. Researchers have experienced a “mobilities turn” (Cresswell, 2010) and turned to the mobilities paradigm without any creative expansion on the traditional tourism-migration research stream in recent years. The gap between geographical nature of mobilities and the other sociological, cultural, and economic factors associated with mobilities should be bridged. This research will connect tourism-migration studies with the concept of social mobility, and include the movement of social and human capital to studies on the movement of people.

Moreover, current studies lack a thorough examination on the role of social capital on the process of employment and entrepreneurial mobility. Social mobility in relation to tourism is rarely discussed in the literature except for discussions on career development. Previous studies regard labor mobility and entrepreneurial mobility as separate streams, and lack a dynamic comparison on the two forms of mobility, particularly in the tourism context, in which labor mobility and entrepreneurial mobility are both crucial for sustainable tourism development. Finally, more research attention is required to apply the theory of social capital and social networks in the field of tourism, and the role of social capital in tourism development requires more empirical evidence from developing countries.

2.9 Conceptual Guide

Based on the existing literature, a conceptual framework is constructed to guide this study. The framework includes the major concepts of social capital, mobility, and tourism development. Social capital is underinvestigated in tourism development, and this concept has a high potential for both conceptual and empirical research in tourism development in less developed areas. Although social capital is more important than other forms of capital at the community level, social capital indicates community collective value, upon which participation, engagement, trust, reciprocity, as well as other norms of a community are clearly practiced. In the context of tourism, which is under investigated, social capital has an increasing occurrence. Communities with early-stage tourism development have dynamic and interactive forms of ecological, political, and socio-cultural characteristics. The contexts of research while utilizing social capital

should be carefully considered. More practically, in the modernization process of China, the role of human resources and the effect of population movement are important in rural development. The context of internal migration and tourism development in China is introduced in Chapter 3.

The following framework is constructed to guide this study and to illustrate key concepts that this study intends to connect (Figure 2.9). The major purpose is to investigate the experiences of tourism migrants in rural China and their further implications for tourism development as well as rural development. The conceptual guide explains the macro to micro relationships among the various concepts. At the macro level of the research agenda, tourism development, mobility to rural areas, and social capital are connected to indicate the research goal, which is to examine the role of social capital in mobility and tourism. Several micro practices and terms are constructed to inform the macro concepts. The relationships will be subsequently explored through the understanding of the experiences of migrants and local communities.

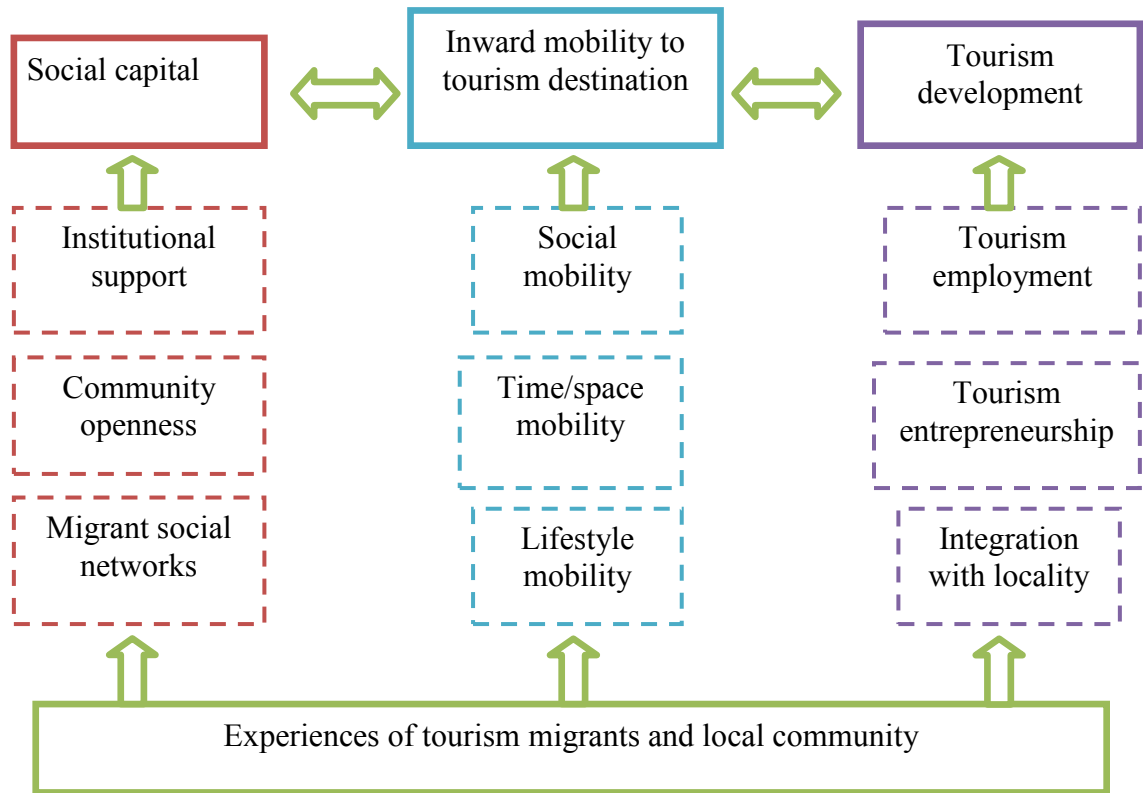


Figure 2.9 A conceptual guide for studying tourism migration (Source: Author)

Social capital: The dimensions of social capital in this conceptual guide are chiefly derived from the various conceptualization approaches of Woolcock and Narayan (2000). Institutional support in the current study refers to Bourdieu’s notion of social capital (2008), which is durably possessed and embodied in the institutional structure. Considering the characteristics of tourism development in less developed areas, the dimensions of social capital also include community features and individual migrant social networks (George et al., 2009; Lin, 1999; Janta et al., 2009). Community openness refers to the degree and balance of bonding and bridging social capital of a community, which determines the attitude toward external actors, level of collective action, willingness of collaboration, and community capacity for development (Jones,

2005). Individual migrant networks adopt the network approach of social capital, the notion of strong and weak network ties (Grannovetter, 1973; Bian, 2003), and the guanxi relationship in Confucian culture (Zhai, 2009). These factors are important personal social resources that influence the mobilities and tourism experiences of migrants, and can be accumulated, transformed, and mobilized by their tourism experiences.

Inward mobility to tourism destination: The dimensions of inward mobility to tourism destination refer to the sources of mobility that are generated by the tourism development characteristics of a destination. As conceptualized in the previous sections of the literature review, the forms of tourism-induced migration can be categorized according to the sources of social, lifestyle, and time–space mobilities. Social mobility refers to the change of social status that is associated with the migration process (Osella & Osella, 2000). Lifestyle mobility emphasizes cultural components, either personal preferences or destination offerings, which control the mobility of migrant workers and entrepreneurs (Torkington, 2010). Time–space mobility refers to the traditional view of tourism-induced migration (Williams & Hall, 2000; Bell & Ward, 2000), and emphasizes the spatial and temporal patterns of migration. This categorization deconstructs mobilities from cultural, sociological, and geographical perspectives, and puts them in one framework to offer a conceptual ground to understand the “social-cultural-spatial matrix in which we move, dwell, and build the future” (Sheller, 2011).

Tourism development: Identified from the existing literature, the participation of migrants in tourism development has been predominant in tourism employment and

entrepreneurship (Bosworth & Farrell, 2011; Janta et al., 2009; Ladkin, 2011; Panagua, 2000). Therefore, the characteristics of tourism employment and entrepreneurship in the present study are considered informative and indicative to local and regional tourism development. Tourism development has linkages with community social capital, various stakeholders, and other local/nonlocal actors (Cawley & Gilmor, 2008; Jones, 2005; Park et al., 2012). At the individual level, integration to locality should be regarded as the horizontal and vertical linkages that tourism migrants have within and beyond the local tourism community. Integration as a major theme in tourism development also refers to the overall degree of embeddedness and endogeneity of local tourism development, which is reflected in the practices and management of tourism employment and entrepreneurship.

In sum, social networks and other local supports contribute to the understanding of social capital circulation, accumulation, and utilization. Mobility to rural areas consists of various sources of mobility from time-space, social, and lifestyle aspects. These micro practices will be connected through the examination of the experiences of migrants and local community. A complex relationship exists among mobility, tourism development, and social capital. The experiences of tourism migrants are only a tip of the iceberg of the deeper issue of mobility and tourism development. This conceptual guide potentially serves as a device for framing this tip of the iceberg and expresses an attempt to dive under the water to detect the depth of the iceberg. It also explains the following research questions in a web: How does tourism development induce and inform mobility to tourism destinations? How do migrants experience tourism development through employment or entrepreneurship? How does social capital

influence the migration process of migrants? How does the migration process change the networks of migrants? Local community and institutions are also participants in supporting migrants. Therefore, this study applies a synergized approach of social capital to combine institutional support, individual migrant experiences, and community environment.

2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature and identified the gaps in the studies. A conceptual guide was developed to explain the leading concepts of this research and the research objectives. This study intends to bridge the gaps by exploring the experiences of tourism migrants in relation to social capital, tourism employment and entrepreneurship, and the overall integration to rural locality. This study will contextually examine the manner in which social capital affects mobility in rural areas and the influence of this type of mobility on tourism development.

Tourism offers various forms of opportunity for individuals as a means of social development. Laborers or entrepreneurs in tourism have various motives and experiences in working in tourism. The component of lifestyle, although not prevailing in every case, could not be neglected. However, several challenges exist in social mobility in tourism. Inequalities between local and non-local participants are indicated in developing tourism in rural areas (Zhao et al., 2011). In relation to tourism development, employment and entrepreneurship in less developed areas also face numerous challenges from individual experiences to policy making, planning, and public support. To connect tourism migration, social mobility of tourism industries, and

tourism development in rural areas on the level of individual experiences, another sociological concept, that is, social capital, should be incorporated.

Most of the studies in tourism regard social capital as embedded in a community and as a cause for collective action and a tool for management, planning, and development. The state and community should be responsible for facilitating and generating social capital. Social capital has overall positive impact on tourism development. This study primarily examines the individual scale of social capital as an important component of the experiences of tourism migrants. Different types of tourism migrants, which are perceived as outsiders of a community, have various levels of social capital and means of accumulating and utilizing social capital among themselves. New and return migrants have different levels of social capital. Migrants bring new energy to tourism development; however, how they enter, survive in, deal with, and experience tourism development should be further examined in relation to the social relations and connections they had, have, and will develop in the local communities.

Chapter 3

Study Context

3.1 Chapter Introduction

This study focuses on a specific context, China. China is characterized by a socialist political system with reforming economy under a one-party rule; the development of tourism in China is changing toward a market-driven mode and decentralized business operations (Zhang & Lew, 1995). Many less developed areas have started to use tourism as a tool for economic diversification and development (Zhou & Huang, 2004). To understand the context, this chapter reviews the contemporary studies on the urbanization and internal migration in China, as well as the characteristics of tourism development, employment, and tourism entrepreneurship.

3.2 Urbanization Process in China

The urbanization process in China has driven internal migration from less developed rural areas to developed urban areas on a massive scale. It has also prompted rural areas to face numerous challenges in transforming traditional agriculture to industrial agriculture and other industries, rural - urban income disparity, social and environmental pressures, and depression of rural economy and societies (Lin, Wang, & Zhao, 2004; Siciliano, 2012). This section introduces the urbanization processes in China and the outcomes as well as the situation of internal migration.

3.2.1 Political economy and urbanization plans

The settlement system and household registration system in China have a major role in determining the mobility of urban and rural residents. The systems have undergone significant changes since the economic reformation in the 1980s. The criteria for the country designation in China have changed thrice in 1952, 1982, and 1999, in accordance with the administrative settlement system (Zhu, 2006).

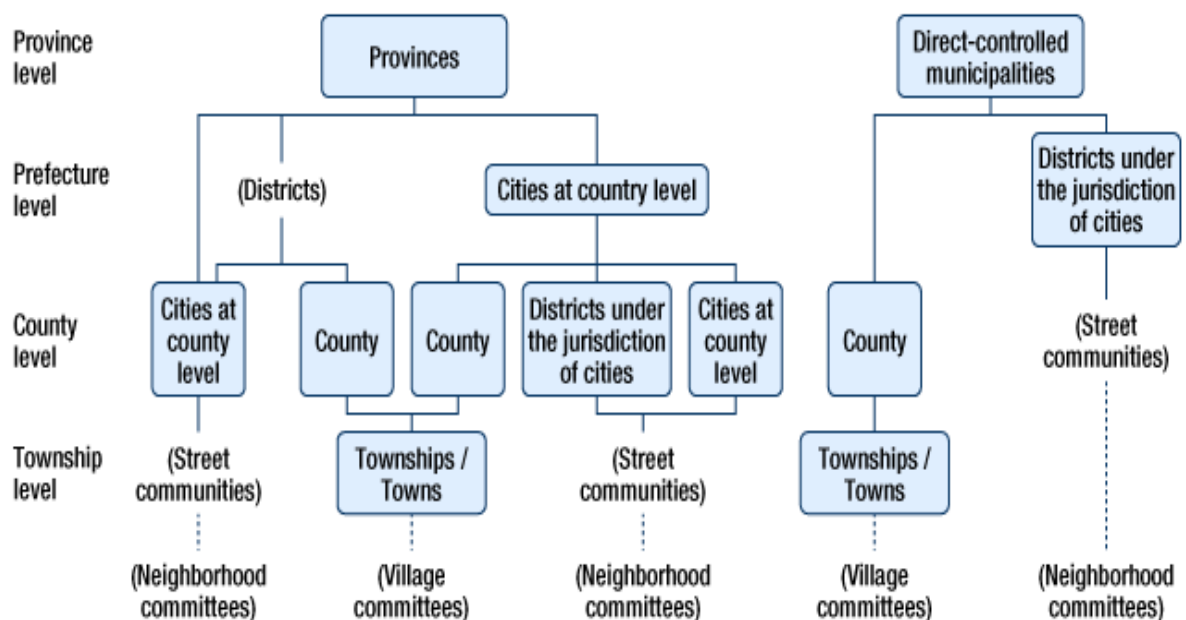


Figure 3.1 Government Administrative System of China (Source: MLIT Japan, 2012)

Figure 3.1 shows the government administrative system in China. The National Statistics Bureau of China (NSBC) defines urban population as within cities and townships, and rural population within the countryside (NSBC, 2008). The urban population in China has been increasing dramatically since the 1990s. In the meantime, changes in the countryside have also been significant. The *hukou* (household registration) is a unique system in China that is employed to manage the population. The

two types of *hukou* are urban and rural. The *hukou* of an individual is associated with a particular administrative area, and his or her entitled social benefit is restricted to that area. The upward change of *hukou* is extremely difficult, especially for migrant workers in urban areas (China's hukou system, 2013).

The Chinese government has reformed its land-use policy in the last several decades to adapt to and profit in the land market. Numerous positive changes, such as generating government revenue and increasing infrastructure, occur; nevertheless, negative outcomes, such as increasing socio-economic conflicts and corruption, should not be neglected (Ding, 2003). Although China is known to be strict on farmland protection, the government can easily acquire land under the agenda of land nationalization (Cai, 2004). Regulative procedures are required if rural farmland is to be used for construction and non-agricultural purposes; once the farmland is used for such purposes, the farmer's right to transfer land is restricted. Collective land ownership and ambiguity in property rights constrain the productivity of farmers and diversification of rural economy; it is the largest problem facing the rural development of China (Chen & Yu, 2004; Chen, 2011; Cai, 2003; Zhou, 2004).

The contemporary development of China is driven by the continuous "five-year" plan issued by the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) of the central government. The most recent Twelfth Five-Year Plan (TFYP) followed the development emphasis on urbanization from previous plans (NDRC, 2013). The TFYP specifically proposed a priority to release the development pressure on major cities as well as improve and balance the development of small- and medium-sized cities and townships

(TFYP, 2013). The development priority has shifted to small- and medium-sized cities with strong environmental capacity spatial superiority. Many government-funded projects have also aimed at this development objective. The development and promotion of domestic tourism is clearly emphasized in the tourism section of the TFYP. Development policies in China aim to reduce the social disparities between urban and rural areas, improve the rural–urban transition, as well as manage and sustain environmental and natural resources (Siciliano, 2012). Policy makers and academics are concerned with issues in rural China, as expressed in the articulation of *san nong wen ti* or the three rural issues, namely, agriculture, farmers, and rural areas (Christiansen & Zhang, 2009). In 2013, the Third Plenary Session of the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held and policies on rural land circulation were raised as part of the central government plan for economic and social reforms. Rural land circulation in China refers to the transfer of land operation rights to convert land use or centralize dispersed land for intensive mass agricultural production. The four types of rural development mode in China are farming industry; industry; tourism, service, and other business dominating; and balanced rural development (Long, Zou, & Liu, 2009). Long et al. (2009) applied a rurality degree index to examine the relationship between rural development mode and the degree of rurality. The two major factors that affect rural development are industry and employment (Long et al., 2009). Rapid industrialization and urbanization in rural areas have prompted the conversion of more material and non-material elements to adapt to the process. For example, farmland changes to factory workshop, and farmers transform to workers.

3.2.2 Population mobility and outcomes of urbanization

Labor allocation is a major outcome of urbanization in China that results in the structural change of labor market both in urban and rural areas. Separability between labor supply and demand decisions is an indicator of economic reform (Bowlus & Sicular, 2003). Non-separability is found in rural households in villages that are within village-scale non-farm employment; however, non-separability is not found in areas with large township scale non-farm employment, which renders the questionability of the rural employment policies in China (Bowlus & Sicular). Urbanization decreases agriculture-related jobs, which implies that more jobs need to be provided through non-farm employment; nevertheless, many small-scale township and village enterprises (TVEs) are incapable of providing the number of new jobs required (Johnson, 2002). An increasing number of migrants opt to work in urban areas where more employment opportunities exist and remittances are sent back to hometowns for investment, elderly care, and child care (Cai, 2003). Migrant workers from rural areas consist of a large labor force in the creation of GDP. Internal migration in China has spurred a unique social phenomenon that influences migrating destinations (i.e., large cities) and the origins of migrant workers (i.e., rural areas). Hence, a middle point between the extremes should be identified. The middle point is the strategic reason behind the development focus on small- and middle-sized cities.

Remittances from migrant workers have become a major source of income of rural households. Debrauw and Rozella (2008) investigated the relationship between migration and household investment in rural China. They reported a gap between poor

and non-poor villages and between consumptive and productive investment. Generally, migrant workers from non-poor villages are more likely to invest. However, the relationship only exists with consumptive investment (i.e., investment in housing and consumptive goods). This result might be reflected in the conventional lifestyle of rural residents in China who tend to invest in durable goods and are reluctant to take risks. Return migrant workers possess skills and broader views gained from working in large cities, and thus can become a driving force for rural entrepreneurship (Wang, Cui, & Zhao, 2003). The connections that migrant workers and former rural residents have with their homeland and people support their willingness to visit, as linked with VFR tourism, and to return for starting up businesses or investments.

Another unique phenomenon associated with rapid urbanization in China is the emergence of hallowed villages, which refer to the effect of depopulation and abandonment of old villages due to modernization and construction of new villages and the phenomenon of migrant workers. Rural land policy, migration, population decrease, and aging have left rural villages with abundant land and housing properties. Fan (2008) proposed to effectively use rural housing and create value for rural income. Long, Lin, Liu, Woods, and Zou (2012) pointed out the causal factors of village hollowing from economic, socio-cultural, institutional, and environmental aspects. Some of these factors include low agricultural investment, lack of security in urban employment, “nuclear family” households, and property rights and land policy deficiency. Village hollowing induces a series of social problems, such as the wellbeing of rural left-behind children (Duan & Zhou, 2005; Wang, Zhang, Sun, & Zhang, 2006), stress and issues faced by

rural women and elderly (Mu & de Walle, 2011), and other concerns that are pertinent to rural sustainability (Xu, 2009).

Urbanization process has widened regional inequality and social disparity between urban and rural areas (Lin et al., 2004). Farmers and migrant workers in urban areas have endured new forms of vulnerability with declining farm income, inadequate support, and other constraints; at the same time, they are lacking in social security and advantage (Christiansen & Zhang, 2009). Labor migration has been a major phenomenon in the urbanization of rural China under a unique political and cultural economy (Chen, 2011; Christiansen & Zhang, 2009). Policy makers rely on rural–urban migration to reduce income gaps between rural and urban areas; meanwhile, the large flow of population from the rural areas to the urban areas has engendered numerous social problems (Lin et al., 2004). China uses a centralized “top–down” development approach and puts the benefit of governments over that of its people. Rural conditions have highlighted the need to involve and enroll farmers in policy reformation and implementation, as well as to adopt a “bottom–up” strategy (Long et al., 2012). Nowadays, China has the image of making quick money and focusing on short-term economic growth. In the long run, particularly in vulnerable and less developed rural areas, incorporating the new development paradigm as well as revitalizing and restructuring rural areas are critically important.

3.3 Internal Migration in China

Internal migration refers to the flow of population within China and is of two major types, namely, rural–urban migration and the reverse. This section introduces two types

of migration and the relation to tourism development in rural China. Structural particularities in China, particularly the household record and registration system, *hukou*, are difficult to change. This system influences the identity of individuals and grounds their civic rights to the location of their household and public land ownership. From a micro level, the migration of labor workers from rural to urban China could not be defined as migration, rather as the flow of population (Yang & Yang, 2010).

3.3.1 In-urban migration

The *hukou* registration system restrains in-urban mobility from rural areas in China. The Chinese government has imposed strict policies on rural-to-urban migration until the economic reforms started (Li, 2004). Two types of rural–urban migration in China are broadly associated with the *hukou* system. One is the change from rural *hukou* to urban *hukou* through education, professional occupation, and military enlist, etc., and the other is merely the change of residence (Yang & Yang, 2010). Considerable academic work has investigated rural-to-urban migration in China (Chan & Zhang, 1995; Rozelle et al., 1999; Wu & Zhou, 1996; Zhao, 1999). Migrants associated with the change of *hukou* often belong to higher social status, whereas migrant workers experience discrimination and inferior job opportunities in cities (Li, 2004). Although less institutional barriers exist in the flow of population along the revolutionary path, *hukou* (household registration) system remains in effect, and rural workers in urban areas have unbalanced income level and social security (Chan & Zhang, 1999). Therefore, rural-to-urban migration in China has unique characteristics and high social and economic significance. Labor migration in China has created a large group of new

urban residents from rural areas, that is, migrant workers. This form of internal migration induces several social issues relating to the rights and wellbeing of unprivileged migrant workers, the relationship with their urban counterparts, and numerous concerns generated in rural areas that experience decreasing population and farmland. Thus, rural areas in China face a number of social and economic challenges.

The migration from rural to urban areas is mostly labor migration. In the 1990s, annual migrant labor flow was approximately 50 to 60 million people, of whom only 10 to 15 million permanently settled in cities (Wu & Zhou, 1996). The Chinese Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (MHRSS) has released the statistics of peasant workers in 2011; out of 252.78 million people, 158.63 million are migrant workers (MHRSS, 2011). Peasant workers hold rural *hukou* and work in non-agricultural occupations, whereas migrant workers are peasant workers who leave rural areas for non-agricultural occupations in towns or cities (Yang & Yang, 2010).

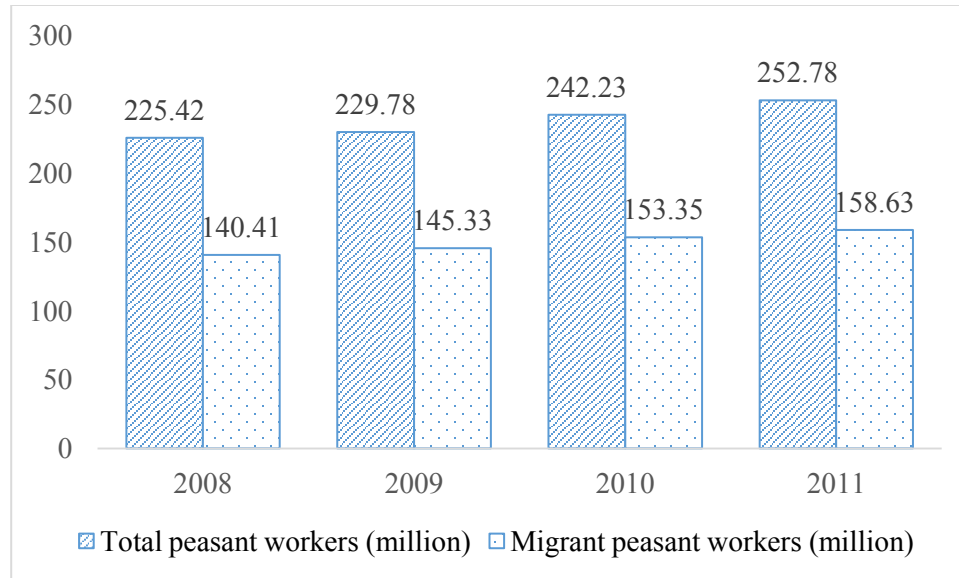


Figure 3.2 Population of peasant workers and migrant workers in China 2008 - 2011
(Source: MHRSS, 2011)

Figure 3.2 presents the change of population of total peasant workers and migrant workers from 2008 to 2011. Data are drawn from the official MHRSS website (migrant peasant workers are contextualized in China and phrased as migrant workers in general; thus, this study will henceforth use the term “migrant workers”). Figure 3.2 shows an increasing number of rural residents taking on non-agricultural occupations and the steady increase in the number of migrant workers. The categorization of migrant workers as an inferior group socially and economically reflects the contemporary social stratification in China, which is inducing an unbalanced distribution of income and resources (Li, 2004).

Labor migration from rural to urban is often temporary due to the influence of the *hukou* system, state strategies, and rural household agencies; rather, it follows a circular

pattern, that is, migrant workers earn income in cities and send their income back to rural areas to build houses and support families (Fan, 2008). Migrant workers enjoy the rural environment and low cost of living, and rural households serve as the insurance for migrant workers (Fan, 2008). Moreover, nearly 90% of migrant workers consider returning to their hometown; thus, workers have a fixed life expectation and life cycle, which is making money and returning to hometown (Li, 2004). The flow of return migrants is gradually drawing research attention (Ma, 2002; Murphy, 2000; Wang & Fan, 2006; Zhao, 2002). Return migrants consist of a large group of the reversed migration pattern; they have recently become of interest to tourism researchers in China (Tu & Tu, 2009; Wang & Huang, 2010).

Rural–urban migration significantly influences the source regions of migrants. Households with migrants are more likely to invest in housing and other durable goods, but not necessarily invest in productive economic activities (Brauw & Rozelle, 2008). Labor allocation also influences those who are left behind in households, namely, children, elderly, and women (Liang & Chen, 2007; Mu & de Walle, 2011). The increasing hollowing effect caused by rural depopulation, property abandoning, and loss of farmland appears in several rural communities (Liu et al., 2010; Long et al., 2012). Rural development issues in China require more attention from policy makers and communities to efficiently enhance rural economy, maintain ecological integrity, and reduce inequality.

Transferring surplus labor out of agriculture is essential in modernization and urbanization, and effectively reduces income gaps and improves rural livelihood (Lin et

al., 2004). However, the migration of rural residents to urban areas is not a panacea to the urbanization problems faced by rural areas. By contrast, this phenomenon may cause serious social problems in destination areas and source regions of migrants. More strategic approaches should focus on increasing local jobs in the agricultural and non-agricultural industries in rural areas and on sustaining their multi-functionality of these areas (Sicilliano, 2012). Johnson (2002) suggested the formation of enterprises in counties and secondary cities to divert the flow of migrant workers to large metropolitan areas, and thus, provide non-farm employment at a commuting level for workers to allow them to work and reside in their homes.

Non-labor migrants in metropolitan cities in China, who typically have higher education and better employment status, but without the urban *hukou*, face challenges in urban living (Wang, 2010). This group is called “the drifter group;” for example, a group of migrants living in Beijing is called “Northern drifters” (*Bei Piao Yi Zu*) (Zhang, 2008). Recent rural development policy recognizes the ability of university students of rural origins and encourages them to participate in entrepreneurship in their rural hometowns (Liu, 2010).

3.3.2 Out-urban and return migration

In contrast to developed countries, the flow of out-urban migration is uncommon in contemporary China. Historically, one type of politically related migration from urban to rural areas occurred during the Mao period. In the 1960s and 1970s, educated urban youth (*zhi shi qing nian*) were encouraged to move to rural areas to participate in farm work. This movement originated from the purpose of displacing surplus labor in urban

areas with voluntary participation; it subsequently became a political activity and generated a notorious effect during the Cultural Revolution (Ji, 2009). A similar movement is currently happening in the recruitment of university graduates as *cun guan* (village officials) to work in village committees in rural or suburban areas (Lv & Lv, 2009). The “*cun guan*” policy indicates the government intention to attract human capital to rural areas. Peoples Net in China reported an increase in the number of return migrants in several provinces in China. In the capital of Hubei province, Wuhan, more than 100,000 migrant workers have returned to the province to seek employment since 2008, and experts expect the trend to enlarge in the coming years (“Waves of return,” 2013).

Although out-migration remains the dominant type of migration in rural areas, the flow of population between rural and urban China has increasingly exhibited a two-way pattern in recent years. Migrant workers who return to their hometown often participate in entrepreneurship and non-farm jobs (Han & Cui, 2008). This reverse flow can be attributed to passive reasons such as unemployment in previous migratory experience, or to familial and personal reasons such as family obligations (Bai & He, 2003). Return migrants have an important role in bringing economic capital and contributing to the modernization process in rural areas in China (Zhao, 2002). In a study conducted on a sample of return migrants from six provinces in China, the return migrants were found to be older, married, better educated, and with a spouse who has not migrated (Zhao, 2002). The study also indicated that push factors such as difficulty in attaining jobs in cities, and pull factors such as spousal separation, have instigated the decision to return. However, return migrants were less likely to engage in local non-farm activities

compared with non-migrants or migrants, and would rather invest significantly in productive farm assets.

Returnee entrepreneurs encounter numerous difficulties and challenges in starting up and operating businesses in terms of land acquisition, financing, and policy support (Han & Cui, 2008; Hu, Huang, & Xie, 2006). Chinese academics emphasized that returnee entrepreneurship should be encouraged and policy makers should create a supporting environment and mitigate the barriers to this type of entrepreneurship (Cui, 2008). Studies on return migration commonly suggested the development of non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas to diversify rural economy and sustain human resources (Bai & He, 2003).

Scholars from international institutions also shed light on the issue of return migrants in China. In a study on rural return migrants, Murphy (2000) emphasized the role of return migrants as agents to connect the local state with a wider market outside the locality. Return migrants contribute to the construction of local industries and businesses, and initiate change, flow of information, and entrepreneurship. Research on return migrants in China has generated positive findings relating to the effect of return migration on rural development. Nonetheless, Wang and Fan (2006) have questioned the optimism and indicated that return migrants are negatively selected and their decision making in returning is often attributed to high family demand.

3.4 Tourism Development in China

Tourism development and the phenomenon of internal migration are the effects of the economic success of China. Given that China has the largest population in the world, the

movement of this population is vitally important both internally and internationally. Several rural areas in China have adopted tourism as a means of diversifying the economy and revitalizing rural society. The development of tourism in rural areas has provided significant potential for inward investment and return labor migration (Wang & Huang, 2010). In terms of attracting external capital [i.e., economic (public and private), social, and human capital] into rural areas for the sake of tourism development, the Chinese government is imposing policies in favor of tourism development and rural development as a whole. This section reviews recent studies on tourism development in China and focuses on rural tourism and rural areas, as well as introduces the emerging phenomenon of tourism migration in rural China.

3.4.1 Tourism development in less developed areas

Tourism development is a dynamic and complex phenomenon in China. Therefore, this section focuses on tourism development in rural areas, with rural tourism as a main keyword. The discussion introduces the characteristics and patterns of tourism development in China, as well as the numerous challenges it currently faces.

3.4.1.1 Characteristics of rural tourism development in China

In 2008, rural tourism in China witnessed 4 billion arrivals and generated 60 billion yuan in total (Ran & Tu, 2009). The primary achievement for tourism development has been the reduction in revenue gaps between urban and rural population, generation of employment opportunities in rural areas, and improvement of the rural quality of life (Guo & Han, 2010). Guo and Han (2010) summarized the following four characteristics of rural tourism development in China: agritourism is the major program; sightseeing is

the major activity; tourism function is unitary; and rural tourism sites are located near developed urban cities, major resorts, and scenic areas, reflecting market demand. Geographically, rural tourism development grows slower in less developed areas (Cheng et al., 2005). Moreover, the scale of rural tourism varies and is not limited to small-scale operations, given that several large agricultural parks and eco-farms have appeared. The overall rural tourism provision is holiday-making and leisure oriented.

Tourism planning and management in China is often led by different levels of government, but the roles of different levels of government and government organizations are often ambiguous, thus inducing inefficiency in coordination and management (Liu & Luan, 2010; Sun, 2010). Policy implementation and organizational support appear to be weak in rural tourism development (Wang, 2011). Tourism development in China heavily relies on government policies. Attempts by local governments to attract external investors to invest in large-scale projects have spurred controversies and disputes (Bao & Zuo, 2008). Policy, legal, and ethical issues are also inducing serious social and economic inequality in the development process; for example, the ownership and usage rights of natural resources controlled by provincial-level governments often cause monopoly in development and overexploration of resources (Li & Bao, 2010). Therefore, lower-level government and community are not independent in decision making on development, and the systemic and legal challenges are particularly difficult to solve.

Large-scale and high density rural tourism development often generates low-quality products, inadequate infrastructure, and poor management (Ran & Tu, 2009). Lack of

creativity in product development has been identified as a major problem (Liu et al., 2006), along with lack of attention to sustainability and environmental protection during tourism development (Gao, Huang, & Huang, 2009). A controversy faced by numerous rural tourism destinations is the lack of rurality and deterioration of rural landscape resulting from the national policy of modernizing rural areas, which destroys the rural atmosphere for the sake of economic development (Zou, 2005; Zou, 2006; Liu et al., 2006). The needs of farmers for modern housing and facilities may conflict with the desires of tourists to experience a rural lifestyle. However, the prospects of rural tourism development in China have been promising according to several researchers because of the large potential of rural cultural and ecological resources that can be cultivated for tourism purposes (Guo & Han, 2010).

In a recent article, Oakes (2013) criticized rural China as increasingly becoming an urban playground. He indicated that as more villages in China embrace tourism and leisure developments, local villagers are often isolated or reallocated to make space for tourism development. He also pointed out that rural villagers are eager for a modernized life, whereas their urban counterparts seek nostalgia in the abandoned rural homes. Oakes (2013) suggested that urbanization in rural China is inevitable, but tourism should be more meaningful to villagers themselves and should “involve much more than simply turning the countryside into a nice looking place, a preserved museum, a heritage site, a playground for laser-tag” (p. 10). Understanding the motivations of mobilities in the countryside is therefore as important as knowing that these mobilities will change the lives of rural residents as well as rural society.

Summarizing from existing rural tourism literature in Chinese, the rural development problems in China lie in different scales, ranging from policy formulation, development planning, and implementation, to the operation of businesses and destination marketing. Moreover, research on rural tourism in China has a pattern to summarize the characteristics and current development situations of a case based on vague empirical evidence or observation, and then to identify problems and challenges. The conclusions or recommendations and suggestions are chiefly addressed to the government, which considerably lack theoretical foundation and may not yield any change of action. More rigorous studies based on valid data collection and analysis methods are imperative in this field of research. This study focuses on human capital issues in rural areas and the complex social relationship between external and local actors in tourism development. It also intends to examine tourism development issues in China using rigorous research methods and collecting data from individual participants.

3.3.1.2 Development patterns

Gao et al. (2009) have systematically introduced the forms and patterns of rural tourism development in China and shared insights into future strategies. They have summarized 10 patterns of rural tourism development. The most common pattern is a holiday- and leisure-oriented one, and the major accommodation is the Happy Farmer's Home (HFH). Other patterns are those adjacent to natural attractions, historic and cultural towns/villages, ethnic communities, etc. Two of those patterns are directly related to agriculture, namely, operations based on fruit or vegetable plantations, and agritourism sites with ecological or high-tech farmland. Guo and Han (2009) proposed

seven patterns of rural tourism, including agritourism, folklore, HFH, ancient town/village, resort, education, and nature. The categories of rural tourism patterns reflect the four characteristics of rural tourism development in China (Guo & Han, 2009).

As the major form of rural tourism operation, HFH has drawn extensive attention from several researchers (Su, 2011). Su (2011) summarized six forms of HFH operations and proposed that more government investments are required to finance farmers for HFH management. HFH is the major form of tourism operation that involves small-scale community participation and a key representative of rural tourism entrepreneurship. The lack of control system for this type of participation has induced problems, such as social inequity, and conflicts between and within communities. This study examines the employment and entrepreneurship of migrants in various rural tourism sectors. HFH is the most identifiable sector in which potential participants hope to be recruited. Therefore, this study contributes to the HFH operation and management by examining the experiences of the operators.

Top-down development strategies and participatory development approaches have both appeared in rural tourism in China. Ying and Zhou (2007) compared two adjacent villages, Xidi and Hongcun in China, to examine community participation and outcomes of tourism development. The village of Xidi appeared to be more successful with the incorporation of the participatory approach to ensure community-sharing benefits. However, external capital invested in Hongcun caused the failure of operations and conflict in income distribution. Ying and Zhou also indicated that community

remembers in rural China generally lack democratic awareness and have insufficient abilities to actively participate and engage in the planning process. Their study considered the negative effect of external capital in the case of Hongcun, which caused conflicts and negligence on community benefit.

Zou, Ma, Zhang, and Huang (2006) identified two major types of rural tourism destinations, namely, urban peripheral areas and rural areas around major scenic spots. The development of rural tourism relies on the interaction between supply and demand. Urban tourists are the major market for rural destinations in the urban periphery and have the potential to become repeat visitors, whereas tourists visiting from local scenic spots are most likely day-visitors (Zou et al., 2006). Since the urbanization in the 1970s, rural areas in China have experienced a decreasing population. Up to 68% of the urban population presently come from rural areas (Cai & Du, 2004). Therefore, rural tourism also involves the elements of VFR, which is rarely examined in the Chinese context. This issue is the reason for considering return migrants as a major migrant group in this study. The contribution of return migrants can be both of return visits and of supporting hometown tourism development.

3.4.2 Migration and tourism development

Migration for consumption of tourism has appeared in urban China, although no scholarly attention has been found on this subject. According to a piece of recent news online on Netease, a significant number of people living in Harbin in northeastern China have opted to buy housing properties in Sanya, Hainan island, southern China (“Migrant old people”, 2013). Spending winter in Sanya and summer in Harbin has become a way

of life for numerous Harbin people, especially elderly and retirees, and is the initial phenomenon of seasonal migration relating to tourism and leisure. This study aims to investigate tourism production-related migration partially because of the limited academic literature in Chinese addressing the issues of tourism consumption-induced migration. It specifically focuses on the situation in rural areas where human capital is more critical in the success of tourism development.

Labor migration related to tourism has been empirically examined in the case of Jiuhua Mountain, Anhui province (Yang, 2005; Yang & Lu, 2007). Entrepreneurial and retirement migrations have not appeared in the Jiuhua Mountain areas. Labor migrants have different behavioral characteristics from tourists and retirement migrants, and their lifestyle is considerably work-centered. The studies on these labor migrants have focused on the comparison between migrants and tourists, and ignored the experiences of migrants as tourism employees and their relationship with local communities. Entrepreneurial migration from urban areas to established tourism destinations has occurred, for example, in the case of Yangshuo in Guangxi province, southern China. People coming from other parts of the country and even from other countries have established businesses, such as bars, restaurants, and guest houses; these businesses have created a unique phenomenon of globalization (Deng, 2009).

Tourism development and return migrants appeared in rural China. In the case of Xidi village, migrants returned for the benefit they are entitled to derive from tourism because of their status as village *hukou* holders. The outcomes of development and prospects of participating in tourism prompted return migrants to seek the opportunity to

grab their share, which was significantly more stable than their income as migrant workers (Zhang & Bao, 2009). However, limited attention has been given to migrants who participated in rural development but had no prior connection with the locality. Zuo and Bao (2009) argued that tourism investors are often opportunists who aim to benefit from government funding for tourism projects and are insincere in contributing and investing in the projects. Although this phenomenon can be perceived as relatively common throughout China, successful tourism projects invested and developed by external actors are also evident.

Tourism development is a largely top-down process and relies on government funding and projects. Privately, in less developed areas, the development of TVEs, including tourism enterprises, is a major driving force of modernization and urbanization. For instance, statistics of TVEs in Fujian province in 1999 showed that manufacturing and retail sales/trade are the two most important types of TVE. Each takes roughly 30% in the number of total TVEs in the province, whereas tourism dominates approximately 11% of total TVEs in Fujian and has roughly 6% of the employees (Zhu, 2004). However, the role of migrants and return migrants in tourism TVEs has limited research, which can further affect the situation of tourism employment and entrepreneurship in China. Tourism provides the opportunity for less developed areas to attract human and economic resources. Hence, identifying the clear purposes of tourism migrants and determining the challenges they face in tourism development in rural areas are important.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents the overall research design and research paradigm employed in this study. Qualitative research has been increasingly conducted in the field of tourism. Numerous insights and critiques have been offered in the merits and unsettling issues of applying or inventing qualitative approaches in tourism research. Upon introducing the overall research design for this study, we take a step back to the foundations of qualitative paradigm and the development in qualitative tourism research, and reflect on the process of employing a case study and constructivist research design. The overall research design is subsequently explained, and the selection of the study site and the reasons for the choice of data collection methods are presented. The specificities of data collection and analysis are described (i.e., selection of informants and access to the research site). Issues of trustworthiness are discussed as well.

As the qualitative process includes a large amount of reflexivity of the researcher, the situating of self in the process as well as in the related fieldwork experience is discussed. The final section presents the limitations of the research method, ethical considerations, and suggested strategies for implementation.

4.2 Research Design

The distinction between qualitative and quantitative research lies significantly on the paradigm. As inquirers, we must understand our intrinsic beliefs as well as the nature of

our research questions to position ourselves in the proper paradigm of inquiry. Therefore, as the first step of entering the specific elements of research design for this study, a brain-draining journey of paradigmatic discovery was undertaken.

4.2.1 Paradigms in qualitative research

Paradigms are primary considerations when conducting a qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1994) introduced qualitative research paradigms as systems of “basic beliefs based on ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions” (p. 107). Creswell (2007) phrased paradigms as philosophical worldviews, as “a general orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher holds” (p. 6). The four competing and leading paradigms in social science inquiry are positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Positivism is the “received” paradigm that has led physical and social research in history, and the other three paradigms are the “alternative” paradigms that emerged to deal with the criticisms of positivism, particularly and predominantly in social sciences (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Creswell (2007) used the term “pragmatism” to represent the real world-oriented problem-solving view. The four paradigms offer different questions regarding their ontological, epistemological, and methodological stances (Table 4.1). Qualitative research is particularly concerned with the latter three paradigms, namely, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism.

Table 4.1 Descriptions on four research paradigms (Source: Lincoln & Guba, 1994)

Paradigm	Positivism	Post-positivism	Critical theory et al.	Constructivism
Ontology	naive realism- “real” reality but apprehensible	critical realism- “real” reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible	historical realism- virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values, crystallized over time	relativism- local and specific constructed realities
Epistemology	dualist/objectivis t, findings true	modified dualist/ objectivist, critical tradition/communi ty, findings probably true	transactional/subject ivist value-mediated findings	transactional/ subjectivist, created findings
Methodology	experimental/ma nipulative, verification of hypotheses, chiefly quantitative	modified experimental/mani pulative, critical multiplism, falsification of hypotheses, may include qualitative methods	dialogic/dialectical	hermeneutical/ dialectical

Positivist and post-positivist paradigms explain reality, which can be understood partially or fully. Critical theory confronts exploitations, structural deficits, and conflicts, whereas constructivism attempts to understand the consensual constructions and open interpretations of reality (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Riley and Love (2000) analyzed the history and evolution of tourism qualitative research following Denzin and Lincoln’s (1994) development of qualitative genres. The framework of the five moments includes traditional period, modernistic phase, blurred genres, crisis of representation,

and the fifth moment. In the framework, qualitative tourism research is largely situated in the “second moment”, the modernistic phase. Riley and Love (2000) noted the lack of qualitative publications in tourism. Further, their study attributed this deficiency to the unfamiliarity with qualitative method, conspicuous report on analytical methods, and difficulties in translating to practice. Reviews on qualitative research in tourism reveal a trend in the blurred genre and the critical turn toward a “hopeful tourism” (Hannam & Knox, 2005; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011; Xiao & Smith, 2006). The exploration of the “fifth moment” also appears in tourism studies with the operational needs of the researcher being prioritized and localized narratives considered in accordance with the research situation and context (Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010; Hjalager, 2010).

The current study adopts the constructivism paradigm, which is also addressed as social constructivism, in referring to the construction of the social world (Creswell, 2007). The selection of research paradigm for the present study is based on the nature of the research questions, and understanding of a context-bounded phenomenon and the world view of the researcher. Relativity is the chief philosophical underpinning of social constructivism (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The complex social world is to be understood based on the behavior of its operators. Reality exists in multiple forms that are constructed by different social groups, such that these constructions are not to be true to reality, and rather inform or sophisticate reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The epistemology of social constructivism is transactional and subjective, and the reality is recreated in the interaction of the researcher and the researched (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

4.2.2 Constructivism and the relational approach

Social constructivists view knowledge as co-constructed and co-existed, and argue that knowledge can be accumulated relatively through hermeneutical/dialectical approaches (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). A research project significantly relies on the interaction between the researcher and other participants. Under the social constructivism paradigm, research is largely inductive and co-constructed by the multiple belief systems of the researcher and of the research subjects (Creswell, 2007). The different paradigms can be placed on a continuum, with extreme objectivism and subjectivism on both ends; thus, providing a precise cut of each paradigm in the aspect of objectivity is difficult. Constructivism takes a range on the continuum that regards realities not as “true” or not, but as more or less sophisticated or informed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Hence, these constructed realities could seem less confirmable and the research may be regarded as lacking in transferability or value to inform the social constructions of other contexts. Constructivism is a fit paradigm to examine the construction of social phenomena. However, social phenomena are observer-dependent, and the belief system of the researcher also becomes part of the to-be-known reality.

The research problem of this study recognizes that the social groups of humans, albeit at different socio-economic statuses, construct relations in various forms and are influenced by these relations. Hence, we introduce another paradigmatic concept, that is, relational sociology. Relational sociology was introduced by Donati (2000). As a sociological view and in association with critical realism, relational sociology perceives social reality as consisting of relations/relationships (Donati, 2000). Constructivism and

other critical and relativism paradigms are positioned in an epistemic triangle of observer–observed reality–culture (knowledge) (see Figure 4.1).

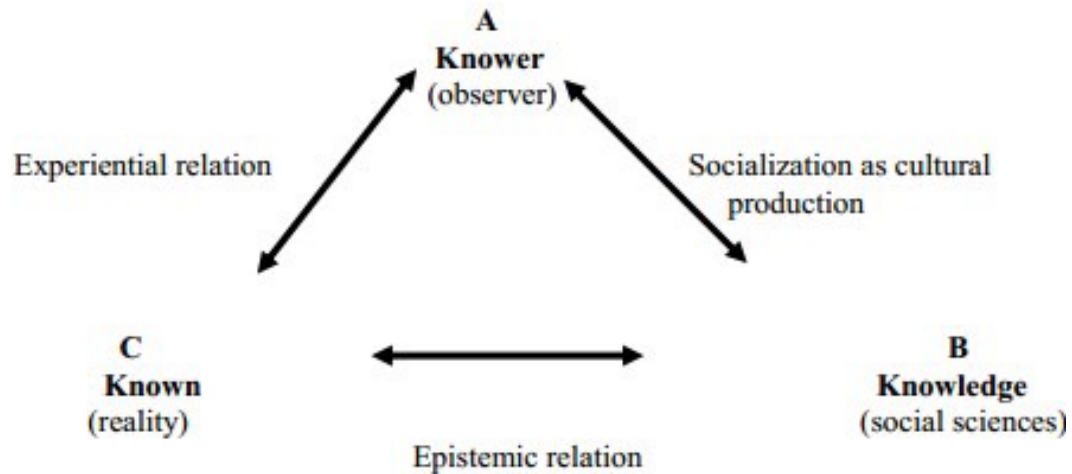


Figure 4.1 An epistemic triangle (Source: Donati, 2005)

Hess (1997) distinguished two styles of constructivism, namely, moderate and radical constructivism. Radical constructivism is more extreme and is completely against realism, whereas moderation constructivism and realism can be compatible, and more so with critical realism (Barkin, 2003; Kwan & Tsang, 2001). Relativism, as followed by social constructivists, is not counter to critical realism (Groff, 2004). Both constructivism and critical realism, informed by relational sociology, are observer-dependent (Donati, 2011). However, constructivism in its purest form does not recognize any reality except that of the observer (Donati, 2011). Therefore, a less pure form of constructivism should be executed if a relational approach is equipped to answer the research questions. The solution lies in the possibility of synthesizing constructivism and critical realism using relational sociology.

Donati (2011) explained critical realism in an epistemic quadrangle, observer–observed reality–culture (knowledge)-latent ontology. The distinction of critical realism

is the supplementing relation with latent ontology, including nature. According to Donati (2005), knowledge is a cultural production and is a mediator between the knower and the known. Even experiential and epistemic relations among observer, knowledge, and reality can be viewed as social and epistemic constructions. Constructivists assume the relationship between knowledge and the known as culturally contingent and relativistic, and they distance the relations among the preceding components (Donati, 2005). By adding latent ontology in relational sociology, the relationship between knowledge and the real world is put into account. As Donati (2011, p. 101) states:

“The general assumption is that (ontological) reality is potentially much richer than the one appearing at the empirical level in social phenomena and therefore than the one that the observer can see and investigate. Relational sociology underlines the fact that, among invisible realities (intangible goods), there are social relations along with their own order of reality.”

Therefore, the application of relational approach on constructivism aims to determine, partially or context-specific, that ontological relations exist in the construction of experiential and epistemic relations as well as in the production of knowledge. The intellectual goal of this study is to understand the process and the phenomenon of tourism migration and the meaning of various associated economic, social, and personal developments as social experiences to participants.

A tradition of qualitative research appears to be the prioritization of the study of individual perceptions, meanings, and emotions (Silverman, 2005). The relevant question often raised is if a model is capable of explaining behaviors and social actions. Silverman (2005) compared the emotionalist and the constructionist models. The latter

focuses on behavior, whereas the former centers on experience and meaning. Adopting a relational approach under constructivism can combine the meanings of experiences in social events with the behaviors in social actions as an event or an action is treated as a relational complexity. Individuals are not always actors; qualitative researchers differentiate the use of actors by its association with social actions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1990). An actor is an “autonomous being” if he or she is able to cognitively change the self and the surrounding environment and serve as an agent for his or her own social behavior (Touraine, 2000).

Social actors may undertake individual or collective actions through which influences are exerted on each other and the geographical entities they reside. This condition reflects a fundamental perspective of relational social reality. Hence, this study is conducted under the constructivism paradigm with a relational approach because the research requires collaboration from potential participants. This study also examines tourism migration as a social phenomenon that is constructed by individual migrants and other actors in the social context. Another paradigm and theoretical consideration pertinent to the use of actors is actor-network theory (ANT), which is similar to relational sociology (Mutzel, 2009). The difference is that ANT considers non-human actors as equal to human actors in terms of the ability to act and their positions in networks. Meanwhile, relational sociology also regards non-human actors as part of the network, although they are unable to create meaning (Mutzel, 2009).

Qualitative research in tourism has faced several challenges, as discussed in Jamal and Hollinshead (2001). These challenges include the lack of the generation of new approaches and theories in justifying tourism research. The considerations on research

paradigm evoke in-depth thoughts on research design, the approaches for data collection, analysis, and the final interpretation of the phenomena in research.

4.2.3 Appropriateness of qualitative methods

Qualitative methodology has particular strengths that are derived from inductive approaches used to view reality and research purposes (Maxwell, 2012). These strengths can be achieved specifically in understanding the meaning of a phenomenon to study participants, the contexts of a situation, the process of an action or event, the explanation of causal relationships, and the generation of new theories (Maxwell, 2012). Silverman (2013) demonstrated that quantitative methods often focus on correlations among variables and miss the important phenomenon; the missing phenomenon also appears in some qualitative studies (see Figure 4.2). Therefore, capturing the essentials of the phenomenon is the true strength of qualitative research, which can be achieved by adding the “why” question as it reflects the organizational embeddedness of the “what” and “how” questions (Silverman, 2013, p. 84). The strength of qualitative research is then articulated by Silverman (2013, p. 84):

“It can use naturally-occurring data to locate the interactional sequences (‘how’) in which participants’ meanings (‘what’) are deployed. Having established the character of some phenomenon, it can then (but only then) move on to answer ‘why’ questions by examining how that phenomenon is organizationally embedded.”

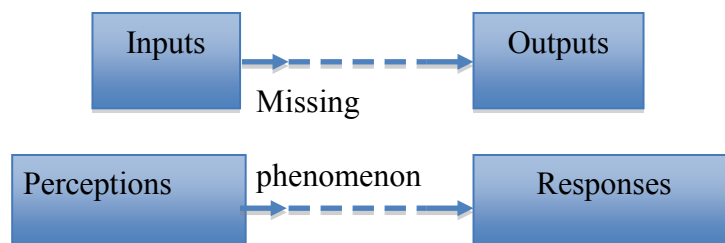


Figure 4.2 The missing phenomenon in quantitative and (some) qualitative research
(Source: Silverman, 2013)

The phenomenon of tourism supply-induced mobility into less developed areas is the main research problem of this study. This phenomenon experienced by the participants who endure mobility is also observed socially in a wider context. Taking into account the conceptual guide developed for this study, the perceptions of individuals who participated in or witnessed the mobilities are collected to reveal the organizational embeddedness of the phenomenon. Using qualitative approaches is appropriate in examining tourism supply-induced mobility, which is of limited research in the Chinese context. The main theoretical concept adopted in this study is social capital, although several studies have applied quantitative methods to examine social capital-related problems (McGehee et al., 2010; Krishna, 2004; Zhao et al., 2011). The present study develops measurable items for social capital based on three dimensions of the concept, namely, structural, cognitive, and relational. Social capital is suggested as an analytical tool and an asset that is not discovered unless observed in the interactions of a network (Johannesson et al., 2003). Therefore, the role of social capital in the individual discourse of experiences should be qualitatively identified.

Furthermore, this study explores the lived experiences of tourism migrants when dealing with tourism development. Narrative and phenomenological components are incorporated to collect the statements and experiences of individuals to inquire on the essence of human experience in this shared phenomenon and its social construction (Creswell, Hanson, Plano, & Morales, 2007). The current study used a case study approach, conducted prolonged and engaging fieldwork at the study site, and collected

data from in-depth interviews, informal conversations, non-participant observations, and secondary documents.

The main research methodology employed in this research is the case study. However, this study, guided by the constructivist and relational paradigm, also adopted narrative and phenomenological approaches within the case framework. In seeking the methodological path, one possible methodology for this research in consideration was grounded theory, which is a widely used qualitative methodology in social science research, particularly in sociology (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). The present study is guided by several existing concepts, such as social capital and migration studies, which renders this study as not purely inductive, or is intended to be. Although grounded theory can be of several forms and the generation of theory can be a process and not necessarily an outcome (Glaser & Strauss, 2009), the current study did not intend to generate or verify theories. Rather, this study is an experimentation on connecting conceptual dots based on practical phenomena. In tourism and hospitality research, the use of “theory” is often ambiguous, and it is used more as an analogy than as a substantive term, which induces misunderstanding and miscommunication (Smith, Xiao, Nunkoo, & Tukamushaba, 2014). The generation of theory is therefore more difficult in the field of tourism and hospitality research, in which more practical issues are tackled; however, this does not prevent the generation of some limited theories in this field (Hardy, 2005; Papathanassis & Knolle, 2011).

4.2.4 Summary of research design

In sum, this study has a descriptive and inductive nature and uses a relational constructivist approach. The application of a qualitative methodology is appropriate

because the study intends to obtain an in-depth understanding of phenomenon in research, and the research problem can be best examined through qualitative methods. The following section justifies the use of case study and links this method to the overall research design and study area. Data collection approaches are discussed as well.

The role of the researcher and the relationships between the researcher and the researched are also key considerations in the research paradigm (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). Reflexivity is also a frequently discussed topic in qualitative research. Furthermore, the reflexivity process in connection with trustworthiness is regarded as the issue of confirmability and is discussed in a later section of this chapter. The following three sections present the selection of case study, process of data collection, and approaches used for data analysis in this research.

4.3 Case Study

4.3.1 Case study as a qualitative approach

Social science research is known to be unconventional. According to Flyvbjerg (2010), “Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory and, thus, has in the final instance nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge” (p. 223). Case study is useful in generating such concrete and context-dependent knowledge. No method is problem-free, and determining suitable and rigorous methods for the social science problem under inquiry and specific research circumstances is important.

Case study as a methodology has several defining features. As summarized by Creswell (2012), a case study begins with an individual, a group, a process, or a project

that can be portrayed and framed with certain parameters. The intent of the case study can be intrinsic or instrumental. An intrinsic case study is a unique case of unusual interest, whereas an instrumental case study is often conducted to understand a research problem (Creswell, 2012). Qualitative case study provides detailed descriptions and in-depth understanding of the case, and the lessons learned from a case study can be presented as a theoretical model.

This research is a single-case study that is descriptive in nature. A single-case study allows the in-depth exploration of the phenomenon and provides a holistic picture of the socio-cultural and economic features of the locality (Yin, 2013). The current study hopes to reflect on the case and provide theoretical and practical implications on mobility and tourism development that might be useful to other early-stage and less developed destinations.

The nature of a case is distinguished as a phenomenon or a context (Hyde, 2000). Researchers also use the term “boundary” to define a case within the limit of time and space (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1999). Therefore, the research problem of the present study renders complications in defining the boundary of the case. If the case is set on the phenomenon of tourism supply-induced mobility in less developed areas, which is influenced by the features of the case as a socio-cultural, economic, and political entity, the condition limits the power to generalize on the phenomenon. However, if the emphasis of the case serves as a context for the inquired phenomenon, the context becomes the background of the researched phenomenon, and the capacity to generalize the phenomenon increases. To better serve the purpose of this study and allow space for

context-specific discussions, treating the case as a phenomenon and considering contextual features as crucial components of the phenomenon are more appropriate.

The use of the case study approach, particularly single-case studies, is often debated on the generalizability issue (Donmoyer, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Kennedy, 1979; Yin, 2003). The case study is often considered “vulnerable” and offers less analytical benefits (Yin, 2003, p. 52). Donmoyer (2000) suggested that single-case study is useful in practical social sciences as a tool for generating questions, rather than for providing answers. Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Donmoyer, 2000) in turn used the term “transferability” instead of “generalizability,” and argued that research findings are transferrable in similar contexts. Flyvbjerg (2006) described carefully and strategically selected cases as “black swans,” and pointed out that generalizing on large samples is a correct approach, but asserted the availability of other means. The “black swan” analogy represents the value of case study in providing in-depth information and scrutiny on the unique ones in the pond, in which all “white swans” appear. The generalization approach is replaced by the falsification method (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Hence, generalization on a single case is possible, which is what people do in their daily lives as well as in research. Case study can contribute to scientific development, and formal generalization is overrated (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Single-case studies are dominant in tourism research. The case study approach has been concluded as “not only a frequently used but also a highly useful and much needed approach,” and has proven to follow sound methodological procedures, in contrast to traditional stereotypical ones (Xiao & Smith, 2006, p. 747). Tourism research, more traditionally, anthropological studies on smaller communities and ethnographical

research, consists of long-term fieldwork and participation that relies on single-case studies.

Case study in tourism development literature is particularly salient. A Google Scholar search conducted in July 2014 with the key words “case study” and “tourism development” in the title generated 1,430 results. Upon scanning the titles of these research articles, most were single-case studies. According to Xiao and Smith (2006), case studies in tourism research are categorized in the sub-themes of tourism development, planning, community perception, and effects of tourism, and mostly focus on the local/community or national levels. Although it is linked to the human geographical, anthropological, and sociological traditions of social research, the methodological sophistication of case study research in the tourism domain has gradually developed (Xiao & Smith, 2006).

4.3.2 Selection of the case

According to the research problem, this research is designed as a descriptive and embedded single-case study. The single-case study sets a boundary for a geographical/political site to be explored on tourism-induced mobility and tourism development. Selecting a single site to conduct this research permits in-depth inquiry based on extensive fieldwork and contact with locality. As Flyvberg (2006) states, “it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur” (p. 229). The use of single-case studies allows a relatively holistic view on the research phenomenon and the possibility for a deeper understanding of the research problem. Single-case studies are used generally under three conditions, namely, when

the case is critical, extreme, or revelatory (Yin, 2004). In the present study, the single case is selected for the revelatory reasons that the phenomenon of tourism migration and tourism development has limited research in the Chinese context. This study starts with a research goal of a general issue concerning tourism development and mobility, which may be bound with the geographical and socio-economic characteristics of a locality. Therefore, this condition requires this study to collect data on a specific case to illustrate the issue using the approach adopted by an intrinsic case study (Stake, 1995, cited in Creswell, 2012).

This study is descriptive because it draws on the concepts of social capital and relates these ideas to tourism-induced migration with tourism employment and entrepreneurship. Therefore, this study will explain a theory, test a hypothesis, or explore a phenomenon for the first time. The selection of the case is determinant on the outcome of the research. The selected case has to maximize what the researcher can learn on the phenomenon under inquiry (Tellis, 1997).

This research selected Luotian, an inland county in central China, for several reasons. First, the research problem requires a context of early-stage tourism development. Previous tourism studies on migration in Chinese focused on areas with well-developed tourism (Yang, 2007; Xu, 2009). Therefore, the present study aims to investigate the initial stage of tourism development and the phenomenon of tourism migration in less developed areas. Based on the existing knowledge of the researcher of this study, the phenomena of early-stage tourism development and inward migration induced by the supply side of tourism exist in Luotian. Although Luotian is selected as a single case, the county has 12 administrative towns and 600,000 people. The study is thus an

embedded case study because of the inclusion of multiple sets of analytical units, such as labor and entrepreneurial migrants, new migrants and returnees, and local government and local community. Given that the selected study site is a less developed inland area, it resembles many similar areas in China in terms of political structure, natural resources, and deteriorating rural conditions. Therefore, the selected study site could provide implications for similar areas facing early-stage tourism development in China.

Luotian is at the early stage of developing tourism. However, another reason for selecting the site for the case study is that the county government has prioritized tourism in the political agenda and has developed a 10-year master plan for county-wide tourism development (“全域旅游”) from 2011 to 2020. With immense natural and cultural resources and government awareness of tourism potential, the area shows the typical start-up steps that are undertaken by other counties that plan to develop tourism as a major industry. Third, Luotian is in the early-stage tourism development and located in a less developed inland area. This situation makes the case unique compared with mature tourist destinations with large brand influence and destinations with more economic opportunities for tourism and other industries.

The final reason, which is perhaps the most practical reason for selecting the area, is the accessibility of Luotian. The researcher of this study is a native of this county and has several social connections. Eventually, her social contacts served as gatekeepers and connected her with numerous valuable informants, which led to insightful comments, discussions, and stories for this research. Accessibility to the potential site determines the outcome of the research. Access to information that may be restrained from a

researcher with no prior connection with the destination became possible because of the existing relationships that the researcher has with the site. The connection with the site provided access to inside stories and government documents, as well as eliminated communication barriers as the researcher speaks the local dialect. Accessibility also reduced the entry time to the site and ensured an efficient data collection.

A personal reason for selecting the study area is the researcher's intention to understand and contribute to the future development of her hometown. It opens up a connection between a post-1980s ("80 后") individual with her hometown in vague childhood memories that she barely paid attention to since leaving for further education in 2002. Emotional connection to the study site is also a consideration of this research. The researcher is genuinely concerned with the development of tourism in her hometown. Many other people, who left home at a young age, still ask about, search for, and express concerns over the condition of their hometown. This interest and concern drove the passion for this research. Such emotional connection and passion was managed and reflected on constantly during the process of conducting this research. The personal beliefs and values of the researcher may also influence the decision making in the research process. The position of the researcher is further explained later in the section on reflexivity.

Before data collection and analysis are introduced, the study area, Luotian, is presented in the subsequent section. Section 4.3.3 provides a brief context of the socio-political, economic, natural, and cultural aspects of the county and the current situation of its tourism development.

4.3.3 Introducing Luotian

Luotian County is located in the central Hubei province of China (see Figure 4.3). The county is 194 km from the capital city of Hubei province, Wuhan, and 96 km from the municipal center of Huanggang. Luotian is a mountain area with seven mountains, more than 1,000 meters above sea level, and has over 67% forest coverage throughout the county. The population of Luotian is approximately 610,000. The population of migrant workers of roughly 137,000 accounted for 20% of the total population (Luotian Government, 2013). The major industries in Luotian include food processing, electrical machinery, pharmaceuticals, car parts, building materials, and tourism. The main tourist attraction in Luotian is the Dabie Mountain National Forest Park, which is located in the northeast of Luotian.

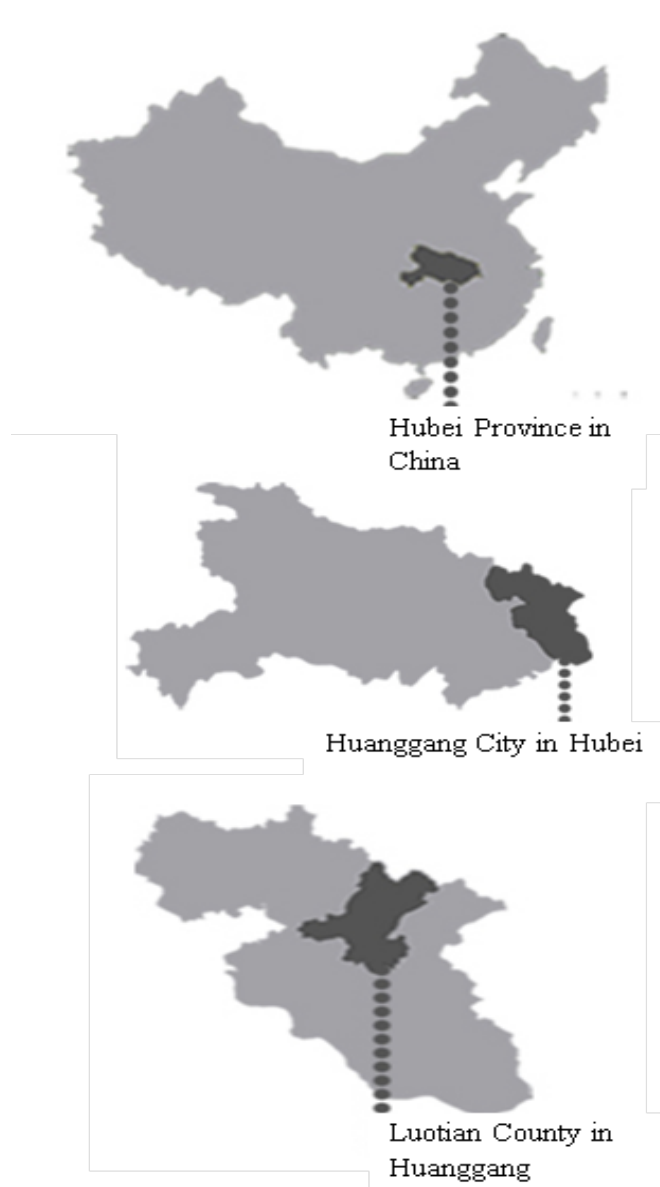


Figure 4.3 The location of Luotian in China
(Source: Luotian Tourism Master Plan, 2011)

In 2011, Luotian had 2.5 million tourist arrivals, and the annual tourism income was 1.05 billion yuan. In 2012, tourism arrivals increased to 2.8 million, and the annual tourism income reached 1.3 billion yuan (Luotian Statistics Yearbook 2012, 2013). Tourism accounted for nearly 15% of the total annual income of the county (Luotian

Statistics Yearbook, 2012, 2013), which highlighted the importance of tourism in the local economy. Tourism has a balanced industrial distribution, but the overall economy is underdeveloped. In recent years, tourism development in Luotian has been emphasized by the government, and investments on infrastructure, transportation systems, scenic site construction, and tourism marketing have been increased. Tourism has become a major focus for economic development in Luotian. Photos of Luotian are provided to demonstrate the scenery and rural lives (see Figures 4.4–4.6).



Figure 4.4 Tiantangzhai Scenic Spot (Photo by author)



Figure 4.5 Mountain scenery in Luotian (Photo by author)



Figure 4.6 A local farmer's home (Photo by author)

The Luotian government has developed a 10-year master plan for across-county tourism development from 2011 to 2020 (Luotian Tourism Master Plan, 2011). The tourism master plan has also proposed three chief strategies of integrating tourism with agriculture, namely, restructuring agriculture to develop Dabie Mountain-characterized agricultural products, accelerating the integration of urban areas and the countryside, and training farmers to participate in tourism and modern agriculture. The main agricultural products in Luotian with high reputation include chestnut, sweet persimmon, and silkworm. The master plan recommends providing policy and functional support for the development of tourism enterprises as well as small and medium businesses, and encouraging farmers to participate in tourism.

The implementation of the master tourism plan requires collaboration among various parties, such as the government and private tourism enterprises. Government bodies should include the bureaus of tourism, agricultural, and forestry as well as the Dabie Mountain tourism management committee. In the tourism master plan, each bureau is responsible for implementing development projects. The tourism bureau is emphasized to lead in the overall development and implementation. Other tourism-related documents and literature production were collected, which will be introduced in the data collection section.

Three major towns are involved in tourism development, namely, Sanlifan (SLF), Dahe'an (DHA), and Jiuzihe (JZH). The principal tourism attractions in these towns include hot-spring resorts, agricultural parks, Luo-Jiu riverside scenery, Tiantangzhai

scenic area, Bodaofeng scenic area, and Jiuzi ancient town. Fengshan town (FS) town is the administrative center of Luotian (see Figure 4.7).

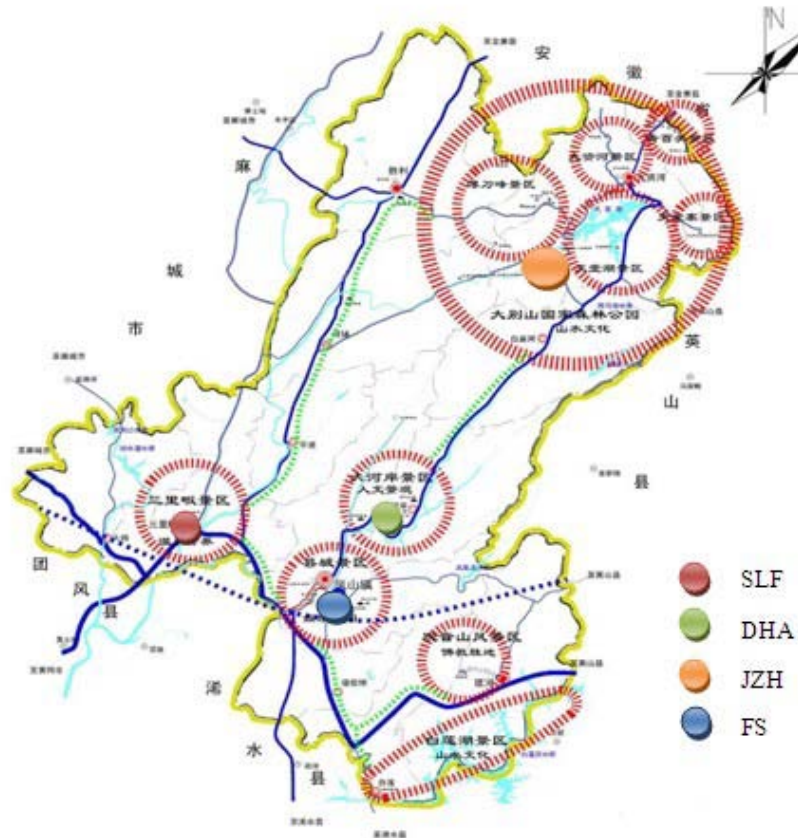


Figure 4.7 Locations of major tourism towns
(Source: www.luotian.gov.cn)

JZH is the most developed tourist town in Luotian because the Tiantangzhai scenic area and Dabie Mountain National Forestry Park are located there. JZH borders Anhui province. SLF and DHA are newly developed tourist towns and have new projects, such as sites for agritourism, hot-spring spa, and river rafting. Three tourism towns and an administrative town were the main areas to locate potential interview participants and to conduct interviews and fieldwork. County tourism bureau officials and township

government officials were contacted as interviewees on development policies and organizational support, and determined as gatekeepers to recommend tourism migrants as interviewees.

4.4 Data Collection

Data collection for this study was conducted during the pilot test (initial fieldwork) and actual fieldwork periods. The initial fieldwork aimed to gain familiarity with the area and identify gatekeepers to locate future respondents. The pilot test was conducted for three weeks in September 2013. The actual data collection period started in October 2013. Broadly, data collection consisted of two periods, from October to December 2013 and from January to April 2014. The data collection lasted nearly six months. The data collection period was separated because in December 2013, the author attended the 2nd World Tourism and Hospitality Research Summit, and presented the conceptual proposal of the current study. However, the two periods were consistent and followed the same research design. A follow-up visit to the site was conducted in May 2014. The researcher revisited some of the tourism sites and contacted two additional informants to confirm data saturation. The experiences of data collection are introduced in detail in this section.

4.4.1 Pilot test period

Pilot tests are useful tools for clarifying and modifying interview questions and planning the data collection procedures (Noor, 2008). Given that the pilot test was conducted in the same site as the actual data collection, we presented the pilot test period as the initial stage of the data collection of fieldwork. This stage primarily aimed

to familiarize the researcher with the social environment of the area, to contact government officials and main tourism bodies on the intention to conduct interviews, observations, and fieldwork in the area, and to refine the interview guide and data collection procedure. The researcher familiarized herself with key gatekeepers, principally local government officials at the county, town, and village levels during the period. Six interviews were conducted with the three groups of informants (two per respective group). Gatekeepers were contacted to locate potential informants. After the initial fieldwork and interviews, the interview guide was revised, and the fieldwork plan was developed for the actual data collection period.

Therefore, the pilot test period was part of the actual data collection and initiated a spontaneous and reflective process for fieldwork. Through the pilot period, the interview guide was revised. The quantitative measurements of social networks were deleted from the interview guide due to limited interview time and network complications. Measuring social networks more quantitatively is trendy, but this approach is time-consuming and requires more specific network domain to control efficiency and to obtain meaningful measures. Instead, with more open-ended questions on migrant experiences, the qualitative features of social networks, such as the role of friendship and *guanxi*, were captured. In many cases, entrepreneurs had significant business partners, and the related contacts in their start-up experiences were mentioned in their interviews.

4.4.2 Fieldwork and actual data collection

The first period of data collection principally aimed to identify external investors and entrepreneurs in tourism and learn about the current local development situation. The second period of data collection focused on local communities and tourism employees.

During this stage, the researcher extended from and took advantage of the relationship built with the informants in the first period. In-depth interviews were conducted with resource informants. The researcher considered the on-going phenomenon on the research site while collecting the data. For example, in the middle of the data collection process, a large-scale tourism project was planned in the research site. This project evoked multiple discussions in local communities. This incident was regarded as a valuable unit of analysis and added to the research plan. To protect the privacy of the developers, the details of the project were not disclosed.

Table 4.2 List of types of tourism businesses/projects (Source: Author)

Type of tourism businesses/projects	Scope of tourism businesses/projects	Number of sites
Tourism sightseeing sites	Scenic area (national forestry park, ancient villages, and etc.) developing into sightseeing sites or tourist districts	4
Agritourism sites	Agritourism as the main product (organic farms and ecological parks)	4
Tourist activity operators	Cable car operators, river rafting operators, and etc.	3
Resorts	Themed resorts (hot-spring spa, summer-escape, health and wellness, etc.)	4
Self-employed or family businesses	Happy Farmer's Home (bed and breakfast), and other self-operated hospitality businesses	5

The study was introduced to the gatekeepers, and the key characteristics of potential informants were described to them. The gatekeepers comprised local government workers who had wide social networks with tourists and other businesses in the county. Gatekeepers introduced the researcher to the external tourism entrepreneurs, and the

researcher subsequently set up individual interviews. The entrepreneurs were connected with specific tourism projects; thus, upon knowing the researcher was a PhD student in tourism, she was invited to conduct site visits by some of the entrepreneurs who were developing tourism sites. Table 4.2 shows the site specifics. The gatekeepers also connected the researcher with key local community members, such as entrepreneurs from other industries, and government workers from various departments that had connections with tourism development. The personal network of the researcher was also utilized to identify potential informants.

4.4.3 Selecting informants

Gatekeepers were contacted to locate potential informants. The criteria of informants included currently working on a tourism/hospitality project and an in-migrant (lived in Luotian for more than six months in the last year) or a returnee. The study was introduced to the gatekeepers, and the key characteristics of potential informants were described to them. The gatekeepers were the local government workers or town/village level officials, who had wide social networks with tourists and other businesses in the county. Several informants were selected via the official project list in the Handbook of Attracting Investment in Tourism and Cultural Sections to Luotian (2013). This handbook is considered a formal government document and shown in Table 4.3. Small-scale projects and businesses were identified in key tourism towns through gatekeepers. Gatekeepers introduced the researcher to the external tourism entrepreneurs, and the researcher subsequently set up individual interviews.

Table 4.3 List of collected formal documents

List of collected formal documents
<p>Luotian Yearbook, 2013</p> <p>Luotian Tourism Master Plan, 2011</p> <p>Planning documents for major scenic areas, from 2011 to 2014</p> <p>Tourism flyers on major scenic areas, 2013</p> <p>Handbook of Attracting Investment in Tourism and Cultural Sections to Luotian, 2013</p> <p>Luotian Statistics Yearbook, 2012</p> <p>Government issued document on supporting HFH, 2009</p> <p>Official tourism-related speech scripts from government meetings, 2013</p> <p>Books on Luotian's tourism development, from 2010 to 2014</p>

The entrepreneurs involved in specific tourism projects extended invitations to site visits upon finding out that the researcher was a PhD student in tourism. During the site visits, the researcher had informal contact with one or more employees, follow-up formal interviews were scheduled, and employees introduced their colleagues for future interviews. Therefore, tourism employees were selected for interviews using the snowball technique. The gatekeepers linked the researcher with key local community members, such as entrepreneurs from related businesses, and government personnel from various departments connected with tourism development. Personal contacts were also used to determine potential informants. Most of the migrants who participated in this study were identified through tourism projects and businesses. Their personal and

professional experiences were significantly related to the development of these projects and businesses, and thus informing local tourism development. The following subsections present the types of tourism projects and businesses involved, as well as the characteristics of individual informants.

4.4.4 Characteristics of related tourism projects/businesses

Table 4.2 lists the different types of tourism projects and businesses involved, their scope of development and operation, and the number of sites in each type. The informants shared personal and organizational experiences, and most of the listed tourism projects and businesses were all at an early development stage. However, the early-stage status of tourism development in the destination also reflected the unstable market source and strong seasonality influence on all tourism businesses. An increasing number of projects were being developed because the development trend inclined toward tourism from the local government at the time; the types of projects listed in this study represent the overall tourism development strategy. Luotian is positioned to preserve and utilize ecological resources to develop tourism, and it aims to develop ecotourism and rural tourism for surrounding urban markets.

4.4.5 Characteristics of informants

Informants were categorized according to their social and mobility status. Four groups of informants were identified, including 10 government officials (GO), 11 local community members (LC), 11 entrepreneurial migrants (EM), and 14 migrant employees (ME). Government officials were at the county, township, county bureau and department, and village levels. Local communities have a wider inclusion and

particularly refer to local residents who take an interest in local tourism development. This group includes retired officials, local entrepreneurs in tourism and other related industries, and local tourism employees. To narrow down the range of inward tourism migrants and identify suitable informants, this study deliberately defines the tourism migrant as an individual whose previous residence is in another municipality, had lived in the current county for more than six months and employed in a tourism business at the time of the interview. Entrepreneurial migrants were non-local residents or returnees who were involved in entrepreneurial activities in tourism. This group consists of agritourism project leaders, resort developers, scenic site developers, and tourist activity providers. Migrant employees in tourism are non-local residents or returnees who work in local tourism sectors as hotel receptionists, secretaries, security personnel, or technicians in tourism businesses.

The group affiliation, demographic information, and educational background of the interviewees are presented in Appendix 4. Out of the 46 informants, 34 (74%) are male and 12 (26%) are female, which indicates the scarcity of female participants. The identification of the informants involved a spontaneous process. The unintended gender differences reflected the male-dominant reality in business and government occupations in China.

The ages of the informants ranged from 23 to 60 years. Thirty (65%) informants have an education level equal to or above college/undergraduate, and 16 (35%) have education levels lower than high school. The duration of tourism-related professional experience was also reported by informants, as well as the years of their involvement in tourism development and projects, with no geographical restrictions. Informants have an

average of 8.1 years of tourism experience, but local government officials and community members have an average of 11.8 years of tourism experiences. Migrant employees and entrepreneurs only have an average of 4.7 years of tourism experiences. The involvement of local communities and government officials in tourism development is mainly linked with the tourism development history of the site. In this study, tourism migrants, except a few returnees, are generally new to the tourism industry and to the study area. Therefore, they could represent a trend of social and career mobility into tourism industries in less developed areas. In addition, the results indicate a lack of human and intellectual capital in tourism development in Luotian, where experienced tourism professionals and corporations are not yet absorbed.

4.4.6 Conducting interviews

Interviews are common and useful tools of data collection in qualitative research (Warren & Karner, 2010). The present study applied the general interview guide approach (Turner, 2010), in which the interviewer primarily led the interview with a set of close- and open-ended questions. This approach allows flexibility for the in-depth cultivation of interviewee experiences and provides more focus on the general area of information (Turner, 2010). The development of interview questions is a vital first step in planning interviews. Interview questions are not necessarily deductive from research questions, and every single question should be treated as the best suitable means of retrieving the information required to answer the research questions (Maxwell, 2012). Thus, different sets of guiding questions were developed for the categories of informants.

According to the research questions, tourism entrepreneurs and employees who come from outside of the county region are the main research subjects. Therefore, their mobility experience and experience in local tourism development were investigated. Local community and local government officials were interviewed for two purposes. The first purpose was to determine the level of institutional support and community openness toward external tourism participants. The second purpose was for triangulation. Their observation of the experiences and participation of migrants in the facilitation of the tourism development were solicited. Interviews were semi-structured with open-ended leading questions that were designed to encourage informants to open up and to elicit the richest narratives of their experiences and perceptions toward tourism development.

Building rapport with participants is essential in qualitative interviews, as the interviewees need to trust and open up to the interviewer. Therefore, at the beginning of the interview, open-ended questions are more suitable, and both the interviewer and the interviewee shall feel comfortable in the process for the rapport to develop rapidly (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). An information letter and a consent form were given to the interviewees for their agreement on accepting the interview. In some situations, subjects refused to be recorded, and the recorder was turned off and the interviewer took notes manually. Conducting a research interview with a recorder could sometimes be misunderstood as media interviews conducted by journalists. In this case, some participants with low educational background (middle school) expressed their concerns about being recorded by media even with the presence of a consent form. In a few other cases with older participants, nervousness occurred with the presence of a

recorder. The researcher then decided to take notes manually to make subjects more comfortable in sharing stories and experiences.

The interviews were primarily conducted in the offices of the interviewees. Some were conducted in tourism project sites during site visits. Having a quiet and confidential setting for interviews was essential. Each formal interview lasted from 30 minutes to 1.5 hours. At the beginning of each formal interview, the researcher gave a briefing on the research topic and purpose of the interview, as well as obtained consent from the interviewee. As a native of Luotian, the social connections and ability of the researcher to communicate with potential informants in the local dialect significantly contributed to data collection. The communication barrier sometimes can prevent the informants from sharing information with the researcher. The interviews were conducted in Chinese, in the local dialect, or in Mandarin. The transcribing of interviews was conducted solely by the author to ensure the accuracy of data and to be immersed in the data as much as possible. The origin of the researcher and her mastery of local dialect significantly mitigated the gap between the informants and a PhD student coming from Hong Kong. Hence, rapport was efficiently built between the researcher and informants.

Literature suggests tips for conducting interviews. These tips include checking regularly if the recorder is working, asking one question at a time, remaining neutral in attitude and in appearances, encouraging responses, transitioning between topics, and controlling time and direction of conversation (McNamara, 2009, cited in Turner, 2010). However, in reality, incidents may occur during the course of the interview.

In the data collection experiences of this study, one notable story is worth telling. This interview was conducted with an older government official who was in charge of an agritourism project. The researcher met the official in his office, and he was boiling hot water for tea as a welcoming gesture. The researcher made small talk while they waited for the tea. Once the tea was served, she was eager to start the interview and took out the consent form and information letter. However, this gesture displeased the interviewee. Drinking tea is an important custom in many cultures. In “Three Cups of Tea,” Greg Mortensen explains his effort to build schools in Afghanistan and the importance of the process of drinking tea. The offering of tea is important among people with few resources because it is a small sacrifice, which shows hospitality to strangers and honor to friends.

In a community that lives under difficult conditions, cooperation is necessary for survival and trust is extremely important. The ritual of tea serving in Afghanistan and in this case, in China, builds trust over time. The interview was a request from the researcher; although efficiency is often emphasized in conducting any project, taking it slowly is a virtue. “Warming-up” for a formal interview was important to some informants because it demonstrated politeness and interpersonal respect. Taking some time to chitchat helps develop mutual understanding and build rapport. In this perspective, an interview is not only a one-time encounter, as it may become a long-term contact and even friendship and contribute to the follow-up of the research.

A critical problem in qualitative study is the number of required interviews. Although several qualitative researchers use “saturation” to describe a state of data adequacy (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Mason, 2010), the meaning of saturation and the point

at which it is met remain ambiguous. Guest et al. (2006) developed a codebook to record the changes in themes derived from 60 interviews they had conducted, and their result indicated that data saturation was achieved in only 12 interviews. Creswell (2012) suggested that the number interviews in phenomenological studies should range from five to 25. For this study, saturation is determined at the point of information repetition for each group because of the involvement of different groups of data. It is also restricted in terms of the number of tourism migrant available in the site. After the initial periods of fieldwork, a third visit to the study area was made in May 2014, to conduct one more interview in each group. This visit aimed to ensure the sufficiency of data collected and to achieve saturation.

4.4.7 Observations and site visits

As mentioned in the previous sections, the researcher was invited to conduct site visits and listen to the stories of the tourism businesses from tourism entrepreneurs. She also witnessed important meetings of government officials and entrepreneurs on site while conducting the visits. An example of observation notes is shown in Appendix 5. These observations and informal interactions also contributed to the understanding of tourism development in Luotian and the overall phenomenon under study. Observation notes were taken after each site visit, including information related to the research objectives, such as project history, size and employee status, investment mode, development and marketing strategy. Moreover, interactions with local government and community were recalled and recorded.

In several formal meetings, the researcher took part as a non-participant observer, and meeting minutes were taken as observation data. The site visits often included a social

lunch or dinner with the participants and other guests, which represented the “wine and dine” culture of hospitality in China. Informal conversations and discussions in these social occasions sometimes provided insights into the current research, and were noted down by the researcher. Observation notes were analyzed together with other forms of data. These notes were crucial in discovering the dynamics of the natural, political, and socio-cultural environment of the locality and the interactions among various groups of actors.

4.4.8 Collection of secondary documents

Secondary documents about tourism planning, policy, and development are also useful information to provide local organizational contexts and can be used as data sources for the analysis of institutional support for migrants. Official government documents, informal meeting minutes, project plans were collected from local government bureaus and tourism project developers. The list of collected formal documents is shown in Table 4.3. An example of the collected formal documents is also shown in Appendix 7. Other documents, such as opinion articles, life stories, and online forum articles on individual informants, which were presented or given to the researcher during the course of data collection, were collected to understand the experiences and social influences of individual informants. The primary objectives of collecting the documents were to understand the development context, policy, and process of tourism development, the overall economic situation of the county, as well as the interactional situations and representations of different organizations in tourism. In addition, online news search on tourism investment and employment was conducted on the official government information site. Online data were collected in March 2014. This online

search resulted in 25 media reports published online from 2009 to 2013. The involvement of non-migrant informants and the collection of secondary documents and observations provided different forms of data to achieve triangulation (Maxwell, 2012).

4.5 Data Analysis

Dey (1993) used omelet and eggs to describe the process of qualitative data analysis, which is a process of breaking down data into bits and beating them together. The results of data analysis should be different from raw data, and should be an outcome of referents and knowledge creation (Wengraf, 2001). Data analysis may not always start at the time when all data are collected, as analysis could have started while gathering data (Silverman, 2013), and such process influences perceptions and idea towards the researched phenomenon. Most of the analysis process is conducted when the data are collected.

Numerous analytical approaches are suggested in academic literature on qualitative research. Creswell (2012) summarized the approaches as preparing and organizing data, reading and mental mapping of different concepts, and describing, classifying, and interpreting data into codes and themes. Maxwell (2012) suggested analytical strategies, such as issuing memos, categorizing plans, and connecting strategies. The three main steps of qualitative data analysis presented in Babbie (2013) are coding, memoing, and concept mapping, which show an inductive process of reasoning from data. The following subsections discuss the considerations of reasoning and analytical strategies used in this study.

4.5.1 Considerations for data analysis: Inductive and deductive reasoning

The two approaches in analytical reasoning are inductive and deductive. Inductive reasoning follows a bottom-up process to start with what is shown in the data, whereas deductive reasoning uses a top-down approach and starts with general to more specific information (Creswell, 2012). Inductive reasoning is commonly used to develop theory or build models, whereas deductive reasoning is used to apply existing theories or models for the current data. Data analysis of this study followed an inductive approach that aims to derive meaning and explanation from both raw data and guided by the research objectives (Thomas, 2003). However, deductive approaches were also adopted to analyze documents and other secondary documents, and subsequently used in connecting inductive findings with the conceptual guide for the present study. Combining and balancing inductive and deductive reasoning is important. Extreme induction may induce multiple directions of explanation, whereas proper deduction helps guide the explanation through previous theoretical perspectives (Hyde, 2000).

According to Ketokivi and Mantere (2010), two strategies for inductive reasoning are idealization and contextualization. Both strategies have two epistemic grounds in the *Spartan* and the explanationist views. Idealization separates inference and explanation, but contextualization simultaneously assesses inference and explanation. Another key difference is the goal for these strategies. To generalize, the idealization strategy seeks to follow established rules and procedures and present generalizable results; meanwhile, the contextualization strategy emphasizes transparency and authenticity toward data and the research process (Ketokivi & Mantere, 2010). Given the weakness and vulnerability of single-case study (Yin, 2003), the present study used the contextualization strategy of

inductive reasoning and empirically performed inferences within the boundary of the case.

The use of computer software was for organizing the data and efficiently identifying and connecting themes emerging from the data. In this study, N-vivo 10 was initially used for data analysis and interpretation. However, after the data were transcribed and encoded into the software, some Chinese language documents were not recognized by the program. Consequently, the rest of the data analysis process was conducted manually by markers, highlighters, and sticky notes. The original categories identified using N-vivo were consistent with the ones identified manually. Data were marked into different groups by the sources of data (primary data from different groups of informants, secondary data, and observation notes). According to the research objectives and guiding analytical approaches, different strategies were developed to frame the process of coding, theming, and categorizing data. Table 4.4 shows the analytical approaches based on sources of data, which are explained in detail in the next subsections.

Table 4.4 Source of data and analytical approaches (Source: Author)

Source of data	Analytical approach
Individual narratives and personal stories	Narrative & phenomenological approaches (inductive)
Observation notes	Content analysis (inductive)
Individual narratives – attitude, opinion, and knowledge	Discourse analysis (inductive)
Secondary documents	Content analysis (deductive)

4.5.2 Inductive analysis

Personal narratives are valuable sources of data. In this study, many stories were shared, and therefore, using a narrative approach was proper to analyze the life stories and experiences of key informants. Personal narratives are talks organized around consequential events; particular experiences were narrated around dichotomies, such as ideal and real, and self and society (Riessman, 2008). Narrative approaches aim at the sequence of events in a person's life, which usually adopts a chronological style (Creswell, 2012). The major components of a story were identified according to time span (past, present, future) and the unique and general features of the story. Narrative approaches were used to categorize stories told by the informants.

The three levels of examination and relation in narrative analysis are ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Riessman, 2008). To situate these levels in practical research, the analytical framework developed by Riessman (2008) was adopted (see Figure 4.8). Ideational examination includes identifying the general content of the narrative and the coding process, whereas interpersonal examination aims to understand the manner in which participants perceive their roles in the interaction with the researcher. Textual examination seeks a past-present-future storyline, through which the structure and connectedness of the narratives are examined. The primary emphasis of the narrative analysis, however, was on the content and ideational examination in this study, with mindful considerations of interpersonal and textual analyses in the process.

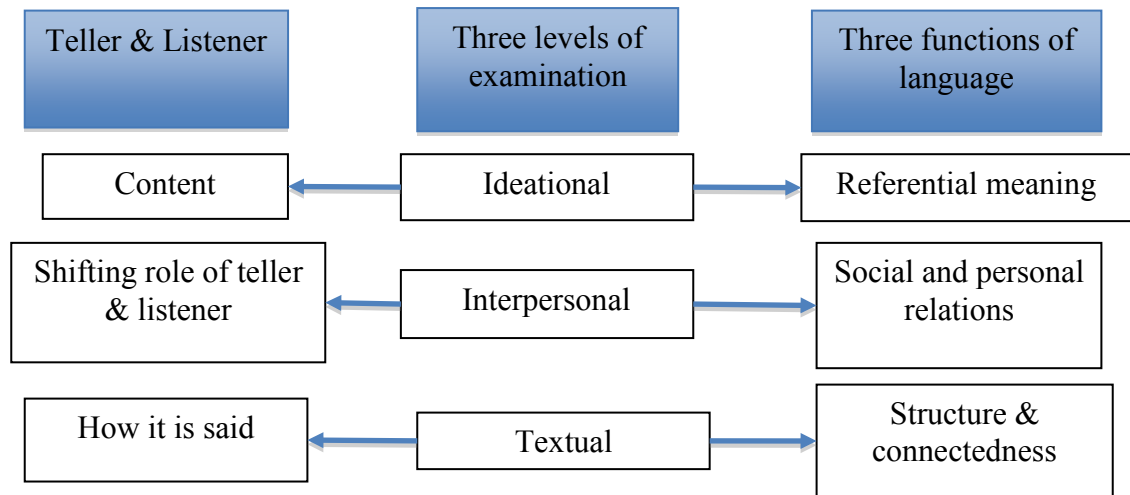


Figure 4.8 Analytical framework in narrative approaches
(Source: Adapted from Riessman, 2008)

Informants shared their feelings toward tourism development and life decisions in the interviews. A phenomenological approach was used to capture the common experiences expressed in the narratives. The phenomenological analysis of qualitative data follows a structured process, which involves the following steps: describing personal experiences; developing a list of key statements; grouping statements into themes; writing a textual description of participant experiences; writing a structural description of how the phenomena were experienced; and combining the textual and structural descriptions (Moustakas, 1994, cited in Creswell, 2012). In the present study, phenomenological analysis aims to understand the experiences and feelings of tourism migration and development from an individual level, while people experience mobility and witness change, what they are experiencing, and why. The phenomenological experience is closely linked with stories that solicit the experience of the respondents.

In terms of narratives that are thick descriptions of the case or the phenomenon, both inductive and deductive approaches were used. Expressions of attitude, opinion, and

knowledge in personal narratives were considered as discourse and analyzed in terms of language styles, content, and context. Induction and open coding were used for these narratives to specifically present what was shown in the local context. The presentation of the findings is through a combination of approaches. The stories will be presented along with theories and contexts, which assert the power of explanation.

4.5.3 Deductive analysis

Secondary documents and media reports were collected to identify the overall social-political environment for local tourism development and the organizational culture and business style for individual tourism projects involved in this study. Therefore, the analysis of these documents adopted a deductive content analysis approach. With a preset of analytical goals on the document (i.e., information on tourism development outcomes, statistics of local economy and population flow), key policies relating to tourism investment and employment, and organizational/business characteristics were identified from the documents. The analytical results of government-related documents and media reports will be reported on the history of tourism development in Luotian in connection with the establishment of tourism projects. Findings related to individual tourism projects will be reported with the migrant experiences in tourism and personal development.

4.5.4 Analytical strategies and processes

Within the different analytical approaches, similar analytical strategies and processes were adopted. Most qualitative analysis follows a common procedure with only slight variations (Creswell, 2012). In the current study, within different approaches,

categorization was used to group data according to content, and separate coding processes were subsequently conducted and inferences were drawn from the codes. To connect different sources of data, connecting strategies and concept mapping were used and interpretations of data were refined based on inferences (Maxwell, 2012; Creswell, 2012). Categorizing strategies seek the differences and similarities in data, whereas connecting strategies search for relationships and influences between texts (Maxwell, 2012).

Categorization strategies were used to divide data into different categories based on the research objectives and data sources and to group data within various analytical approaches. In this study, based on the research objectives and the interview guide, initial categories were attached to interview scripts to show the general content of data. The initial categories for data analysis are listed in Table 4.5. These categories were subsequently organized to represent themes and interpret the findings. Some categories may simultaneously represent different themes.

Table 4.5 List of categories and themes (Source: Author)

Categories	Themes
Initiation of mobility Future Plan Family Experience in tourism development Relating to previous industry/career Personal development Leadership Opportunity Challenges New migrant Return migrant Corporate investor	Geographical, social, and organizational mobility Decision-making Personal Experiences Prospects
Institutional support Giving back to community Family Social network and contact Relationship with local community Leadership Dealing with local political system	Social capital Personal networks Institutional support Community involvement
Internal or external developer Experience in tourism development Evaluating Luotian tourism Evaluating tourism projects Changes Challenges Comparison with other destination Tourism perspectives Opportunity	Local tourism development AI Scheme Evaluation and perspectives

Three major analytical processes were applied in the study. The first process was the initial analysis of data. Deductive and inductive analyses were conducted. In analyzing interview scripts and observation notes, three principal steps were followed, namely, identifying the category, attaching codes and meaning, and drawing inferences. Upon repeatedly reading the texts, codes were developed on the content of the narratives,

discourse, and the phenomenon. Inferences were drawn to note down critical information and first impressions exposed in the text, which helped facilitate the analytical thinking about the data. The second process individually analyzed each code, by references, and identified explicit connections with other codes. In the second stage, notes were also taken to demonstrate potential and implicit relationships. The last process compared initial inferences with code notes. The findings were consolidated according to categories and themes. An example of data analysis is presented in Appendices 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3. Data analysis and interpretation were conducted simultaneously.

The subsequent chapters present the interpretation of data. Findings will be presented following the identified themes with detailed explanations referring to the categories and codes derived from data.

4.6 Confirmability

Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) indicated that the issue of confirmability is discussed particularly in the tourism context, and that interpretive tourism studies focus on the process of confirming the “truth” of the research. Several criteria have been summarized for the confirmability of qualitative research, including the criteria for trustworthiness proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). Confirmability is shown as a final criterion in Guba’s (1981) list of trustworthiness, along with credibility, dependability, and transferability. Confirmability is used as a tool for evaluating the qualitative study, and is the final question of whether the results presented in the following chapters are true. In other words, confirmability is essential in proving the rigor and value of research.

Aside from the commonly used list of criteria in confirmability, Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) emphasized transparency in examining the phenomenological experience of participants, embracing ambiguity and being constantly reflexive, as well as pragmatic concerns. Donmoyer (2000) raised the notions of assimilation, accommodation, integration, and differentiation in reconsidering the role of generalizability, and proposed the thinking of practical applications and the utility of case studies in social sciences. Therefore, generalizability is not a primary goal of conducting this case study research. To some extent, generalizability can be achieved when existing theories are inadequate (Eisenhardt, 1989). Thus, qualitative study aims to explain and attach meaning to a social phenomenon (Creswell, 2012). The present study has focused on the multivocality of participants and the evolving role of the researcher as one of them. Confirmability is justified in this study as trustworthiness and reflexivity. The subsequent sections explain the effort to maintain the trustworthiness and reflexivity of this study.

4.6.1 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is used to represent the validity and reliability in qualitative research, which have an equally important role in quantitative research. Trustworthiness is even more vague and complex to accomplish because qualitative research results indicate a completely different type of knowledge from quantitative research findings (Golafshani, 2003). Using strategies to ensure trustworthiness in conducting qualitative research aims to show the rigor and quality of the research. The model of trustworthiness developed by Guba (1981) is extensively used among qualitative researchers. Hence, the current study is also adopting and modifying this model according to its epistemic and methodological

genre to continuously check on the research process and to conduct rigorous qualitative research (cited in Coetzee, 2008). Guba's (1981) original list of criteria for trustworthiness includes credibility, which presents the truthfulness of the research, transferability, which refers to the applicability of research findings, dependability, which is similar to transferability to ensure the consistency of findings in a different context, and confirmability, with an emphasis on neutrality.

Given that this research is a single-case study, it aims to be true to the research and to reveal as much information as possible. Therefore, transferability and consistency should not be the primary criteria for validating the research. Instead, transparency should be used as a key criterion. As confirmability in Guba's (1981) list principally refers to neutrality, this concept is discussed separately as reflexivity in the following subsection. The main establishments of trustworthiness discussed in this study are transparency, credibility, and triangulation. The strategies suggested by Guba (1981) and Marshall and Rossman (2011) were adopted to maintain trustworthiness.

The present study is context-specific. To thoroughly describe the construction of the research questions, identifying the research problem and the research methodology is essential in presenting transparency in this qualitative study. A clear path of understanding the research problem in inquiry is shown in the early chapters of this study. To ensure transparency, the researcher has presented a detailed description of data collection and analysis, and has demonstrated the relevance of the data to the research questions, as well as situated the study in a scholarly context (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Maintaining all of the records related to data collection and analysis is also important. In the data collection process, all of the audio files and transcriptions were

kept, as well as other hardcopy and electronic files retrieved in the process. Therefore, the researcher has balanced the goal of transferability with a transparent and academically rigorous aim. This aim is also fulfilled by the reflexive actions of the researcher during the research and in meeting the criterion for trustworthiness.

The researcher had extensive contact with the study site and built rapport with participants. Different types of data collection methods were used, and different groups of participants, migrants, their social contacts, locals, and government officials were interviewed to offer triangulation. Participants were validated as relevant to this study. The author's credibility was presented prior to the engagement. Sufficient preparation was done for data collection to ensure the quality of data and structural coherence between data collection and analysis. Subjectivity and misinterpretation may ensue from the possible biases of researcher, such as passive perceptions on the role of government in development projects and the presumptions on delinquent behaviors during the development process. The biases were managed by objectively examining the contexts and government documents prior to conducting interviews. Constant reflexivity was exercised when dealing with participants to eliminate the influence of the researcher's beliefs on the responses of potential participants. In the case of sensitive issues mentioned by participants, the researcher confirmed identity protection and anonymity for the participants. Data collection and analysis were conducted by the sole researcher. Data were analyzed in Chinese in the coding and categorization process. The themes and selected paragraphs of the interview transcripts were translated into English in the reporting stage. This study has promisingly anticipated and dealt with the issues of trustworthiness.

4.6.2 Reflexivity

Relational sociology suggests that the observer/researcher should move away from his or her own experiences, beliefs, and culture when analyzing a social process reflexively (Donati, 2011, p. 101):

“The observer is called upon to act on the basis of her reflexivity: she must move away from her own experience (from what she thinks, imagines, communicates) and from culture. She is called upon to analyze a social process (morphogenesis) in which she has to find out if and how social actors are reflexive and act reflexively on the structures conditioning them. The observer must reflect this quality in herself.”

In the present study, the researcher believes that an individual constructs a set of unique realities. However, from the level of a group, an organization, a community, or even a society, these unique-to-individual realities may collide and together weave a multi-dimensional web of realities, in which ontology is partially presented in relation to all of the layers and dimensions. The selection of the study area also reflected the researcher’s personal nostalgia, which is restlessly contested with the concept of home and the intention to give back to home. This decision may influence the researcher’s view on the returnees who return to the community to give back, and who may trump their social motives over the economic incentives. With considerable mindfulness and caution, personal research experience could be related with the actual experience of tourism migrants.

With mindfulness of the researcher’s own position and personal beliefs, she maintained neutrality during the entire process. Having connections and sympathy with the study site has advantages and disadvantages for the researcher. Among the

advantages are having access to information and resources, as well as building trustworthy relationships with research participants. However, a disadvantage of not being a complete “outsider” is that participants might still refuse to share discrete information. The interviews consequently adopted an open style, and the fact that the researcher lived in Hong Kong, which is culturally and geographically distanced from Luotian, provided the informants with more discretion and assurance on confidentiality.

Reflexivity is a useful methodological tool for qualitative researchers to return to self-awareness, which pertains to who we are, what we want to know and why, and so on, and understand how knowledge is constructed (Pillow, 2003). According to Anderson (1989), reflexivity can be of different styles, namely, the researcher’s constructs, the informants’ commonsense constructs, the research data, the researcher’s ideological biases, and the structural and historical forces that shaped the social construction under study (cited in Pillow, 2003). Maintaining a balanced and equal relationship when interacting with participants can produce reciprocity, and thus improve research outcomes (Pillow, 2003).

4.7 Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, the weakness of a single-case qualitative study should not be ignored. As future research could be conducted in different contexts, the findings of this research hope to generate hypotheses to be tested by quantitative methods. Second, the application of the concept social network and social capital is not overly represented in the data collection procedure. The difficulty in identifying all of the contacts of migrants and the limitation in time and resources negated the consideration of quantitative social network analysis as a data collection method. The

boundaries of migration are unclear in an internal context. The subjects of this research also confuse with foreign direct investments. The definition of migrants used in this study is only to specify tourism participants with the consideration of time–space mobility. The study ignored the official definition of migrants in the Chinese context as solely associated with the change of *hukou* (household registration) record. Therefore, conducting a similar research will be difficult unless the same selection criteria are used.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Prior to embarking on the data collection phase, an ethical clearance was obtained from the research office of the university. Study fact sheets, invitation letters, and consent forms were prepared for the tourism bureau and other departments, leaders of communities where fieldwork was conducted, and interviewees. The study fact sheet, invitation letter, and consent form can be found in Appendices 2 and 3.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter explained the qualitative nature of this study. The case study is the main approach employed in this research. The study area is located in Luotian, China, which was described in the preceding sections. Data collection sites and methods were presented. Data analysis was conducted using different analyses methods, such as inductive and deductive content analysis, narrative analysis, and phenomenological analysis based on the types of data and the research objectives. The confirmability of this study was ensured by maintaining transparency, reflexivity, and trustworthiness throughout data collection and analysis process. Despite some limitations of single case study and the deliberate and broadened use of the term migrant in the Chinese context,

this study endeavors to present its true value of data and uses data and method triangulation to provide multiple voices. The researcher remained neutral and reflexive during the process. The interview guide, information letter, and consent form are attached in the appendices.

4.10 Presentation of Research Findings

Chapters 5 to 9 present the research findings and discussions of this study. This thesis cohesively presents findings and discussion under several major themes due to the various groups involved in this study and the bottom-up approach that was adopted to collect and analyze data. Chapter 5 presents the conceptual development that integrates the findings from previous studies and from this study according to the categories of geographical, social, and organizational mobility, and reports the initiation of these mobilities in this case study. Chapter 5 also introduces two storylines of W and H concerning the developing tourism in Luotian, to lead the subsequent chapters. Chapter 6 introduces the background of establishing tourism projects in an early-stage destination and reports the findings principally from the perspectives of local governments and communities. Chapters 7 and 8 present the experiences of tourism involvement of entrepreneurial migrants and migrant employees, respectively. Chapter 9 summarizes the findings on community involvement and social capital in the tourism development process from this case study.

Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by revisiting the research objectives and summarizing the main findings. The theoretical and practical implications of this study are presented, and limitations and directions for future research are also discussed.

Chapter 5

Tourism Supply-induced Mobility: Geographical, Social, and Organizational Perspectives

5.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the life stories of migrants regarding their mobility into the early-stage destination and the tourism industry. The narratives are provided from the three perspectives of mobility, namely, geographical, social, and organizational. Geographical mobility is the traditional form of time–space mobility, and refers to the comparison between tourism and migration made by Hall (2000). In this case, the characteristics of geographical mobility show the physical and temporal relationship between an individual and the geographical location of residences. Social mobility is a liberalist concept that is chiefly associated with social class and stratification (Yaish, 2004). This concept refers to the upward and downward changes of social status on the social ladder, and is affected by individual actions and aspirations (Yaish, 2004). In the present study, social mobility is used in the contexts of occupational classes, economic growth, and career prospects as parameters to identify the direction of social mobility associated with the geographical mobility of participants.

The final perspective, organizational/economic mobility (Wright, 2011), is principally associated with entrepreneurial mobility. Individual participants in the current research also represented various economic or social organizations. In this case, their behavior is

related to organizational mobility and their economic status. From the social and organizational perspectives, the migrants were categorized in two groups, namely, the entrepreneurial migrant (EM) and migrant employee (ME), as shown in the list of informants (see Table 4.3). Corporate investors were not listed. Organizational behavior was represented by entrepreneurs who are executive officers of tourism corporations as well as employees of the corporations. The organizational perspective associated with large tourism corporations and projects are further discussed in association with the Attracting Investment (AI) scheme in Chapter 6.

In this chapter, two major informant stories are used as main threads to present the initiation of mobility. The stories of Mr. Wang (W, from here onwards) and Mr. He (H, from here onwards) were deemed to be best suited for discussion. As the stories of W and H might only partially represent the experiences of tourism migrants, quotes from other informants are also cited in the discussions. To present a more dynamic and integral plot, this study uses the authentic life experiences of W and H. However, the research findings are not solely based on these two stories.

5.2 Stories of W and H

In 2004, W came to Luotian to investigate potential investment opportunities on a power station; W previously owned a construction company. One of his staff members was a native of Luotian, and he introduced W to his brother and other local contacts, chiefly government officials. Although W lost the bid in building the power station, he fell in love with the beautiful scenery of the Dabie Mountains in Luotian. The hospitality of his local contact ensured him that the people in Luotian were eager to

develop natural resources toward the direction of tourism. The government had offered him to take over the only three-star hotel at the time at a low price, accompanied by policy incentives under the AI scheme. In the subsequent four years, he and his team built the first cable car route in Tiantangzhai in the Dabie Mountains. At the time, few tourism attractions were in the mountains, let alone services and infrastructure. He and his wife lived in the mountains with the workers. The physical environment was harsh, but they succeeded in their cable car business as tourism and other infrastructure such as road systems continued to develop in the area. Although W had been contracted by the local government to complete the trail system and artificial attractions in the scenic area, the government had no money to pay him. Nevertheless, W planned to continue to invest in tourism around Luotian. Despite having only middle-school education, he gained rich experiences and insights in tourism development by interacting with visitors from various backgrounds. After spending 10 years in Luotian, W gained respect from the government and local people. He was also a member of the local Political Consultative Committee.

Meanwhile, H was in the home textile retailing business before he returned to Luotian. He owned several companies and shops in another province. At first, he was a veterinarian in his village. He subsequently decided to leave and became a migrant worker. Eventually, he became a successful businessperson and decided to do something for his home village. In 2012, he returned with the idea of an agricultural park that would convert the farmland in his village. The required investment was huge and persuading villagers, who were mostly his distant relatives, was difficult. H established an agricultural company and circulated more than two thousand mu of farmland in four

villages. He also signed a contract with the local government under the AI scheme, in support of his action. The government was responsible for land leveling, road building, and completing other infrastructure. During the first two years, H had faced numerous challenges. He used his other businesses as collateral for bank loans because his contract of farmland usage could not be used as loan mortgage. His wife was against his investment decision and divorced him. In August 2014, his agricultural park held a successful grape-picking festival.

5.3 Initiation of Tourism Supply-induced Mobilities

Luotian is similar to thousands of counties in less developed areas in China. The area is mundane and ordinary. Although Luotian has natural and cultural resources that make local people proud, many more spectacular and culturally significant places throughout China have easier access and more developed tourism sectors. The presence of W and H, who came to reside and invest in its early-stage tourism development, is an interesting point. Hence, examining whether tourism has the potential to induce employment and entrepreneurial mobilities into the less developed area is theoretically important. In this study, 25 migrants and 21 local community and government officials, including the local social contacts of migrants, were interviewed on the initiation of tourism supply-induced mobility to Luotian. The three perspectives of mobility are shown in the characteristics and experiences of the migrants.

5.3.1 Geographical, social, and organizational mobility in the Luotian tourism supply

The characteristics of migrants vary. From the geographical perspective, temporary migrants were assigned by tourism organizations to relocate to Luotian, and permanent migrants migrated for employment or entrepreneurship. New and return migrants were present as well. New migrants are people who had not previously resided in Luotian. Return migrants were originally from Luotian, resided in other places, and eventually came back. Geographically, the general direction of mobility flowed from urban or more developed areas to rural or less developed areas such as Luotian. Several migrants moved back and forth between urban and rural areas and held multiple social and economic positions. W and H often travelled back and forth between urban and rural areas.

The direction of social mobility can change the social status. In this study, upward mobility was demonstrated as the subject transitioned from being a farmer/villager or a labor worker to an entrepreneur or a business owner. For migrant employees, social mobility represented a path of career development, such as promotional opportunities in a newly developed project. The organizational mobility from the experiences of informants indicated a change in business direction, expansion to the tourism sector, and growth of organization. Figure 5.1 presents the general direction and manifestation of the three types of mobility. However, the initiation of mobility had variations in different groups of migrants and within different forms of mobility. Different themes emerged from the motivation and experiences of the migrants.

W, 62, had lived in Luotian since 2004, and now owned a tourism company with multiple businesses, such as hotels, travel agencies, and tourist activity establishments. H, 44, was a native of Luotian. He left in 2000 and returned in 2002 to establish an agritourism project in his home village. W and H had businesses in other provinces, but now mainly resided in Luotian. Both were involved in tourism development; therefore, their primary forms of mobility were organizational, as their tourism businesses prospered in Luotian.

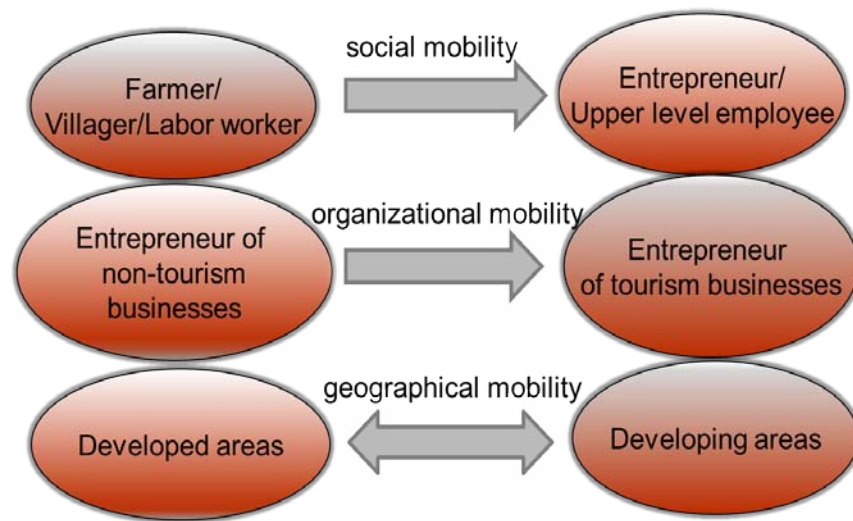


Figure 5.1 Illustrations of migrants' social, organizational, and geographical mobility
(Source: Author)

Figure 5.1 excludes the cases of large tourism corporations because their decision making follows a structural path and they have experiences investing in projects nationwide or even internationally. From the initiation experience of both individuals and organizations, the argument is between integrating and separating the different mobilities, and whether any one of the perspectives was more prioritized or dominant in

the mobility experiences than others. The three aspects of mobility were interconnected, as individuals or organizations did not make their decisions solely from one perspective. The decision-making process included a mixed consideration of geographical features of the locality, Luotian, the economic goal to expand into tourism, and the aim of being entrepreneurial or developing a career upwards. The motivation and decision-making process is discussed in the following subsection.

5.3.2 Motivation and decision-making

The motivation and decision making for mobility of entrepreneurial and employee migrants have similarities and differences. More differences were shown between new and return migrants. Diverse themes of motivations were summarized into different categories and presented in the following table to demonstrate the complications, dynamism, commonalities, and variations of migrant motivation. Table 5.1 lists the categories of motivations and major themes under each category. The discussions of each category are presented in detail in the subsequent sections.

Table 5.1 List of mobility motivations (Source: Author)

Categories of motivation	Major themes
Economic opportunities	Policy trend Tourism potential Entrepreneurship Revenue
Socio-cultural motivation	Support local community Mitigate rural social issues Leisure and healthy lifestyle promotion Ecological and cultural preservation
Internal motivation	Hometown complex Emotional attachment Lifecycle Personal development
External motivation	Family obligation Organizational responsibility

5.3.2.1 Economic opportunities

Different factors comprised the mobility decision, but the primary consideration was economic opportunity. Economic opportunity was reflected in the four major themes of policy trend, tourism potential, entrepreneurship, and revenue. Economic opportunities were important in motivating both EM and ME. However, EMs focused more on the potential of tourism, whereas the initiation of mobility of MEs was motivated by revenue or wage as an economic incentive. For people who were already entrepreneurs such as W and H, their consideration of economic opportunities was more visionary and long term. Tourism potential was inducted from the description of local resources for tourism development, newly developed rapid highway systems, and potential urban markets. From a national perspective, policy trend was directed to develop tourism in

the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in late 2012. From a local perspective, policy makers and county government leaders were also leaning heavily toward tourism development. As some participants stated, government attention is asserting confidence on both local community and investors in developing tourism. The involvement of the government was deemed to be extremely important because of the lack of infrastructure in less developed areas. Policy incentives were associated with economic opportunities in some cases because such programs permitted the distribution of public resources in the completion of infrastructure, and thus reduced the cost of investment. As an entrepreneur said:

“We visited many places, [...], finally picked this place, mainly because of the good resources, and the good location, only a two-hour drive from Wuhan... We signed an AI project contract with the Water Resources Bureau and the Dahe’an Town council. Our contract specified that the local government builds the roads, otherwise we would not invest the project here.” (EM-4, River rafting business owner)

Although policy and government involvement at the macro level may attract more entrepreneurs to invest in tourism in Luotian, not all of the EMs made their decision on the business location following the tourism sightseeing routes. EM-3 opted to build an agritourism site in the village where he was born. He considered government development policy in accordance with the demand for tourism, but the government expected immediate results and a “display” to demonstrate its political achievement. Therefore, he selected a village that was not on the major tourism routes, but was near the main highway exit:

“This place is not in the main area of development in Luotian, it is a forgotten corner by the local government, they mainly develop the major scenic area. According to my ability and pace, I don’t agree to develop large-scale and speedily, because ecological agriculture needs to develop and protect at the same time, large-scale and speedy development will definitely result in environmental damage, with the increasing population density, carrying capacity will be a problem too, [...], so I picked a low-density place, with development potential, there is a valley here, I acquired 2 kilometers for development, I can further develop into the valley for 10 more kilometers if I have the ability in the future, it won’t be affected by political factors. The local government pursues political success and needs short-term results, I do it on my own pace, if I do it well they can come and visit, if I don’t do it well, I am in the far corner and won’t influence anything, they won’t lose face.”

In the preceding case, the decision was made strategically to maintain autonomy and plan for future development.

Policy incentives for small-scale businesses such as HFH (Happy Farmer Home) were also attracting return migrants to become entrepreneurs to start their own HFH. The supporting document from Hubei provincial tourism bureau in 2012 showed that the monetary reward for all new HFH businesses was 10,000 yuan. Several middle-aged migrant workers of JZH town, where the main scenic area of Tiantangzhai is located, returned to renovate their homes to host tourists. In the case of HFH, entrepreneurial opportunities were provided at low costs and risks. Tourism entrepreneurship is an important sector in developing tourism locally and sustainably, and the return of migrant

workers significantly contributed to the thriving of HFH businesses. Working for others in Chinese is “Da gong,” which means earning wage, while working for self is often referred to as being one’s own boss, and be a “Lao ban.” Chinese culture attaches a higher personal success value to being entrepreneurial and being one’s own boss than working for others. Therefore, when numerous returnees of the tourist town became entrepreneurs, some of their children, who were also migrant workers in large cities, eventually returned to assist their parents in managing the HFH businesses.

Economic motivations were not bluntly expressed by most of the entrepreneurial participants. However, this goal was hidden in the expression of rich resources, demand for tourism and more experience-oriented economy, and perspectives in relation to tourism development. Only one entrepreneur directly expressed his “primary goal” as making money:

“Speaking of money, I have enough. I have invested a few millions (yuan) in this project, if I put my money in the bank, or loan it to somebody, I would earn some interest money, I can go by well with my life. I don’t worry about money for the rest of my life, I don’t want to make a load of money, but why do I do this, it is firstly for money, I do have enough money, but for me, I am forty-year old, in our society, money is very important, [...], the farmers have low labor efficiency, they only gain 1000 from the land, but I want to be able to make 2000 through my effort.” (EM-2, Agritourism site developer)

Numerous EMs were successful entrepreneurs before they started their tourism business/project in Luotian, and they continually searched for new economic and

entrepreneurial opportunities. This behavior is closely linked with previous entrepreneurial experience and the judgment of the current economic and social change. Offline retail business had experienced difficult times because of the gaining popularity of online shopping websites. EM-3 was a retailer, and he and his business partners experienced decreasing revenue in their retail businesses. They considered numerous options to re-invest together, and eventually shifted to agricultural production because of the low risk and hedging value of farmland. They planned to develop agritourism in the long run because of the non-replicable location and natural resources that could attract surrounding urban markets.

Working in tourism sectors may be unattractive for employees because of the less developed infrastructure and lack of mobility in an early-stage destination, especially in the scenic mountain areas. Most of the employees in the scenic areas were local or returnee migrant workers. Economic consideration was related to the fairly low cost of living, compared with the same amount of salary in the major town area in Luotian. The apparent high turnover in hotels and resorts in the mountain areas was the result of limited mobility in working in the mountains. A human resource manager, who was a migrant employee, suggested that his resort should raise the salaries of employees to retain them.

5.3.2.2 Socio-cultural motivation

Socio-cultural motivation was the most dominant in the interviews with EMs. Four themes related to socio-cultural motivation that emerged were support for local community, mitigation of rural social issues, leisure and healthy lifestyle promotion, and

ecological and cultural preservation. Most of the entrepreneurs considered their development of tourism businesses/projects a win-win situation with the local community. Socio-cultural motivation was indeed related to economic opportunities, as the cooperation with local community was particularly important for tourism businesses in rural areas. For example, farmland circulation required effective communication and negotiation with local farmers. The support for local community as a motivation was more pertinent in returnees such as H, who decided to develop agritourism in his home village primarily based on his goal to support the local community:

“I was thinking about doing agritourism, not that I thought about doing agriculture first, in fact, I saw the mountains, rivers, and geographical environment of my home village, I saw left-behind elderlies and children, the social phenomenon in my village, then I was thinking what I could do to change, to make my home villagers have better lives. To have better lives, I don’t mean to give them money or donate to them to make their lives better, but to make them have better income, job, living environment, so they don’t have to go out to work for others, because I was a migrant worker, I had experienced a lot of humiliation, [...]. So I was thinking, could I make villagers of my village to work in the village, not to go out to big cities, other people could come here to work, this was how I was thinking.”

Returnee EM-5 also expressed a similar sentiment toward his home village; his decision to develop an agritourism site was made based on the ecological preservation of natural resources in his hometown:

“In 2011, the county council and communist party congress had an urgent desire to attract investment, I was living in between Shenzhen and Beijing. I was doing legal consulting work for a few listed companies and I was their independent board member. The local officials wanted to attract big corporations, but they were not suitable [...]. At that time, Guangdong provincial government made a decision to transfer the polluting, labor-intensive factories to inland China, our local government had great opportunities to attract these factories, and they wanted to draw in the large chemical companies, which were to be abandoned in Guangdong. I was accompanying the local government officials on their trip to visit these factories; I was against introducing these chemical factories to Luotian, in front of everybody. Our mayor at that time, Mr. Luo, whenever I stood up to offer my countering opinion, secretly pinched my hand to stop me. My perception is that we need to preserve our green mountains and rivers, protect the natural resources, it is slow development now but it will be good development in the future. We can't pursuit speedy development now, going after high GDP is ruining our resources, [...]. I proposed to promote agriculture, ecological agriculture, and agritourism, I was familiar with the situation at home, lots of farmland was abandoned, farmers had no enthusiasm, I said I would try it, I love agriculture, so I came back.”

Em-2 was not a returnee; he had settled down in Luotian, where he treated as his home. His agritourism project was located in one of the poorest villages in Luotian. He described that a financially win-win situation is his final goal:

“I can drive the poor people here, around here they are not rich at all, they waste all these good farmlands, three years ago, I passed by this village, and had a flat tire, so I

went to look for help, the villagers were very kind to me, they invited me to their home, went to the town to find people to fix my tire, and asked me to stay for dinner. I asked what they do for a living, they said farming, selling chestnuts, chestnuts were expensive on the market, but for the farmers they were not worth much at all, I was thinking at that time how I could realize the true value of the good farmland here, from that time on I was thinking about it, win-win is the ultimate goal.”

The social motivation to contribute to the local community of a new migrant reflects the hospitality, innocence, and kindness of the local people. This phenomenon is common in early-stage tourism destinations, in which tourism has not yet induced significant social effects, and the commercialization of local culture has yet to begin. This condition is related to the next category of internal motivation; that is, the intention to contribute and build things for the community originated from the emotional connections with the place.

The social-cultural motivation of promoting a healthy leisure lifestyle through tourism is connected with the economic prospect of increasing the domestic tourism demand in China. In several small counties such as Luotian, the entertainment and leisure activities of the residents were fairly limited. The leisure industry was restricted in size and activity; playing mahjong is a major leisure activity in the case of Luotian. Mahjong is a group gambling game. Therefore, numerous entrepreneurs emphasized the benefits of nature-, culture-, and agriculture-based tourism activities as means of promoting a healthy leisure lifestyle. Moreover, promoting healthy leisure activities is perceived to positively influence the wellbeing of the elderly and families with children, as well as

increase the social connectedness of the community. H considered himself a member of “lohas,” which is a healthy and sustainable lifestyle. He operates a home textile business, and his decision to expand into tourism was consistent with his service-related business goal:

“All my businesses are service-oriented, this is what I have summarized, all effort paid by the human kind is nothing more than to serve the human kind, to make human kind have better lives in better environments, everything should serve the purpose. I entered the home textile business, not because the market needed to be filled, it was because of my hobby, I wished to make homes more comfortable and sweet, and so when people get off work, they could go straight back home to feel warm and happy, instead of go drinking or playing Mahjong.”

Entrepreneurs who considered the social-cultural effects of their decisions were all medium-scale entrepreneurs. For large-scale external investors, social-cultural reasons did not significantly influence their decision-making, and neither did they influence the mobility decision of small-scale HFH entrepreneurs and migrant employees. For medium- and small-scale entrepreneurs and employees, the following category of motivation and decision-making is more relevant, which explains the personal and intrinsic factors that contribute to the initiation of individual tourism mobility.

5.3.2.3 Internal motivation

The themes of internal motivation include hometown complex, emotional attachment, lifecycle, and personal development. These themes were categorized together because they indicated intrinsic personal factors that contribute to the tourism mobility decision.

The differences of initiation experiences between returnees and new migrants were chiefly caused by the previous social connections with Luotian, reflecting on the themes of hometown complex and emotional attachment in the decision making of returnees. Hometown complex was mentioned among entrepreneurs who had left Luotian early in their lives, and decided to return to invest in their 40s. The story of H strongly indicated the psychological motivation related to hometown complex. EM-1, another returnee, said:

“Sincerely speaking, I am from Luotian, I have this hometown complex, in the future I would like to come back and do something. I have been outside for decades, I am going to be 50 in several years, I would like to slowly move my businesses back here, so I look for business opportunities in Luotian.”

The Chinese idiom of “fallen leaves return to roots” (*Luo ye gui gen*) was frequently mentioned in the interviews, which indicated a nostalgic belief that an individual needs to return home eventually. The notion of rural complex is rooted deeply in Chinese culture. Traditional Chinese society was composed of rural communities that were strongly connected via consanguinity and geopolitical relations (Fei, 1985). The Chinese society has been constructed on *guanxi*, which has been divided as *Shouren guanxi* (acquaintances), *jiaren guanxi* (family), and *shengren guanxi* (strangers). *Shouren* and *jiaren guanxi* have significant roles in developing businesses in China (Su & Littlefield, 2001). Therefore, numerous businesses, particularly the small-scale tourism businesses, were family-operated; acquaintances and relatives were hired as employees. The emphasis on hometown complex was primarily caused by the cultural foundation of

geopolitical connection with the hometown of an individual. In addition, hometown complex resulted from the lifecycle of migrants, who had experienced career success but was rethinking the meaning of life and moving beyond personal success.

Lifecycle influence for young returnees who were migrant workers was evident in their emotional attachment toward their parents and their intention to settle down. One of the employees of W (ME-2) was a migrant worker and originally from the scenic area where W had invested in, returned a few years ago, and started working for W. He spoke of his decision to return:

“I used to work outside for several years, I was all over the place, but I did not achieve much, I always thought about going back to develop in my hometown. I saw the development of this scenic area, I felt that the government was doing something big. I am from here, another reason is that it is close to home, I can take care of my parents. Young people like us, gradually we started to realize the importance of family, the importance of our parents, and I felt deeply about this. From I was single, working my way in big cities, to now that I have settled down with my own family and child, I felt that I have become calmer, I have changed, no matter how entertaining or great life outside is, it is better to live and work calmly and step by step, it is the most steady and sure.”

Similarly, in the case of W, his son had decided to give up his own business to assist his father in his business in Luotian. W had neither experience nor interest in the tourism industry, but he said he would like to help his father, as well as take care of his parents because they had been advancing in age. The same motivation may not be

shared by other migrant workers; compared with the returnees, many young people from the tourist towns were still working in large cities and did not return. Through several informal conversations with these people, they demonstrated a different perspective. A few of them were even married, and their children were left behind with the elderly. They only returned home occasionally. One man, whose wife and child were at home, said he did not want to return to work in tourism because it was extremely difficult and tiring for him. He would rather work in a factory in Shanghai and earn a similar amount of money. A few people expressed that working in large cities was a means of earning money; eventually, they wanted to purchase a car, build a house, or establish a small business.

For new migrant employees, working in tourism in Luotian was principally for personal development, if emotional or family connection was not involved. Newly developed tourism projects and being relocated to a new site often present a promotion or career development opportunities. Social mobility was related to the internal factor of personal development; both entrepreneurs and migrant employees have goals that are related to personal success. Young migrant employees who were relocated to Luotian to work in large corporations had shared their experience; they called it “putting off family to develop career first.” ME-3, 32 years old, who was promoted as marketing director of a resort in Luotian, shared his experience:

“In our age, it is time to develop our career, I think it was okay, a little bit of hardship but I felt fulfilled. Moreover, the company has given me a big platform, many ideas I have I could immediately implement, I really value this. Everybody has different

situations, we can't generalize from one point to a whole surface, maybe some people would pursue family life now, or settle down, I pursue more of my career, and everybody has different focus."

Personal development was not only pursued among male MEs, although they outnumber the females; several new female MEs emphasized career, whereas the traditional Chinese perspective still holds that women tend to focus more on family and domestic affairs. ME-1, 33 years old, spoke of the change in the marriage law, which had provided females and males with equal rights in marriage and encouraged women to become more economically independent.:

"We are the post-80s generation, we like to split the cost on everything, including those who are married, this means that female has economic independence, we have our own careers, I strongly agree with this, we have to be economically independent, if not, we need to ask our husbands for money, then we would have no say at home [...]. Me personally, I have a strong personality, this is my career, even when I have children I would still continue to do it, as long as I have the opportunity,[...] why there are so many economically independent women, because of the new marriage law, [...] I studied it, relying on others is not like relying on self, what I have in my hands are truly mine, now there is also a high divorce rate, if I get divorced and don't have a job, what could I do? Now I am still young I want to make more money for when I get old."

In this regard, the motivation of personal development exhibited a pursuit of social security in the experiences of the individual migrants, particularly the young migrants, whether the sense of social security was achieved by becoming entrepreneurs, settling

down to start a family, or advancing their careers. The internal motivations of mobility reflect the long-term thinking of the different groups of migrants and the variations of mobility decision making.

5.3.2.4 External influences

Employees who were not originally from Luotian moved to work in this county principally for organizational reasons. Migrant employees were relocated because of the shortage of staff members in tourism businesses in an early-stage destinations personal decision. Although the relocation may be accompanied by career or financial incentives, it was not a predominantly personal decision but an external one that was caused by organizational responsibilities. In several cases, mobility into the Luotian tourism industry was the result of family obligations. As previously discussed in the case of W and in many other tourism businesses that are family businesses by nature, a strong external motivation of family obligation to take over the family business exists for the second generation. Other cases have been cited because of the small-scale family businesses featured in most of the tourism businesses, particularly in the accommodation section, such as HFH. In Luotian, several young people returned to work for their parents, mostly intentionally. However, previously mentioned categories and themes in the decision-making process of migrants were involved as well, although several decisions were made because of external factors. The initiation of tourism supply - induced mobility in Luotian was multi-faceted. The early-stage development status of the destination, economic opportunities, and personal development advantages in tourism development were the principal reasons that attracted human mobility into tourism industries in the area.

5.3.3 Previous experience and mobility initiation

The motivations and decision making of mobility interweaved the multiple perspectives of mobility, which related the previous experience of migrants with their current tourism mobility. Except for the migrants who were employed in tourism corporations and with tourism-related educational backgrounds, all of the return MEs who returned and several new MEs did not have any tourism-related work experience or educational background. Their involvement in tourism was the result of the economic prospects shown in the current development of tourism in Luotian; thus, it was largely contingent. However, the situation of EMs was different from that of MEs because the amount of investment and resources required was larger and the risk of investing in an early-stage destination was higher. Several EMs had previous experiences in tourism relationships, which considerably contributed to the idea formation of the new tourism businesses and the start-up process. In the case of W, he previously worked in the construction business and was involved with the construction of numerous theme parks in another province, through which he built his initial understanding of tourism projects and his networks with the theme parks. In his work in Luotian, his previous contact was often referred to while he was developing the scenic sites.

In the case of H, he was engaged in the home textile business, which was not related to tourism. However, he was living in a city in southwestern China, where agritourism had a long history and development success. He had many contacts with the agritourism projects there, and he consulted them frequently for his agritourism park in Luotian. Moreover, H developed dealers in the other city for the distribution chain of his agricultural products. In other cases, several entrepreneurs had other small-scale tourism

businesses elsewhere; a few had been involved with hotels, interior design, natural resource trade, etc. The previous experiences had not only provided migrants with confidence in the prospects of tourism industries, but also allowed them to acquire practical experiences and social connections that can support them in future tourism development.

The perception on tourism industries appeared to be consistent from the different groups of informants. Tourism was perceived to have an immense potential for economic growth, particularly in an early-stage destination, such as Luotian. In the study on mobility into tourism in a transitional economy conducted in Hungary (Szivas & Riley, 1999), tourism has evidently become a refuge for labor workers while other economic industries were in decline; the intrinsic merits of a tourism-related job overcame its low income to provide satisfaction. In a later study attempted to replicate the previous one in the United Kingdom, researchers determined similar results related to the motivation of labor mobility into tourism and identified no significant difference in urban and rural mobilities (Szivas, Riley, & Airey, 2003). In the Danish tourism industry, a high retention rate for employees with professional education was evident, but the risk of losing labor workers to neighboring industries was high as well (Hjalager & Andersen, 2001). The issue of whether tourism can be a professional career or simply contingent work is lacking in understanding (Hjalager & Andersen, 2001).

In the current study, the discussion is based on geographical mobility, and the inward labor/entrepreneurial mobility to tourism industries is also revealed. The findings of the aforementioned studies may only apply partially in the Luotian case in rural China. The

mobility of entrepreneurs into tourism industries can be justified by the transition of the economy and the movement of the market demand toward a more experienced economy in China. Moreover, entrepreneurs who move from the retail business appeared to have experienced pressure from the mass and rapid overflow of online shopping and logistics. The nature of tourism industries that were perceived as green and experience-based, as well as the satellite effects on the other sectors, was the major reason behind the mobility. For tourism employees, new migrant employees were primarily at the management or director level with proper tourism educational background; their previous non-tourism experiences were related to marketing, education, government jobs, and so on. In these cases, education and skills were transferrable; they had built a tourism career. For younger, mostly return migrant workers in tourism, the initiation of obtaining a tourism job appeared to be by chance, instead of by choice, leaning toward a contingency rather than a career.

5.3.4 Interest vs. chance

Interest and chance played an important role in the mobility initiation of both EMs and MEs. For EMs, the interest in tourism came from personal experiences and interest in nature, recreation, agriculture, and other related fields. For example, EM-5 said he had a strong interest in horticulture and had always wanted to be involved with nature and trees. Moreover, the interest of H in home textile and the quality of lifestyle provided latent connections with the tourism industry. Another EM demonstrated his interest in agriculture while growing up; he would like to promote the traditional agriculture through agritourism. Therefore, the explicitly stated motivations were not the factors that completely drove the individuals to be involved in tourism; latent and implicit

connections were also shown between personal interests and the entrepreneurial and mobility decisions.

However, the interest among MEs to work in tourism in Luotian was less common. The lack of control and autonomy on professional choices made employment and mobility a less deliberate choice. Even as a tourist, the previous involvement in tourism was fairly low among MEs. Several MEs were not interested in the tourism industries at all; employment was meant to provide a means for survival. However, interest in the industry can be provoked and accumulated through working experiences. ME-7 was a returnee; she explained her experiences as follows:

“When we chose the job, many people did not understand. Many of my classmates who graduated in the same year, chose to start their own small businesses, or work in government departments. I chose to work here, they did not understand, why you worked there, there was no high salary, about 2000 yuan per month, we felt that we simply like working in tourism. Like when you asked if I like working here or working in tourism, for me I really like working in tourism. We don’t have any entertainment activities here, but we are a big group of people, like a big family, it is warm and happy, no matter what we do, we work together as a team, in general I feel good working here. I used to work in Zhuhai as a secretary in a company, I made more money then for sure, but I was away from home, there was always a lack of the sense of belonging, now I am close to home, everything is good.”

Depending on the actual experiences, MEs may or may not have a personal interest in the industry. However, no strong connection with lifestyle motivations exists among

MEs. In contrast to more developed and well-known destinations, working in tourism may be purposively a lifestyle decision. Moreover, lifestyle motivations were not indicative of the initiation experiences of an EM.

The mobility initiation to Luotian was a mix of interest and chance. The decision-making mechanism involved economic and socio-cultural factors, as well as internal and external influences. The specifics of this mobility after initiation are discussed in the later chapters. However, several theoretical implications can be drawn from the findings in relation to the social capital concept.

5.4 Role of Social Capital in Mobility Initiation

The social capital concept in this study was primarily adopted as an influencing factor instead of an outcome. As summarized in the conceptual guide, the social capital dimensions in this study were institutional support, community openness, and personal social networks. From an open-ended approach of eliciting stories and narratives from the participants, several social capital aspects were demonstrated to be significant in their initiation of tourism mobility into Luotian. The most important aspect in social capital appeared to be institutional support. In this regard, institutional support refers to the overall tourism emphasis and policy direction in the local and national levels of government institutions. The action of the government appeared to be important in directing political and economic resources into tourism development. Local government support of entrepreneurs in starting their tourism businesses in terms of policy incentives on land price, assistance in land negotiation, economic incentives on HFH businesses,

and elimination of administrative formalities had imposed strong positive outcomes in mobility initiation.

To date, no study in the Western context has examined the social capital effects on human mobility in tourism; however, the study of Zhao et al. (2011) conducted in China identified the positive relationships between social capital and tourism entrepreneurship, which has been supported by the findings of the current study. Although the previous study did not consider the issue of mobility, mobility decisions are closely linked with tourism development in the current study; therefore, an intertwined experience emerges that requires the same decision-making process. The findings may not be comparable with other studies that employed the traditional social capital constructs because of the different dimensions of social capital used in the present study, which aimed to utilize social capital in a more practical and contextual manner. In this study, the institutional support appeared to be weak in attracting return migrant workers to be employed in tourism or to start tourism businesses. No specific actions were aimed to assist this group other than the general employment training offered by the local human resources authorities.

Community openness did not appear to be an important factor in the initiation of the involvement of migrants in the Luotian tourism development. However, such openness did appear to show a positive image of the Luotian hospitality in welcoming tourism investments, principally through the government attitude toward investors from developed areas. The role of personal social networks should not be neglected; several returnees found their tourism-related jobs through social contacts in the community.

Moreover, numerous entrepreneurs identified their tourism projects with the involvement of social contacts; personal networks were important factors in the initiation experiences. In the case of H, before he decided to invest in Luotian, he was introduced to many government officials and respected community members in the county, with whom he had become acquainted and built a *shouren* guanxi. H was confident in his investment, partially because his contacts had provided information and promised to assist in his project.

All of the three social capital aspects had induced various influences on the initiation of mobility; however, they did not appear to significantly control the mobility outcomes. In addition, the social capital aspects were reflected in the motivation and decision-making categories that emerged from the data. The willingness to contribute to the local community could be included as a social capital as well. However, this study only considers social capital as an external factor. Other than personal characteristics or beliefs, placing the emotional connection under the cultural or human capital concept is more suitable. Institutional and policy support toward the entrepreneurial mobility is likely to generate economic gain. In this regard, social capital is closely linked with economic capital, which was the major motivation for tourism supply-induced mobility. In the Luotian case, if taking social capital as the outcome, then the tourism supply-induced mobility phenomenon indicated social capital growth, which is discussed in detail in the experiences and outcomes of such mobility in later chapters.

5.5 Weberian Application to Mobility Initiation

Upon discussing the initiation of tourism supply-induced mobility with the social capital concept, other theoretical connections can be made as well. One theoretical application is the formal and substantive rationality of Max Weber (McGehee & Kim, 2004; McGehee, 2007). As previously considered to examine the agritourism motivation in the United States, substantive and formal rationality explains the choices and styles of the operation of agritourism entrepreneurs (McGehee & Kim, 2004; McGehee, 2007). The characteristics that define formal and substantive rationality were included in the current study. Formal rationality involves the rational calculation of means to ends based on universally applied rules, regulations, and laws (Kalberg, 1980). Formal rationality is institutionalized in such large-scale structures as the bureaucracy, modern law, and the capitalist economy; meanwhile, substantive rationality refers to the values, ethics, and norms that could not be quantitatively calculable. Our everyday rational economy provides needs for survival and financial growth; however, certain needs are necessary to maintain morality, equal opportunities, community development, and so forth.

Formal and substantive rationality comprise the most common tension in social economic organizations; both are determinants of the choices from means to ends (Weber, 2009). In the original essay of Weber, the application of formal and substantive rationality was on a structural level and the tensions between them. As in economic activities, high formal rationality can only be attained under certain conditions of substantive rationality, but may be in conflict with the standards of substantive rationality as well. A reciprocal conflict exists between formal and substantive

rationality. In tourism development, the tension similarly exists, as McGehee (2007) explains:

“[...] When tourism stakeholders are endeavoring to develop the industry around the principles of sustainable tourism – there is a basic need for financial success, but that success needs to happen in a way that is long-term, equitable, and in concert with the environmental and social ideologies of sustainability” (p. 113).

Weber has pursued his social structural concepts on a capitalist ground; the concepts of formal and substantive rationality have a premise that applies in the free-market economy. In the case of China, which is undergoing economic and social reforms, the free-market economy has emerged as well; the application of the theory of Weber in this case is not surprising.

In the application and extension of the theory of Weber, social researchers have examined organizational and personal actions using formal and substantive rationality. For example, in the discussion of health lifestyles, the concept of Weber has contributed in shaping and operationalizing health lifestyles (Cockerham, Abel, & Lüschen, 1993). In addition, the rational approach of decision-making has been applied in contemporary psychology; it principally refers to making choices based on the rational calculation of possible outcomes. McGehee and Kim (2004) applied formal and substantive rationality in the motivation of agritourism entrepreneurship and identified a set of attributes that primarily indicate economic motivations and the socio-cultural motivations of agritourism entrepreneurship. The dimensions of formal and substantive rationality do not only contribute to the motivations of agritourism entrepreneurship, but also form the

outcomes of entrepreneurship, which aim to achieve formal and substantive success in society.

In this study, both entrepreneurial and non-entrepreneurial motivations were identified to have formal and substantive aspects. In an early review of entrepreneurial motivations, a few key factors were identified in an extensive entrepreneurial research, namely, need for achievement, risk taking, tolerance for ambiguity, locus of control, self-efficacy, goal setting, independence, drive, and egoistic passion (Shane, Locke, & Collins, 2003). The authors suggested that prior studies focused on the macro environment and entrepreneurial opportunities in examining entrepreneurial motivation, whereas a more individual-oriented approach seemed to be more relevant and necessary. From the review of Ateljevic and Li (2009) of entrepreneurship studies, the notion of charisma of Weber similarly contributed to the theoretical foundation of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship motivation has been a major driver and a significant element of entrepreneurship components; however, the question on why certain people are more entrepreneurial than others is linked with individual personality (Huijbens, Hjalager, Björk, Nordin, & Flagestad, 2009). In the present study, entrepreneurship itself represented autonomy, innovation, and economic opportunities; the entrepreneurial opportunities motivated mobility. The mobility and the entrepreneurial decisions, as combined, followed the substantive and formal processes of decision-making. This study presented several categories of motivations related to the motivation of migrant employees; while the decision-making of employees was more individualistic, the theory of Weber applies to both entrepreneurs and employees.

The experiences of migrant entrepreneurs and employees in Luotian indicated that the economic and socio-cultural aspects were intermittent; the decision making of social, geographical, and organizational mobilities was inter-connected as well. For several participants, a process of balancing formal and substantive rationality (the win-win statement) was evident. Several researchers had prioritized either formal or substantial rationality, economic and career growth, or the value of family and community. The stories of W and H presented their respective choices of leaving a comfort zone to pursue economic gain, and eventually returning for the benefit of the community. In a few cases, including the stories of W and H, formal rationality was entangled with substantive rationality. The decision of being involved in local tourism development appeared to be a formal decision with substantive references because of the image of the tourism industries as protectors of ecological resources and sustainable energy. In another perspective, the formal decision may not be strongly presented to protect the personal image of individuals who, in the Chinese culture, did not wish to be shown as money-driven or greedy. One of the informants blatantly said in his interview that rich people were “bastards with loads of money,” although he himself was a successful businessman. The entrepreneurs involved in this study were significantly emphasizing the socio-cultural dimensions of their decision, while using indirect expressions in describing the economic and financial dimension. Hence, the decisions of mobility could not be easily revealed and interpreted.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings related to the initiation of tourism supply-induced mobility from the standpoint of individual experiences, which featured the stories of two

migrant entrepreneurs, W and H, and of other participants. In the Luotian case, the participants were determined to have various motivations and decision-making experiences from the three perspectives of mobility, namely, geographical, organizational, and social. The motivations were categorized as economic opportunities, socio-cultural motivation, internal motivation, and external influences. The categories were used to address the experiences of both entrepreneurial migrants and migrant employees, but the differences and variations were explained as well. Upon the presentation of the findings, connections were made to previous studies, and the theoretical linkages with social capital and the formal and substantive rationality of Weber were identified. Although the three dimensions of social capital from the institutional, community, and personal aspects were all shown to affect the initiation of mobility, institutional and personal influences appeared to be the strongest and further influenced the experiences of migrants. Formal and substantive rationality appeared to influence the decision-making process of migrants. These findings resonate with previous studies on agritourism entrepreneurs and shed light on the same theoretical implication on the experiences of mobile tourism employees.

Chapter 6 adopts an organizational perspective to examine the experiences of tourism projects and businesses, in which the participants of this study were involved. Individual experiences always reflect the path and development of the organizations they represent. The subsequent chapter provides a context of how tourism projects and businesses were initiated in Luotian, particularly in the government-led Attracting Investment scheme. Internal or external investment, the exogenous and endogenous development approach,

will be discussed. The initiation process provides significant practical implications for sustainable tourism development.

Chapter 6

Establishing Tourism Projects in an Early-stage Destination

6.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter adopts an organizational approach to examine the tourism development processes related to the mobility of the tourism participants. An individual tends to take social actions beyond personal grasp, and individual behaviors are often organizationally embedded. Most of the entrepreneurs and migrant employees in this study work for newly established tourism projects or businesses in Luotian. The stories of the individuals reflect on the organizational development of their affiliated projects or businesses and the overall development of Luotian. The following sections of this chapter introduce the institutional and political contexts that situate many of these projects, including the Attracting Investment (AI) scheme in Luotian and the evaluations of the AI practices from the participants in this study. More specific attention was given to the establishment of the tourism projects, as well as the discussions on inviting internal or external investors for these projects, followed by the discussion on exogenous and endogenous development approaches related to the Luotian case. This chapter only presents the start-up and establishment stages of the projects involved in this study. The operationalization and implementation of the projects are discussed along with the experiences of individuals in the subsequent chapter. This chapter focuses on the process of medium-to-large-scale projects that are involved in the AI scheme. These projects render extensive macro effects on the local tourism

development. The experiences of small businesses are discussed separately in terms of community-based tourism development in Luotian.

6.2 AI Practices in the Tourism Development of Luotian

Numerous previous investments failed in Luotian. The major reason for such failure was the lack of a strategic plan for local economic development from the previous leadership team in the local government, which merely aimed to develop secondary industries. Luotian lacked a sophisticated system and product chain for these industries; thus, the investors could not effectively distribute their products. However, the current leadership team was aiming to develop a tourism and ecological economy based on natural products. The countywide tourism development plan supported the AI of tourism-related investments. Overall, the AI practice has created an infamous image and raised deeper issues related to the drawbacks of the administrative and regulatory systems, which are beyond the scope of this study. Several large-scale tourism projects, primarily the development of scenic sites, resorts, and tourist activities, were under the AI practice.

In several developing areas in China, the government has set goals to attract investments to develop the local economy. Thus, the administrative departments are responsible for fulfilling the required number of investments and assist the attracted investors to implement their projects. The AI scheme is an indication of economic mobility and the immense income gap between the developed and non-developed areas in China. The AI practice has received numerous criticisms because the local governments offer extremely low land price and tax benefits to investors, which spur

excessive competition, opportunistic behaviors, and illegal activities (Yu & Xu, 2003). The benefits for the local community are often ignored, and corruption and bribery occur as well (Li, 2009). However, large-scale projects provide taxes to the government, jobs for the local people, development of related businesses and industries, and other economic benefits. With the problems being acknowledged, the AI practices currently remain as important government activities and evaluation criteria for political achievements in numerous less developed counties; Luotian is not an exception.

6.2.1 Guidelines for AI

In China, the county-level government has annual plans for economic growth, which are evaluated based on GDP. According to an August 2014 Tencent News report in China, approximately 70 counties and cities in China have recently changed the evaluating criteria from GDP to more environmental and livelihood-directed items (“Over 70 Chinese”, 2014). However, more than 1,000 Chinese counties and cities continue to use GDP as a primary tool for evaluating political success and the distribution of public resources. In Luotian, the emphasis on AI originates from the annual plan; the investment attracted should be in accordance with the development direction. In 2002, an industrial park was established to invite manufacturing businesses to build factories in Luotian. The local government had leveled unused rural land, which destroyed natural resources in the process, and converted it to construction land for potential leasing opportunities. Low land prices were set to attract investors. The industrial park became an administrative unit and continued to serve the companies and factories in the park. At the time of writing this thesis, more than 50 factories have been built in the industrial park, ranging from textile manufacturing, furniture, to electronics.

The guidelines for AI were principally determined by the political agenda of the government. The previous leadership team developed the industrial park; meanwhile, the AI activities were focused on attracting factories to lease the land. With the development of the real estate industry, land-trade became an important activity to attract real estate developers.

Li (2010) explained that land-based AI has been dominant in central and western China. Among the numerous disadvantages of land-based AI that emerged include the lack of further investments on land-based projects, the lack of knowledge of the government AI team in terms of land-based projects, the low land price being offered, the pursuit of short-term tax benefits, the lack of consistency of land-based AI policy, and land-based AI policy as a source of waste of land resources. Land-based AI should be regulated and scientifically planned to preserve land resources. The land-based AI issues appeared in Luotian as well; several investors leased the land and built office buildings but left them empty and did not operate at all. However, the situation has improved in recent years because the central government land policies became stricter. In Luotian, the current leadership team proposed a strategic development plan based on natural and cultural resources. Led by the government and various departments, as well as private businesses and companies that were invited to participate, the strategic goal was to build the county based on ecological resources, strengthen the county via secondary industries, boost the county by developing tourism, and harmonize the county by promoting the livelihood of people. The development plan ensured the direction of the AI practices and promoted tourism-related AI activities.

The AI practices on tourism investments and projects were prioritized since tourism appeared on the major political agenda as an important direction of development in 2005. In developing tourism in Luotian, numerous projects have been attracted to invest under the AI scheme. However, some projects failed along the way, whereas a few others remained. W's project is one of the longest operating projects in the tourism industry in Luotian that remains in good standing, whereas H's project is one of the newest. The two projects are the typical ones in tourism AI projects in Luotian. Both projects have received attention and interest from local and higher level governments, as well as the local community. The answers to the questions related to the type of investment and what to invest in were largely determined by the plan and vision of the local government. The following sub-sections discuss the establishment procedures of the tourism projects involved in this study. The cases of W and H will continue to be used.

6.2.2 Establishment of tourism projects in Luotian

The establishment process has variations based on the size of the tourism projects. Significant differences were determined between medium- to large-scale projects and small-scale tourism businesses, which were mostly the result of the involvement of natural resources, such as land, forests, water, and so forth, in large-scale projects. For small-scale businesses, the acquisition of land and resources principally relied on business exchanges and formal regulations. These businesses were often not up to the scale requirement under the AI scheme; therefore, they could not benefit from the favorable policies. The two types of establishment style determined in the AI tourism practices in Luotian were project-led and investor-led. Project-led investment refers to

the government planning of tourism projects with infrastructure, and invites investors to simply put money in and develop tourist activities, accommodation, or other related services. Investor-led investment is spearheaded by the investor. Although no initial project is available, the investor initiates and applies for a project through the local government. The projects involved in this study had both types of establishment. In either style, the project plan is required for government assessment.

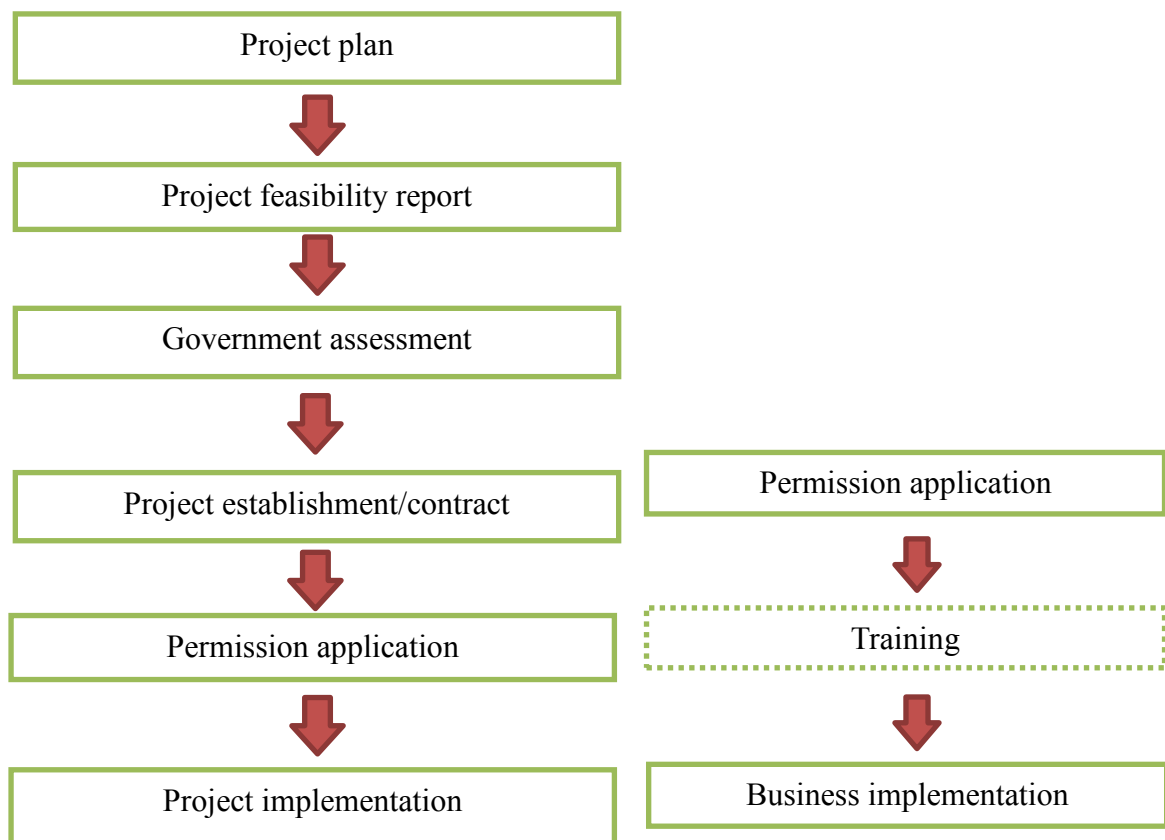


Figure 6.1 Procedures of establishment of Tourism projects and small-scale businesses
(Source: Author)

The general procedures of establishing tourism projects and businesses are presented in Figure 6.1. Large-scale projects often involved the proposal of a plan and submission

of a feasibility report to the government. The government departments in charge of various items in the report would assess the viability and potential risks of the project. If the project plan passed the assessment, then the government would sign a contract with the project developer before the implementation occurred. Small tourism businesses, which were mostly accommodation-related, were only required to obtain permission from the government departments in charge of business administration, health and hygiene, tax, and others. In the Luotian case, the operation of HFH businesses was strongly encouraged. The local tourism bureau was providing training programs and assisting entrepreneurs to obtain various permits.

Although the informants involved in the AI practices were not specified, the stories of W and H from the previous chapter were able to demonstrate how individual decisions were made and how the projects landed in Luotian from the perspective of the investors/entrepreneurs. The following subsection on the establishment of the tourism projects presents the experiences of the receiving end, the government officials, to describe the institutional effort in attracting tourism investments.

6.2.2.1 Match-making

The AI practices started as a marketing process of the destination, not to tourists but to developers or the people with money. The AI bureau is in charge of marketing Luotian, inviting investors to visit, and arranging meetings with key government officials, among others. Promoting the tourism projects often involved extensive sightseeing and project introduction. In addition, government agencies used online media and offline events (i.e., exhibitions) to market Luotian. However, the participants

in this study shared that the most effective mode of AI is through social contact. LG-3 called it a “match-making” process, and the social contacts were “match-makers”:

“For AI we go out to promote our town, we found a few investors but the negotiation did not go well, [...], the AI mostly still rely on acquaintances. If you go to a place and nobody knows you there, how can you look for investors, so it is more about meeting people through acquaintances, or to go to a social dinner, you may meet someone there and have a chat [...], there are successes if you knock on doors, but the key problem is information asymmetry, who are you looking for, how do you bridge the contact, through what channel, it is like two people in a relationship, you both have standards for the other half, the two people meet the other’s standard quite well, but they don’t know each other. In old times we have match-makers, now we have mass blind dates, it is like attracting investments, acquaintances are match-makers, the exhibits and promotional events are mass blind dates.”

From the stories of W and H, both had social contacts to connect with local government officials. The analogy of match-making fits the scenario. In reality, personalizing Luotian meant that its standards of finding the suitable partner had changed over time, developing tourism undoubtedly revealed its natural beauty, and more admirers had come along. LG-4, an AI official, explained that a shift occurred from simply attracting investors to carefully selecting investors. LG-4 described the process of hosting potential investors:

“Tourism projects were set by the government according to our resources, and we prepare PowerPoint slides to introduce to investors, and host them, and ask what kind

of project they are interested in. If they want to invest in tourism, we show them to the sites. But now we are more cautious, some are sincere and really want to invest, we pay attention and host them cordially, some people just come to look around, we don't welcome people like that, because developing resources is related to damaging the environment, it is difficult to keep the original condition afterwards. It is like a house, if it is just built, you can decorate as you want, once it is decorated, it is difficult to change."

Officials emphasized the importance of having a project and a plan for development, and then the AI practice should follow to find investors. This process is similar to match-making in the old times, in which having a common goal (marriage) and a legislative framework (mutual commitment) is important. The local government provides the projects, and both the local government and the investors should have mutual commitment and common interest in developing this project. The local tourism master plan serves as a legislative document to monitor and regulate the tourism development activities. In reality, a few projects that were not in the master plan were being developed by the investors, who had fairly high flexibility to modify the project plan. Another local government official (LG-2) expressed his opinion on inviting investors for a persimmon park project in the early AI stage:

"Our village has no proper roads, which is a good thing, usually places that have abundant tourism resources also have good ecological environment, and they are poor places, not rich places, therefore at the beginning it needs to be well managed, where modern roads are not appropriate we cannot built modern roads, [...] it is so much

worth it to be developed, the village, so beautiful, we want to build the only persimmon park in the world, I did my research, persimmons only are famous in three places, one place in Japan, one in Taiwan, and here. For persimmon village, attracting investment is essential, but it needs to plan first, after planning and assessment, and then we attract investors, we have such good resources, it needs big investments, but it has to follow the plan [...], if there is no plan, I can't invite investment. If I allow you to come in, you dig how you wish; damaging a hill is so much easier than building a hill, the cost is unaffordable."

Analyzing the opinions of the local government and the local community revealed that AI was important in driving local tourism development. However, proper planning needed to be initially conducted and the AI practices had to follow the guidelines of the project plan. In the cases of W and H, they appeared to be project-led and investor-led, respectively. W's first tourism project was the development of a cable car system in a scenic site, which was in the tourism plan of the site. He was invited to visit the area to decide whether to invest. H decided on his investment without previous knowledge of the tourism projects planned for Luotian. However, his idea of an agricultural park was in accordance with the government plan; therefore, his project was approved and supported by the government. H's project was at an early-construction stage. W's project operated for 10 years and it proved to be successful and contributed to the site development.

6.2.2.2 Mutual hospitality

In the match-making process, investigations must be conducted to determine investor ability and ensure transparency. In all of the AI processes, investors were invited to investigate the resources, development situation, local culture, and various aspects of Luotian. Local government officials were invited by the investors to visit the latter's established tourism projects and other businesses to demonstrate their ability to handle a new tourism project. Government funds and taxpayer money were used to host the potential investors in Luotian. In return, the investors host the government officials to where the former's major businesses were. Mutual hospitality was expected and considered a gesture of being valued by the other party. Furthermore, such hospitality was perceived as a form of getting to know each other or a bonding process. Before becoming involved with tourism supply in Luotian, external investors were essentially business tourists, but their aim was to evaluate tourism resources and potentials. The investor's tourist experience and the final decision to invest have no direct link. This aspect could be examined as a future research topic.

Business hospitality was perceived as an excessive formality and a waste of money. Thus, the investigation stage and the expression of mutual hospitality may not result in successful AI projects. From the investor perspective, the local government, which controlled all of the resources, may decline the investment proposal of the investor if the latter did not invite the former for a visit. This scenario holds true even if the financial ability of the investor was presented.

LC-1, who was a local entrepreneur, and his friend from a more developed province intended to invest in tourism in Luotian. He had collected 200 million yuan to deposit in the local bank and was ready to find a project:

“The government didn’t give us a project, they asked us to look for projects by ourselves, I helped to run around ask people, and finally I thought this was not going to work, there are people here to invest money but there is no project. For businessman, profit and efficiency are important; they won’t invest in non-profit projects. The projects that are now inviting investments are not the good ones, they can’t make money, the good ones government keeps to themselves, but they don’t have money to start. The government go out to look for investors, they always expect the investors to pay and to cater them, my friend came here by himself and because of me, the government may think that he did not invite them to visit his city, so when he came they did nothing, they were not enthusiastic, but it should be reasonable for the government to show hospitality to him when he was willing to invest.”

All of the investors and entrepreneurs in this study were connected with projects; therefore, determining the experiences of a failed case was interesting. In the AI practice, the relationship between the local government and the investors was contested; the government controlled the resources and projects, whereas the investors had financial capital to realize the projects and earn profit. The AI process was not merely business-directed because numerous cultural nuances were involved. Mutual hospitality demonstrated the business culture in China and the role of taking time and effort to build mutual guanxi in such culture. In the investigation stage, the external investors who

already signed project contracts with the government all hosted government officials in their main residences. In this process, the *guanxi* relationship shifted from a business relationship to a personal and social one. The hosting hospitality continued from the investor as a reciprocal action for the favors that the government officials had provided. A government official visited the city where H's main business was located. Although H was in Luotian, he made a phone call to his staff member in the city to meet the official, pay for his group's accommodation, and invite them to dinner. The same situation was experienced by W. From the observation of the researcher, this scenario was a common phenomenon in China. Further studies could be conducted on this unique form of VFR tourism.

6.2.2.3 Negotiation

Negotiating the terms of an AI contract was the most important process, which primarily involved the rights and responsibilities of both the government and the investors. The specifics of negotiating and signing contracts were not examined in detail in this study because the contract was private property, which the researcher could not access. However, several aspects of the AI contract that were open information presented a few notable features and characteristics of organizational behavior. The major benefits offered by the government to the investors were tax benefits and land price. In the case of Corporate F, a 30-year contract was signed to lease the forestry park, and the operational tax for the first three years was waived. Similar incentives were provided for many land-based projects. For non-land based projects, such as H's project, the government offered to level the farmland, build roads, and provide an electricity system and other infrastructure. The case of W was a recent one because he

was one of the earliest tourism investors in Luotian. At the time of his investment, the only three-star hotel in the county was in the process of converting ownership from public to private. The government had sold him the hotel at a low price and signed a collaborative contract to use it as the major hotel for government guests.

The aforementioned investment was risky for W at the time because Luotian did not have a tourism industry. Therefore, numerous community members perceived the purchase of the hotel as eliminating investment risk because property price was starting to increase in 2004; purchasing the hotel would secure cash flow and profit growth. However, W himself regarded such investment as necessary because a hotel was beneficial if he desired to be involved in tourism. A similar phenomenon emerged in a more recent case involving Corporate T. In agreeing to invest in a large ancient town project in FS town, Corporate T requested the management right of the main scenic site in Luotian. The government had signed a management contract because Corporate T promised to invest 5 billion yuan in the ancient town project. From the corporate perspective, Luotian was not a well-established destination, and developing an ancient town, despite the limited local consuming power, was a risky investment. The scenic site had been developed for more than a decade and had a stable number of annual tourist arrivals; obtaining the management right and sharing revenue with the government was meant to ensure the profit gain. The Corporate T case is discussed further as a controversial one because of the mixed voices from the local community on its involvement in the tourism development of Luotian.

The negotiation process was a preparation for signing a contract in the AI practices; the contract between the investors and the local government was legally enforced. For the investors, they showed business strategies in the negotiation to compensate the long-term investment and slow return for tourism projects in an early-stage destination. However, both the government and the investors may experience unresolved issues and terminate the contract. Problems and disputes emerged in implementing the AI projects, but signing the contract with the AI resources meant that the government was gradually releasing public resources to be managed by private companies and letting them handle the growing tourism market. Legal and political developments had progressed in China in the last decade. In Luotian, a growth in legalizing and regulating the AI activities was evident. More projects had to undergo public assessment and follow a standard procedure. With the development of online technology, information on AI projects was shared in the official local website to invite community discussion. However, the degree of community participation in the negotiation process was fairly low.

6.2.3 Controversial cases

Several controversial cases were identified in this study, as revealed and discussed by the participants. Two AI investors, namely, Corporate F and Corporate T, were involved and used as discussion cases. Corporate T and Corporate F were invited to invest in Luotian's tourism development in 2010 and 2013, respectively. The story of Corporate T was briefly introduced in the previous sub-section. Corporate F was the first specialized tourism development company to be involved in Luotian. This company signed up two projects to develop, namely, one scenic site and one hot-spring spa resort (a and b, respectively). At the time of the writing of this paper, the second project had

started construction. Corporate F was invited by the local government to invest in Luotian tourism because the former was a tourism developing company from Wuhan with several successfully developed tourism sightseeing locations in the province. The scenic site was developed and opened to tourists in May 2013. This project, which was initially planned with and approved by the government, aimed to improve the infrastructure and tourist services in a local forest park. Corporate F was given permission to build a four-star hotel in the park. In the second year, the company built the hotel, as well as apartment buildings, and started selling them as vacation homes to urban residents.

Corporate F had received both land and tax benefits from the government; however, building the vacation apartments was not planned as part of the local tourism development. Although the involvement of Corporate F was in accordance with the overall tourism plan, the real estate development was not regarded as a sustainable means of protecting the natural resources of the county. Corporate F appeared in numerous discussions with the informants, which showed mixed feelings toward the actions undertaken by the former in developing the site. The community attitude was generally negative toward constructing apartment buildings in a forest park but positive toward the marketing effort and contemporary management style of the site, which brought many tourists to Luotian. The government expressed regrets in the lack of control on the issue of the excessive pursuit of real estate profits by private companies rather than improving tourism qualities:

“I feel that after signing the management contract, the company should put the effort on the site, try to upgrade the taste of the product and promote cultural values, we would definitely clap our hands and be pleased, but if their only goal is to make money, all they do is selling apartments, and ignoring the site, we don’t support in this way, in fact this is what they did (Corporate F). I don’t know what will happen with Corporate T, we look forward to it, but we don’t have much say on it once the site is given to them.” (LG-5, Association of culture and arts)

One high-ranking local government official (LG-1) shared the complexities in the course of inviting Corporate T to Luotian:

“We worked on it for half a year to attract them to invest, at that time inside the leadership team we did not reach an agreement, all of us were invited to visit their successful project in Yunnan, so we could reach an agreement and support this. I was strongly against giving them our major scenic site, but there was no way, if they develop an ancient town they need the site as a carrier, so we gave it to them in reluctance. But the company is good, they are experts, and good at marketing, in the future it would be good for tourism in Luotian, [...]. The ancient town they are developing, has a part of real estate, but now in China, all tourism related investments do, there is no pure tourism companies, because the investment is long-term, they won’t do it, [...], they develop real estate, it is faster, they need to feed the long-term investment with the short-term revenue, otherwise nobody would come to invest.”

The decision to sign management and AI contracts with Corporate T was based on the preferences and judgment of the leadership team. Although Corporate T had built

several successful ancient towns throughout China for tourism purposes, the major focus of the company was to sell apartments and shops in the county. Its business plan was to principally build commercial areas and construct recreational cultural spaces for both locals and tourists. One of the Corporate T senior managers explained that the tourism function of the company site was potentially to add value to the real estate, in which the profit earned may further enhance the tourism service and product onsite. The large-scale investment prompted the local government officials and the community members to express high expectations on Corporate T and the project to drive local tourism development. However, the local government was criticized for offering an extremely low land price; as one informant said, “They were stepping on the red line.” Such action of the local government was against the land policy of the central government. Both cases illustrated that several tourism developers expanded their investment toward holiday real estate and the vacation home market. In addition, they shifted the location to less developed areas with tourism potential and the opportunity to benefit on low land price.

From the destination perspective, both cases received criticisms for the intention to develop real estate and ignore tourism development. The case of Corporate F was developed and opened to tourists, and the positive effect was acknowledged as well. Based on the statement of LG-1, the intention to develop real estate was reasonable for tourism investors. The supporting voices from the local community indicated an understanding of the profit-oriented business nature and viewed the positive influences that these large projects may bring to Luotian. One community member said:

“Originally I thought Corporate F was going to develop the site for sightseeing, but business people are all the same, they seek profit. They saw that the tourist arrivals were not up to their expectations, there was no value to gain, and maybe the site was not at that stage yet. They found some loopholes to do that (selling apartments), without damaging the natural scenery, at the beginning they only converted abandoned hotels to apartment buildings, they did not damage the scenery, they only needed to be regulated. At first I did not understand, I felt that it was too commercialized; it was like so different from what I imagined. But I felt again, they had a systematic plan, they proposed this concept of vacationing and owning apartments in a tourist site, it was on one aspect upgrading Luotian’s tourism quality. It felt like people now see this place as a place for treatment and holiday, so it was not totally bad, there were both pros and cons.” (ME-I, tourism employee)

In many tourist destinations in China, the tourism real estate phenomenon is common in cities, such as Sanya, Beijing, and Shenzhen, where many properties have been developed for such purpose. However, the definition of tourism real estate was unclear because most of the discussions in the Chinese tourism literature view tourism real estate as vacationing and holiday housing (He, 2006; Xu, 2006). Furthermore, tourism real estate developers have been widely recognized as exhibiting opportunistic behavior characteristics (Bao & Zuo, 2008; He, 2006). The boundary between tourism and real estate developers is vague. A less developed county such as Luotian had property developers acquiring land in the name of tourism development; other areas and tourist destinations in China also experience similar issues. However, this study was unable to present a strong evidence of opportunistic behaviors in the cases in Luotian. However,

the low land price was evidently the major factor considered by the controversial investors. The tourism real estate industries were at an early stage throughout China, in which numerous projects failed (He, 2006). The focus of the current study was not on the development of tourism real estate industry but the cases in Luotian, which reflect the problems of lack of regulation on the management and industrialization of tourism real estate development.

To view the cases of Corporate T and Corporate F as tourism-related AI cases, one key relationship throughout the process of establishing AI tourism project was that between corporate investors and the local government. The major issue was the lack of regulation on tourism-related AI practices, as indicated by the role of land policy in these practices. In China, rural land is divided as rural farmland and rural construction land. The tourism industries in China include a wide range of projects and activities, and many of them require land for constructing sites. These projects with tourism real estate development were in the category of developing resorts, towns, or theme parks, which aimed to convert the original farmland to construction land. The conversion of tourism sites into real estate sites was attributed to the fact that urban land for construction was extremely costly to develop nowadays; engaging in tourism projects can acquire cheaper rural construction land for the developers. However, projects that use rural farmland to develop agritourism were incapable of acquiring large construction land; therefore, developing agritourism could be a means of controlling the opportunistic behavior of investors.

The master tourism development plan of Luotian was reviewed and the projects that Corporate F was developing were listed on the plan, which was drafted in 2011. However, the list of potential projects for tourism development excluded the one Corporate T is developing. Therefore, the development of tourism projects was a contingent act; the feasibility and potential effects of such a project were not assessed. Another issue was that the lack of market research on the buyer markets of tourism real estate in Luotian; hence, the future success of these projects was in question. Therefore, the issue of whether the potential economic and social outcomes brought by these projects offset the benefits (resources, low land price, etc.) given to the investors was uncertain.

6.3 Evaluation of AI in Luotian

The participants in this study shared their views on the existing tourism and other AI projects in Luotian. The participants of this study expressed different opinions on the AI practice. Although this study examines the tourism-related AI practice, the context of an overall AI experience is also important.

6.3.1 Community perception on the overall AI practice in Luotian

From 10 years ago, significant changes in the AI policy and the type of industries invited to Luotian had occurred. A rising threshold for external investors had been observed by the local community and government officials. However, the standard was generally low compared with those in more developed areas. Several government officials blatantly expressed that losses and damages to public resources had occurred in previous AI practices. Several participants refused to discuss the specifics or comment

on the AI practice in Luotian. A few participants used the expression “deep water” to describe the unspoken rules and facts in the practice. An informant, who was a retired government official, said, “It is full of collusion between the government officials and external investors.”

A local entrepreneur (LC-1) who expanded his business into tourism and transportation had used the analogy of the Jack, Queen, and King in playing cards to describe the AI situation of Luotian. The letter J looks like a hook, which means that the first step involved the government hooking the investors (similar to hooking a fish). The letter Q looks like one end of a rope, which indicates the second step. After the investors have invested and built factories and plants, they would be stranded here like being stranded by a rope. The final step was that the projects were slowly killed and eventually failed. He had made the comments based on the experiences of his investor friends, who were invited to invest in Luotian with attractive incentives but their businesses ended up unsuccessful. This story was one involving a failed tourism investment. LC-1, a successful local entrepreneur with multiple businesses, has regarded the AI practice in Luotian as purely political. Based on his observations, the local government controls the good and profit-earning projects; only the investors with a strong political background had the opportunities to acquire these projects.

The local development plan and guidelines are important for inviting investors to avoid blindly or conceivably distributing public resources and funding, as well as other irresponsible actions. The issue was not only to find suitable investors for local development, but also to sustain the businesses and projects after the investors came in.

This problem appeared to be crucial in the experiences of migrant entrepreneurs as well, and will be further discussed in later chapters. The political, economic, and environmental outcomes of the AI practices should be carefully assessed before inviting any investment projects. The process was difficult within the current political context because the selection of investments was not transparent, and a regulation on both the government and investor behavior was lacking. A previous government official of Luotian (LG-6) mentioned a general phenomenon within the practice, in which the government officials were in favor of large-scale projects because such projects may be shown as a political achievement and an attempt to advance their political career:

“They are not even interested in a 1 billion (yuan) investment, you talk about more than 10 billion (yuan) they may show some interest. The only valuable resource the government have is the land, they work hard to work on the land (for profit).”

The aforementioned statement presented the perception of the Luotian community members that the AI practice was principally a political phenomenon, rather than an economic one. Therefore, the information collected on the details of the AI practice was insufficient because of the sensitivity of the subject. The issue related with tourism development and the AI practice was less sensitive to be discussed, and the participants were willing to share more information and personal opinions on the matter.

6.3.2 Community perception on tourism-related AI practice

Tourism-related AI practice received multiple opinions and comments from key community members. Two aspects of the AI projects were analyzed from the data. The first aspect was either large-scale projects or small- to medium-scale ones should be

invited to Luotian, as well as their consequences on local tourism development. The second aspect was either to welcome external and non-local investors or to utilize local resources and capital to develop tourism projects.

6.3.2.1 Large- or small-scale projects

In much of the tourism development literature, community-based, small-scale, and collaborative means of pursuing tourism development has been discussed as important strategies to sustainably develop tourism (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Sharpley, 2000; Timothy, Sharpley, & Telfer, 2002). However, the development of tourism in the Luotian case primarily followed a top-down approach. The tourism-related AI projects were mostly large-scale development of sightseeing locations and resorts. The community perception on tourism-related AI practices was varied, but key community members largely approved the mode of the AI practice and considered that local tourism development significantly benefited and would continue to benefit from these tourism projects.

The preferences for large-scale projects were attributed to the lack of economic resources to develop tourism projects and the expectation on the number of tourists, as well as the local jobs these projects would generate. Many of the village and town officials involved in this study had conceptual plans and showed ambition in developing tourism projects for their respective towns or villages. Furthermore, small-scale tourism business owners considered that large-scale tourism projects would bring more tourists, which would benefit their own businesses. The overt perception was that large-scale projects ensure faster and larger outcomes. For example, the hot spring resort project

being developed by Corporate F was on track to complete its construction within one year. Corporate investors had the resources and assets to complete the project in a short time, thus considerably shortening the period for the return of their investments. In addition, the earlier the project started operation, the more tourists could be drawn to the destination. In the early-stage destination with limited economic resources to distribute, acquiring long-term local investment was a difficult task.

Another project, which was inviting investments at the time of the fieldwork, was a sightseeing scenic location that aimed to develop a geology park, a summer resort, and multiple agritourism businesses. The leader of the project was a retired government official, originally from the town where the project was located. His plan was to segregate the large site into different projects and invite different investors for the smaller projects; the investment required for the entire project would be extremely large and challenging to find only one investor with such investment capacity. However, the local government declined his suggestion because the key government officials preferred to have only one investor and claimed that managing the project would be easier in this manner. Signing different contracts with investors and coordinating the projects have complexities, as well as unspoken political reasons to control the investment style. Thus, segregating the project to invite multiple investors would be more collaborative and practical.

As mentioned by the investors involved in this study, another reason for the government preference for large-scale projects was that the local government did not trust small-scale or single investors. Therefore, the local government did not show

interest in the single investor or entrepreneur model. Although these investors may possess economic capital, the investment and management capacity of a large corporation or a business association was definitely stronger and more stable. Several corporate investors involved in this study considered that large-scale and small-scale projects were not in conflict with one another but were complementary. The development of large resorts and scenic sites can attract tourists and promote local small-scale businesses, such as HFH accommodations.

A different opinion came from LG-6, a former government official who had more than 20 years of experience developing tourism in Luotian. He was subsequently promoted and left Luotian in 2006. His opinion on tourism AI was that large-scale projects were unsuitable for the tourism development of Luotian. The appropriate method of developing Luotian tourism was to promote HFH accommodations by introducing farmers to tourism, to operate small-scale tourism activities, and to convert their houses to host tourists. However, the approach was challenging because of the current political evaluation system; government officials have shown limited interest in promoting HFH businesses. The successful case of W's investment indicated the importance of medium-sized projects. W and H were not large corporate investors; however, their projects had contributed to local tourism development. Medium-sized projects involved in this study demonstrated higher feasibility and better community inclusion in tourism development. Both W and H's projects were coherent with the local resources and tourism needs; they hired local employees and participated in local social activities. W's story was popular in the Luotian tourism community, and he had built an impressive reputation locally and

beyond. As previously discussed, large tourism projects, such as those of Corporate T and Corporate F, were more controversial.

6.3.2.2 Internal or external investors

Continuing with the community perception on tourism-related AI practice, another key point to discuss was the premise of the scheme, which exclusively provided incentives for external investors. In this study, internal investors refer to local investors, whereas external investors refer to non-local, sometimes international, investors. The tourism projects in Luotian do not have international investors yet; therefore, external investors in the context of this study solely refer to non-local Chinese investors from other areas. Instead of inviting non-local investment by providing low land price and tax deduction, the question provided was “Why not utilize local capital to invest in tourism development?” The participants shared their personal attitudes toward internal and external investments in tourism development. In previous cases of tourism-related AI projects, one case appeared to draw the attention of the researcher because it presented a change in ownership from non-local to local. A river rafting business in a tourist town called JZH town was initially invested upon and established by a non-local investor, who benefited from the business he had started. In the early years of operation, conflicts with the local farmers ensued because of the use of water for irrigation. A few local people bought shares and started co-managing the business, and were able to negotiate and ease the conflict with the local farmers. After two years of co-management, the initial investor decided to sell all of his shares to the local partners and withdraw from the business.

One of the local partners expressed his attitude toward such small- to medium-scale tourism projects. He considered utilizing local capital to establish and operate the projects more suitable for local development because local investors understood the culture, norms, and means of communication with the community. In addition, local investors generally consider the benefits for the community. In this case, the initial non-local investor was perceived as opportunistic because of the incentives he received as a non-local investor under the AI scheme. During the early years of operation, a significant tax deduction was given to him, which allowed him to profit from such benefit. This case was successful because the business was smoothly transferred to local investors and was operated successfully. The failed cases of both local and non-local tourism investments were noted. In several cases, the external investors deliberately took advantage of the AI scheme and intended to sell the businesses once they were established. The collaborative means of establishing projects was also witnessed, with investments from both external and internal investors included in the initiation of these projects. In these cases, previous collaboration and existing social relationships were evident among the investors.

Returnees were an important group of participants in this study; their categorization as external investors was based on their current geographical affiliations. This group had immense potential to be invited to invest in the tourism of Luotian, but the number of actual returnees was limited. ME-1, a temporary employee in the local tourism bureau, shared a story of why successful local entrepreneurs in developed areas were reluctant to return and invest:

“We went to Shanghai and contacted the Kunshan Business Association; there were lots of entrepreneurs there that were from Luotian. Lots of people were interested in investing in Luotian’s tourism so I had a chat with them. Maybe it is because that Luotian has experienced disadvantages in the AI process, the ones we spent money to attract and host, but did not come, so slowly we became less interested in the undetermined investors. One entrepreneur said he brought many friends to visit Luotian, no government leaders were hosting them or meeting with them, it was even difficult to get free tickets (for the scenic sites). He said he did not care about the money for the tickets, but he brought friends back to invest, it should be valued. He felt a loss of face, and that the local government did not want them to invest.”

Numerous challenges were noted from the experiences of returnee entrepreneurs. The overall investment climate was not encouraging, neither was the Chinese business hospitality culture. Several government-owned scenic sites charged tickets to tourists; however, they could be free for influential government officials and their “friends.” A commonly used Chinese phrase, “*Da Zhaohu*” (literally means to say “hello”), describes the exertion of influence. The returnee tourists expected that a gesture of offering free tickets indicated the importance and value of their visit. With the increasing privatization of these sites, government officials were expected to buy tickets on their own. The tickets debate was frequently mentioned by the participants, and is further explained in the subsequent chapter.

The predominant attitude from the participants in this study was neutral because both internal and external investors were welcome to develop tourism projects. One

informant quoted the late Chinese Communist Leader Deng Xiaoping: “It doesn’t matter whether a cat is white or black, as long as it catches mice.” Hence, an investment or a project, whether spearheaded by local or non-local investors, should be supported as long as it showed the capacity to develop tourism. W stated that:

“I feel it doesn’t matter who does it, external investors, internal investors, or the government themselves, as long as you construct on Luotian’s land, it belongs to Luotian, [...], so this is it, no matter who comes to develop, it is to drive Luotian’s economy, I feel it is the same, and there is no difference. But primarily you need to open up, if you want to keep it to yourself, you don’t need to invite investment, nobody wants to come in, then it could be really slow. Because all these years, there were no development, now it has been relying on external investors, including capital, development concept, and the advancement in tourism plans and designs, they bring in many advanced concepts.”

The issue that concerned W was not which investors would develop the project, but how open the government was in terms of releasing natural and political resources. In addition, he admitted that external and corporate investors had the technology, innovativeness, and management capability to contribute and advance the tourism development of Luotian. A top-down approach for tourism development was clear in Luotian because the government controlled the resources and deliberately invited investors for the tourism project. Luotian tourism was in the early stage, which featured the trend for community-based tourism based on community actions. However, external capital may be involved as well. The community perceptions on the tourism-related AI

practice were generally economic-driven; however, the specific projects experienced conflicts with the local communities in the specific locations of the projects. The details of community openness and the role of local communities in the tourism development in Luotian are discussed in Chapter 8.

6.4 AI Practice and Local Tourism Development Strategy

This chapter aims to provide a contextual analysis in employing AI as a development strategy. The reason is to invite potential investors because the strategy appeared inductively as a crucial approach for the local government to connect with investors and entrepreneurs in tourism. Thus, the establishment of tourism projects was principally an outcome of these practices. The local AI development showed that the establishment of tourism projects was closely directed by the strategic local development plan. Strategic planning is highly important and the most appropriate approach for all communities because it is future-oriented and developed based on local needs (Blakely, 1998). In the case of Luotian, tourism development was an important part of its strategic plan. The related AI practice ensures the flow of funds for the tourism projects to be established and implemented. In addition, this plan demonstrated the local government power on development decisions and distributions of public resources, and further linked with local governance and policy-making strategies in terms of identifying suitable development projects and investors for tourism. This development approach appeared to be a combination of exogenous and endogenous strategies (Woods, 2011). Furthermore, the AI projects relied on local financial abilities to receive loans for development, and the local governments utilized public funds to develop the accompanying infrastructure. However, the level of community participation was low because the decision-making

process of the AI practice did not have significant community voice and was determined solely by the local authorities.

Although the AI practice yielded negative outcomes, positive social and economic consequences were brought to the local communities. In the case of Luotian, the local development focus had shifted to an ecological economy with tourism as the major development strategy. However, this dominance of tourism development may induce competition for resources and political support with other industries in the locality. Therefore, the development approach was hardly in line with sustainable development principles (Sharpley, 2000). Nonetheless, the assessment process of the AI project had been highly considered in managing the environmental effects, as reported by the local government officials and the AI investors. Sustainable development was a key goal in the tourism master plan, although uncontrollable factors surfaced, particularly under the current socio-political conditions in China. The emergence of tourism real estate projects was controversial because of the uncertain economic, social, and environmental effects; these projects may bring in opportunistic investors and potentially damage public resources. Despite the general negative attitude toward tourism real estate projects from the community perception, the behavior toward developing these projects to gain cash flow was not repelled by government officials as long as the tourism development was on pace and the number of tourists continued to increase. From a demand perspective, the appearance of such projects in Luotian displayed the trend of urban–rural mobilities in the form of holiday housing, rather than a short-time stay for tourists. However, information on the demand and supply analysis for tourism real estate projects in China is currently unavailable.

The development paradigm in Luotian followed dependency theory (Khan, 1997; Sharpley, 2000), which emphasizes the dependency on external capital and resources to develop the local economy. Although the AI practice indicated the involvement of organizational mobility in tourism development, such practice also demonstrated the power of economic and organizational capital in receiving more development opportunities and resources. The organizational mobility into tourism industries was increasing in China (Wang & Xu, 2011), which indicated the immense economic potential of tourism development for early-stage destinations such as Luotian. Based on the present study, the AI organizations that are larger, financially stronger, and have more socio-political connections than others will receive more local support in terms of policy incentives and other forms of assistance.

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings related to the political AI (attracting investment) practice of the local government and its relationship with the local tourism development in Luotian. The AI scheme as an important political practice generated high economic outcomes; the establishment of tourism-related AI projects included an investigation stage, expression of mutual hospitality, and negotiation on investment contracts. The AI practices in Luotian involved several controversial cases in tourism development, and a few failed cases in the history of general investment projects. In addition, the local political culture was criticized for emphasizing political achievement, rather than practically selecting investment and based on the local strategic development plan.

The established projects contributed to the annual tourist arrivals in Luotian and had driven the development of small-scale accommodation, retail, transportation service, and other tourism-related businesses. However, numerous complexities were observed in relation to the legitimacy and transparency in the establishment of these projects. Tourism investment was examined in previous studies and other contexts as a pure economic action (Tisdell & Wen, 1991). The intermittence between economic decision and political consideration is a common phenomenon in China even under its transformation into a market economy. The current study explored the issue from the perspective of individuals; however, the experiences of the tourism migrants in this study may not be well understood without introducing the AI practice first. The next two chapters present the experiences of tourism entrepreneurial migrants and migrant employees, as well as discuss the findings in light of the relevant current literature.

Chapter 7

Experiences of Entrepreneurial Tourism Migrants:

A Phenomenological Analysis

7.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the experiences of tourism entrepreneurial migrants (EM) after the initiation of mobility and in the process of their living and developing tourism projects and businesses in Luotian. A phenomenological approach was employed to analyze the data in an attempt to identify the nature of the mobile and tourism experiences of the participants. The experiences of entrepreneurs and employees are discussed separately because their goals of mobility and their life stages are varied. The experiences of migrant employees are discussed in the following chapter. The EM experiences were inductively analyzed by categories, such as life challenges, work challenges, change, people, and perspective. After presenting the phenomenological themes of migrant experiences, discussions were presented primarily on the challenges of leading a mobile life and in tourism entrepreneurship industries. A strong emphasis on cultural differences with the locality was present in the experiences of migrants. The stories of W and H will continue to unfold in this chapter.

As presented in Chapter 5, entrepreneurs have multiple motivations and decision-making processes in mobility initiation. Their lifestyles were often mobile as well; they travel between Luotian and other places to take care of multiple businesses and their

family. Several entrepreneurs did not have family members with them in Luotian, and a few of their decisions that involved investing in this county were opposed by family members. The experiences of EMs were principally related to starting their tourism businesses in Luotian and to living in this county; hence, categorizing such experiences as personal and professional was reasonable. Moreover, the categories of life experience and work experience were used to distinguish the two aspects. These experiences were closely linked with the locality of Luotian and the personal characteristics of the individuals.

7.2 Mobile Life Experiences of Tourism Entrepreneurs

Living in Luotian: Shelled vs. Embedded

A comparison was made by the informants when asked regarding living in Luotian and elsewhere. In this study, the geographical mobility was domestic instead of international. However, variations existed in the different locations throughout China because of its vast geographical and culturally diversity. Thereafter, living in Luotian was compared with other places, which mainly involved large cities and developed urban areas. Less developed areas in China had gradually been upgraded in terms of material aspects because of the modernization in the country. In contrast to migrant employees, entrepreneurs seldom mentioned the differences in material aspects because they were more concerned with climate and the natural environment. Understandably, they had reached a life stage in which the prices of groceries or other living expenses no longer preoccupy them. However, the general acknowledgement was that the living expenses in Luotian were as high as in Wuhan, the capital city of the province with a population of seven million.

Differences in climate were among the concerns of W because he came from the northern coastal area, whereas Luotian was in a mountain area. A time of adjustment to the four-season climate with extremely hot summers and cold winters with no central heating system was necessary. Language was another issue faced by W; the local dialect was difficult to understand for a northerner, and the Mandarin of local people was limited as well. Communicating and adjusting was easy for EMs who were returnees or for those who came from nearby areas where the dialects were similar. Although W proposed the use of Mandarin Chinese in community and government meetings, the situation did not change. Despite living in Luotian for 10 years, W could not fully understand the local dialect, particularly the one spoken by villagers living around the scenic site where he established his project. The social life of entrepreneurs at the start-up stage was predominantly occupied with hosting and dining with government officials and other guests (such as the researcher) at their sites. The offering of hospitality at these sites was a form of promotion and social networking, which sometimes caused anxieties and pressure. As discussed in Chapter 6, mutual hospitality occurred at the inviting investment stage, which continued because the social connections needed to be maintained through more hosting and entertaining at the implementation stage of the project.

The experiences of large corporate managers and small- to medium-scale entrepreneurs were different in terms of contact with the locality. This situation was summarized as the dichotomy of the shelled and embedded experience. Corporate investors were more shelled with a small social circle, their experiences were limited with the locality in general, and the frequent contact they had was with government

officials. In addition, their stay in Luotian was shelled within their project premises, in which they could supervise their staff and direct the project development. Small-scale entrepreneurs, such as W and H, had a more extensive immersion in the locality. The differences were identified primarily through observations on site; small-scale entrepreneurs had more social contact with staff and community members, which further indicated tighter connections with the local communities. This condition may be explained by the time spent in Luotian and the scale of the project. Large-scale projects required government intervention in terms of land negotiation with the local communities, whereas smaller projects were less reliant on government interventions. Thus, a shelled migrant may have less exposure to the local community and culture than an embedded migrant.

Family

The EMs seldom mentioned their close family numbers, especially early-stage entrepreneurs such as H. All of the migrant tourism entrepreneurs involved in this study were male, indicating a male-dominated business environment in China. At the early-stage of tourism development, entrepreneurs regarded their status as busy and unstable; one proof was that they did not invite their family members to stay. In the experiences of W, his wife only visited him during the first two years of his development in Luotian. When the project was established and they built a house on the site, his wife came and joined the business. For most migrant entrepreneurs, they experienced opposing voices from family members at the initiation of tourism entrepreneurship in Luotian. However, the male-dominant culture prevailed, and they nevertheless continued their investments.

H's wife divorced him to protect the assets of the family. However, she visited him a few times in Luotian and slowly accepted what he was doing.

In Chinese societies, the discussion on family and career was constant. Males were often criticized as insufficiently caring for the family and focusing more on their careers. In the cases of the tourism EMs in Luotian, they valued the chance to be where they were and doing what they were doing because most of their family obligations were completed; the time to do something exciting again was necessary. Several projects, such as W's, slowly became a family business and family members started to join when the business entered the maturing stage. Middle-aged entrepreneurs often had adult children; thus, they could be more mobile with less family obligations. Therefore, their experiences of a mobile family life were relatively different from those of the migrant employees, who were a relatively younger group.

Nostalgia

The experience of living a simple life was discovered among a few migrant entrepreneurs, particularly the returnees. The appreciation of nature and a natural lifestyle was evident in their choices of food and living space. One observation was as follows:

"I went to visit H's site today and had lunch with him and his staff. He had offices and a kitchen next to the site, everybody had lunch together, and he appraised the cook on preparing the food before eating. Everybody helped bring food and utensils on the table, the rest of us had small rice bowls, and he had a special big rice bowl for himself. He said it was because whenever he ate home-made lunch with all local products, things

he liked from when he grew up here, he always had good appetite, explaining why he needed a large bowl. ” (Observation note 6)

EM-3, another returnee, was staying in a small rural house on his site. His house did not have modern décor; instead, he had the house kept in an old-style with non-painted walls and flooring without tiles. He said the house was exactly where he was born, and he returned and lived there while developing the village into an agricultural park. Furthermore, the entrepreneurs who were new in Luotian expressed enjoyment on the natural sceneries of the area. A few of them had made comparisons with the environment in Beijing, where the air pollution has become severe in recent years. Staying in a place with good air quality was appreciated. The shift in environmental ideology indicated an environmental nostalgia, through which the times when good air quality and clear skies were taken for granted.

7.3 Entrepreneurial Experiences in the Start-up Stage

The main objective of this study was to explore migrant experiences in tourism development; therefore, the following sub-section was designed to present the findings in relation to the objective in terms of the entrepreneurial experience of migrants in Luotian. The phenomenological analysis of entrepreneurial experiences took a relational approach; such experiences were constructed and perceived related to the various social actors in the tourism development process. At the start-up stage of the tourism entrepreneurial experiences, the relationships with local communities and local governments, and the experience of personal/social development, which was also interpreted as relational, were important contributors.

7.3.1 Dealing with local communities

The relationship between entrepreneurs and local communities was often transformational. Every new project experiences a difficult start-up time in a community. Both new and returnee migrant entrepreneurs experienced unwelcoming voices in the local community. The primary conflict was rooted in land circulation; the sense of privatization of rural farmland was strong among many farmers in Luotian. The difficulties were based on the attempt to collectively circulate the land to establish a tourism or agricultural project. For large-scale tourism projects, the village/town government had the obligation to conduct land circulation and leveling. No direct negotiation occurred between the local communities and investors. For small-scale projects, the negotiation was conducted principally by the entrepreneurs with the assistance of the village/town officials. According to one informant, the negotiation task in several cases became a “football” because neither group wished to deal with the local farmers; they merely kept passing the “football” to each other.

Negotiation

The entrepreneurial experience consisted of extensive negotiations with the local community. The informants recalled that the negotiation experience was difficult. When major local officials were gathered at H’s site during the fall of 2013, one local farmer suddenly ran to the hilltop, pointed to the chestnut trees, and started cursing. The project aimed to cut down the chestnut trees on the hilltop and plant peach trees thereafter. The protesting farmer owned a few rows of chestnut trees in the area and he was upset with the plan to cut them down. Several staff members at the site pacified the farmer so he would not interfere with the meeting. The incident was only one of many that occurred

in the one and a half years of establishing the site. The negotiation was a major task because several site developments required relocating the farmers and not merely circulating the privately managed farmland. The farmland circulation process was at an early stage in China and was originally a strict policy. The government had eased up on farmland circulation restrictions in recent years.

Price and compensation were the other major points of negotiation, which were often the most difficult. Many land contracts used the price of rice as a reference for compensation because traditional agriculture chiefly involved rice planting on the farmland. Most of the villagers were content with a reasonable price, but a few of them compared their income with the potential gains after the land was leased for agritourism use. In such cases, the entrepreneurs would eventually earn significantly more money from the land. The concept of relative deprivation may be applicable in this situation (Crosby, 1976). The attitude of local villagers toward tourism development was relative to what they gained when they had the land or what other people gained with the land.

For example, H utilized the traditional method of compensating farmers in cash in his agritourism project. The project had leased land from the farmers and he compensated them with cash every year. The cash amount was determined by the average price of crops for a particular year. The negotiation was challenging chiefly because of the reluctance of farmers to lease their land. EM-3 explained:

“After the open door policy was established, the contract responsibility system was implemented (farmers had the right to privately manage the collectively owned land by contract), especially after the cancellation of agricultural tax, they would rather abandon the land, because they received subsidies, even though nothing was planted in

the land. And they had a strong sense of ownership on the land, they think the land is owned privately, like in this village, farm land was scattered and fragmented, we wanted to integrate them to develop, but if one or two farmers disagreed, we could not build the roads, or the drainage system, we wanted to develop the whole area as integrated, but one farmer disagreed, there was nothing to be done [...], and the farmers were short-sighted, it was Okay that they left the land abandoned, if we wanted to lease them, they thought we were making loads of money on it, they wanted to keep the land and observe what we were doing, and see if they could do the same thing.”

Based on the observation and experience of EM-3, the farmer’s reluctance was caused by multiple reasons. From observations and informal conversations with the local farmers, several of them considered the price of land to be unreasonable, which they compared to what the entrepreneurs would eventually make from them. In EM-3’s understanding, the farmers held on to their farmland for economic reasons, particularly to gain agricultural subsidies. From a cultural perspective, the farmland provided a sense of social security among the local farmers because they view the land as their last piece of protection. The attachment to their land was high among the farmers. However, difficulties were not often expected by the migrant entrepreneurs. The new entrepreneurs experienced more assistance in dealing with the local community members during the land negotiation. The returnees were more confident and had higher expectations on the negotiation process; however, they ended up experiencing more difficulties.

The experience of H was one of the prominent cases. He selected his own village to develop the site, where half of the villagers were his relatives. He had exerted

tremendous effort to persuade the villagers to lease their land. From the perspective of communities, the process involved more persuasion than negotiation. As the decision on the land lease and project development was made between the entrepreneurs and key village leaders, the difficulties of the land negotiation may be the result of neglecting the farmers' voices as well. Patience was shown to be important in the process because explanations were required from every single household on the cost and benefit of the project. However, the conservative nature and innocence of the local farmers, in the perspective of a few entrepreneurs, made them "easy to manage" as long as they were properly compensated. All of the projects involving farmland leasing underwent several stages because the local communities required time and observation to make the decision to participate.

Change and transformation

The experience of dealing with the local community was full of pride and fulfillment because of the change and transformation that the migrant entrepreneurs brought to the communities. These social changes were articulated by both new and returnee entrepreneurs with different scales of tourism projects. In several villages where tourism was more mature, the villagers started to participate in vending local specialties and even developing HFH accommodations. A few of the changes mentioned by the HFH entrepreneurs were primarily changes resulting from the tourism development in the community instead of one single project. In the agritourism projects, intensive communication and observation occurred in the community during the course of the project establishment and implementation, which induced significant changes in the local perceptions and attitudes toward these projects. Most changes were related to the

improvement in infrastructure and living environment because of the early-stage status of many of the projects. For example, EM-5 said:

“The community saw benefits now, the change is obvious, I took down filthy pig houses and toilets, reconstructed them properly together in the back of the village, the environment is improved, [...] now they fully support me, [...] the first three years we persuaded and persuaded, we got 200mu per year, this year alone, for one year, we got 450mu land.”

H had done even more to improve the infrastructure of his village. He had used his project to apply for government support for the construction of solar-panel road lamps. By the end of 2013, 20 lamps were installed at major intersections in his village. In the spring festival of 2014, the migrant workers who returned to the village for the celebration were thrilled to see the changes. H was pleased to see the lamps lit at night and said that the village should experience less theft now. He was proud of what he had brought to the village and how he had changed the lives of the stay-behind elderlies and children.

Even corporate investors, who had a more shelled experience while living in Luotian, expressed the significance of the social changes their projects generate, including upgrading the quality of life of villagers by building better roads and drainage system, hiring local people and returning migrant workers as employees, and promoting hygiene and cleanness in the communities. Moreover, the communities experienced cultural changes, which may not be the direct result of these tourism projects and businesses. However, these projects were a significant part of local development. Acknowledging these changes demonstrated a sense of fulfillment and self-efficacy. The ability to

change and provide a positive influence was valued by migrant entrepreneurs, particularly those such as W, who were previously viewed by local villagers as outsiders but now as respected community members. He described the slow style of work and the lack of regulative behavior as the most difficult conditions to adjust to, as well as saw the transformation in the local culture in the 10 years of his time in Luotian:

“It was all good now, people who worked with us, gradually they changed this culture, including the county level governments, now there were big changes. In the way, indeed, there was a tormenting period, mainly because of the standardization, and the ideology, which was relatively lagged behind (comparing to more developed places), because before they were the lazy kind, including the forestry park administration, they just come and go, nobody was regulating this, and it was like a habit of a place. I was feeling unbelievable at that time, how could it be like this. They promised to finish work in one day, they did not finish after two days, they promised to complete in one year, it was two years, I felt, ah, so unimaginable, we planned to enter a stage in three years, and for five years we did not reach the goal, this was the most difficult. Now it was finally through, how Luotian has changed, in staff and in people’s perception, it is a big change, it is good.”

The changes and transformation in the communities provided positive influences on the attitude of villagers toward the tourism project. The mode of cooperation between the entrepreneurs and the communities may change depending on the change in community attitude. Several entrepreneurs attempted to lease the land for 20 years at once. However, the farmers have more difficulty in making the decision because of the time span. In the case of EM-3, he implemented the project progressively by signing the

leases for five years first, and amending them to up to 20 years afterwards. In this manner, the farmers could observe the start of the project and build trust with the entrepreneurs. EM-3 explained:

“When we signed the contract, if I had said we sign it for twenty-years at once, the farmers would not agree at all. Basically they would have no farmland and no security, so we and the town government took the approach to sign five years first. Now we already have the five-year contract, this year the farmer’s perceptions have changed, why, because we hire them for work in the farms for 80 yuan per day, the elderlies and disabled as well, because younger and stronger people all went to big cities, women were left at home, they work 20 days in a month that was no problem, they make 1600 yuan, plus the compensation per Mu is 450 yuan, this means their annual income per person could be around 20000 yuan, this means the women in their 60s, can make this much in a year, it would be sufficient income, if they just do farming with the land, even with the high production crops invented by Yuan Longping, according to the climate here, [...], the net income per Mu would be 800 yuan, I compensate them 450, in fact we compensated more but that is the amount the farmers get, and they have nothing to worry about, so the farmers around here have changed their perception, and now I can extend the contract.”

The more progressive method can clearly build a more collaborative and harmonious relationship between the entrepreneurs and the local communities. Risk was also prevalent, although signing the short-term contract first aimed to build trust from the communities. However, uncertainties in amending and continuing the leases prevailed if the farmers decided to withdraw, which would waste the start-up effort. The relationship

between migrant entrepreneurs and local communities was essentially the foundation of the tourism project; therefore, raising the community awareness and agreement on the project, as well as finding a sustainable means of cooperating with the local community, were imperative. However, change and transformation could not happen in one day; time, effort, and patience were necessary to educate the farmers. From the perspective of entrepreneurs, however, this situation should not have been their responsibility. In H's case, he had decided in 2014 to shift the agritourism company to a co-ownership between him and the village committee, which became one of the first tourism development cooperatives in Luotian. Therefore, his initiation of the project turned to a community-based project.

The expression of EMs regarding change and transformation in the local communities was positive. This phenomenon reflected that the early-stage tourism development had not rendered a significant negative effect because the number of tourist arrivals had not reached any point of the irritation stage in Doxey's index (1975). Within the geographical boundaries of Luotian, certain areas have more mature tourism development than others, and different attitudes were noted toward mobile entrepreneurs. Therefore, the community attitude toward the projects of the migrant entrepreneurs presented in this study did not represent the overall attitude toward tourism in the destination.

7.3.2 Dealing with the local governments

The local governments involved in this study include the different levels of governments, namely, county, working department, town, and village levels. The EMs had extensive contact with all four levels of governments in their mobility experiences.

The experiences of dealing with the local governments were most negative with the county and working department officials. The county-level officials were the leaders who sign the AI contracts; they were supportive in inviting the entrepreneurs to establish the tourism projects. The entrepreneurs often had common goals with the town/village governments. By contrast, the working departments, which were supposed to provide administrative services and assistance in implementing government-funded development in these projects, were the most difficult to deal with. In general, EMs experienced disappointment and frustration when recalling the complexities and efforts involved in the process.

H's story with the local governments was a noteworthy one. Before he had made the decision to develop the agritourism site in his village, he had contacted several government officials in the agricultural department, who fully supported him. Chen, a county vice mayor and was in charge of agriculture, was highly eager to invite him back to Luotian and had made promises to support him in terms of applying for government funds. The major use of the funds was for land leveling, which was the premise of the establishment of the project. However, land leveling was inefficiently conducted and H could not use the unleveled land for development. Farmland abandonment was mentioned by several entrepreneurs because they considered not producing anything from the land a crime. The development progress expected by H did not occur; projects that involved government funding were extremely difficult to implement:

“I made a mistake, this was because I did not know it is like this at home. Now I always joke about it, I said Mayor Chen was a big fraud, he fooled me to come back and did not care about me now. He said he cares and if I really invest he would help me, but

I know now, he wanted help but how much power does he have, now there are so much not done here, why did not he say anything. There were work meetings here for the working departments, he never showed up, because the county council did not inform him, [...], he is in charge of agriculture but the council did not ask him to attend the meeting, because he is not a party member, he is a non-party mayor, so it relates to politics, and it gets too complicated.”

The following themes scrutinize the complexities in dealing with the government from the perspective of entrepreneurs.

Guanxi and administrative formalities

Shouren guanxi with government officials was a determining factor in the initiation of entrepreneurial migrant mobility into Luotian. In the case of H and many others, they had experienced warm hospitality from the local government officials in the decision-making process but disappointment in the actual start-up phase of their projects. More complex guanxi will be handled once EMs decided to establish their projects. Most of the challenges and complexities came from implementing policies and obtaining permissions from various working departments. Political involvement was palpable in doing business in China. In H's case, he was frustrated with the lack of energy and ability of the officials from the working departments. Compared with other areas in China, he considered the situation in Luotian difficult to understand. The national policy on farmland circulation was clear; however, persuading the officials to work on it was difficult, that is, turning the “raw land” into “cooked land,” such that the investors could come in and start a project more smoothly. For large corporate projects, the town-level government was obligated to complete the land circulation. These projects frequently

had a local correspondent, often a retired government official and familiar with the local political situation, to take care of the formalities and administrative procedures.

H and other small-scale EMs had local correspondents to handle the administrative work and to push the working departments to implement the government-related infrastructure projects. H experienced difficulties because he had applied for government funding on land leveling, rural road construction, and other new village construction funding provided by the central and provincial governments. The successful application of these project funds was the result of the nature of his agritourism project, the assistance of his key local contacts from the agricultural department, and the support of the county council. However, the implementation of the projects was ineffective. A few other agritourism projects in Luotian did not apply for such projects because of the lack of direct *shouren* guanxi and the reluctance of the entrepreneurs to seek and maintain such guanxi.

A retired working department official (LC-2) explained that the complexities of handling administrative procedures and dealing with the local working departments to implement government-funded projects as the typical political environment of less developed areas in China:

“The entrepreneurs came in but the administrative service did not catch up, investment policies could not be fully implemented. There are many working departments in local government, this one, that one, Luotian is fiscally poor, a poor county, and the working departments are difficult to survive too, so it is troublesome. This is a huge problem. Why the policies were not implemented, why the service was not sufficient, ‘small ghosts are the mostly difficult to deal with’, so many things are

complicated to say. The investment environment was bad in Luotian, because of the working departments, not because of the County Council, but the departments are part of the Council, they are not independent, they are under the leadership of the County Council. Another point is that Luotian is too poor, the benefits of the departments are not well protected, so it causes the departments to gain benefits from these services and project funds, this is a main reason. In China the biggest fiscal problem is that the budget is not in place, if the fiscal budget is in place, then the government can have a bigger say. The department does not have enough budget, they are supposed to have one million annually but they only get five hundred thousand, the other five hundred thousand they need to earn by themselves, they had no choice but to apply government funds on these private projects, for example, I help you apply a funded project successfully, it's worth one million yuan, I gave you half and I take half, it is like peeling off layer by layer. Now the county level departments are the worst, they need to peel off the funds, the upper level governments don't need to do this. This is what I found, the poorer places have the strange phenomenon, how strange, the Department of Finance is rich, but the developed places, the Department of Finance is not popular at all. Look at Zhejiang province, nobody wants to work at the Department of Finance, in Guandong province is the same, look at us here, the Department of Finance is so up top among all the departments, isn't this strange, why. I am permitted the project funds, when I did what I should do I deserve the funds, all of it, it cannot be of any short, but here, in poor places, the working departments do not provide all of the services, they want to get some of the funds too for staff salary and benefits, so the two (departments and entrepreneurs) come in conflict, the problem occurs."

The political environment and the political system therefore vitally influence the implementation of tourism projects; migrant entrepreneurs who had no strong political connections felt overwhelmed by the situation. The business world is contracted, bonded, and more straightforward, particularly in large cities with predominantly economic activities. The experience in Luotian at the current stage involved more political activities than economic activities. EM-5, who was also a returnee, was previously a working department official. Hence, experiencing the political culture when he returned to develop tourism was less challenging for him. Other entrepreneurs with no strong political connections did not attempt to apply for government funds. The ones with successfully implemented projects or efficient administrative processes appeared to have political connections from the upper level governments, which exerted pressure on the local working departments.

Based on previous studies, the existence and utilization of *guanxi* in political or administrative procedures was a compromise for the lack of efficient administrative system (Wang & Ap, 2010). In this case, EMs who had tourism projects instead of businesses had experienced the importance of *shouren* *guanxi* in terms of dealing with the local governments. Therefore, the lack of such *guanxi* meant more effort and investment on infrastructure, indicating the direct economic outcomes of social and political actions. *Shouren* *guanxi* was obtained through acquaintances and friends. Seeking and maintaining such *guanxi* was possible, although doing so involved exerting extensive effort and social courtesies, as well as induced mental stress. Small-scale tourism businesses, such as HFHs, did not face significant challenge in terms of dealing with the local governments because of the lack of government projects involving small-

scale businesses. The local governments could not benefit from the processes involved in project application; thus, they had no direct conflict with the aforementioned businesses.

However, before the change in supporting policies on HFHs, a limited number of HFHs were allowed to receive the reward worth 10,000 yuan. One incident occurred in Luotian before the fieldwork of this study was conducted. The chief of the local tourism bureau was charged and penalized for embezzling the HFH funds. The new policy had been opened to all new HFHs. In Luotian, the competition for government funds resulted in the sharing of public funds that were originally aimed to assist private projects. When competition was necessary, the lack of transparency in the process would instigate the abuse of social capital on the success of application in the current administrative system. LC-2 explained that staff members in several of the working departments had low wages and benefits, which was the reason for their reluctance to provide all of the funds to assist the tourism projects. However, a new policy on upgrading the wages and benefits of civil workers was issued in China, with the hope of potentially improving the situation.

Public vs. private interest for tourism development

From the entrepreneurs' experiences in dealing with the local governments, the issue of transformation from public ownership to private ownership emerged. Although natural resources were significantly involved in the tourism development in Luotian, the management of these resources often spurred conflicts because both the public and private sectors participated; however, the management system was not well established. The main examples were the two major scenic mountain sites in Luotian. The one taken

over by Corporate F had been gradually transformed into a public ownership with private management, whereas the other site was under negotiation with Corporate T at the time when the fieldwork for this study was conducted. As discussed in Chapter 6, both corporates were under the AI scheme. Opinions on the “buyouts” of the scenic sites were mixed within the local community. The management approach, technology, and investment utilized in the sites were deemed to upgrade these sites in terms of infrastructure, service, and tourist facilities. However, the risks of uncontrollable environmental damage and opportunistic actions were present as well.

The interest in tourism development was different from the perspectives of the private and public sectors despite the common goal to profit from it and to drive the local economy. Handling political connections and guanxi networks in terms of administrative formalities to obtain operational permits and infrastructure implementation principally occurred at the initiation stage of tourism entrepreneurship. In more mature projects and businesses, the local government was chiefly involved in collaborating with entrepreneurs in terms of destination marketing. For public sectors such as government departments, the goal of being involved in tourism development was principally political. The scale of investment in tourism and the statistics on tourism arrivals and revenue were important indicators of political achievement. Although private entrepreneurs had paid more attention to return on investment and tourist satisfaction, dealing with the local governments in destination marketing sometimes induced disputes because of the differences in marketing goals. This issue is further explained and summarized in the subsequent section on the challenges faced in the tourism entrepreneurship in Luotian.

Another issue in dealing with the local governments in the process of transforming publicly owned site into privately developed and managed tourism projects was related to guanxi networks and government privileges in accessing tourism sites. The original public ownership of tourism scenic sites allowed the local government officials and their social contacts to freely access the sites without paying tickets, which was similar to what other tourists do. The handover of the sites resulted in a private management mode and the reduction of such privileges. The ticket problem appeared multiple times in the data (mentioned in Chapter 6), with the local community and the managers of the sites exhibiting a contrasting understanding of this issue. The local government officials and other influential community members used to access the site by “saying hello” (*Da Zhao Hu*) instead of paying for the tickets. The actions of the entrepreneurs introduced an advanced management style and new ideas to manage the sites. Furthermore, they considered the local government officials to be regular tourists to the site. In the transformation process, however, the local government officials regarded the act of charging them as inhospitable and a disadvantage to privatization.

7.3.3 Relationship with the self

The changes in the self were an important part of the EM experience. Dealing with the local community and the local government was primarily a synthesis of the entrepreneurial and mobility experiences. The relationship with the self was related to personal changes and transformations in the experience, including the themes of cultural adaption, emotion management, and self-efficacy.

Cultural adaption

Dealing with local communities and governments indicated the cultural differences in geographical localities; norms, values, and perceptions had local features. The adaption of the local culture was complex, and the adjustment process was a contest between adjusting to the local norms and attempting to change such norms. Adjusting to the local norms was revealed in the growing understanding of the local condition and the deeply rooted socio-economic reasons from the EMs. For example, H explained how he understood the difficulties in rural social works. The traditionally rooted perceptions of the rural residents were extremely difficult to challenge, and he had to change his attitude and ambition to rapidly develop his project. In addition, he became more patient through the process.

In the case of W, he was an older and more experienced entrepreneur from northern China, and his approach to adaption involved promoting new norms. For example, he suggested the use of Mandarin Chinese instead of the local dialect in official meetings, encouraged local villagers to be on time in community meetings, and educated the local villagers to maintain cleanness in the scenic sites. However, many of his efforts did not significantly change the norms and habits of the local communities. From an individual perspective, the cultural adaption experience was a coping mechanism for an individual coming from a more developed area to a less developed one.

Emotion management

When facing challenges in the start-up stage, EMs had clearly experienced different emotions, such as disappointment, frustration, and even depression. In addition, they experienced tremendous stress, particularly when the initiation of their projects was opposed by the family members. The stress was caused by the investment in their

projects; during the start-up stage, these businesses faced uncertainties whether they could take off. H's negative emotions were the result of the frustration and loneliness in dealing with the local governments:

“My biggest pain is that it is me against everybody, the officials... they say my idea is too advanced, it only works in big cities, doesn't work here. [...], I just want to say I came back to invest, I want to be able to do what I want to do, I can't let them use my money and do not let me do what I want to do, can you imagine how I feel, [...] there were times that I felt so depressed, but I have to balance my mood and deal with negative emotions.”

Many other EMs experienced negative emotions. The emotion management approaches varied personally but showed that they were an important part of the entrepreneurial and mobile experiences of EMs.

One EM started a river rafting business in Luotian. The season for river rafting was fairly short; thus, he was hoping the summer could be hot and long so tourists would arrive in the area for the activity. He wrote poems as a means of coping with the uncertainties in starting this business. The numerous ups and downs related to his business prompted him to write poems to express the feelings of his entrepreneurial experience in Luotian. A returnee EM had grown gray hair after two years of establishing his business because he exerted tremendous physical and mental effort. His friends said he looked significantly older now than his real age. He replied:

“I am 45, in 20 years I will be 65, then this project should be completed and I will retire here,... yes it is a long way to go, but I am prepared.” His coping mechanism was to maintain a positive attitude at all times and play mahjong with his business partners in

the evenings. He expected and was prepared for the challenges of developing a tourism project in Luotian. H did not expect a few of the challenges and experienced more serious negative emotions.

Several middle-aged EMs had family responsibilities and issues to deal with when they left their family to be in Luotian to start their businesses. The lack of attention to family may also induce emotional stress and guilt. In H's case, he underwent a difficult time during the initiation of the project; his wife divorced him at the time. He had sought the help of numerous friends to persuade his wife to stay in the marriage, but she was determined to seek a divorce. Although many entrepreneurs went through challenging times and experienced negative emotions, they generally presented a positive attitude when they were describing their negative experiences and emotions. One of them expressed in a self-comforting manner, "Wherever you invest, whatever you do, it won't be smooth all the way."

Self-efficacy

Another theme in the experiences of EMs in terms of the relationship with the self is self-efficacy, which is a common characteristic in entrepreneurship (Boyd & Vozikis, 1994). The notion of self-efficacy means the demonstration of the capability of oneself toward an outcome. In this study, self-efficacy was shown among the entrepreneurs through confidence, personal devotion, and the sense of fulfillment. They were confident principally because of their previous success; most of the new entrepreneurs and several of the returnees had successful entrepreneurial experiences before in other businesses. In addition, their confidence was developed from the established social networks with tourism projects in other areas in China, mostly the more developed ones.

In connecting with these projects, they had the opportunities to collaborate and adopt their skill sets and management approaches. Thus, their confidence was both intrinsic and extrinsic; it was extrinsic in terms of the capabilities to possess resources.

A long-term devotion was shown in many EMs for their awareness of the long-term development cycle of tourism projects. Such devotion was perceived as a necessary quality in developing tourism projects. In the case of W, he went through numerous physical and emotional difficulties during the last 10 years of developing tourism in Luotian. He had endured obstacles and overcome challenges. His persistence and devotion were proven traits that resulted in his success. Self-efficacy was perceived as a means to an end and an input–output spectrum; the effort and energy devoted to pursuing something would yield satisfactory results. The difficulties and challenges were appreciated, as H described his *pains* and *gains*:

“I put a lot of energy, my heart and blood, and feelings (into this project), when I harvest (from this project), I will gain feelings... (These challenges) in the same time pushed us to go forward, I want to push us into a ground with no possibilities, sometimes when doing things, it is necessary to push yourself, it is easy to move backwards, but if you are used to moving backwards, it is difficult to move forward again, [...], there is nothing in the world that is smooth all the way, so I always felt that, maybe I won’t be successful, but my character is that I would not easily say no. We have one life and there are not many opportunities to give up on.”

Start-up EMs had such determination to complete the projects, particularly among the returnee agritourism entrepreneurs. The integration of community development and entrepreneurial success was perceived as a noble act while the entrepreneurs achieve a

higher self-efficacy. Furthermore, this method was proven to be a practical means of gaining social support. Therefore, when tied with community benefits, a higher responsibility was necessary in the development of tourism projects, as well as more determination and devotion.

A sense of fulfillment was expressed among EMs, but it was higher among agritourism entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs who directly dealt with less developed rural communities. A few of these entrepreneurs showed traces of social entrepreneurship; hence, they prioritized the collective community benefits. Entrepreneurship became a self-fulfilling and self-enhancement act, which provided individuals with a stronger sense of accomplishment. One agritourism entrepreneur said:

“For me, I don’t go after fame or profit, at least I am doing a good thing here, if I do it well, I will feel content.”

The sense of fulfillment comprised two facets; the intrinsic one came from personal devotion and self-realization in starting something out of nothing, whereas the extrinsic sense of fulfillment was the result of making change and contributing to the local communities. Hence, in the phenomenological experiences of EMs, dealing with communities and governments was both a social and a relational experience in the course of establishing a new project. Dealing with the self was a process of realizing the personal potential and using this potential to accomplish something.

7.3.4 Prospects and future plans

Several returnee entrepreneurs called their projects a “retirement project.” Except for W, the other new entrepreneurs in Luotian did not plan to live permanently in this county. Their entrepreneurial spirit aimed to establish a project, manage it to reach the

mature phase, and subsequently hire other people to manage or sell the business so they could use the money to invest in other projects. As a returnee, H was seeking opportunities to develop other tourism projects while establishing his agritourism business. W was looking for projects around Luotian; thus, he would always include this county if he would be involved in developing tourism projects elsewhere. Most of the entrepreneurs expressed high hopes in the tourism industry in general, and perceived the tourism development of Luotian as full of potential. This perception was slightly more positive from the community perspective, which is discussed in Chapter 9. The prospects of their own projects were perceived as continuously growing. Most of the entrepreneurs considered that their businesses could take off within five years and they would continue to expand the site or the business in Luotian or elsewhere. W stated his goal as follows:

“I think, maybe in three to five years, to get our company enlisted, this is a dream, I do not know if it will come true. Because what we will do next is also within the tourism framework, other industries we don’t want to enter yet, speaking of the tourism industry, one point is that it is fun, another is that it is helping people and local community, it brings happiness to people, it is a fun thing to do.”

The perception of the tourism industry and tourism activities determined the initiation and outcomes of tourism entrepreneurship, which added to the personality factors. This overall ideology related to the tourism industry emerged from the data of this study, which is separately discussed in the last chapter of this thesis. Although the future plans and prospects of tourism entrepreneurship in Luotian were full of hope and confidence, the experienced and anticipated challenges were reiterated by the entrepreneurs as well.

7.4 Challenges to Tourism Entrepreneurship in Luotian

The experiences of EMs in Luotian were shown to be adaptive, which deals with the locality. As a less developed inland mountain area in China, Luotian possessed the conservative, traditional, and collective features of the Chinese culture. The EMs had experienced personal transformation while they adapted to the local culture and the required various approaches for emotion management to cope with the complexities along the way. Individually, the experiences of EMs were a path to self-efficacy because the sense of personal fulfillment and achievement was discovered in their discourses. In addition, individual experiences can reflect organizational experiences; thus, the following subsection draws findings to an organizational level in terms of entrepreneurship challenges in tourism development. Practical challenges to tourism entrepreneurship were drawn from the entrepreneurial experiences described by the individual EMs. Several themes were inferred from the previously presented findings. The experiences of EMs were an entanglement of personal and professional experiences. The implications on tourism entrepreneurship and local tourism development were identified by drawing from personal experiences.

Implementing ideas before projects

Entrepreneurs coming from more developed areas had more understanding of tourism as a business, from developing tourist facilities and providing souvenirs, to the commercialization of the local culture. However, the local communities, particularly the rural ones, may be incapable of properly comprehending the idea of tourism. From the experiences of dealing with the local governments and communities, an ideological gap often exists between EMs and the local communities, including the local government

officials. Most of the challenges the early-stage tourism projects faced resulted from the mismatching perspectives on tourism development. Local community awareness of tourism opportunities would provide more community support in land leasing, tourism employment, and the development of HFHs. Implementing ideas and promoting tourism were important before implementing the tourism projects. The change in the community attitude toward tourism indicated the effects of tourism development in general; social and ideological changes took a long time and a tremendous effort to happen.

The ideological conflicts between EMs and the local government officials were caused by the different goals in developing tourism. Several entrepreneurs shared that the major goal of private companies was to market the nearby urban markets and maintain a steady growth in tourist arrivals. The destination was in the early stage; thus, the tourist facilities and activities needed to be completed and service quality had to be improved. However, the local government, particularly the county-level government, adopted a more ambitious approach in marketing Luotian to a wide range of markets and spent more generously in destination media promotion compared to infrastructure. EM-4 considered that the government of Luotian was highly supportive to maintain the progress of the tourism projects. However, he spoke ironically of the marketing budget of governments:

“The government was really supportive in tourism, the total spending power of Luotian is around 0.6, 0.7 billion yuan, that is the main fiscal revenue, the advertisement for Luotian was put on CCTV (China Central Television), many destinations with much stronger economy do not put their advertisements on CCTV. You put on the advertisements does not mean people would come, first you need to have

good products, and then you need to have distribution channels, everything is ready, and then your promotion would work, people would come. Otherwise it would not have the expected outcome, then the money spent on the advertisement would be wasted.”

However, the government officials were unaware of the issue. The principal local ideology toward tourism development and tourism industries is discussed in Chapter 9, in accordance with the perspectives of communities toward and community effort in tourism development in general. Briefly, the long-term goals of tourism development were in conflict with its short-term goals. Ideally, the public sector was supposed to ensure the long-term sustainable development of tourism. The tourism master plan was not an instrumental, regulative, or guiding document; several government decisions disregarded the long-term strategic development goals. Although the private sectors aimed to obtain short-term benefits, the risk of investment was high in an early-stage destination. Therefore, these sectors had a higher stake in maintaining the sustainable growth of tourism. To the extreme ends, the entrepreneurs perceived the government officials as eager to see the numbers increase but were negligent of tourist experiences and repeat visitations. By contrast, the government officials perceived the entrepreneurs as greedy and purely profit-driven.

Cost and investment

The cost of time and energy in the start-up stage was inevitable because of the institutional redundancies and ineffectiveness of political administration. The challenges of a start-up entrepreneurship were ultimately financial in nature, although the cost of time and energy in dealing with all types of relationship and administrative procedures induced emotional stress and frustration. The primary outcome was the lagged progress

of project implementation and unprepared reaction to the market, which eventually slowed down the return on investment. The cost of time and energy came from the effort exerted during the process of negotiation, handling administrative procedures, and maintaining guanxi networks. Therefore, the discrepancies in the perception of tourism development and the guanxi culture also partially slowed down the entrepreneurial process.

Small- to medium-scale entrepreneurs faced financial challenges. In the trend of reforms on agriculture and rural land policies in China, the gradual transformation from public and collective land management to privatized land circulation required policy support from the local level. The reform had provided tremendous potential for agritourism development, but the local financial services were not up to speed. In H's case, he experienced difficulty in applying for a loan from the local banks because the contract for land circulation could not be used as mortgage. Other large-scale tourism projects received government-subsidized loans, but the smaller scale agritourism projects lacked financial support. The agritourism entrepreneurs involved in this study used funds or properties from previous businesses to start their respective agritourism businesses. H eventually obtained a loan from the bank, which was situated in the area where his previous business was located, to be invested in the tourism business in Luotian. Hopefully, the problem will be solved with the potential and corresponding change in the local financial policies.

Management challenges

The management challenges of tourism entrepreneurship were raised because of the lack of experience of entrepreneurs in the tourism industries and the absence of

guidelines for various types of tourism project development. The challenges included were related to training and staffing, which are discussed in the subsequent chapter along with the experiences of tourism MEs. The four major types of tourism projects in Luotian were sightseeing sites and resorts, agritourism site, tourist activity operation, and HFH businesses.

The management challenges varied among the different types of projects but similarities were noted as well. The expansive tourism sightseeing areas were operated by experienced tourism corporations; thus, the major challenge was locality-bond, namely, managing the relationship with the local governments and communities, and that the management and marketing of the site followed a standardized path. More management challenges were faced by small- to medium-scale projects. In particular, the challenges included the lack of technical assistance, product development, and marketing and distribution channels. Among the tourism activities were a cable car business, river rafting business, and other recreational services, which included a diverse range of businesses and industries.

The lack of technical assistance was reflected in the lack of guidelines to ensure the technical details of the projects. For example, river rafting became an extremely popular tourist activity in Luotian and throughout Hubei province. EM-1 was developing a river rafting route in Luotian and expressed his concerns on the lack of technical guidelines in the industry in terms of selecting the site, managing seasonality, ensuring safety and security, or managing tourist experience. The development of tourism prompted numerous services and activity providers to develop activities to cater to tourists in the destination; however, the quality of the service and product was often low and without

technical support and a thorough understanding of the market. Similar situations emerged in other tourist businesses. This phenomenon indicated a lack of human and intellectual capital in the field of tourism development. In an early-stage destination such as Luotian, only a limited number of people had tourism-related expertise. In agritourism projects, the entrepreneurs determined the lack of specialized service related to planning for agritourism businesses and developing agritourism products in terms of organically combining agriculture and tourism. Although marketing for agritourism sites was not a primary consideration at the start-up stage, the entrepreneurs were distributing agritourism products to subsidize the cost and investment involved in developing infrastructure. The consumption of agritourism was fairly low and the major agricultural products would require multiple distribution channels. This situation was challenging to product distribution because of the remoteness of and the underdeveloped logistics industry in Luotian.

Large-scale projects had business connections in terms of destination marketing, although a lack of communication and collaboration among medium tourism actors in the area was revealed, particularly in the rising agritourism projects. The entrepreneurs implemented these projects without significant knowledge and even misconceptions of the other agritourism projects in the area. In addition, agritourism projects were perceived as taking advantage of government policies on agriculture and rural land circulation. Entrepreneurs perceived other agritourism entrepreneurs as such but not themselves. Collective action toward agritourism project implementation was lacking because all of the agritourism projects in Luotian had an almost synchronized starting

time. The need to collaborate and promote Luotian as an agritourism destination would be imperative when the agritourism projects have been fully established.

The small-scale HFH businesses had the least management challenges chiefly because of the strong connection between tourist arrivals and HFH occupancy. HFHs at the tourist town of JZH had benefited significantly from the increase in tourist arrivals in 2013; the town even experienced guest room shortage. However, the seasonality of tourism caused problems to HFHs because agriculture became less important as a means of livelihood. The HFH entrepreneurs fully relied on the tourism business. The returnee entrepreneurs in HFH had paid more attention to their businesses and consistently worked to improve their services and products. One issue they raised was the supply of authentic cooking materials, such as cage-free and grass-fed chicken, and the integrity of HFH providers in terms of using clean and healthy materials, as well as maintaining the trust of customers. The operations of HFHs were related to community participation in tourism. The case of a tourist village in JZH town is presented in Chapter 9 to lead the discussion on community actions in tourism development.

7.5 Features of Tourism Entrepreneurship in an Early-stage Destination

In sum, EMs in Luotian faced many challenges and witnessed changes, which, from a relational perspective, were influenced by the locality and entrepreneurs themselves. Although this study mainly dealt with migrant entrepreneurs, the majority of the medium- to large-scale tourism projects were revealed to be initiated by non-local and returnee entrepreneurs. Thus, this study can summarize the dominating features of tourism entrepreneurship from the previously presented findings. In the transitioning rural China, tourism development was predominantly nature-based, and rural tourism

and ecotourism appear to be at the early stage, with small-scale operations run by farmers. Increasingly, large-scale projects were taking the opportunity to develop resorts, theme parks, and agritourism sites. Thus, tourism entrepreneurship principally refers to the small- to medium-scale projects, which faced many challenges. A few of these challenges were caused by the mobility status and inexperience in tourism development. However, others were rooted deeply in the socio-political structure.

In contrast to the heated discussions on the dominance of lifestyle entrepreneurship in the tourism literature from studies conducted in the Western contexts (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2004; Dawson et al., 2011; Marques and Cunha 2013), tourism entrepreneurship in Luotian was stimulated by economic opportunities rather than lifestyle. Lifestyle choice was not a primary motivation for tourism entrepreneurs in the current study, although a few of them show traces of social entrepreneurship (Ergul & Johnson, 2011). Several features of social and innovative changes were noted, which indicated the characteristics of social entrepreneurship. However, no absolute social entrepreneurship was noted because all of the entrepreneurs recognized and valued economic goals. Examined from a socio-behavioral approach in entrepreneurship studies (Ateljevic & Li, 2009), the personality features of entrepreneurs, such as determination, diligence, persistence, and controlling, were noteworthy in the present study. Innovation is a broad concept; thus, debates on the innovative behavior and opportunity identification in the findings of this study were conducted. In the case of many HFH entrepreneurs, an original innovative behavior was not observed because the establishment of HFH businesses was a community-wide action and resulted from the demonstration effect of successful HFH businesses in the

community. The identification of tourism potentials at the community level could be considered entrepreneurial. Further discussions are presented in Chapter 9.

The entrepreneurs involved in this study perceived themselves as pioneers in tourism development. The identification of economic opportunities was not a pure choice of market occupation; it was a choice of demand for and institutional and policy support on tourism, which resulted in the identification of potential tourism prospects and goodwill contribution of tourism development. These tourism entrepreneurship features had implications on the promotion of social change through entrepreneurship in rural China. Entrepreneurs with vision and empathy toward the local communities can drive local economic development and social change in a place where they were most needed, particularly with the declining traditional agriculture resulting from the urbanization process. Therefore, creating an enabling environment and enlarging the capabilities of such entrepreneurs were important (Lordkipanidze et al., 2005). However, the complexities in the experiences of entrepreneurs in the present study indicated the psychological stress of doing business in Luotian. Emotion management was experienced and self-coping mechanisms were developed by the individual EMs. The aforementioned stress was partly caused by the economic and social challenges faced in entrepreneurship.

From the perspective of mobility, tourism entrepreneurship opportunities became a primary motive for mobility, which were derived from the experiences of EMs in this study. Moreover, the findings align with the trend that increasingly rural areas face a number of return migrants being entrepreneurs who can significantly influence rural development (Démurger & Hui, 2011; Zhao, 2002). Tourism entrepreneurs had more

bridging connections with areas beyond the locality because of their mobility status. The advantage of such bridging connection was that tourism entrepreneurs received advanced ideas, skills, and technology, and subsequently utilized these connections for product development and distribution. The disadvantage was related to the contribution to the local communities; the resources that EMs used did not come mainly from the locality. For example, in the agritourism projects in Luotian, the agricultural plantations were supplied from the other regions. Furthermore, the consumption of agriculture products within the locality was limited. The local entrepreneurs had more bonding connections that allowed them to increasingly collaborate with other local businesses and communities. However, the lack of economic, social, and intellectual resources, as well as bridging networks, relatively lowered the quality of their tourism product. This result induced difficulty in competing with projects established and managed by EMs. Thus, low market occupancy or failure was experienced.

The role of social networks in doing business in China is widely acknowledged and examined (Su & Littlefield, 2001); tourism entrepreneurship is not an exception. The ability to establish bridging and bonding networks contributed to the mobility of the entrepreneurs and the future success of the tourism projects. Nevertheless, the direct contact between the entrepreneurs or investors and the local community members was limited because the local government officials often acted as gatekeepers and important liaison officers. One group of actors in this study, namely, the village leaders, was revealed as vital in building bonding relationships with the local community. Village-level officials were highly involved in tourism development by participating in small-scale family-based operations and mediating between the entrepreneurs and the local

community on land compensation and employment. The trend for the village committee and outside investors was to co-develop and co-manage medium- to large-scale tourism businesses. Therefore, the relationship with village officials was crucial in developing tourism in rural China, which indicated a conceptual connection between tourism entrepreneurial mobility and social capital.

7.6 Entrepreneurial Mobility and Social Capital

Entrepreneurial mobility from the conceptualization of Wright (2011) refers to the organizational and geographical mobilities of entrepreneurship. For organizational mobility, the entrepreneurs involved in the present study ranged from large-scale corporations with multiple businesses; for geographical mobility, these EMs included new ones and returnees. Wright's propositions were the four quadrants in entrepreneurial mobility by geographical and organizational mobility (Table 7.1). Applied empirically in the present study, corporate entrepreneurship in Luotian fell into the high organizational mobility and high geographical mobility quadrant, new EMs and returnees' start-up tourism projects fell into the low-high quadrant, whereas the local entrepreneurship into tourism was in the low-low quadrant. Therefore, the experiences with social capital and social networks in the experiences of EMs can further conceptualize entrepreneurial mobility. The inclusion of social mobility, in addition to organizational and geographical mobilities, can provide theoretical insights into the field of study.

Table 7.1 Entrepreneurial mobility quadrants (Source: Wright, 2011)

	Geographical mobility	
Organizational mobility	Low-low Quadrant 1 Creation of new firm in local context	Low-high Quadrant 3 Individual mobility
	High-low Quadrant 2 Move out of established organization	High-high Quadrant 4 Move established firm

High geographical mobility requires the establishment of new social networks and builds new connections for resources. For individuals with low organizational mobility, reliance on social organizations and community support constitutes a means for social capital. In the case of Luotian, where such organizational assistance and community support was not apparent, identifying the appropriate gatekeepers and building local personal networks were crucial for entrepreneurial start-ups, as well as for corporate mobility. From the experiences of EMs in Luotian, a corporation with higher organizational mobility was valued more by the local governments, which increased access to local networks and resources. By contrast, medium-scale entrepreneurs who had low organizational mobility and high geographical mobility tend to experience more challenges in acquiring local social capital. All of the EMs who came to Luotian were from more developed areas; thus, the higher geographical mobility of the entrepreneurs, the more bridging connections they had from outside of the locality. Furthermore, the lower the geographical mobility the entrepreneurs had, the more bonding connections

they had within the local boundary. Finally, the higher the organizational mobility of the entrepreneurs, the stronger they became in terms of general networking abilities.

Upon applying the experiences of EMs in Luotian to the concept of entrepreneurial mobility, Wright's model was modified to demonstrate the relationship between entrepreneurial mobility and social capital, as indicated by networking abilities. Figure 7.1 shows a simplified demonstration of the relationship between entrepreneurial mobility and networking abilities found in this study. Networking abilities were conceptualized from guanxi networks and la guanxi. Although the specific network features were not quantitatively calculated, the findings indicated the effort and challenges experienced in handling relationships. Therefore, the networking abilities were used in the figure below to show the conceptual linkage with mobility. However, the features of bonding and bridging networks were not used as separate dimensions of networking abilities; instead, they were presented on a continuum. The aim of this study is directed toward the start-up tourism businesses; thus, the conceptualization may be contextually bonded and limited to the establishment and early-stage development of entrepreneurship. In the situation of high organizational mobility and high geographical mobility, bridging networks have more value to the entrepreneurial start-up; however, bonding networks demonstrated higher importance in the situation in which organizational mobility and geographical mobility were both low.

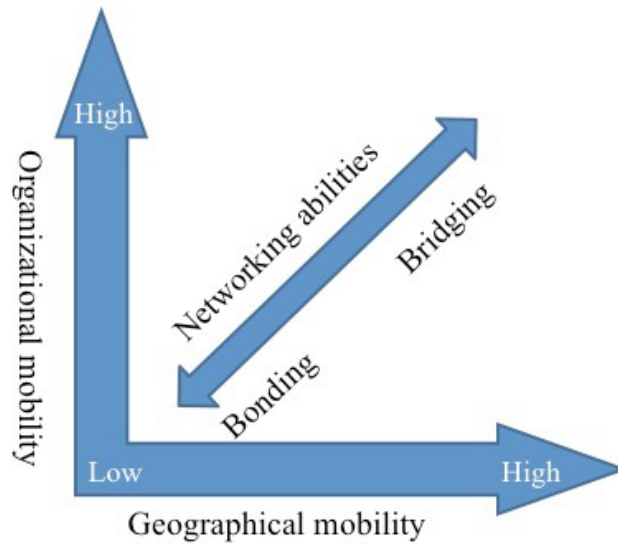


Figure 7.1 Entrepreneurial mobility and networking abilities
(Source: Modified from Wright, 2011)

In Wright's (2011) quadrants, the individuals who were entrepreneurial were considered low in organizational mobility. In the current study, these individuals were categorized with the concept of social mobility, although they were low in organizational mobility. However, the entrepreneurial action may provide opportunities for moving up the social ladder. Successful entrepreneurs are able to transfer social capital into economic capital as well (Haase Svendsen et al., 2010). By utilizing social networks and resources, organizational mobility increases and so does the possibility for social mobility. In this regard, this study makes a theoretical contribution to the field of mobility and entrepreneurship. The applicability of the relationship between entrepreneurial mobility and social networks can be further diverged into other types of entrepreneurship.

7.7 Chapter Summary

The experiences of EMs were associated with being in a new place and starting a new business; these experiences indicated the experiences of different forms of mobility. Dealing with the local governments and local community reflected an ideological discrepancy between EMs and the locality. Achieving the economic goal of EMs in an efficient and capitalistic manner was more difficult because of the influence of the generally laid-back local culture. The handling of guanxi networks appeared to be a major part of the experiences of EMs; exerting effort to seek and maintain guanxi networks aimed to gain resources and support at the start-up stage. Both bridging and bonding networks were shown in networking abilities, although the different levels of these networks were presented among the entrepreneurs with different organizational and geographical mobilities. In the meantime, the relationship with local communities needed to be cultivated to establish a collective goal to develop tourism projects.

Tourism entrepreneurship experienced emotional stress and anxiety as well. Social entrepreneurship was traced in several agritourism entrepreneurs. In contrast to the features revealed from the previous literature, these entrepreneurs valued community contribution but also aimed to profit from their projects in the long run. Several challenges were involved in entrepreneurial experiences, indicating the difficulty of developing tourism at an early stage. Social capital was lacking in terms of institutional support and organizational integration to implement tourism projects. The lack of financial and human capital induced difficulties in the start-up process and management challenges. In addition, tourism entrepreneurship at different scales presented different challenges; the medium-scale projects faced the most challenges because of the least

institutional support received. The future prospects of EMs showed positivity and confidence, as well as anticipated the future challenges for their projects. The following subsection presents the experiences of MEs. However, their experiences were less varied because the source of their mobility was limited to geographical mobility.

Chapter 8

Experiences of Migrant Tourism Employees:

Mobility and (In)stability

8.1 Chapter Introduction

Many young people select tourism as their career nowadays for different purposes. Previous studies revealed several aspects of tourism employment. One component of tourism employment direction was to enjoy the travel opportunities (Riley & Ladkin, 2002). However, mobile tourism workers were less studied in terms of how the mobilities, voluntary or otherwise, stand in their career and personal life. In a developing context, the mobile status of tourism employees may influence the overall employment situation and the success of tourism development. In this study, the experiences of MEs were investigated by employing a bottom–up qualitative approach, that is, by sharing personal experiences and stories of living and working in Luotian. The three forms of mobility, namely, social, geographical, and organizational mobilities, reflected on the experiences of MEs were associated with the perception of tourism employment, locality-related experiences, and professional development path.

Migrant employees in Luotian had an average younger age than entrepreneurs; therefore, the former's experiences of living and working in Luotian had different themes. In this study, employees in tourism were identified from tourism projects and

businesses; they came from large-scale tourism projects and small- to medium-scale tourism businesses, such as agritourism and HFHs. In this sub-section, the focus of discussion is on migrant employees, including returnees and new MEs; commonalities and disparities in their experiences are presented as well. The experiences of MEs are chiefly related to living in Luotian and working in the tourism industries. The themes of industry perception, material life, and professional development emerged as well. Furthermore, living a mobile life is discussed with the various life stages of MEs. Comparisons between returnee and new MEs are then presented, leading to a discussion on issues related to the human resource management of tourism businesses in Luotian. The last subsections of this chapter present a discussion of the staffing and human resources challenges in local tourism and provide insights on the planning for tourism employment in the study area.

8.2 Migrant Employees' Experiences with Luotian and the Tourism Industry

The motivations of MEs in tourism employment in Luotian comprised two categories; one was a contingency that was primarily locality-based and caused by the low threshold of tourism jobs, and the other category was a selection of matching education and expertise. Returnee MEs often started their employment in local tourism, and new MEs who had higher education level were involved more deliberately. However, their experiences related to the locality and the tourism industry have commonalities. In discussing the experiences of employees, leaving out the physical and geographical environment and the socio-cultural characteristics of the locality was impossible. Previous studies on industrial or organizational behaviors of tourism employment have

presented a seeming separation of personal and professional lives (Lundberg et al., 2009; Lundmark, 2006; Janta et al., 2006). However, in the case of Luotian, a close connection was apparent between the personal and professional dimensions. In addition, the nature of the tourism industry determined the importance of geographical location of employment. Therefore, the experiences associated with the geographical location and with the tourism industry, particularly at an early stage, should not be separated.

The tourism employees in this study were from resorts, sightseeing areas, and recreational services. They had perceived their working role as service-oriented and had related their working experiences with respect to other service industries. The following subsections principally explain the challenges of ME mobilities in Luotian and their perception of mobility and lifestyle stability.

8.2.1 Amenities and material life

The MEs in Luotian generally showed a satisfactory attitude toward working in the tourism industry. The negative experiences were more associated with the location of the tourism businesses because most of these businesses were located in remote areas, which were at an early stage of development and lacked infrastructure and amenities.

Luotian, a less developed county in central China, had an average wage of 1,200 yuan per month in major towns and 500 yuan in the rural areas. The material life was often challenging in tourism developing sites located in the rural areas. W's employees shared their experiences from the early days when roads were not developed and access to the site required a two-hour uphill walking. Furthermore, the living conditions were challenging because of the lack of power, clean water, and sometimes, food. Although

the material situation has improved in W's site in recent years, the construction of the tourism roads immensely contributed to transportation and accessibility. In addition, the remoteness of the site induced inconvenience; grocery stores, clinics, and other facilities were not immediately accessible. The lack of life necessities was a characteristic of early-stage destinations in development; the infrastructure and other amenities were often followed by the development of tourism resulting from the needs of tourists. Before the needs were realized, adapting to the tough conditions during the development stage was challenging for the developers and employees.

Life in the cities was perceived as both materialistic and polluted. The Luotian environment was appreciated by the MEs, but it was deteriorating and causing concerns as well. Furthermore, weighing the pros and cons of living in Luotian was demonstrated as a coping mechanism. With the lack of material life at the moment, the future prospects of tourism development increased the positivity among MEs. Most of the MEs were aged between 20 and 35 years. The perception on the post-1980s generation (Ba Ling Hou) in China as a spoiled group and lacking in physical and mental strength in tough situations resulted in the MEs enduring the material challenge that they met. Compared with the lack of material goods, the lack of socio-cultural and leisure activities was more heavily complained by MEs.

8.2.2 Work vs. leisure

Another negative theme was related to the leisure life of MEs, who had connections with the features of both the locality and the industry. Two aspects were associated with this theme, namely, the lack of social life and the lack of leisure activities. For the post-

1980s group of MEs, social life needs were not satisfied, particularly in the remote sites in Luotian. Social activities were scarce after work because of the lack of accessibility and modes of transportation. Moreover, the amount of social interaction and connection was limited within the work cycle. In this regard, working in a large corporation was an advantage because of the possibilities of organized social activities for the staff. The tourism corporations in Luotian recognized the social needs of employees but had not undertaken any action to improve the situation.

The lack of leisure activities was a major challenge to working on the site, partly because of the work schedule and the lack of leisure facilities. The most common leisure activities of MEs were surfing the Internet, playing games, or shopping online using their mobile phones. The Internet had become an important part of the social lives of MEs. From informal conversations with local young people who were migrant workers in large cities, part of the reasons that they would not come back home to work was that they had more social and leisure activities in those cities. One of them mentioned that the Internet connection in his home town was extremely slow for his online video games.

Working in a remote tourist destination with abundant ecological resources was commonly perceived as having the privilege to enjoy clean air and the beautiful natural environment. This privilege was experienced and valued by many new MEs, particularly those from Beijing and other polluted cities. However, living long-term in a leisure place presented numerous challenges, as ME-7 articulated:

“Staying here to enjoy the clean air, yeah, easily said, we ask you to stay for two days, yes, for a short time, you enjoy it, good air quality and cool in the summer. But it is only theoretical, to work here in a long term, it is very difficult. You could not imagine, when I first got here, no Internet, no phone signal, even when it snowed in the winter we had difficulties finding food. So to stay long-term was very difficult, [...], some of the difficulties were unbearable, we were all in our twenties, what could we do up here without the Internet.”

This phenomenon showed the importance of social and leisure activities as perceived by young working professionals nowadays. The work schedule of the hospitality workers has resulted in an unmatched leisure schedule with people in other businesses. This situation proved difficult for new MEs to make local friends. The situation was better among the returnees because they had family members and friends around, as well as the opportunity to live at or frequently visit their respective homes. ME-5 was an employee in Corporate F. Her negative experience of living remotely in the tourist site mainly centered on the lack of transportation service and the isolation:

“Usually it is really inconvenient if we want to go down from the mountains, we have to call a taxi from Shengli town, and then take a bus to Wuhan. This is the only bad thing about living here that the transportation mode is unitary, which leads to our unitary lifestyle. When we get off work, among us employees, we play balls, [...], the older ones may dance together, this is common now. The younger ones play basketball, table tennis, and badminton.”

Another social issue in terms of lifestyle, which was a result of the small social circle, was the challenges of having romantic relationships. ME-7 considered it a major and urgent issue.

“As girls, we are easier to find boyfriends, we are from around here so we can go back home once in a while. The most serious problem is that boys can’t find wives, it is difficult, this is more urgent. For now we are not at the best state here, the people we interact with and things we encounter are temporary, it is impossible to have long-term interactions, so there are only a few working here, we have three days off in a month, if we go down to the town area we don’t have enough time to interact with other people. As employees in a service industry, it is a problem difficult to solve. Girls do not want to find a man (as a spouse) who work up in the mountains who has limited time to go home.”

The work and leisure dimensions and work stress of tourism workers were examined in previous research (Guerrier & Adib, 2003; Wong & Lin, 2007). In the case of Luotian, the underdevelopment of the destination constituted a larger part of the work challenge than the service job itself. Perceptions of the job associated with leisure may be present; however, the actual experiences of employees in an early-stage destination were not leisurely after all. Similar to entrepreneurs, even more so because of the lack of social experiences and a different life stage of MEs, the latter needed to adapt to the local culture as well. In addition, the socio-cultural experiences were asserting an emotional burden on MEs.

8.3.3 Socio-cultural experiences

The experience of socio-cultural interaction with the local communities appeared to be a challenge for MEs who had extensive community contact in their work life. Cultural differences were experienced, which was similar to the experience of EMs. ME-4 was a manager of a private bus station complex in JZH town. He came to Luotian because of family obligations; his wife was a native of Luotian, and the couple came back from Wuhan to take over her family business. ME-4 had lived in Luotian, primarily in JZH town, for approximately one year, managing the station and developing a hotel in the station. He shared his socio-cultural experiences with the local community:

“I am still not used to the environment here, not the natural environment, but the environment of people. It is different between rural and urban areas for sure, here is different from the county center too. [...] As a simple example, they came to buy bus tickets, they would bargain with me on the ticket price. Most people with basic knowledge would not ask about this, but here nine out of ten people would. Other things (like this) I feel that there is estrangement and barrier. Economically it is like what I said, and then there are lifestyle differences, they never lock their doors around here, I lock my doors every day. If I forgot something outside, like a hammer, a shovel, a chair, the next day it would be gone. I went to look for them and found out who took them, but they were unwilling to return, because they thought I did not want those tools, but these tools were in fact not meant to be abandoned. So I took everything inside every night, otherwise they would be gone the next day. [...] People here are xenophobic towards non-locals, I feel strong about this because I don’t speak the local dialect, and their

attitude was not good. And they don't care about how other people feel, so many things like this, like for a while we had music equipment, people here do public group dances in the evenings, we felt it was a good thing to let them use our space and equipment, we put the music and lights on for them, but those aunties, they are different from us, for us when somebody is helping we need to thank him, we would never say anything bad about him, I felt it is common sense for any person, but they were like, one day I forgot to turn on the lights, or I forgot to take out the music player, they spoke up and blamed me. They thought it was what I should do, I did not charge them, I let them use my space and my equipment for free, they thought it was my obligation to provide and serve them well, this made me really upset. So one day I was too upset, I took everything inside and did not let them dance here anymore."

ME-4's story showed the cultural gap between urban and rural places, as well as the conflicts caused by such gap. The socio-cultural barrier was an issue in terms of lifestyle and living habits from the perception of migrant entrepreneurs. However, several returnees experienced a similar issue; the cultural gap was chiefly caused by the rural ideology and cultural norms in work and in life. The gap proved difficult for young MEs to make friends with the local people. ME-4 felt that he could not converse well with local people, partly because of the language barrier and primarily for the lack of common interests. Between the entrepreneurs and local communities, the cultural barrier principally centered on functional and operational norms regarding tourism development and the establishment of new tourism businesses. By contrast, the barrier experienced by MEs was mostly on daily communication and the share of local space, as well as dealing with the rural residents. The socio-cultural experiences of MEs demonstrated a lack of

cultural understanding between the local people and the newcomers, and the social and leisure life of MEs had space for improvement. The local means of communication remained inefficient, as ME-4 witnessed:

“There are many things to do here, but here people are the most important assets, not to be used for labor, but here people are needed in communications. Many things need face-to-face communication, it is not like one phone call is enough.”

Although cellphones were ubiquitous in rural areas, the reliance on face-to-face communication showed a traditional means of doing business. On the one hand, it reinforced social interaction and inter-personal ties. On the other hand, it reflected a lack of trust on modern technology. The rural situation was acknowledged as underdeveloped, undereducated, and led by a conservative ideology. However, this ideology could foster community-based development with the proper leadership of the local governments. Findings related to this subject are presented and discussed in Chapter 9. The description of the experiences of living and working in Luotian also reflected a debate on the perception of young professionals and employees toward job mobility and the selection of residential location. The following subsection discusses the competing relationship that emerged within the data, as well as between mobility and lifestyle stability.

8.2.3 Mobility and lifestyle stability

Perceptions of a mobile lifestyle emerged in the data, principally from the new MEs. As discussed in Chapter 5, the initiation of ME mobility was the result of multiple factors. For the returnees, a dominant factor was to settle down by finding a stable job

close to home. For the new MEs, the relocation to Luotian was considered a career springboard, and the need to settle down was not urgent. While describing their experiences, the cost–benefit calculation was frequently mentioned by the participants by listing both the pros and cons of the mobility and their primary goal at the life stage. For example, returnee ME-2 valued family and the opportunity to be close to home. He earned less money in Luotian but he could take care of his family in return. By contrast, new ME-3 considered the mobile lifestyle and the current instability in terms of buying an apartment and settling down as a form of sacrifice to build his career. As a female, ME-1 shared her experiences in moving to Luotian and being away from her husband in a more sentimental manner.

Female MEs appeared to be more concerned with family; for the few single ones, finding a future husband was the concern. However, this judgment may be brought by the fact that the researcher is female; males tend to be more reserved when sharing personal experiences. ME-1 described how the decision to relocate to Luotian took her almost half a year to make. She and her husband were attempting to have a baby at the time; thus, taking the new position in Luotian was even more difficult. However, she had her husband's full support and finally decided to pursue her career first before having a baby. Therefore, the mobility issue increased the pressure and complexity among females, which resonated with the dominance of the male participants in this study. Moreover, MEs valued the chance to be involved in new projects and the opportunities to enhance their potential in these projects, although they all considered that their pay was low.

In the previous section, the need to develop romantic relationships and potentially to establish a family was discussed by several MEs. The ones who considered mobility for career did not express significant concern in this regard, reflecting the variations in the lifestyle emphases and personal development goals of employees. In Chinese culture, men were traditionally taught to start a family and establish a career (*Cheng jia li ye*). Both were highly important life components. However, being mobile geographically increased the challenge to start a family and maintain harmony. Although many MEs were staying onsite, they would commute a few hours weekly to visit family and friends. Therefore, a mobile life was perceived as unstable and being stable seemed to be a life goal, which individuals opted to accomplish during various life stages. Having a tourism or hospitality job was generally perceived as less stable, even more so if the employment was in a remote and less developed area. In an early-stage destination, the lifestyle employment in tourism was uncommon; only a few university interns were observed in Corporate F's resort. Thus, the mobile lifestyle was unpopular but it was perceived as a necessity in career development and a good life experience. The following sections emphasize the dimensions of professional and career development for MEs in Luotian.

8.3 Professional and Career Development

Professional development experiences in terms of leading a tourism or hospitality career were a major component in the experiences of MEs in Luotian. Being aware of the different employee experiences in two different firms, namely, W's business and Corporate F, was interesting. Both businesses were developing scenic sites in a conjunct

scenic area. Therefore, both cases were used to present and to illustrate the findings in this subsection.

8.3.1 Job attainment and guanxi networks

W's business had an informal approach for staff employment because of the size of the firm, relying heavily on *shouren* guanxi. By contrast, Corporate F adopted a more formal approach in hiring and training staff members. In previous studies, guanxi and social networks were shown to be important in job attainment; the job attained through guanxi networks also offered high advancement and career prospects (Bian, 2004). Although only a few tourism businesses were examined in the current study, guanxi network was shown to be a major means for small- to medium-scale tourism businesses to recruit local employees. However, guanxi as a concept lacked a strong theoretical support; it could only be perceived as a culturally contextualized form of social network. Therefore, the effort of *la guanxi* (pulling strings) and the cultural dimension of guanxi were the major focus of the guanxi concept in this study. Demand for tourism employees in Luotian at the early stage of tourism development is currently high; other industries such as manufacturing also experienced a labor shortage. Therefore, the use of *shouren* guanxi was an efficient means of finding employees from the perspective of employers. However, the effort of locating guanxi contact and building networks varied in terms of the nature and the demand of jobs.

For the young people in China, jobs in the private sector were perceived as unstable; the relatively high wage also included immense work pressure and overtime. Many young people seek civil jobs in government departments because these types of work are

perceived as more stable, with good benefits, and having less pressure. However, the attainment of civil jobs required more effort in guanxi building. Guanxi was an important tool for attaining competitive civil jobs. With the political reforms implemented in China, the importance of guanxi has been eliminated, although it remains a protocol to seek guanxi and present strong social connections to attain a job. The role of guanxi was more prominent in less developed areas because of the lack of a structural and legal system to ensure equal competition. ME-6, a returnee working in Corporate F, said:

“Now I am practically working at home, in Luotian, I felt that boys are so difficult to find jobs. The only good job is to work in government departments, but finding a job in the departments now is different from old days. Before it was like, well we are both from Luotian, so I will be straightforward, we could bribe the officials before (to get the job), now we can’t. Now you need to have strong guanxi, and you also need to have abilities and capabilities. Or if someone has family business, they come back and work in the business, girls are easier to find jobs, and other job opportunities are less and less. I have lots of friends and former classmates, many of them have guanxi from their family members, so they are now working in the local departments. For me, I have no guanxi, my parents are working class, I can only count on myself.”

The political reforms and socio-economic development in China progressed in terms of the weakening role of guanxi for instrumental goals, which provided everyone with a fairer playground. However, the status of tourism employment and other private sector employment was considerably less advantageous compared to civil jobs. In less

developed areas, young people such as ME-6 experienced immense inequalities in job attainment and advancement. More effort was exerted in investing in and maintaining important guanxi networks in the process because of the unbalanced job markets. However, private jobs, such as those in the tourism sector, involved less competition. The role of guanxi networks was not an instrumental one in contrast to its use in attaining jobs in the public sector. Tourism jobs were perceived as low entry, low pay, and low threshold; thus, these features could explain the low guanxi effort. From a cost–benefit perspective, selecting such jobs was more convenient. The potential gain from these jobs in terms of salary and career prospects was not as competitive; therefore, the networking investment in job attainment was low.

8.3.2 Working environment and promotion

W's business at the site was small, with approximately 40 employees; Corporate F had more than 200 employees in Luotian. The variations in professional development perceived by the employees in both firms showed the difference in styles of small and large tourism businesses. Three of the MEs interviewed for this study were from W's business, and another three were from a resort managed by Corporate F. The major difference between the two firms was the working environment; employees had positive experiences and feedback on working in W's business, whereas employees in Corporate F were more negative toward corporate politics and workplace drama. In addition, W's employees were long term and had experienced difficult start-up times together. Therefore, they treated the business as a family business. In W's business, the management level staff members were mostly local residents or returnees, whereas Corporate F did not have a local resident in its management staff.

The hiring of local staff members was prioritized because one of the major development advantages of the AI projects was to improve local employment. However, being promoted to senior positions was difficult for local employees, as shown in Corporate F. One local employee, who was working as a receptionist at the time of the interview, said he eventually desired to seek better jobs in large cities using the current hospitality employment to accumulate working experience only. However, ME-6, a returnee employee at the resort, showed more frustration when he said:

“I have worked here for a year, within the corporate, let alone that they did not give me a sizable platform, there were other things, I have seen a lot, now I am numb about all that. (Interviewer: any examples?) There are too many, I am too embarrassed to talk, we senior staff all know, all these messy things, mainly on the management level, about promoting staff and so forth. For this scenic site, the main control is from non-locals, in terms of our boss, the corporate is family-run, in many aspects, I don’t know if it is that the boss does not trust local people, or other reasons, mainly within the site the ones in the controlling positions are all non-locals, locals are suppressed, this is a wide-spread problem I know.”

ME-6 was 24 years old, a college degree holder, and was working in tourism and hospitality for the first time. He had expressed his intention to resign and find a job in large cities again if he could not be promoted. Corporate F generally hired many local employees; several employees expressed satisfaction with their jobs based on informal conversations. However, younger employees such as ME-6 were expecting a more promising career path, although they did not see any prospect of working for Corporate

F. Labor workers and employees with limited education perceived salary as an important job factor, whereas the development of a career path was less important. The new MEs that were at the management or director level did not exhibit such dissatisfaction in Corporate F. In W's business, returnees such as ME-2 held a management position and expressed high hopes on the future of the business because the scenic site was witnessing more tourist arrivals every year.

8.3.3 Leadership and loyalty

The similarities observed in W's business and Corporate F centered on the loyalty of the managerial staff and the role of leadership. W's staff demonstrated intense loyalty in working for him and remaining in their respective positions. Employees showed respect and admiration for W, as his personal characteristics as a leader were recognized. Moreover, he was described as a father figure, treating his staff kindly and fairly. Similarly, two MEs from Corporate F who had worked in the corporation for more than five years expressed the same sentiments toward the founder. They boldly stated that despite encountering problems with the newly developed projects, they were grateful to their boss who provided them with the opportunity to manage the site. They added that they would stay in the firm for their leader, who had a pleasant personality and became a role model for them. From an organizational perspective, this phenomenon showed traces of charismatic leadership among the organizational leaders. W's employees shared the following statements:

“Our boss is very kind, he gives people an impression that he is approachable. He is at the age of my parents, and he has a good personality. I think maybe this is one of the

reasons that I stick to the job here, his ways of dealing with people and handling the business are very good.” (ME-2)

“Our boss is very good to us, it is of no doubt, we work for him it is like a big family, he treats us like his own children, so we never cared for how much money for salary, the main thing is that we are happy working here, like a big family.” (ME-7)

Max Weber explained that charismatic leadership stressed the exceptional, heroic, or exemplary power or qualities of the leader (Weber, 2009). The three basic types of authority are rational–legal authority, traditional authority, and the charismatic type of authority (Weber, 2009). Corporate F was considered a family-led corporation, although a weakening effect of the family influence was witnessed. W’s business was gradually turning into a family business because he was preparing for his son to take over the leadership. The problem of charismatic leadership was on succession; whether the successors of the charismatic leaders had the same power and quality would considerably influence the future of the organization. The leadership style was centralized in both cases; therefore, the qualities and visions of the leader determined the strategic development of both businesses. The loyalty of the managerial staff appeared to be significantly associated with the leadership style and the charisma of the leaders. Although the lower level employees did not have many opportunities to directly interact with the top leaders, the reputation of the leaders served as an indication of the prospects of the company for future development.

8.4 Comparison between Returnee and New Migrant Employees

Returnee and new MEs have significant differences because of the priority in various forms of mobility at the initiation stage. Returnee MEs prioritized geographical mobility because the intention to return home to be employed came first. Thus, selecting the tourism industries was often a contingency rather than a deliberate choice. By contrast, several new MEs initiated their mobilities principally because of their prior involvement in the company or the project. Their geographical mobility to Luotian was mostly temporary because of the potential possibilities for relocation. The other new MEs were driven by family obligations. In general, the new MEs had a higher education level than the returnees. However, the returnees with a higher education level experienced more cultural differences than those with a lower education level. Furthermore, the returnee MEs had more social connections with the local communities than the new MEs, which was understandable because of the attachment and shorter cultural distance they had with the local communities.

In W's company, the physical working conditions of his employees were tough in the early years because of the remote location of the site and the lack of infrastructure and facilities. A few of the new MEs who initially came to develop the site with W left during the succeeding years partly because of the tough working and living conditions. Moreover, these MEs were advancing in age; thus, they would like to start their respective families and lead more stable lives. Currently, most of the employees in W's company were returnee migrant workers; they originally came from nearby villages and previously worked in expansive urban areas. The process was informal and contingent; the returnees often heard of the employment opportunities from a relative or a friend

(shouren), who later introduced them to work at the site. By contrast, large corporations, such as Corporate T and Corporate F, have a formal recruitment process. However, the introduction of a social contact who was already an employee in the company certainly provided better chances to be recruited. Tourism projects and businesses tended to hire local or returnee employees, although the management level staff members were often non-local. This situation explains the higher education level among the new MEs, as many of them previously worked at the director or management level.

In terms of local and returnee MEs, many of them intended to start their own business in tourism, such as HFH. The prospect of tourism development allowed the progress of small-scale family-operated hospitality services, which attracted more local community members to be involved. The returnees who had family properties and farmland in the community, where major tourism projects were carried out, had more potential benefits in terms of entrepreneurship because their return to Luotian was permanent. By contrast, the new MEs did not plan to permanently live in Luotian. The ones who were married or had a partner at the time of the fieldwork intended to own properties in Wuhan, the capital city of Hubei. They considered living in Luotian merely to work and not to start a family life. Therefore, the long-term considerations on retaining employees would focus on returnees and local employees, as well as provide new MEs with a welcoming social and work environment.

8.5 Staffing Challenges in an Early-stage Destination

An early-stage tourism destination with a weak economy encountered numerous staffing challenges, particularly in the tourism projects located in the rural areas. One

local employee mentioned that if he was not from around the site, he would choose the major town area or nearby cities to find a job for the same salary rate. The location of the business or project partially contributed to the high turnover rate, despite the existing high turnover rate of the tourism and hospitality industry. Hiring more local staff members or returnees was a major means of retaining employees; however, the stock of local talents may not match the demand for tourism jobs. A human resource manager in Corporate F explained that 85% of the employees of the company's resort site in Luotian were local or returnees, but the average age of the employees was higher than those in other more established resorts managed by Corporate F. The early stage of the business had a high demand for employees, but recruiting young people with talents and skills was difficult because most of them were working in large cities.

This phenomenon presented the issue regarding skills and training for tourism and hospitality jobs in such destination as Luotian. For other small- to medium-scale projects such as agritourism projects, most of the employees were local farmers. In addition, proper training was lacking in tourism operations. Most of the agritourism sites did not follow the traditional methods of agriculture; they had imported new crops and plantations to build ecological or organic farms. Thus, the local farmers required specialized skills for the new methods of agricultural production. The advantage of corporate employment was its sophisticated training program for new employees, whereas the start-up smaller projects faced more challenges in this aspect.

The principal human resource management issue that emerged from the findings of this study was staff recruitment and retention. The factors that induced difficulties in

recruitment and retention were caused by the status of an early-stage destination, which had insufficient livelihood facilities, modes of transportation, and other infrastructure. The harsh physical environment was a major obstacle for potential employees. As previously stated, the lifestyle in the remote sites was far from satisfactory to young employees because of the lack of social and leisure activities. This issue required tourism companies to provide more opportunities for employees to socialize.

8.6 Implications for Tourism Employment Planning

Tourism employment beyond the work place context has a significant role in the wider social and economic environment and serves as a key indicator for tourism development outcomes (Riley & Ladkin, 2000). Tourism employment represents the social and economic influences of tourism on a macro level; planning for tourism, which is essential in a destination with early-stage tourism development, should consider planning for local residents as much as planning for tourists (Liu & Wall, 2006). In the case of Luotian, the county lacked employment planning based on the master plan. However, the labor shortage across the industries in Luotian, including tourism, was widely experienced. The returning MEs with experiences working in large cities, with higher education background, and with more accumulated communication and other skills than local residents could become important labor and intellectual assets for local tourism development and entrepreneurship.

In the case of Luotian, the involvement of large-scale non-local tourism corporations had been criticized for exploiting the local resources and providing limited benefits to the community. The human resource managers explained that the returnees and local

employees received the same promotional opportunities. However, the ME participants shared that their promotional opportunities were limited in the corporation-managed sites. Therefore, the issue in planning for tourism employment was not only to recruit more locally based employees, but also to ensure an equal career and sustain their employment. Assessing the management system of corporations and specifying the employment terms in the project contract to maximize the benefits to the local communities were important aspects while the local government negotiates with the potential AI investors in tourism.

Tourism employment should be strategically planned from the government level. In terms of ensuring employee rights, local labor regulations should be provided for employees in the remote site. For example, employers should provide transportation allowances because transportation is a core tourism service. However, Luotian has no regular shuttle service between the scenic sites and the major surrounding towns. In addition, policy incentives may be provided to attract more young people with higher education and relevant work experience in tourism. For example, the incentives to start HFH businesses had worked well in Luotian to encourage and train farmers to become entrepreneurs. However, similar incentives needed to be provided for employees and college graduates to return to Luotian and contribute to the human capital in tourism development. From the perspective of the tourism businesses, key local community members were important in providing employment information; they were important middlemen for recruiting suitable employees from the community.

The key community members and business leadership were indications of the importance of social networks. In connecting with the concept of social capital, this finding provided evidence on the connection between social capital and human capital (Coleman, 1999). Valuable social networks served as information channels for job attainment. In a less developed area that lacks human capital in tourism, these networks provided the channels to identify the suitable and quality employees at all levels. These networks subsequently helped the rising tourism industry to maintain and accumulate its human capital. The leadership style represented a centralized network feature in China; this network style can be utilized for important career mentorship development (Bian, 2013). The career mentorship in the tourism and hospitality industry has not been well developed (Ayres, 2006); thus, the centralized leadership style provides a potential mechanism for mentoring and guiding tourism employees, as well as contributes to human capital accumulation and employee retention in the industry.

8.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the experiences of tourism supply-induced migrant employees in Luotian. The experiences of entrepreneurial migrants and migrant employees showed similarities in terms of motivation. In sum, the two major streams of experience from the perspective of MEs were the experience with the locality and the experience with the industry. MEs expressed positivity and prospects toward the local tourism industry, but numerous challenges were faced in the tourism supply-induced mobility to Luotian that was primarily caused by the physical environment and lack of lifestyle amenities. MEs did not have any direct relationship with government officials locally, but they

experienced cultural gap and emotional burden when interacting with the local community. Similar to EMs, the problems emerged related to the differences in culture and ideology. In professional development, guanxi networks were important in providing employment information. The experiences of employees from a large corporation and a small-scale tourism business have numerous differences. A relationship appeared to exist between charismatic leadership and employee loyalty in both businesses. However, the returnees in tourism corporations complained about the working environment and unequal promotional opportunities.

Staffing challenges were faced by several start-up tourism businesses. Summarized from the experiences of MEs, higher incentives, such as increasing the salaries or benefits and improving the lifestyle of employees, were required to retain them in this early-stage destination. In terms of employment planning, the local tourism development plan needed to consider planning for the local residents and encourage the local young talents to be involved in tourism employment by providing more policy incentives and by regulating the behavior of non-locally owned tourism businesses. The importance of key local contact and leadership in this case can be explained using the concepts of social networks and social capital. More prominently, such concepts showed the connection between social capital and human capital, as well as the potential of these networks to be used in tourism employment and tourism development.

Chapter 9

Community Involvement, Social Capital, and Tourism

Development

9.1 Chapter Introduction

In the previous chapters, the findings were presented on the experiences of tourism migrants in Luotian. Discussions were also presented on the role of social capital and networks in these experiences, as well as on the practical issues implied in local tourism development. In this chapter, the voices and opinions of key community members were examined from the perspective of local communities in line with the development path of local tourism from media reports and other secondary documents. Major challenges to local tourism development perceived by the community members, including EMs, MEs, and local government officials, were summarized. These challenges intend to provide an ideological context to the local tourism development, and how local community members perceive the future of tourism development. The previous chapters chiefly focused on the stories of W and H. In this chapter, one tourism community, the village of S, and the major development path of Luotian are used to demonstrate the tourism stories of places. The stories of the communities are used to present the connections among the major themes of tourism development, community involvement, and social capital.

In the previous chapters, theoretical linkages were made on various points relating to the conceptual guide of this study. This chapter presents a more thorough theoretical discussion on the relationship among various concepts and constructs a conceptual map derived from this study. An attempt was made to modify and improve the conceptual framework based on the findings of this study and the previous studies, as well as to contribute to the theoretical development of the field of mobility studies, social capital, and tourism development.

9.2 Community Actions in Local Tourism Development

In this thesis, the term “community” has been used more politically toward a group of social actors within a geopolitically defined area. This section first introduces two stories of tourism, namely, the story of the Luotian tourism development and the story of Village S becoming a tourism village. These stories were extracted from the testimonies of key participants in this study.

9.2.1 Two stories

Brief story of tourism development in Luotian

The most famous site in Luotian is Tiantangzhai, which was a major part of the nationally recognized Dabie Mountain National Forestry Park. In addition, this site was the first place to have tourism in Luotian, which started in 1994. Tiantangzhai forestry was an administrative division under the county forestry department. One notable person was F, who was the director of Tiantangzhai forestry from 1994 to 1998. He first proposed the idea of developing tourism within Huanggang City, which did not have other attractions except for Chibi Park. In four years as director, he developed scenic

routes, trails, and attractions in Tiantangzhai, as well as encouraged the local residents to start HFH businesses and provided the early features of tourism. In 1998, Luotian established the county tourism bureau, where F served as chief until 2006. In the late 1990s to the early 2000s, tourism was unpopular among policy makers or developers. F performed extensive work to promote Tiantangzhai and Luotian by taking exhibits to meetings and conventions until he finally obtained the county mayor's support to develop tourism. They successfully applied for the title of Dabie Mountain National Forestry Park in 1998. In the project to develop the national ecotourism in China, Luotian joined a neighboring county to apply for funding, which substantially improved the road system within the forestry park.

The county-level government seized this opportunity and increased its promotional effort. At the time, the entire county of Luotian became aware of tourism development. From the early to the mid-2000s, Luotian invited three successive provincial secretaries to visit the county and to promote the idea of developing tourism. Luotian became famous in the province and received the support of the provincial government. In 2006, the fate-changing decision was made by the provincial government to develop red tourism routes; tourist roads were to be developed in three counties to improve accessibility. This project benefited Luotian with 460 km of tourist roads and drove the development of two highways through the county in 2009 and 2014. In 2006, Mayor M came to Luotian; she was a strong supporter of tourism development. In 2011, she became the secretary of the county council and proposed the strategic development of tourism and the idea of "countywide tourism." Since then, she and her team utilized

public resources from various working departments to develop tourism infrastructure, attractions, and tourism projects, as well as drove destination marketing.

Story of tourism development in Village S

Village S is a village with rural scenery and traditional lifestyle, and was located near the Tiantangzhai scenic area. This village was one of the first villages to develop HFH tourism in Luotian. In the late 1990s, tourism started in Luotian, and Village S became a popular area for photographers because of its beautiful fall scenery. At the time, the village leader, C, had just been elected and explored approaches for developing the village economy. In 1996, on behalf of the village committee, C obtained a loan of 450,000 yuan from the bank to start a stone mining business. The money made from stone mining was subsequently used to develop tourism. C had the idea to develop tourism from her travels to a village in another province, where she saw the villagers cutting bamboos to create tourist souvenirs. Thinking about the development of tourism in Tiantangzhai, C believed that tourism could be the future of her village. She built the first HFH in Village S. She was encouraged by a visitor from Wuhan, who turned out to be an influential official in the provincial government committee. Thereafter, she encouraged her fellow villagers to start the HFH businesses and led the village committee to build tourist facilities, provide training programs for HFH operators, and host tourist events.

C had achieved both political and business success by developing tourism. However, the start-up was challenging because she had taken the initiative and the risks related to developing tourism. The stone mining business ceased to operate because of the

environmental damage it caused. On the village level, tourism development was a community effort in Village S, although such development could not have been successful without C's vision and leadership. In 2013, 87 HFH businesses were established in Village S; the revenue tourism of the village reached 60 million yuan. C continued to work on tourism in the village. Her plan was to build a village tourism cooperative in terms of educating villagers, protecting their rights as hosts, and collectively investing in a larger and higher-end resort in the village to improve the tourism quality and capacity.

9.2.2 Tourism development experiences of Luotian

The stories of the tourism development of Luotian showed the foundational aspect of developing tourism in less developed areas, namely, infrastructure, particularly the transportation system. The investment in infrastructure was often out of the budget of the local governments because Luotian had limited fiscal ability. Therefore, several counties such as Luotian rely on the central government's fiscal transfer on infrastructure development. The infrastructure development continued to be an urgent need in providing amenities and services to tourists and local residents. Furthermore, Luotian aimed to develop countywide tourism with each township having its own attractions and tourism themes. Therefore, the task for infrastructure development was heavy on the local government departments, as explained in the case of H. The amenities and infrastructure for his agritourism site were the responsibilities of various working departments, which heavily relied on the grants from upper level government funding for project implementation. The fiscal transfer system in China had appeared since the separation of the local and state taxes in 1994; the fiscal transfer system aimed

to use the state fiscal budget to provide unconditional and conditional grants to less developed areas to balance infrastructure development (Fan, 2011).

The fiscal transfer system exhibited several drawbacks in the years of applying this system in China; no significant improvement on increasing fiscal ability of the governments was observed in less developed areas (Fan, 2011). The grants were sometimes allocated to subsidize the wages of the government employees and enlarge the size of civil employment (Fan, 2011). A more recent study has revealed a political connection between the birthplaces of ministers of key state departments and the allocation of government grants (Fan & Li, 2014). The redistribution of the grants was unbalanced and unequal. In the experiences of the Luotian tourism development, the development of infrastructure had taken 20 years by pushing the fiscal transfers from the upper-level government for support. Fiscal transfer existed within the lower-level county government as well. The focus on tourism development and the centralized power of the county council secretary had both driven the allocation of the county fiscal budget into tourism development. Therefore, the towns with tourism attractions and scenic sites had better infrastructure and amenities. Luotian had no strong political connections with the upper-level governments; thus, applying for grants was more difficult. However, the aforementioned story showed the importance of having the provincial council secretary's support on tourism development, which implied the importance of political connections.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, *guanxi* networks were crucial in the efficient handling of administrative procedures and application for government grants. This situation made

dealing with the government more challenging for EMs with less and weak network ties to build relevant political connections. However, systematic and institutional reasons were behind the lack of work efficiency and devotion among working government officials. One of the problems in practicing fiscal transfer in China was adopting a centralized system to transfer funds to the mid-level governments, namely, the provincial and municipal governments, and then redistributing the funds to the lower-level governments. The mid-level governments tend to acquire a portion of the funds, and a large amount of the grants failed to reach the local government, which caused the continuous lack of infrastructure implementation in the neediest areas (Fan, 2011). Thus, the implementation of the tourism projects in an early-stage destination, which prominently relies on infrastructure implementation, had been extremely difficult. In one agritourism project in Luotian, the entrepreneur had foreseen the problem and decided to develop the infrastructure using his private funds. However, the infrastructure development cost was high and became a burden.

The development history of Luotian showed a path of identifying suitable industries for development. However, the settlement on tourism as a strategic means for development was reached primarily because of the determination of Mayor M, who carefully examined the local resources and local conditions. At the time of development, the national policies on encouraging tourism industries and on nationwide leisure movement were established. Tourism became a favorable industry and an important lifestyle activity. The newly developed highway system and the high-speed railway system significantly boosted the domestic tourism industry in recent years. The story of Luotian highlighted the importance of identifying policy trend and the insights of the

local leadership team. In the interview with Mayor M, she summarized her experiences and insights in developing tourism in Luotian, and acknowledged developing tourism as more difficult than developing secondary industries such as manufacturing. In addition, she indicated that tourism development required integrated efforts from various actors.

In Luotian, almost all of the working departments had tourism-related responsibilities in terms of the infrastructure design, training of HFH operators, revitalizing local artifacts and traditions, and promoting Luotian in exhibitions. Although the involvement of non-government actors in tourism was limited because of the current social conditions in China, the involvement of all of the working departments showed an effort to utilize all of the resources possible for tourism development. One tourism organization established by tourism businesses was the Luotian Tourism Association, although the association has limited activities to date. On a positive note, the establishment of such an organization showed the need for integration and the openness to professional guidance from the local tourism community. Various local art-related associations were also involved in promoting tourism.

9.2.3 Community-based tourism development

The case of Village S reflected a community-based bottom-up approach for developing tourism. Village S was one of the villages that benefited significantly from tourism, particularly in recent years with infrastructure development and the increasing tourist arrivals to Luotian. The village leaders, including C, were the first ones who started the HFH businesses. Their businesses principally catered to government officials from the municipality and provincial levels other than the tourist groups. As village

leaders, they had successfully led the development by regularly running community meetings and discussions, as well as setting up prices to prevent vicious competition within the community. Village S showed solidarity in making tourism-related decisions. For example, the major attractions of the village were rural sceneries; however, with the development of tourism, agriculture was in decline and the scenery was poorly maintained. Therefore, the village had made a decision to maintain the rural scenery and collectively manage the farms.

The development path of Village S demonstrated the attempts to find a suitable industry for the community. The villagers had discovered the tourism opportunity and learned approaches for transforming traditional agriculture into rural tourism. In addition, tourism had changed the local lifestyle. People in the village used to play mahjong as a leisure activity, but gambling was an unhealthy activity. Tourism also enabled the villagers to have their own businesses to manage and become more diligent in working in tourism. The major leisure activities in the village also changed to group dancing in the evenings. A few of the returnee EMs and MEs involved in this study were from Village S. A town official explained that Village S at the moment had the least number of people working as migrant workers in large cities compared with other villages in JZH town. The development of tourism attracted numerous migrant workers to return and to become entrepreneurs at home. Village S had benefited from tourism and it had sustained annual tourist arrivals. However, this village also experienced the negative effects of tourism that villagers started to complain about congestion and hygiene during peak seasons. The future development of Village S will continue to be observed.

HFH entrepreneurs in Village S explored a more balanced development. Eighty-seven HFHs were in the village, and almost every household owned an HFH business; however, not all of them were well operated. In rural societies in China, the success of one villager would cause 100 villagers to follow suit. The lack of proper research on the market would likely induce oversupply. The community also started to realize the word-of-mouth effect, with several businesses having a steady group of return customers. However, the negative experiences could also ruin the image of the village. As one returnee EM suggested, the village committee should guide the villagers in selecting the right business. If they were not good at cooking or dealing with tourists directly, then they should be encouraged to work on supplying the HFH businesses in the village. Village S had shortages in authentic and organic cooking materials, as well as in tourist souvenirs. Therefore, the village committee was expected to manage the amount and quality of HFH businesses and sustain the development, which were difficult tasks.

Village S became one of the wealthiest villages in Luotian because of the success of tourism development in the former. The local government also provided more support to Village S to build a main rural destination image. Village leader C had won numerous awards for her success as an HFH manager and a village leader, as well as a role model for women in rural areas. She had gained extensive political connections, and these individuals became regular customers of her HFH business. However, the Chinese central government had decided to cut the spending of public funds on cars, banquets, and overseas visits starting in 2013. This regulation had significantly decreased the number of high-end restaurants, as well as HFHs that primarily catered to government officials. The HFHs operated by the village leaders saw a decline in visitors but the

larger tourist market increased; thus, the overall tourist arrivals in Village S increased. However, the regulation marked an important period for the transition of several tourism and hospitality businesses in China, as the businesses had to shift their attention to the general tourist market and cater to their needs. The economic outcomes of political connections in the case of C had been diminishing. The transition also urged small tourism communities such as Village S to embrace the use of online technology for tourism marketing.

The development of community-based rural tourism in Village S positively influenced gender roles. Women in the village became major actors in HFH businesses; the potential of this effect can be further examined in future studies. Tourism undoubtedly brought social change to the village. The returning migrant workers also reunited families that were previously separated geographically. The social issue of left-behind elderly and children was improved, which showed that the community gradually built a collective goal to develop tourism and reached the goal in success. The collective community actions in Village S demonstrated high bonding social capital and bridging social capital in terms of social relationships. Successful HFH businesses in Village S shared their experiences in operation; they had expressed the importance of honesty and integrity in providing genuine products and services. The solidarity, leadership, and collective goals of the community consisted of the bonding social capital, and the bridging relationship with loyal and return customers helped bring new customers and sustain HFH business and community tourism development.

9.2.4 Community action and the creation of social capital

Community actions in tourism development in Luotian showed that collective goals were crucial. Social capital in terms of reaching a consensus on developing tourism was created in the process. The balance of endogenous and exogenous development was reflected in the involvement of external and internal tourism enterprises and projects. In this study, the major tourism enterprises were developed by the external participants under the AI scheme. At the county level, the county council controlled the resources and made major development decisions, in which community participation was limited. Nonetheless, community participation at the village level was possible. In a previous study conducted in the United States (Hwang et al., 2011), communities took collective action to minimize the negative tourism effects; several outcomes, such as solidarity, sense of community, community identity, petition, and demonstration, occurred in the collective actions. In this case, community actions were observed in dealing with the negative effects but more so in enhancing the positive effects of tourism. Collective action was the result of social capital, although it was also a method for enhancing the community social capital through participation.

In the case of Luotian, community participation was often informal and indirect. The key community representatives demonstrated a high level of participation and served as gatekeepers and agents. For example, the river rafting business in Village S was originally owned by an external investor. Conflicts apparently occurred in dealing with the local communities on irrigation issues. Therefore, negotiations were conducted and the issues were resolved chiefly because the local business partners served as

intermediaries. Finally, the local partners bought out the external owner and invited the other community members to become business shareholders. Other stories also transpired between the communities and external investors; in the case of the river rafting business, the local members took over the business and successfully managed it. In other cases, tourism businesses failed after being sold by the initial external investors to the local members.

The issue of whether communities have the capability to directly participate and manage tourism projects and businesses was important when imposing community-based development. In the case of Turkey, various interest groups have different expectations on development and discrepancies in power distribution (Tosun, 2006). Therefore, the community participation mode required careful planning with significant consideration of the socio-political background in pre-development research. A low level of community participation in tourism development was prevalent in China because of land ownership (Wang et al., 2010), which restricted the local people to participate or to make decision on whether to use their properties for tourism. The situation in Xidi Village was more ideal (Ryan & Gu, 2009), which allowed communities to form cooperatives and to implement their own tourism development strategies with government guidance and direction in training and technological assistance, among others.

In the case of Luotian, the socio-cultural characteristics of the local communities were traditional and hospitable; they were open to external investors and welcomed tourism projects. However, they were also considered conservative and were afraid of taking

risks. The risks of development were high in an early stage destination with limited infrastructure for tourism. Therefore, participation at the decision-making level was discouraged, but the community benefits at the profit-sharing level should be ensured (Wall & Wang, 2008). In the case of balancing external and internal projects, a few community members stood against external tourism projects.

“When we were visiting H’s site, he was showing visitors from local government departments around a small hill, a guy, looking like a villager, approached our group of people, and pointing at the spot where there used to be a chestnut tree, he was shouting ‘this is wrong! Why did they chop off my trees?’ , some workers at the site escorted the guy away. Later they told me that he was unhappy about having to lease his land in the hill where chestnut trees were planted before, because he did not know that H was going to change the chestnut trees to peach trees. He had chestnut trees in the hill for many years and he could not accept the change.” (Observation note 4)

Several entrepreneurs considered this issue to be understandable because everyone wanted to earn from tourism. Although a more appropriate and more accepted mode of development was the involvement of returnees, who had more understanding of the local situation and had more social connections, these returnee entrepreneurs had experienced more challenges. One reason was they were more attached to the community; therefore, they were willing to use the approachable means of communicating and negotiating with the community. This approach was less effective than the forced development one. The communities were sometimes even more suspicious if they knew the developer. The level of acceptance of the community did not

necessarily link to the implementation efficiency of the tourism projects. Another reason was that the returnees received less institutional support from the local governments and had to exert more effort in building and maintaining local guanxi networks.

The role of leaders in community actions indicated the totalitarian and authoritarian governance style at the local level, which practically determined the development decisions and strategies. This condition was the result of the political system, which was difficult to change. However, having a tourism master plan certainly contributed to guarantee the importance of tourism in the local economy. Although future leaders with no tourism interest may slow down the development, the current development pace provided the major infrastructure and road systems, as well as the foundation to build a more mature destination that could be driven by the tourist market in the future, instead of the supply of tourism products. On a positive note on social capital, the development of tourism brought social changes to the community, attracted migrant workers to become entrepreneurs and employees in tourism, and mitigated the issues of left-behind children and elderly. Therefore, community life became more vibrant.

9.3 Community Perceptions on Local Tourism Development

Community perceptions on local tourism development were analyzed from the perspective of tourism as a means for development, perceived challenges, and community expectations and suggestions of tourism development.

9.3.1 Tourism as means for development

Academically, tourism is seldom viewed as a single industry; rather, it is an entity of multiple industries. In tourism development segmented by tourism products, the forms

of tourism were categorized into nature-based tourism, adventure tourism, rural tourism, urban tourism, and so on (Ateljevic & Li, 2009). In this case, the participants from Luotian shared their views on tourism from a locality-bond perspective as a means for development, and showed how tourism was perceived from the key actors and residents of an early-stage destination. The perceptions on tourism were shared in terms of viewing tourism as a resource-based industry and the contesting relationship between long-term and short-term goals in tourism development.

Resource-based and sustainability

The key community members and tourism actors in Luotian had a generally positive perception on tourism and were aware of the potential of tourism development for sustainability in terms of protecting natural and cultural resources. The strong connections between tourism and natural resources were emphasized by all of the participants. Such commonality in perception showed that the resource-based development approach had promoted the idea of environmental and cultural protection among the community members. The ecological resources were perceived as valuable, particularly under the prevailing circumstances of current environmental issues. In the case of Luotian, the preservation of natural resources was due to the lack of economic development during the early days, as LG-1 stated:

“When all over China people were poor, in the early days, everybody was poor, at that time ecological environment was good everywhere, this was the first phase. And in the second phase, coastal areas were developed, here was still lagged behind and closed-up, we somehow preserved the environment. So now it is the third phase, when

everywhere is developed, you have no (clean) water to drink, there is smog in the air, food is not safe, soil is polluted, so now, here we still have green mountains and clear rivers, yeah? So rich people need high quality life, and we can do this (developing tourism).”

The appreciation of natural resources was gained from the current environmental risks across the country; having the opportunity and resources to develop tourism turned out to be a privilege. Therefore, new environmental policies were issued by the local government to protect the ecological resources in light of tourism development. The protection and revitalization of cultural resources were also recognized as an important need and a potential outcome of tourism development. LC-2 mentioned the particular need to protect traditional agriculture:

“If China did not take care of this matter, in the generation followed by your generation, there would be nobody that knows how to farm anymore, the traditional way of agriculture would permanently disappear. This is our legacy, passed down generation by generation from our ancestors, if we don’t promote and revitalize it, people in the future won’t know where rice comes from, where meat comes from, and they would only know how to consume them. So this is what agritourism should do.”

Natural and cultural resource preservation was the major theme in the participant perceptions of tourism as a means for development. The economic outcomes of tourism were also recognized. For example, the potential benefits of the local community in terms of employment and entrepreneurship opportunities were highly praised by the tourism actors and community members. Compared with other first and second

industries, as well as the past development approaches adopted by the local government, tourism was perceived as the most favorable approach for development among the participants in this study. Therefore, the political agenda of local government in the aspect of developing tourism as a strategic goal received positive feedback from the local community.

Driving effect of tourism development

Tourism was perceived as an industry that attracts the flow of both human capital and cash. Therefore, tourism was expected to drive the local economy in terms of directly developing the local accommodation industry, transportation, food and beverage services, retail, souvenir, and local specialty manufacturing, as well as indirectly influencing the other local industries. Predominantly positive voices in the community on the driving effect of tourism in Luotian were evident. However, only one participant, a retired government official, expressed his negative opinion on such tourism development outcome. He considered that the driving effect of tourism could only be released during the mature stage. In an early-stage destination such as Luotian, the commercialization process of tourism-related resources was slow. Currently, the input of capital and resources to tourism was significantly high to render any driving force on other industries locally. However, the only positive outcome in terms of the economic drive from tourism development was evident in the HFH businesses in rural areas near major tourism sites. In the town of JZH, the HFH development was particularly rapid, although it was largely a bottom-up activity and based on the personal business decision

of farmers at the time of transition; they were receiving government incentives and support.

The immediate effect on HFHs was observed to be increasing rapidly within the tourist arrivals. The demand for rural accommodation drove the supply; however, the other industries in the area did not see significant economic outcome at this stage. The participants claimed to witness the positive driving effect from a relatively limited scope, chiefly from the perspective of their own project. For example, the local residents were vending local specialties in the tourism sites, through which they could supplement their agricultural income. This phenomenon was perceived as a positive economic outcome of tourism development. However, the scale of the vending business and the local specialty and souvenir development was considerably limited. Therefore, a government- or private-led initiative was necessary to commercialize local specialty and develop branded tourist souvenirs with local features.

The potential of the driving effect of tourism was well recognized by the participants. The economic potential of the industry was behind the driving forces of the tourism supply-induced mobility. In addition, the elements of people and “ren qi” (liveliness) were major themes based on the community perception, as well as in terms of how tourism drove the local economic development. Tourism was considered well developed only with “ren qi” and “re nao” (bustling). Therefore, the number of tourist arrivals became an important indicator for tourism development success and its driving effect on other industries. In terms of the political agenda and top-down government planning for tourism, the driving effect of tourism development was expected to significantly pull the

local economy onto the path of sustainable and ecological development. However, the early-stage input on tourism infrastructure and amenities was beyond the local fiscal budget.

Long-term vs. short-term goals

Another theme that emerged from the community perceptions on tourism development in Luotian was the contesting relationship between long-term and short-term goals. As mentioned in previous chapters, the relationship between private investors/entrepreneurs and the local governments involved conflicting styles of handling long-term and short-term goals for development. Based on the perception of local communities, the long-term goal should be to sustain the natural environment and sustainably develop the local economy. By contrast, the private tourism projects and some of the local government actions were shortsighted, which damaged the local environment for economic growth. The primary area of criticism was the development of large-scale tourism real estate projects, which was described in Chapter 6.

Several major natural sites in China, including Huangshan and Zhangjiajie, have gradually relocated the communities from the sites and issued policies against any construction within the sites for environmental protection. Meanwhile in Luotian, the construction of hotels and resorts had been permitted in the sighting areas. Thus, the development of tourism real-estates was perceived as an unsustainable action. Agritourism entrepreneurs, who regarded ecotourism as the appropriate approach for development, also expressed their concerns on environmental issues and the development of tourism real estate projects. EM-6 said:

“Private operation and government operation are different, private businesses aim at making profit, there needs to be a balance of long-term and short-term benefits, and of personal and national interests. To reach this balance, the large natural sites need to be managed by the government, what are the benefits then, the government can keep the long-term benefits by developing the area as a whole, but the development of tourism real estates is against the concept of ecotourism, so I am strongly opposing the idea. But our words don’t weigh much, we can’t influence the government’s decision and strategy, so in this regard, what do you investigate here was beneficial, your research may help Luotian by providing good development suggestions.”

The balance of long-term and short-term goals was principally the responsibility of government. However, the current political system in China prevented the community members, including private entrepreneurs, from significantly participating in political decisions.

The rural environmental condition in China was deteriorating; in a few places, the condition was even worse than that in urban areas. Tourism induced negative environmental effects, in which Village S was an example. Furthermore, the villagers in Village S complained about the landfill for waste disposal. In the rural areas, the lack of a waste management system resulted in garbage being seen along country roads and even in abandoned farmland. In this regard, developing tourism without carefully planning the waste management system or anticipating the potential environmental risks was a shortsighted action. LC-3, who was one of the key community members involved in this study, had proposed during key government meetings the establishment of

village-administered recycling organizations. However, his idea was not implemented. In addition, he shared his concerns on the increased materialism in China and how to strategically develop the economy:

“Doing things to protect the environment is way better than manufacturing for the factories, why nobody wanted to do it, it was because of the current system, there was no benefit gained by protecting the environment. For example, agriculture is declining, farming did not make money and farmland was abandoned, why not plant flowers or gardens to provide oxygen. It has way passed the feudal society, but people’s perception is still problematic, now they call it the middle class trap. We have money now, but how to spend the money, how to develop with the money, people don’t know. So now lots of people say, in China people have nothing besides money, because some people do not have long-term visions, they act for short-term benefits, especially people in rural societies. The government, to develop tourism or else, they need to utilize the short-term goal of people for long-term social development, [...], for example, I suggested to subsidize ecotourism with tax from heavy industries, and so when people participated in ecotourism in whatever ways they could benefit from it, because the money could support their livelihood. This requires vision of the local government, if both the government and the people work on short-term goals, there won’t be any long-term development or balance. The masses need to be guided and directed, whether it is the government, private entrepreneurs, or non-government organizations, they need to resonate with the people’s needs, their actions need to be complementary.”

On a micro level, the negotiation of tourism projects between the developers and local communities reflected the theme of long-term and short-term goals. For long-term economic development, the circulation of rural farmland was necessary because of the declining role of agriculture in the local economy. In rural communities, the long-term goal was not well understood. In the experiences of tourism projects, the development of tourism real estate was justified as providing for tourism development because of the required long-term investment. One agritourism project used horticulture businesses to supplement its long-term goal to develop a retirement resort. From the perspective of tourism government officials, they regarded marketing as the most urgent need for tourism development. Under a similar consideration, the long-term tourism investment can be made by utilizing the revenue earned through tourism, despite the current early-stage status of the destination. Opposing opinions on marketing emerged, as entrepreneurs and project developers were more reserved in terms of marketing effort. They considered that in the current stage, Luotian was incapable of receiving a large number of tourists. The marketing effort would result in the lack of quality tourist experience, which would damage the reputation of the destination.

9.3.2 Tourism as a social phenomenon

In this study, the findings on the local perception of tourism reflected a common understanding of tourism as a social phenomenon, as well as a potential lifestyle and a social welfare. Several key community members stressed that tourism should not be treated as an economic phenomenon; the attention on tourism needed to be shifted to its social aspects. Tourism has the potential to direct social change. As mentioned in previous chapters, social entrepreneurship can be traced in several tourism projects

involved in this study. The social dimension of tourism development was notable because social changes were driven in the communities. However, the recognition of tourism as a social phenomenon was also shown in this study. Two of the participants expressed the following opinions:

“Tourism is like this, anywhere you visit, can be a destination. As people become more and more educated, when the material needs are met, they gradually pursue more social and spiritual needs [...], in fact everybody has deep philosophical questions to ask, who am I, where did I come from, where am I going, traveling to a new place is observing people, to understand their lifestyle, behavior, way of thinking, and so forth, to have these experiences are very important to someone that is willing to think and to pursuit spiritual needs. The nature of tourism satisfies higher needs other than the needs for sightseeing, eating, entertainment, shopping, and such. ” (ME-7)

“The Chinese society is at a transitioning period, the way of thinking is also changing, and it needs to be guided to the right direction. In fact developing tourism is a way of directing the thoughts and perceptions. Tourism is a form of social interaction, it is an element in the social field, if tourism loses the social element and fails to promote social characteristics, and the only aim is money, one day money may fail there might be financial crisis, inflation, money does not worth anything anymore, the ecological environment, the clear air, are the only things that protect us humans.”(LC-6)

The potential needs for tourism were evaluated, and the common understanding among the participants in this study was that tourism would eventually become a lifestyle and an inseparable part of human lives. The social aspects of tourism had the

potential to direct the community perceptions toward development. However, the risk of focusing on the economic aspects of tourism existed because the value of culture and nature would be degraded to pave the way for economic development. In addition, the view of tourism was shown in relation to the increasing income level and quality of life in China. This perspective indicated that tourism became more affordable to an increasing number of people.

9.3.3 Expectations and suggestions

The participants exhibited positive attitudes toward the potential of tourism development. All groups of participants showed their expectations on Luotian becoming an important domestic destination. Furthermore, they provided suggestions on the future tourism development in Luotian; these suggestions were associated with the challenges and problems the participants perceived in the development path of Luotian. The major categories of suggestions on development are addressed as follows:

Centralized planning and control

Tourism planning was considered highly important to the success of tourism development in Luotian. Luotian was an early-stage destination, and its resources were scattered across the county; an integrated plan for tourism was therefore necessary. Although a master plan for tourism development was available, the planning process and the document itself principally served as a political document to apply for government grants, rather than a guideline for tourism development. Several entrepreneurs mentioned that the current stage tourism development was not strategically planned; new projects appeared based on the interest of investors, rather

than on the needs of the locality. A centralized tourism plan was necessary because tourism development should primarily consider the needs and resources of the locality, as well as the strategic goals of tourism within the overall local economy. Moreover, centralized planning could set a development direction on the scales and types of tourism products to be implemented, which could contribute to an integrated destination image and sustainability of the tourism product.

Cultural attractions

The major attractions in Luotian were nature-based, and the common community voice focused on the lack of cultural attractions. Although Luotian had vast cultural and historical resources, such resources had limited commercialization. One informant called the essence of tourism as the hardware, which indicated the natural and built attractions and infrastructure. The lack of cultural hardware was evident in the absence of protection and revitalization of cultural heritages and the lack of unique local brands. Tourism was recognized as an industry of aesthetics, which required immense effort to cultivate the cultural hardware. For example, an agricultural museum in Luotian was being planned to preserve the traditional agricultural tools and styles of farming in central China, which was undergoing industrialization. However, the project was not implemented. The investment in cultural attractions was high, and the economic outcome of such investment was often low. Thus, cultivating cultural attractions was extremely challenging with only the government participating.

Agritourism and HFH development

Similar to the lack of cultural attraction, the focus of tourism development was criticized as merely aimed at large-scale projects. Agritourism projects were perceived as the future of Luotian, with the high demand from surrounding cities for recreation and leisure activities in a rural setting. However, agritourism projects were often small to medium in scale and required a long time to establish; therefore, they did not receive adequate policy support from the government. Several key community members, including retired or former local government officials, regarded the HFH businesses as high on social and economic benefits for the local communities. However, the rural residents, who had a low education level and lacked access to modern technology and management approach, required more government assistance on establishing and managing the HFH businesses. Therefore, although agritourism and HFH development in Luotian were facing numerous challenges, they should be the fundamental areas where tourism could potentially have a positive influence.

Human capital

The lack of human capital was mentioned by the participants, which chiefly referred to the lack of talents in the local tourism development. From the local government perspective, several programs and incentives were offered to attract new college graduates and talents to work in the Luotian government departments. However, a lack of talents with tourism background was prevalent in the county. The small- to medium-scale tourism projects were in particular need of individuals with multiple capabilities and diverse expertise in the start-up process. The lack of human capital was also

discussed in the previous chapter that focused on staffing challenges. Based on the early-stage status, marketing for the destination also meant marketing on the supply side to attract more people to work in the tourism sectors and contribute to local tourism development.

9.4 Governance and Policy in Tourism Development

Community perceptions and actions in tourism development in the case of Luotian were related to the governance and policies of the local governments. One area of governance of the tourism sites was the unclear management system. In the case of Luotian, the major attraction of Dabie Mountain National Forestry Park had several forestry divisions, village committees, town committees, county tourism bureau, and a special tourism management committee. All of these groups shared the management rights of the park, but the management system was not straightened and created numerous issues in tourism development. The establishment of institutions that appropriately manage tourism was the basis for the collective action on tourism development and the mitigation of the negative effects to the destination (Bramwell, 2011). In this case, the implementation of tourism projects in Luotian was challenging in the experiences of several EMs because of the lack of proper governance of the sites. The private and public sectors involved in the park were often in conflict when development was implemented. Confusion occurred frequently, which damaged the operation of the tourism attractions.

The management system was a political issue chiefly because of the redundancy of the government sectors at the local level. Many participants shared the views of the

vulnerability of setting tourism as a strategic goal in a centralized governing system. Several government officials regarded tourism as a *Yi Ba Shou* (leader/boss) project; only the full-scale and centralized control of the leader on tourism development could ensure its success. The reliance on the leadership indicated the supply-driven and top-down approach of governance, which was common in less developed areas. The role of the leadership would allow the release of a substantial amount of public resources to be invested in tourism development. For example, Luotian tourism had progressed slowly until the appointment of the current secretary of the county council. Her leadership team had been devoted to establish tourism projects and invest in destination marketing.

The perceptions of the community have shown that the future of tourism development would be less promising if the leadership team changes. If the next leader did not treat tourism as a major industrial sector to develop, then tourism development may stagnate. The *Yi ba shou* of a county has the highest power to distribute public resources and funding and to make crucial decisions. Therefore, the leader's vision has been principally the reason that Luotian had tourism on its development agenda. This governance style feature explained the immense influence of the political system on tourism development. One relevant policy was the cadre mobility, in which the secretary of the county council would be promoted or relocated to other places after a few years of being in Luotian. The general perception from the local participants was that the next leadership team may not be as supportive to local tourism development. Furthermore, the cadre mobility policy allowed the political achievement to become more important than the sustainability of development based on the cadre decisions on major local projects. This condition explains that the local government officials were in favor of

attracting large-scale tourism projects instead of promoting small- to medium-scale ones because political achievement was associated with the individual political careers and large-scale projects that contributed to a higher GDP.

However, the GDP-based evaluation system on political achievement has been challenged and gradually reformed in several areas in China. Based on a news report in August 2014, more than 70 counties/cities in China have abandoned the GDP evaluation system in favor of a criteria-based system of environmental and livelihood indicators (“Over 70 Chinese”, 2014). Although the reforms have positive effects, many areas would still continue to use the GDP-based evaluation system until such reforms were implemented more extensively. The governance and policy on development have significantly influenced tourism in Luotian. In contrast to the other industries, tourism development was a more recent phenomenon, and the potential of tourism on the local economy was not well recognized at the local level. Under the current political system, both the leadership and the change of leadership have significantly influenced the development process and outcome.

9.5 Conceptualizing Tourism Supply-induced Mobility with Social Capital

The preceding sections provided findings associated with the community actions in tourism development from the perspective of the participants in this study. As discussed in previous chapters, the socio-political background of the destinations influenced the decision and experiences of tourism supply-induced mobility. The local ideology on tourism development and governance style can also be regarded as local social capital. The findings resonated with the view on social capital in tourism from Macbeth et al.

(2004), which integrated both the input from the community and the state. Therefore, the conceptualization of tourism-induced mobility with an effect on local tourism development was contextualized in the present case study. The features of a centralized socialist governance style, the current economic reforms, the traditional cultural background of family and social relations, as well as the status of an early-stage tourism destinations, contributed to the mobility of the people induced by tourism development.

9.5.1 Institutional support, community openness, and personal networks in tourism supply-induced mobility

In entrepreneurial mobility, the initiation and decision-making process was not strongly associated with networks; it was an intrinsic decision driven by multiple factors related to economic opportunities, socio-cultural motivation, environmentalism, and other internal and external influences. All three aspects of social capital adapted in this study were present in the mobility initiation process. Institutional support, community openness and awareness of tourism opportunities, and personal social networks determined the prospects for economic outcomes and provided confidence in entrepreneurship. Moreover, in migrant entrepreneurship in tourism, business partners were often long-term friends/relatives and partners from previous business. Short-term acquaintances were linked with functional purposes, such as obtaining permission and reducing administrative procedures. Effort was exerted in building ties with the local government and the community for administrative benefits and other functional advantages.

For the employees, finding a tourism job was related to strong ties, which were mostly relatives and close friends, from the rural communities around the tourism sites. The information of recruitment was disseminated informally by the current employees, who served as liaison between the company and the community. Thus, *shoran* guanxi was highly important in the job attainment of employees, particularly the returnee employees. The involvement of the family was also important in the phenomenon. In entrepreneurial mobility, the family members often presented objection on the decision, but such objection did not hinder the entrepreneurs. The role of family was less prominent among the migrant employees. However, taking care of the family members for young returnee MEs was a strong motivation to return. Networks had critical roles in this study, particularly in tourism entrepreneurship than in employment. However, weak ties performed minor roles compared with strong ties.

Institutional support, primarily in the form of policy incentives, immensely influenced the experiences of tourism entrepreneurs. Community openness determined the mobility process and the relationship between the community members and outsiders. For many new migrants, both entrepreneurs and employees, the interaction was limited; however, the ones with the higher community interaction also experienced higher cultural differences. Dealing with the local government and local community members was a prolonged process; thus, migrants gradually gained connection and understanding of the local communities. Entrepreneurs appreciated by the local communities became long-term residents; W was an example of such a bond. Another institutional concept was leadership, which was demonstrated as significant in retaining employees and maintaining connections with the site or the project. The stories of Luotian and Village

S similarly showed the importance of leadership and a centralized governance style in tourism development. Such leadership provided power and resources in favor of tourism development in a less developed and early-stage destination.

9.5.2 Application of social capital from different approaches

Previous studies on social capital indicated different schools of thought in an attempt to follow the network-embedded resource approach of social capital (Bian, 2008; Lin, 1999). The present study also shed light on other schools of thought on social capital in terms of the network membership and network structure approaches. From the network-embedded resource approach, networks had the potential to become significant economic resources. In the Chinese society, the effort invested in *guanxi* was clearly demonstrated in the importance of such networks. Economic embeddedness has long been recognized as a network feature in the contemporary business world (Granovetter, 1985; Uzzi, 1996); the transaction of social capital into economic capital was also an intention of entrepreneurs (Haase Svendsen et al., 2010). In this case, social networks created practical economic outcomes in terms of saving time and energy on establishing projects, retrieving government grants on tourism projects, and, for employees, finding local tourism jobs. From the network structure approach, a previous study indicated non-significant connections between the management of tourism entrepreneurship and social capital (Zhao et al., 2011). However, the current study revealed that social capital in terms of institutional support, community openness, and personal networks contributed to the start-up experiences of tourism entrepreneurship. The density of networks was not measured but was indicated by the network-related narratives. Extensive bonding and bridging networks worked on different purposes in tourism supply-induced mobility.

The membership approach of social capital captured the political dimension of the concept (Putnam, 2000). In this case, the collective goal of developing tourism in the community showed solidarity and willingness to collaborate. By contrast, the lack of a collective goal in several communities caused more effort and mediation on the part of tourism entrepreneurs and local government officials. The participation of the local communities in tourism demonstrated positive outcomes in tourism development. Therefore, this study provided a theoretical contribution by connecting social capital with tourism supply-induced mobility. In the case of tourism migrant mobility, the mobility typology includes the three forms of social, organizational, and geographical mobilities. The connections with social capital principally referred to the networking abilities of individuals and organizations in the mobility and tourism supply initiation process. In previous discussions on entrepreneurial experiences and social capital, entrepreneurs with high organizational mobility and high geographical mobility showed higher networking abilities in bridging social relationships. Although this chapter connects findings in previous chapters with the community features, the framework can be further elaborated with contextual premises and the embeddedness of social networks.

Drawing from the IRT framework (Cawley & Gilmor, 2008; Saxena et al., 2007) and the previously developed conceptual connection between social capital and integrated development (Figure 2.9), the three themes of embeddedness, endogeneity, and empowerment appeared in the current study. The functional forms of social capital and the embeddedness of social networks were shown in the importance of building and maintaining social relationships in the initiation and establishment of mobility. The

experience of the migrant tourism participants, as the main subjects of this study, showed that the development was largely exogenous; nevertheless, endogeneity was shown by a mixed set of bonding and bridging social capital. At the community level, endogenous community-based development was realized chiefly because of the collective goal and collective action of the community, which showed the empowerment of community members on development issues.

9.5.3 Modification on conceptual guide

The original conceptual guide constructed for this study (see Figure 2.9) was ascertained to be valid in explaining the phenomenon of tourism supply-induced mobility in Luotian. The dimensions of social capital and tourism development used in the conceptual guide were proven inclusive. However, the mobility dimensions required modification because of the lack of lifestyle components identified in this study. Therefore, the tourism supply-induced mobility typology is modified using the three dimensions of mobility discussed in Chapter 5, namely, social, organizational, and geographical mobilities. The typology of these mobilities was an independent feature of inward mobility driven by tourism supply. Figure 9.1 shows a modified conceptual guide. The original intention of the conceptual guide was to provide anchoring points to the findings, as presented in the current and previous chapters. The three major concepts were thoroughly explained in the context of the study case. The position of social capital was also modified. Social capital served as an explanatory concept that linked tourism supply-induced mobility and tourism development. Such concept could be related to the personal features of the migrants, organizational features of leadership, collectivity, and

solidarity, as well as the destination-based characteristics of institutional and policy support.

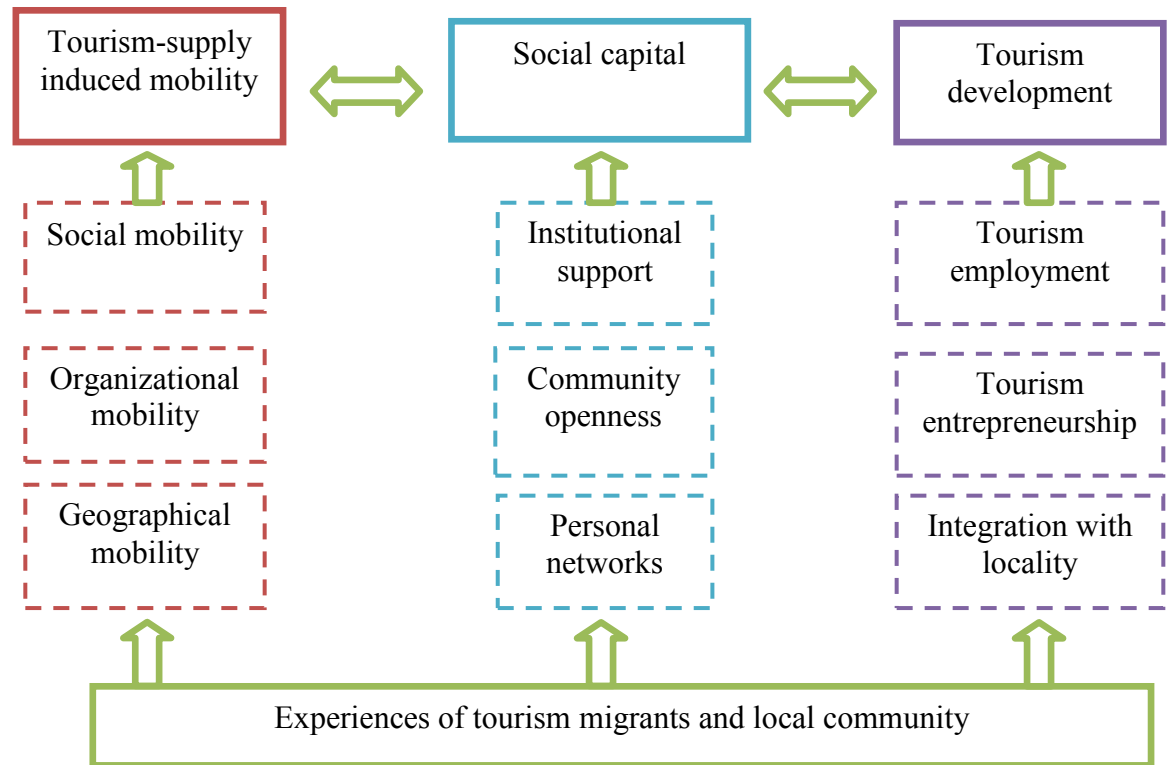


Figure 9.1 A modified conceptual guide (Source: Author)

The conceptual guide served as a structural framework to present the findings with theoretical linkages to this thesis. Figure 9.2 presents a new framework to briefly summarize the major findings. This new framework was constructed to demonstrate the major relationships between the individual migrants and the destination. Several conceptual connections were identified in this research, which is a single-case study. Thus, the power of transferability was limited. However, acknowledging the features and contexts of this single case can provide further implications on cases with similar status in early-stage tourism development in China. Therefore, the new framework is a

brief conceptualization of the phenomenon of tourism supply-induced mobility, which is hoped to be more transferrable.

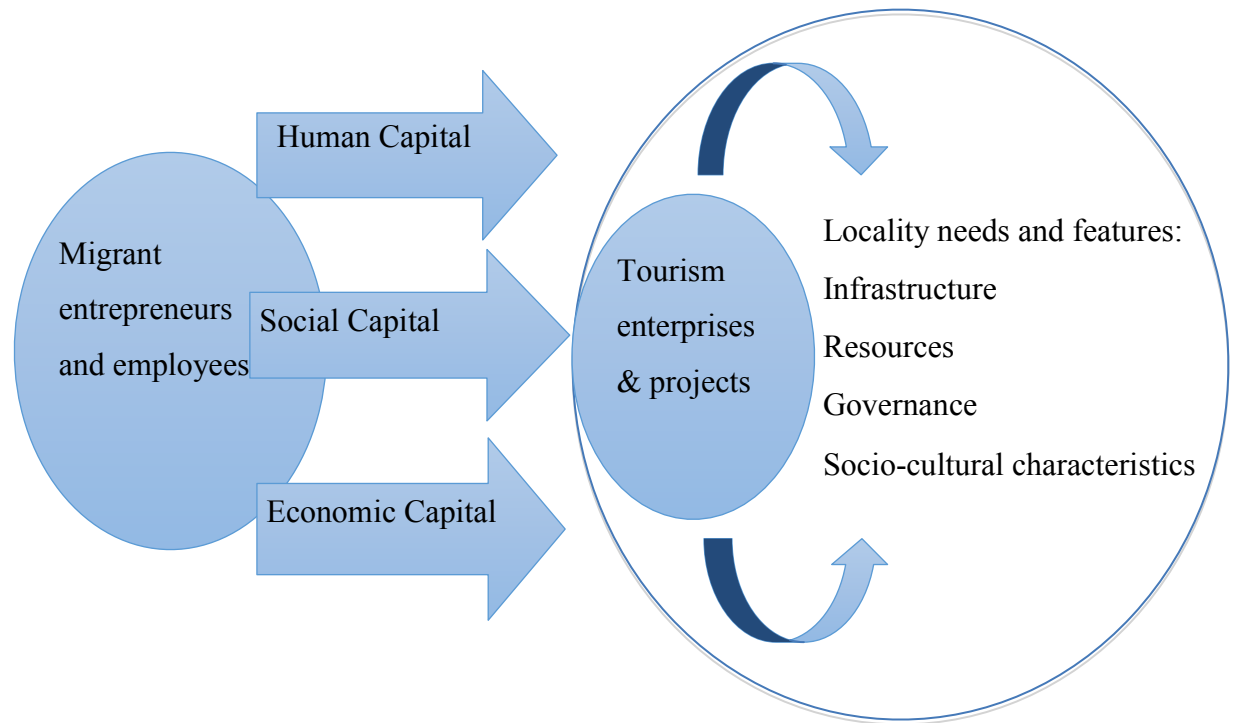


Figure 9.2 Relationship between tourism migrants and destination locality

(Source: Author)

The aforementioned framework demonstrates that migrant entrepreneurs and employees provided human capital, social capital, as well as economic capital, to the destination by being involved in tourism enterprises and projects. These enterprises and projects contributed to local infrastructure and resource development; however, they were also highly restrained by governance in the authoritarian political system of China and influenced by the local socio-cultural characteristics. Migrants with working experiences and skills acquired by working in large cities provided human capital to

tourism employment. The social connections of entrepreneurs presented future investment opportunities and distribution channels for tourism products. Financially, a local financial system to assist tourism entrepreneurs was lacking, but the situation was improving with the implementation of new policies. The corporate investors in Luotian had the ability to obtain loans from local banks, whereas small- to medium-sized entrepreneurs invested money from other areas or regions to the destination. Both actions stimulated the local economy.

The major issues regarding tourism supply-induced mobility were to retain the various forms of capital and sustain the tourism enterprises and projects. In this study, the residency of migrants in the destination ranged from 1 year to 10 years, with the majority under 5 years. Therefore, the lack of long-term migrants showed the problems of retaining and sustaining tourism businesses and talents. The failure of tourism enterprises and projects induced the outward mobility to seek opportunities elsewhere. This situation indicated the disadvantages of the AI practice. Nevertheless, one positive aspect was that tourism enterprises and projects managed by outsiders had brought significant social change to the local communities. However, a more serious issue was related to the sustainability of the economic benefits received by the communities. In several cases of the tourism real estate projects, the profit made from tourism enterprises was not used to reinvest in local tourism development. Moreover, conflicts occurred between the local communities and external tourism enterprises.

9.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings and discussions related to community involvement in tourism. The major community actions and perceptions were derived from this study. The two stories of Luotian and Village S were shared to provide the history and development path for tourism at the regional and community levels. The participants in this study also provided suggestions on the future development of tourism in Luotian. The discussion on community involvement further led to the conceptual linkage with governance and the conceptual guide of this study. The final sections of this chapter discussed the issue of governance in association with social capital. A modified conceptual guide was presented, and a summary on the major findings was briefly demonstrated in a new framework. The conceptualization of tourism supply-induced mobility was then moved beyond the case study to offer a certain degree of transferability and generalization on the findings. The theoretical and practical implications of this study, as well as its limitations and future directions, will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

10.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by summarizing the major findings presented in the previous chapters, as well as emphasizes the theoretical contributions and practical implications of this study. Tourism as a form of mobility is an interdisciplinary subject. This study is aimed specifically at tourism supply-induced mobility, thus separating tourism and mobility and subsequently examining them from the economic development, geographical, and sociological perspectives. Theoretically, this study provides a new lens on mobility and tourism, as well as the role and perception of individuals on tourism entrepreneurship and employment in a developing destination. It also applies the concepts of social capital and social networks in the context of tourism. Organizational embeddedness is shown to be important in this study, as examined from the individual, organizational, and destination perspectives. Individual experiences and perceptions are influenced by the demographical, social, and economic positions of the individual. More practically, this empirical study provides suggestions on the development of an early-stage destination in terms of utilizing the mobility induced by potential tourism development opportunities and destination governance.

However, no research is perfect. This study has several limitations, which were realized in the process of constructing this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter identifies the

limitations and directions for future research. The limitations of a single-case study could not be exempted, but such case study is capable of identifying the deeper issues of the research area that may be similarly significant in other early-stage destinations. The lack of emphasis on the employee experience, gender issue, as well as the corporate experiences in this study could be further investigated in future research. Comparative cases should also be applied in other contexts or in destinations in a developed context.

10.2 Summary of Research Findings and Reflection on Research Outcome

Based on the research objectives, this study aimed to answer the research questions regarding tourism supply-induced mobility, social capital, and tourism development in an early-stage destination to explore whether and how this type of mobility links with early-stage tourism development, as well as how to solve the problems of the lack of social, human, and economic capital in the destination. This section presents a summary of each of the research objectives of this study.

10.2.1 Features of tourism-supply induced mobility

The first and the final objectives of this study targeted to investigate and compare the characteristics and experiences of tourism migrants, namely, entrepreneurial migrants (EMs) and migrant employees (MEs). In this single-case study, the mobility induced by tourism development showed significance in the overall tourism entrepreneurship and employment in the destination. The ages of the migrants varied, but EMs were generally older than MEs. Tourism employment was dominantly local; in one of the major resorts, local employees constituted 80% of the total employees, including returnees. Therefore, an early-stage destination had less MEs; however, MEs eventually took over the

management positions of several Attracting Investment (AI) tourism projects. By contrast, the situation of EMs was more salient because most of the medium- to large-scale tourism projects were initiated or operated by returnees or new entrepreneurs/investors. Therefore, sustaining and managing these tourism projects was crucial to the tourism success of the destination.

The sources of mobility were summarized as social, geographical, and organizational. The change in social status of migrants, such as from farmers/migrant workers to entrepreneurs, as well as from low-level employee to management-level employee, was categorized as social mobility. Geographical mobility refers to the time-space dimension; migrants were categorized as new migrants and returnee migrants. The length of stay also has distinctions, which was associated with the purpose of mobility. Except for EMs and returnees who had significant social contact with the destination, most of the other migrants in this study did not permanently live in the area. However, the future mobility status was often uncertain because many migrants were commuting and traveling to and from different places.

Life stage was another feature of significance on the mobile lifestyle. This study had more male participants, indicating that males were more adapted to being mobile and embracing new opportunities outside of their comfort zone. The features of returnee migrants in both tourism employment and entrepreneurship showed that the life stage variation influences mobility initiation. One stage was mid-20s to early-30s, which was the perceived age range of settling down. Thus, migrant workers would return to balance family and personal life, when tourism in time provided employment and

entrepreneurial opportunities. Another stage was post-40s, when individuals with established career and family lives sought new opportunities for entrepreneurship in tourism. Undoubtedly, the life stage and experiences of migrants have diversities. Many new migrants seek careers before establishing a family; thus, being relocated and leading a mobile life was perceived as means for career advancement and personal development. The mobile lifestyle was connected with the instability of personal lives by younger migrants because the traditional views on settling down brought social pressure on being unmarried, particularly for females. However, once the personal life is built, as in several cases of migrant workers in rural China, they often decide to lead a mobile life again to provide for their families.

10.2.2 Role of tourism in inducing mobility

The second objective of this study aimed to understand the involvement and influence of migrants on local tourism development and whether tourism development drives internal migration. The answer to this research objective depends on the social, economic, and human resources that these migrants bring to the destination. Whether tourism in fact drives internal migration in both entrepreneurship and employment, tourism that is related to the economic opportunities is only a partial drive for the decision-making. In a few cases, particularly the ones involving returnees, tourism did not come first in the decision. Despite the common acknowledgement of tourism development potentials, migrants chose other intricate reasons to move to Luotian. In several cases of returnee employees, working in tourism was a contingency. Personal issues or family obligations prompted their decision to return. However, tourism showed an indirect effect. For example, the families of some employees were involved in

tourism, but they were requested to return because the family business required extra assistance. In other cases, the potential of tourism development on the community level served as a safety net, which provided migrant workers with possible economic prosperity or at least employment opportunities. Therefore, tourism influenced the return of people to the destination, regardless of whether migrants were interested in working in tourism.

Another related issue was the perception on tourism from the social perspective. As a means for development, tourism was highly praised, particularly by entrepreneurs, for the social benefits it might bring to local communities. Therefore, compared with other industries, tourism, particularly agritourism, had become more appealing to potential entrepreneurs. Such appeal was also associated with nostalgia and attachment to childhood memories and the rural farmland. Entrepreneurship alone was a driving force for mobility, which was linked to seeking new opportunities. The EMs had the intention for a start-up business first by identifying tourism as an area of investment; therefore, the location was subsequently determined by site visits and field investigations.

The role of policy and socio-political background of the destination contributed to the environment of tourism development. The determination of the locality in developing tourism provided policy support, infrastructure development, and guiding principles, which allowed and assisted private entrepreneurs to start up a tourism business. Although handling the relationship with the local government was complex, the overall socio-political environment was important in attracting entrepreneurs and investors. Accessibility of a destination in terms of transportation had the most fundamental role in

an early-stage destination (Zuo & Bao, 2011). Investment in infrastructure development and transportation systems was also the foundation for tourism development; without public investment in these areas, tourism could not be developed. Therefore, the economic opportunities of the supply side of tourism depended on numerous features of the locality, including natural and built resources and the political agenda for development. At the micro level, the selection of tourism projects and location was based on the entrepreneurial business plan.

In contrast to studies on migration conducted previously in relation to tourism (Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2011; O'Reilly, 2007), the present study did not determine any geographical patterns caused by internal migration because it was only focused on one area. Previous studies in the Western context suggest the segregation of tourist, migrant, and local spaces (Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2011). To date, the segregation has not appeared in this early-stage destination. Segregation may be less likely to occur because of the domestic focus and cultural homogeneity, as well as the established social structures in China (see the social classes and stratification illustrated in Bian, 2005). Interestingly, social interactions and integration with the locality are inevitable for tourism migrants because of the complexity of early-stage tourism development, which requires frequent social contact and collaboration of various stakeholders.

10.2.3 Social capital and tourism supply-induced mobility

The relationship between social capital and tourism supply-induced mobility was the other objective of this study. Summarized from the previous chapters, social capital in different forms played important roles in the experiences of mobility initiation and

professional development of migrants. The role of social capital was more functional in the mobility process because the identification of community openness, institutional support, and personal networks was aimed at financial gain from being involved in tourism. Migrants at different status of social, organizational, and geographical mobilities had various experiences with social capital and local tourism development. Social capital certainly played a more important role in the entrepreneurship experiences. However, leading a mobile lifestyle brought many challenges to both entrepreneurs and employees based on their different life stage needs. Broadly speaking, the role of social capital was both implicitly and explicitly reinforced by collective action and goals, family, leadership, and strong network ties in the experiences of tourism migrants. However, the primary motivations of mobility were not solely based on social capital, but on a more spontaneous and practical decision, except for those assigned by corporations.

The use of guanxi networks was chiefly for information sharing and “favor seeking” to deal with governance issues. Therefore, this study supported the findings from Wang and Ap (2011) that guanxi and social networks can compensate for the role of regulations when the tourism governance system was ineffectively or inefficiently implemented in the case of China. The relationship with the community required more attention. The reassignment of government officials in China, particularly those with power, may exert the risks of abandonment of their assigned tourism projects because of the cadre mobility in the country. The phenomenon of unfinished projects appeared in numerous places throughout China. The unsupervised and unregulated relations between tourism project developers and government officials could be a breeding ground for

corruption and irresponsible development projects. In such cases, the local communities became the victims. The MEs and corporate developers experienced difficulties in dealing and negotiating with local communities. The communities were cautious in assessing and evaluating the intentions of these developers because the collaboration would jeopardize the fate of the communities.

Returnees appeared to be a major group, and categorized by the geographical mobility of tourism migrants. They had more emotional attachment to the destination, and thus were more stable in future mobility status and had more social connections with the local communities. Their relationship with the communities could be categorized as bonding social capital. However, in the case of entrepreneurs, the returnees often faced more institutional challenges in dealing with local government departments. An old saying in China states, “Visiting monks give better sermons,” which suggested more attention and expectation on external investors than on the local government. The phenomenon of difficulties in promotion for local employees in tourism corporations also reflected the saying. Therefore, the dynamics in tourism employment and entrepreneurship influenced the social mobility status of individuals and their prospects for personal development. From the network resource perspective, which was the basis of the social capital concept, tourism supply-induced mobility was a process that utilized all of the social networks to create social capital. However, the mobility of social resources varied among entrepreneurs and employees, based on the social class and stratification in Chinese professions (Bian, 2005). In general, the two groups of migrants belonged to different social classes.

Denser social networks were required in entrepreneurial mobility. This phenomenon has also resonated with the statement from Huang and Hu (1988) that social relationships in Chinese societies determine the social positions. Social actions occur not to follow objective rules or standards, but to follow or deny social requirement based on the perception of the power structure in the social contexts (Huang & Hu, 1988). Therefore, several migrants in the current study exhibited adaptive characteristics to the challenges and difficulties socially, and the ones with more social connections and guanxi networks had more flexibility in mobilizing various resources. This study also indicated that maintaining group harmony was more important than acquiring equal distribution. The application of guanxi networks in this study was based on the effort exerted in seeking and maintaining guanxi networks; such an approach consisted of the paradigm of relational sociology, which explained power not as a possession, but as the relationship of force and capital management (Mische, 2008).

10.3 Theoretical Contributions

This study contributed theoretically in applying the concept of social capital in tourism development in China and conceptualizing tourism supply-induced mobility. In this section, the theoretical contributions are discussed with various linkages to multiple disciplines and fields of study.

10.3.1 Social capital theory

An extensive literature has been devoted to social capital and its application of guanxi networks in China. The use of guanxi networks in this study provided a more relational approach to examine guanxi-related social capital in the Chinese context. The saying, “It

is not what you know, but who you know that matters,” should be more accurate as “It is not who you know, but how you get to know who you know that matters.” Guanxi networks are important in both business and personal contexts in China, based on the experiences of entrepreneurial and employee migrants in this study. This idea also indicates that guanxi should be placed within a legal framework by effective governance to create legitimate social capital (Szeto et al., 2006). To use a relational approach, the effort and energy devoted to construct and maintain guanxi networks could be methodologically feasible to evaluate the nature of such networks.

Although this study draws the existing conceptualizations of social capital and guanxi, it has shifted the context to a transitioning rural China, whereas most of the existing studies examine urban societies (Bian & Zhang, 2001; Bian, 2008; Zhang et al., 2004; Zhang & Ruan, 2001). In the present study, the existence of urban–rural mobility brought the interactions of social relationships possessed by migrants and local residents. The success in establishing tourism projects was based on encountering and adapting to the social norms of the locality. This study opened new theoretical discussions on the role of social networks in the Chinese society that is currently under economic and social reform. However, the social norms were discrepant between more developed and less developed areas. In this case, rural China had presented a strong reliance on strong network ties to be open to external investment and development. External migrants were more privileged if they possessed strong political networks. Rural areas commonly have less tolerance for diversity (Onyx & Bullen, 2000), but seeking economic development opportunities in the case of China pushed them to become more inclusive and diverse.

Moreover, although the urban–rural divide has been less salient in an era with increasing geographical mobilities, the social gap between urban and rural China remained large. Rural societies in China function on institutional indeterminacies and ambiguity (Ho, 2000); therefore, rural lives were not structured or regulated. Rural China also faces the explosive issue of land ownership, which is often involved in tourism development. External developers experience more social challenges when entering a land ownership locality. Bridging the social capital of local communities, gatekeepers, and substantial community leaders to external investors is driving community economic opportunities. In this respect, migrants with both bridging and bonding connections have the priority to gain more social capital and more access to tourism development in the locality. Key community members with connections to both rural and urban resources were present in all of the mobility experiences in this study. Social networks and guanxi networks served as important intermediaries between the external actors and the local community in tourism development.

This study also determined a lack of explanatory power of social capital theories; therefore, social capital could only be used as a tool for examination. Social capital was not quantitatively measured; as a broad concept, the measurement of social capital often lacked the differentiation on causes and consequences (Bodin & Crona, 2008). In a previous study on social capital and rural tourism in China, the authors suggested the building of training centers and organizations to guide participants (Zhao et al., 2011); therefore, social capital was viewed both as an outcome and a means of achieving the outcome. Similar issues also emerged in the present study. Tourism supply-induced mobility was initiated and processed with the connection to multiple forms of social

capital; however, the outcomes were linked with generating community trust, social change, and solidarity, which can be associated with social capital. Although the concept lacks explanatory power, the theoretical value of social capital can be well reflected in association with a specified context.

Therefore, putting social capital into context when applying the concept is a better approach. Previous studies in tourism have examined related notions, such as identity, trust, engagement, reciprocity, loyalty, and partnership (Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Chang et al., 2010; Denicolai et al., 2010). Social capital can be associated with similar concepts from the structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions. Therefore, social capital could be a more elaborate conceptual means to be used in tourism research. Another debate in previous studies was the negativity of social capital (Weisinger, 2007), whether bad social capital exists. The present study supports the goodwill of social capital. The wrong use of social capital may induce negative consequences. However, social capital itself is only a means for a higher end, whether it is the creation of economic capital or human capital.

10.3.2 Conceptualization of tourism supply-induced mobility

This study contributed to the theorization of the mobilities paradigm (Cresswell, 2010; Urry, 2012). With the rising middle class and lifestyle-oriented industries such as tourism, individuals with high mobility seek new opportunities for personal development and more consciously reflect on the development path. In numerous cases of mature destinations, the lifestyle component was prominent in migration to tourist destinations. However, the influence of lifestyle choice in an early-stage destination is

unclear, particularly in the case of employees. As summarized in the literature review, tourism and hospitality workers were increasingly mobile (Duncan et al., 2013). The choices of mobile hospitality work were related to external factors such as a transitioning economy, or the characteristics of the hospitality and tourism professions, and internal factors such as in the cases of working tourists and volunteer tourists. In the context of this study, tourism employment and labor work had many variations because of the different forms of mobility status. This study theoretically contributed to the issues of labor mobility in the tourism and hospitality industries (Ladkin, 2014). Associated with social theories, such as social capital and Weber's notion of substantive and formal rationality, and embedded in an early-stage development context, several employment and entrepreneurship characteristics in tourism were explained and conceptualized. In addition, this study contributed to the concept of entrepreneurial mobility (Wight, 2010) by integrating with social network theories.

Table 10.1, which was constructed based on the findings presented in previous chapters, further demonstrates the types of tourism involvement and their distinctive characteristics in this study with different mobility sources. The characteristics of mobility are attached to high and low mobilities in each category. Table 10.1 shows no correlation among the different sources of mobility because of insufficient evidence on the interconnections except for entrepreneurial mobility, which was discussed in relation to the concept of networking ability in Chapter 7. However, several connections were observed. For example, the social mobility of employees was positively related to organizational mobility, whereas entrepreneurs with higher geographical mobilities were determined to have a higher organizational mobility. The typologies on tourism-related

mobility were not the main goal of this study; this conceptualization was an inductive and explorative result that requires future research.

Table 10.1 Typology of tourism-supply induced mobility in an early-stage destination
(Source: Author)

Tourism involvement	Social mobility	Organizational/ Economic mobility	Geographical mobility
Entrepreneurship	High: Farmer/employee-Entrepreneur	High: Corporates expand into tourism	High: International business, regional migration or returnee
	Low: Entrepreneur in other industry/businesses-entrepreneur in tourism	Low: Entrepreneurial start-up for the first time	Low: Locally-based
Employment	High: Promotion with relocation	High: Educational background and work experience, high career prospects	High: International, domestic relocation, or returnee
	Low: Parallel relocation, employee in other businesses- employee in tourism	Low: Limited educational background or work experience, low career prospects	Low: Local employment

Table 10.1 also includes possible immobility statuses, although the discussions in previous chapters were based on the geographical mobility status of tourism migrants. The sources of mobility could be used to evaluate the potential for entrepreneurship and employment related to tourism. For example, an individual employee hired locally, with limited educational background and work experience in tourism, could be categorized based on the aforementioned typology as having low social, organizational, and geographical mobilities. This typology is only the first step in conceptualizing tourism-related mobility. This study was based on a single case of an early stage destination;

thus, applying and conceptualizing the typology from tourism demand perspectives, as well as in more mature destinations, have immense potential.

10.3.3 Tourism research and the mobilities paradigm

More recent tourism studies have adopted the mobilities paradigm of inquiry (Cohen et al., 2013). However, tourism has been acknowledged to have scarcely contributed to the establishment of the mobilities paradigm (Tribe, 2010). Therefore, the current study provided an experiment to integrate the mobilities paradigm in tourism research by identifying sources of mobility as a conceptual connection between tourism and mobility. However, it is only focused on the human subject, namely, corporeal mobility, rather than the massive account of moving objects. In this regard, the focus on human and corporeal mobility may increase research attention on the mobilities paradigm in the field of tourism. A broader approach is necessary regarding tourism mobilities moving beyond the circle of tourism as a lifestyle demand and the time and space aspects in tourism and migration (Williams & Hall, 2002). Tourism-induced mobilities were capable of narrowing down tourism mobilities and integrating the current studies on tourism-related migration and other practices of mobilities. Although the supply–demand categorization was gradually insufficient to capture the characteristics of this phenomenon, deconstructing the concept and providing empirical evidence on the phenomenon of tourism-induced mobility were important. This study attempted to examine the phenomenon of tourism supply-induced mobility from an interdisciplinary perspective.

The major theoretical contribution of this study was incorporating the sociological, geographical, and economic concepts in explaining tourism-induced mobility. In addition, this study has developed an interdisciplinary typology based on the sources of mobility. The sources of mobility refer to the conceptual grounds and dominant characteristics of tourism-induced mobility. The practical forms of mobility could then be further applied from these sources or schemes. Previous literature was mainly from the time-space perspective of tourism and migration, and focused on distinguishing tourism and migration and fitting these two concepts in the mobilities framework (Bell & Ward, 2000; Hall, 2005; O'Reilly, 2003; Williams & Hall, 2000, 2002). Several studies have focused on particular types of migrants in relation to tourism (Urry, 2002; Hall & Muller, 2004; Torkington, 2010). Therefore, in light of the new mobilities paradigm, this typology conceptualizes the various practical forms of tourism-induced mobility beyond the geographical perspective and the tourism/migration divide. Furthermore, this study integrated the concepts of social capital and social networks with mobility. From individual experiences, their level of different form of mobilities can be closely linked with their ability to network and obtain resources through these networks. Therefore, this study contributed in connecting these two concepts with empirical and contextualized findings and broadened the path for research in this area.

10.4 Practical Implications

The research problem of this study was centered on the lack of human capital and economic capital in areas with an early-stage tourism development. The mobility of such capital into these areas was assumed to potentially assist tourism development. Therefore, practical issues were examined from the experiences of migrants, as well as

people with resources and capabilities, to provide empirical evidence on how to attract these individuals or organizations to an early-stage destination. Thus, this section provides practical suggestions based on the research findings from the three aspects, namely, planning for tourism entrepreneurship and employment, community-based tourism development, and tourism governance.

10.4.1 Planning tourism entrepreneurship and employment

Tourism planning for an early-stage destination is important, particularly with the involvement of fragile natural resources. Developing tourism should be an economic decision, as well as an environmental and social one. A strategic plan evokes collaboration and brings integration to the development process. In the study area, although local government had a tourism master plan for ten years from 2011 to 2020, the implementation of the plan seemed to be ineffective. The primary reason is that the major purpose of the plan was to apply for government grants, and it was constructed by so-called tourism experts with limited involvement in the locality. Therefore, the plan is not a strategic one; more importantly, the entrepreneurship and employment elements were only briefly mentioned.

The mechanism of tourism entrepreneurship and employment is suggested to be planned. The evaluation of tourism success should not be based on tourist arrivals, but should gradually adopt tourism revenue and socio-environmental influence as indicators. The AI scheme should be more transparent to ensure legitimacy and equality. The threshold for investment in natural resources-related projects should be raised. In the case of Luotian, it has high potential for tourism investment and entrepreneurship;

however, attracting human and economic capital is no more important than sustaining them. Therefore, a strategic plan on tourism entrepreneurship and employment is necessary to offer incentives for short-term benefits and to provide a constructive environment for long-term future growth. In the meantime, the relationship between locally and externally managed businesses should be balanced. In this case, locally driven entrepreneurship can be initiated by migrants or local residents, but the benefits of local communities and local employees should be ensured.

Employment in less developed areas is challenging in China because of the large population of migrant workers; these areas often experience labor shortage. Tourism development requires labor work, but in the case of Luotian, young and skilled workers in tourism were lacking. To attract tourism employment, the collaboration between tourism corporations and local government is necessary to encourage more migrant workers to return and ensure potential career development opportunities for local and returnee employees. Incentives should be given to attract returnee employees in tourism, as well as to maintain the human capital of tourism development. From an organizational perspective, the mobile lifestyle of MEs should be managed. Transportation service, leisure and entertainment programs, as well as social activities should be developed to cater to employee needs.

As previously suggested, when tourism corporations sign the AI contracts with the government, the terms should lean toward community benefits and the driving effect of the projects. In some cases, investors often agree on the terms of a certain number of tourist arrivals. By legally making terms on community benefits and local employment,

community relationships can be better managed and investor behavior can be monitored. The administrative assistance on entrepreneurial migrants was determined to be different among individuals; therefore, the administrative processes should be properly arranged based on the needs of the tourism projects and not by the size or the origin of the initiators. The issue of lack of regulation also caused chaos on the management of tourism projects. Formal documents and assistance on the requirements and procedures should be issued to attract more entrepreneurs. In the case of the HFH businesses, the assistance is more crucial when farmers have limited knowledge of using Internet technology.

10.4.2 Community-based tourism development

Another area that this study focused on was community-based development. Although government officials welcome large-scale tourism projects, they expected these projects to drive the development of small-scale and family enterprises. However, an integrated plan to develop small-scale enterprises was lacking community-based tourism development in the case of Luotian was successful in several villages, but they all relied on the major scenic sites to operate the HFH businesses. In these villages, the role of the village leaders was essential in persuading villagers and guiding the development. Leadership is determined to be an important factor in initiating community-based tourism development in accordance with the dimensions of social capital (Bodin & Crona, 2008). Village leaders with prestige in the community, vision for development, and external social resources have a significant role in inviting investments on tourism projects, educating local villagers, and ensuring community

benefits. Therefore, the training on community leaders of ecological industries and lifestyle-oriented development opportunities is necessary.

Tourism may only be one of the alternatives of agriculture in these villages; communities should plan for development based on current resources and capabilities. Rural tourism, particularly agritourism, appears to be a strategic direction for community-based tourism development. The increasing lifestyle and leisure needs for urban residents in China brought large economic potential for rural communities. In the case of Luotian, tourism has long been relying on the two major scenic sites; the opportunities for agritourism can use the locational benefits and bring more diversity to local tourism products. The trend of tourism activities in rural areas provided new opportunities to develop tourism products that complement the two major tourism sites in the area. Agritourism activities were mainly HFH-operated food and accommodation services. Several possibilities are available to plan more interactive and integrated tourism products to revitalize rural agriculture and traditional lifestyles with community participation.

10.4.3 Tourism governance

Practical suggestions are given on the governance of tourism, particularly for early-stage destinations. The coordination of different tourism institutions is important to manage and guide the development. In the socio-political context of China, an effective mode of governance was to adopt a centralized administrative approach. Numerous Chinese tourism destinations use a centralized governance style; several major scenic sites formed a municipality, such as Huangshan and Zhangjiajie. These municipalities

developed economies based on tourism industries, proving that a centralized management style contributes to governing nature-based tourism development in terms of resource distribution, investment in infrastructure, planning, and so on. This governance style showed applicability in large-scale tourism sites and areas with outstanding resources.

The management of long-term and short-term goals is also important in the governance of tourism. From this study, major conflicts resulted from the mismatched expectations and management of these goals. In the early-stage tourism development, the local government should have strategic plans in managing the different expectations of tourism actors. For example, the selection of tourism projects and businesses should match a long-term and sustainable tourism plan. The expectations of local communities should be considered because their long-term prosperity may be damaged, and external business developers and local politicians may eventually withdraw from the projects. The local governments should balance political achievement with strategic local development in the long run. The threshold for tourism investment should aim to maintain legitimate and non-opportunistic tourism entrepreneurs. The mutual trust between the local government and external business developers should be built upon legal and regulatory terms rather than mere cultural norms of showing hospitality.

10.5 Reflection on the Chinese Context

This study uses a less developed county in inland China as a case to examine human mobility and tourism development. The case is certainly influenced by and reflected the overall socio-political context of the Chinese society. From the findings of this research,

the Chinese situation is shown to be highly different from the West. Rural tourism and tourism entrepreneurship in the West focus more on the issues of innovation, opportunity seeking, partnership, and collaboration (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Wilson et al., 2001); by contrast, in the case of China, the relationship with various levels of local government is shown to be an important premise for entrepreneurial start-up. However, in the current economic transition and social reform, the management of such relationships is also under transformation. In 2013, the central Chinese government started reforms within its administration, particularly the release and implementation of the “eight-point code” (*Ba Xiang Gui Ding*). This plan, which aims to cut the bureaucracy and maintain close ties with the people, has challenged the domestic tourism and hospitality industry. The spending cut of government cadres resulted in the decline of businesses, particularly in restaurants. In the long run, the “eight-point code” and the anti-corruption movement, along with the salary raise of government officials, will likely improve the public service and administrative system. Nevertheless, increasing the transparency of the collaboration between the local government and business developers is necessary; otherwise, more *benefit seeking* toward business developers may appear, and the fairness of public resource distribution will deteriorate.

The social and economic reforms also have an effect on using a more market-oriented approach for economic development, which have increased the mobility of entrepreneurs and employees and opened up new development opportunities in less developed areas similar to Luotian. Therefore, the more important issue is to sustain the mobility of entrepreneurs and employees and retain human resources in developing areas with sufficient public services, infrastructures, and opportunities to advance.

Although tourism real estate development is currently gaining investment and interest in less developed areas, it is an area that lacks proper planning and regulation. In this study, agritourism and other recreational activities aimed at healthcare and wellness is shown to have enormous potential caused by the increasing environmental and ecological awareness of the market and the fact that the Chinese society is aging rapidly. Labor markets are also aging, given that young professionals often select developed areas to seek employment. Accordingly, this study reveals an issue of lack of human capital in tourism development in less developed areas. In terms of the role of communities in early-stage tourism development, several areas in China have adopted community-based approaches to develop tourism (Bao & Sun, 2006; Ying & Zhou, 2007); meanwhile, in less developed areas with more traditional and conservative values, the vision and leadership of community-level leaders are crucial in initiating the development. However, with higher mobility of villagers, such as migrant workers, the connections with more developed areas increase. Many less developed areas have opportunities to embrace alternative approaches of development.

Thus, this study perhaps contributes to the phenomenon of urban-rural migration on a wider scale, not limited to tourism industries. Potentially, with the development of infrastructure and technology, less developed areas in China have the potential to attract human, economic, and social capital with new industries, such as the IT and software industry. Entrepreneurs and migrants internally experience similar issues, as revealed in this study, the issues of dealing with local formalities and culture, career prospects, amenities and infrastructure, and so on. In this regard, this research moves beyond the tourism scope, and inform other industries that experience the mobility phenomenon.

Although the unique industrial features of tourism, such as low entry barrier, low skill requirement, natural resources oriented, refrain the generalizability, phenomenon of the inward mobility to rural areas can be future examined from solid economic, geographical, and sociological perspectives.

10.6 Limitations

A few of the limitations of this study were acknowledged in Chapter 4; more limitations were recognized in the process of analyzing and presenting findings from the data. Discussing the limitations is also a reflexive experience to reflect on the roles of the author in this study and what she could have done differently. In the methodology chapter, the limitations of using a single case were mentioned, although the single case had multiple units of analysis. However, one additional limitation was the lack of clarification on these units of analysis; the original classification on migrants, governments, and geographical or administrative bodies was not specified in the findings. Part of the reason was that the researcher opted to only segment the major groups of participants into entrepreneurial and employee migrants; the other groups of participants were only broadly categorized as to triangulate data on the experiences of migrants. Therefore, many specific features of local groups were disregarded. For example, the levels of governments involved in this study were not examined clearly. Recognizing the role of the various levels of governments at the beginning of this study would have been better, and more solid findings on the governance of tourism development can be provided.

Another reflection was on the use of guanxi to identify participants. During the data analysis process, the amount and depth of information the participants provided was clearly linked with the network ties associated with them. With strong network ties, the participants seemed to have more trust on the researcher and were willing to share more in-depth experiences and feelings. By contrast, the weak network ties through which the participants were identified resulted in their tendency to be more reserved on the information, particularly on the relationship with the local governments. This situation may provide the methodological implications of this study and contribute to the in-depth experiences that the participants were willing to share. However, an intriguing speculation is if this study was conducted on a destination where the researcher had no prior relationship, would the outcomes be significantly different? The social connections provided access to the participants and potentially contributed to building rapport with them. The process and outcomes may vary if the study is conducted in a different destination.

In terms of the selection of participants, another limitation is the lack of control on the years of involvement. Although the destination is at an early stage, the projects or businesses involved in this study had varied histories and status of operation. The business lifecycle is not considered in this study. The inclusion of failed businesses and non-migrants, as well as people who were interested but did not successfully establish their tourism businesses, is important in future studies. The researcher was aware that a few of the cases visited in this study subsequently failed to operationalize. Longitudinal and follow-up studies shall be considered to address this limitation.

Furthermore, the amount of information retrieved on MEs was not as sufficient as EMs, partly because of the features of an early-stage destination. The presumption of this study, made in the literature review, was based on tourist destinations in general. The previous studies on labor mobility and work in tourism were largely based on mature and developed destinations. Therefore, the employment motivation in this study was significantly different between returnees and new MEs. The experiences of these employees were principally associated with mobile lifestyle, living in a less developed place, and their life stage needs, rather than the characteristics of tourism employment. The categorization of returnee and new employees was only based on geographical mobility; more categorizations on employee experiences based on social mobility, the various positions in the industry, or organizational mobility, and the previous experiences and educational background in tourism could be available. Similarly, the categorization on entrepreneurial migrants could also be diversified, but the early-stage status of tourism development in the destination provided more common features on entrepreneurs, which made the experiences shared from the entrepreneurs more consistent.

Another limitation of this study was the insufficiency of gender-related issues. Most of the participants in this study, particularly the entrepreneurs, were male. The significant role of females in rural tourism was identified but was not rigorously pursued. Differences also emerged in gender when describing experiences in mobile lifestyles. Gender issue was similarly introduced in the local political environment; the rule of a female leader was mentioned and critiqued. However, the role of female leaders in tourism development was not discussed in detail in this study. The leadership

argument was related to the political system in China, which was perceived as giving excessive power to Communist Party leaders at the local level. The significance of such leadership on developing tourism was briefly discussed; however, this aspect could be further explored as a form of political capital.

Finally, the focus on inward migration only flips one side of the coin. The experiences of the migrants suggest that they contribute to early-stage tourism development and rural social change. However, the issue of labor and employment is considerably larger in a society. Tourism may be capable of drawing returnees and new migrants. This trend will likely continue, but the potential effect on urban labor shortage should be carefully examined as well.

10.7 Future Research

Based on the aforementioned limitations, future research could be conducted from the following aspects. The first one is on early-stage destinations elsewhere, particularly in Western contexts. This aspect could provide methodological significance on the use of social networks in identifying participants and conducting field research in China. Second, future studies could compare the situation of tourism supply-induced mobility in more developed destinations, or to examine the transformation of mobility from quantitative and longitudinal perspectives, as most of the mature destinations evolved from the early-stage onwards. The follow-up on the case study will also be conducted; potentially, the transformation of the current destination overtime and the experiences of mobility in tourism development will be monitored. Third, quantitative social network analysis shall be considered a valid research instrument to further enhance the findings

of this research. Quantitative measurements on the scale of such mobility and the characteristics of the different dimensions of mobility should be used in future studies in this area, assisting in the conceptualization of the concept. The scales of social capital and tourism development could also be quantified to obtain more generalizable results.

In addition, tourism employment in less developed areas should be explored. The lifestyle conditions, job security, and personal development of employees were shown to be tightly associated with their mobility status. Future research may specifically examine the issue of returnee migrant workers in tourism development and their entrepreneurial intentions. From a local perspective, the experiences of local workers should be investigated as the changing social position from farmer to employee. The transformation process of local human capital brought by tourism development is also a future research direction, particularly in the context of China where traditional agriculture and attachment with farmland formed the foundation of rural societies. Returnee migrant workers tend to compare the working conditions in small hometown and large cities where they used to work; future studies can examine the employment status and career prospects for rural and urban employment in tourism and hospitality industries. On a macro scale, the changes in employment and unemployment level in tourism destinations can be monitored and linked with the demographical features of an aging Chinese society.

This study adopted an individual approach to examine the experiences of tourism supply-induced mobility; future research can investigate the organizational experiences of tourism corporations on real-estate development in tourism industries and the effects

of such large-scale projects in China. Politically, the practice of attracting investment on tourism projects is also transforming. The potential of utilizing local capital should be more significant than attracting external capital. This aspect also requires future research. In terms of transformation, the current economic and political reform has hit the tourism and hospitality industries in China, even in the remote, early-stage destination in this study. Although not a primary research goal, the effect of the reform on local tourism development should be examined, and the adaptive strategies from the local level should be identified. Further directions for future research include gender issues in tourism supply-induced mobility and early-stage tourism development, examination of other aspects of mobility in tourism, and the role of various governments and power distribution in tourism development.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Tourism migrants 旅游移民 (1hr)

1. Ice-breaking & Personal information 开场及个人信息 (Background/demographics)

Gender 性别: 男 <input type="checkbox"/> 女 <input type="checkbox"/>	Occupation 职业（工作单位）:	Length of residence 居住 年限（罗田）:
Education 教育程度:	Past(or other) occupation 过往（其他） 职业:	Age 年龄:

General question:

Can you tell me about what you do at work? Or your tourism project/business? 能否介绍一下您的日常工作，或：能否介绍一下您现在正在开发或经营的 旅游项目

Have you lived in different places in the past? 过往是否经常更换居住地

In your professional experience, do you seek and seize opportunities for development?

职业生涯中您是否经常寻找发展机会并抓住机遇？

Follow-up:

How did your opportunity-seeking behavior influence your professional experience?

您的机会寻找行为如何影响您的职业发展？

2. Tourism & Migration experience 旅游移民经历 (Experience/behavior, feeling)

General question:

Can you describe why you chose Luotian to live and got involved in tourism here? 您来罗田生活并且开发旅游的过程

Follow-up:

Motivation 动机, decision-making process 决策过程, challenges 挑战, adaptation 适应过程

3. Social capital and guanxi 社会资本和关系 (Experience/behavior, feeling)

General question:

In your experience, how do you utilize guanxi in professional development 在职业发展中您如何运用关系

Follow-up:

Examples of la guanxi (事例), opinions towards guanxi (观点), geographical differences (关系的地域差异), lifecycle differences (不同年龄阶段的变化)

Structural question:

How often do you interact with government officials at the county and village levels? 与政府机构的社会交往

General question:

How do you perceived the roles of local government and community in your migration experience? 您如何看待政府和社区在您移民和参与旅游过程中的作用

Follow-up:

Do you consider them supportive? 是否得到了社区和政府的支持?

General question:

Are you involved in local socio-cultural activities? 是否参与本地社会文化活动?

Follow-up:

Membership 本地组织或者机构会员, Frequency 活动频率

General questions:

What have you done in terms of giving back and contributing to the local community? (回报社区, 贡献)

4. Future plans and prospects 规划和前景 (Intention, opinion)

General question:

Do you plan to live here permanently? 以后是否打算长期居住在罗田? 为什么?

Follow-up:

Reasons 原因, relating to professional development plan and prospects 事业发展计划和前景, tourism development prospects 当地旅游发展前景

General question:

What do you think are the largest challenges in tourism development in Luotian? 您觉得罗田发展旅游最大的挑战是什么?

Follow-up:

Suggestions on coping with these challenges 应对这些挑战的建议

Government officials 政府部门官员 (45mins)

1. Ice-breaking & Personal information 开场及个人信息 (Background)

Gender 性别: 男 <input type="checkbox"/> 女 <input type="checkbox"/>	Department 政府部门:	Related tourism project(s) 相关 旅游招商引资项目:
Education 教育程度:	Length of Professional experience 工 作年限:	Age 年龄:

General question:

Can you introduce the initiation of the tourism projects you are leading or involved with? 能否介绍一下您参与的旅游项目是如何引进到罗田的?

Follow-up:

Processes of seeking and inviting tourism investments 招商引资的过程, tourism projects 旅游项目类型和招商过程, prospects on the projects and tourism development 项目前景

2. Government-led attracting external tourism investments 政府主导旅游招商引资 (Knowledge, opinion)

General question:

What are the differences between local businesses and non-local business, locally invested projects and externally invested projects? 外来旅游企业和本地旅游企业是否有区别?

General question:

Do you think projects invested by migrants are more difficult to establish and succeed? 您认为外来投资和开发的旅游项目比本地项目难以实施并取得成效吗

Follow-up:

Reasons and explanation 原因和解释

Structural question:

Rate the importance of external investors and SMTEs in tourism development 旅游开发过程中外来投资商和中小型旅游企业的重要性

General question:

According to your experience, what do you think are crucial factors in attracting economic capital into tourism development? 以您的经验, 如何才能吸引到有效的资本来参与旅游开发?

3. Tourism entrepreneurship and employment induced mobility 旅游创业与就业机会带来的人口流动 (Opinion)

General question:

According to your experience, do tourism projects attract returned and new migrant workers, entrepreneurs, or other talents? 根据您的经验, 您认为旅游项目能吸引返乡民工、创业者和其他人才就业或创业吗?

Follow-up:

Reasons (原因), examples of new and return migrants (举例), challenges (挑战)

General question:

What are the relationships between local participants and non-local participants in tourism development? 旅游开发中本地参与者和外地参与者关系如何?

Destination residents 旅游地居民 (30 mins)

1. Ice-breaking & Personal information 开场及个人信息 (Background)

Gender 性别: 男 <input type="checkbox"/> 女 <input type="checkbox"/>	Destination community 旅游地社区 (村委会):	Occupation 职业:
Education 教育程度:	Participation in tourism development (If not, intention of future employment in tourism)当前是否参与旅游开发 (如否, 参与旅游开发的意愿):	Age 年龄:
Familiarity with the tourism projects in the community 本地的旅游发展项目熟悉程度:		

2. Community openness 社区开放度 (Experience, opinion, feeling)

General question:

What do you think of the tourism projects in your community? 您对于当前在社区里开展的旅游项目有什么看法?

Follow-up:

Support 支持, local business vs. non-local business 本地旅游企业和外地旅游企业, opinions on migrants' lives in the community, attitude towards migrants 对旅游移民在本地生活和开发旅游的看法以及态度

General question:

Government-led development or community initiated and government support 政府主导或社区主导开发

Follow-up:

Participation 参与, collectively discuss and influence the decision-making 村民是否共同商议旅游开发和引进旅游项目, trust 对于政府的信任度

2. Tourism development and community benefit 旅游开发与社区利益 (Experience, Opinion)

General question:

Has your life changed much since the development? 您的生活在村里进行旅游开发之后是否有改变?

Follow-up:

To what extent tourism causes the change 旅游影响, future changes and prospects 未来的变化和展望, benefit sharing & equality 利益分配和公平

Appendix 2: Study fact sheet (In English and Chinese)

Background

Tourism development is closely linked with the mobilities of people. This research intends to explore the relationship between social capital and tourism development induced human mobilities. Destinations with early-stage tourism development, especially the ones at peripheral and less-developed areas, often lack sufficient and strong economic and intellectual support. The opportunities of investment, entrepreneurship, and employment brought by tourism development can attract long-term migration. Therefore, this research takes tourism labor migrant and entrepreneurial migrant as research subjects, hopes to investigate the process of tourism migration and the migrants' experiences of participating in destination's tourism development, in order to identify the decision-making process of migration, motivation of migration and participating in tourism development, adaptation and challenges in the migration experiences, and how migrants utilize social resources and establish social networks in tourism and migration.

In the Chinese society, the role of "guanxi" is important. The social property of a human being determines its reliance on social networks, but the social networks are not static, they are in fact fluid and mobile when the change of geographical place of residence is concerned. Early-stage tourism development lacks complete tourism market support and branding effect, it then relies on word of mouth in order to attract capital. Thus, understanding individual tourism migrant's experience and decision-making, can reflect on the role of social networks and social capital in tourism migration. From a macro standpoint, different types of tourism migrants also represent different groups of stakeholders in tourism development. Collaborations among tourism migrants and local community, tourism participants, governments are based on individual guanxi-building and networks. Governmental and institutional support on tourism migrants and openness of local community and attitude towards tourism migrants and development in general also represent the overall social capital and the development environment, tourism development capability and potential, and tourism management issues of a destination. Therefore it is theoretically and practically significant to conduct this research.

Objectives

- To identify the characteristics and sources of mobility of tourism migrants in rural areas.
- To explore the relationship between mobility to rural areas and tourism development.
- To examine the relationship between social capital and tourism mobility to rural areas.
- To compare the experiences of labor migrants and entrepreneurial migrants, and new migrants and return migrants in tourism development and social capital.

Methodology

This study will use qualitative methods to collect and analyze data. A descriptive single-case study is adopted as the research design. Secondary data will be collected in the form of government and organizational documents, reports, and other tourism related materials. Semi-structured and in-depth interviews will be conducted on tourism migrants, their main social contacts in the destinations, local government officials, and local community residents.

Outcomes

A thesis will be completed based on the data collected. Results will include the information on how individual and community social capital influence tourism mobilities into rural areas, and how these mobilities influence tourism development in the destination. Practical suggestions will be given to migrants and local community on how to establish and sustain networks for tourism development, and given to local government on policy-making to attract human and economic capital through the building of social capital.

Further inquiries

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研究项目介绍：流动性、社会资本与初级阶段旅游开发

研究背景：

旅游的发展和人口流动息息相关。本研究旨在探究社会资本与由旅游开发诱发的人口流动之间的关系。处于旅游发展初期，尤其是欠发达地区的目的地，通常缺乏有力的经济资本和人力资本支持，而旅游发展的投资、创业和就业机会，吸引人们前往旅游目的地进行长期性的相关活动。本研究将旅游劳务移民和旅游创业移民作为研究对象，希望能深入了解旅游移民的迁移过程以及参与旅游开发的经历，从而探究他们做出移民决定的过程，移民和参与旅游开发的动机，在开发旅游和适应目的地社会文化方面所遇到的挑战，以及他们如何调动社会资源和建立社交网络。

在中国社会，“关系”的作用不可小视。人的社会属性决定了人对于社交网络的依赖性，而社交网络也是具有流动性的，在移民过程中也会发生改变。初级阶段的旅游开发缺乏完整的旅游市场和品牌支撑，吸引人力和财力资本时需要更多“口碑宣传”。所以，了解个体旅游移民的迁移过程和参与旅游的决策过程，能够反映出社交网络和社会资本在人口流动方面所起的。从宏观层面来讲，不同类型的旅游移民代表了旅游开发中不同的利益相关者，旅游移民与本地旅游参与者、本地社区、政府之间的沟通和合作也来自于个体之间“关系”的构建。政府对于旅游产业和移民的扶持，旅游目的地社区的开放性则体现出目的地的社会资本和旅游开

发环境。旅游移民对于旅游开发的态度和前景也可以体现出旅游目的地的开发承载力 and 潜力，以及开发管理中存在的问题。

研究目标：

1. 旅游移民的特征和参与旅游开发的方式
2. 旅游开发与新移民以及返乡移民的关联
3. 社会资本在旅游移民过程及旅游开发参与中的作用
4. 不同类型的旅游移民在以上三个方面的对比

研究方法：

本研究采用定性的研究方法，选择一个处于旅游发展初期的欠发达地区作为案例，收集相关文献和档案，并对旅游移民，政府部门，以及当地居民做深度访谈。

预计成果：

本研究希望对欠发达地区如何吸引人力资本和经济资本进行旅游开发提出意见和建议，对旅游目的地利益相关者合作网络和沟通渠道的建立做出贡献，向政府提出通过社会资本刺激移民和经济资本流动的措施，有效帮助旅游移民建立和调动社交网络，适应目的地环境，以促进旅游的可持续发展。本研究希望在学术上丰富社会资本和人口流动性相关的文献，带动更多关于旅游移民的实证研究。

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Appendix 3: Invitation letter and Consent form (In English and Chinese)

Invitation Letter

School of Hotel and Tourism Management

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Date

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my PhD degree in the School of Hotel and Tourism Management at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University under the supervision of Dr. Eric Chan and co-supervision of Professor Haiyan Song. As from the study fact sheet and my briefing I trust that you have known the purpose of my research. Because you are _____, I sincerely hope you could consider participating as an interviewee, I hope it will also be beneficial to your involvement in tourism development.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Formal interviews will be conducted at the best convenient time and location for the participants, each interview will last from 30 minutes to 1 hour depending on the subject. You may decline to answer any of the

interview questions if you so wish during the course of the interview. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences. With your permission, I will audio-record the interview and later transcribe the recording. However, should you prefer, I will make handwritten notes during the interview only. All information you provide will be completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. All electronic data will contain no personal identifiers.

You can keep a copy of this letter and the consent form. If you need I will also send you a copy of the transcript or my notes to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please ask me now, contact me at 852-3400 or by email at lingxu.zhou@. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Eric Chan at eric.sw.chan@

If you agree on the participation of this project, please sign the consent form below. Thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Lingxu Zhou

Consent form:

Upon receiving the briefing of the research, I agree to participate in this research project and understand that:

I am aware that I have the right to be anonymous in the interview, and the interview transcripts as well as all my personal and information will not be released

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

Participant name: (Print)

Signature:

Date:

访谈邀请书

感谢您参与本项研究，探讨人口流动性、社会资本与初期旅游开发。我是周凌旭，目前为香港理工大学酒店与旅游业管理学院博士研究生。此研究是我的博士论文，希望能够了解旅游移民的移民和参与旅游开发的经历。因为您是_____，所以邀请您参与本项研究，希望本项研究也有助您进行旅游目的地或旅游开发相关的活动。

访谈的参与完全自愿，如果您同意参与本研究，我会请您面谈。访谈时间约需半小时至一小时，而且将会录音，如果您不同意被录音我会采取手写方式记录访谈内容。您随时可以拒绝回答面谈中的任何问题，在面谈过程中您随时可以终止或退出。此面谈没有任何风险，录音内容会以代码注记，所有人名会用匿名代替，此研究中任何与您有关的资料都会保密，非经过您的同意绝不对外透露。您的真实姓名将不会出现在任何电子文档中，但是征得您的同意，在论文中我可能直接引用您的访谈内容。所有资料将由研究者妥善保管，您的个人资料和信息将保密。

如果您需要，可以保留一份邀请书及同意书的复印件。访谈进行之后如果您需要我也可以提供访谈录音稿及笔记以便您确认访谈内容的准确度或增加其它您希望补充的内容。如果您现在有任何问题，请直接问我。如果之后您有任何问题，也可以通过电话：(852) 6576 或者电邮：Lingxu.Zhou@与我联系。或者您也可以和我的指导教授陈少华联系，电话：(852) 3400 ， 电邮：eric.sw.chan@

请您决定是否参与本项研究，请在下栏签名，表示您已经阅读以上说明并同意参与。如果您之后不想参与，只要告诉我就可以随时退出本研究。

非常感谢您的协助！

香港理工大学酒店与旅游业管理学院

周凌旭

受访同意书

在经过研究者介绍后，本人同意参与此研究，并了解：

本人有要求使用匿名的权利，本人所提供的资料，研究者会绝对保密

为了将访谈内容准确记录，本人允许访谈被录音

本人同意此访谈内容在跟本研究相关的论文或其他文献中被匿名引用

在研究的过程中，若对研究有问题可以随时提出疑问或退出研究

基于对上述所有情况的充分了解，我自愿参与这项研究。

受访者：_____

签名：_____

日期：_____

Appendix 4: List of informants

Group	Name	Affiliation	Education	Gender	Age	Years of tourism related professional experience
Government Official (10)	May	County council	College/Undergraduate	Female	50	6
	Chen	Township	College/Undergraduate	Male	45	20
	Mao	Township	College/Undergraduate	Male	44	10
	Zeng	Township	College/Undergraduate	Male	53	10

	Yao	County department	College/Undergraduate	Male	32	3
	Shan	County department	College/Undergraduate	Female	46	15
	Yaping	County department	College/Undergraduate	Female	40	10
	Fang	County department	College/Undergraduate	Male	52	28
	Ren	Village	High School	Female	46	17
	Guo	County department	College/Undergraduate	Male	51	10
Local Community (11)	Kuang	Retiree	College/Undergraduate	Male	53	5
	Liu	Retiree	College/Undergraduate	Male	58	6
	Qi	Retiree	College/Undergraduate	Male	60	25
	Yu	Education	College/Undergraduate	Male	52	22
	Xia	Secretary	Middle School	Female	30	2
	Xiaozhang	Hotel Receptionist	Middle School	Male	22	1
	Chunhua	Tourism entrepreneur	High School	Male	48	20
	Zuliao	Tourism entrepreneur	High School	Female	32	4
	Kuaiji	Tourism entrepreneur	High School	Male	51	6
	Piao	Tourism entrepreneur	High School	Male	55	8

	Yan	Multi-business entrepreneur	High School	Male	52	20
Entrepreneurial Migrant (11)	Chunjiang	Tourism entrepreneur	High School	Male	40	8
	Zhang	Multi-business entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	51	10
	Xiaoyan	Multi-business entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Female	27	2
	Xu	Tourism entrepreneur	Graduate	Male	45	5
	Wang	Tourism entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	40	3
	Zheng	Multi-business entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	44	3
	He	Multi-business entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	42	3
	Tian	Multi-business entrepreneur	Middle School	Male	60	15
	Pei	Tourism entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	56	5
	Cao	Multi-business entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	30	3
	Ying	Multi-business entrepreneur	College/Undergraduate	Male	52	25
Migrant Employee (14)	Hui	Technician	Middle School	Female	25	2
	Deng	Technician	Middle School	Male	26	2

	Zhou	Technician	Middle School	Male	38	10
	Ping	Clerk	High School	Male	24	1
	Zeng	Security	Middle School	Male	30	1
	Huang	Receptionist	College/Undergraduate	Male	24	2
	Xiaozhou	Secretary	College/Undergraduate	Female	23	1
	Pony	Secretary	College/Undergraduate	Female	26	2
	Chao	Manager	College/Undergraduate	Male	29	3
	Deng	Manager	College/Undergraduate	Male	28	6
	Shichun	Manager	College/Undergraduate	Female	24	3
	Yuanchao	Manager	College/Undergraduate	Male	32	3
	Xiaosun	Manager	College/Undergraduate	Female	33	3
	Wu	Manager	College/Undergraduate	Male	28	2

Appendix 5: Example of observation notes (Translated from handwritten Chinese)

Title: Observation note 3 Date: March 12, 2014 Location: H's site

Event: Work meeting with Mayor and departmental heads

Village leaders expressed plans to develop a reservoir. H reported to departmental officials on achievements so far (3300 mu farm land) and apologized for being inexperienced in dealing with villagers and impolite to officials. Village leaders said “It

is difficult for H to do this business, as long as he is not corrupted, we fully support him”. H said it is a crucial time to complete the land leveling and road construction in the site, he requested help from all the departments. The mayor then asked the officials to report on their responsibilities to help this site and committed to get the project done. The main objectives are to complete infrastructure construction, clean up the river, develop modern villages (hygiene issues), complete drainage system, harden road surface, build biogas pools, environmental issues of chicken farm, and build garbage landfill. Departmental officials shared what they have contributed so far and their plans to accomplish this goals. The various departments are:

- Water conservation bureau
- Science and technology bureau
- Immigration bureau
- Economics management bureau
- Forestry bureau
- Transportation bureau
- Poverty alleviation office
- Livestock bureau
- Environmental protection bureau
- Land bureau
- Energy bureau

- Organization department
- Tourism bureau

In the end the mayor spoke that entrepreneurs are strong-willed and persistent, this road is very difficult, He is doing a good thing here in the community, everybody talks about him and trusts him, his name in Chinese means “inviting wealth”, and it is a good sign (laughter). Peasants are the most realistic, if you don’t show them and give them benefits, you can get nothing done. Agricultural projects are particularly difficult, this one is at an early stage, that’s why it needs all of our departments’ support. People like pioneers like him, they successfully push rural development and modern village construction, their action has practical implications. We need to help these pioneers to succeed, to show the successors hope and give them confidence.

Appendix 6: Examples of data analysis

Appendix 6.1 Coding and inferences

Interview scripts (translated from Chinese)	Category	Codes	Inferences
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<p>Mr. Wang at first did not want to do tourism projects; it was because of our previous mayor, Mr. Cai, who wanted to develop tourism. In 2004 to 2005, Luotian had the biggest reservoir in Huanggang city, it was inviting bids for building a power station there. Mr. Wang had a construction company in Shandong province, he filed for bidding, but he didn't get it because his company didn't have the technology for the power station and was not qualified. So he was walking around Luotian, to see if he could find a real estate project, at that time, my colleague Mr. Yao's brother was working for him, so we showed him around on the mountains, and he was very interested in the landscape and scenery up there. At that time, he had a friend who graduated from China geology university, also came with him to visit, his friend said it looked like a national geological park, ... we stayed in a hotel together for three nights, along with the head of county tourism bureau Mr. Fang, we were discussing how tourism had great potential here... under these circumstances, Mr. Wang was interested in the scenery, but he said tourism was not started in Luotian, he only had a construction company, he could only invest ten million yuan, so I suggested him, it would be good to start with the cable car system in the mountains,... (LG-2, translated by author)</p>	<p>Initiation of mobility New migrant</p>	<p>Project promotion, Social contact, Government plan and policy direction, Find project based on investor's ability, Start-up phase</p>	<p>Natural resources may represent the potential of tourism development and attract potential investors, Social relationships are important in bridging external investors with local government, and find suitable investment project</p>
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<p>I was in Wuhan, selling construction materials, working for other people, for eight years. I came back in 2006. Working for others is not long-term, you need to come home eventually. What I made in Wuhan I could not afford buying a property there. Another reason is that falling leaves land on soil, here is my root. At that time, I wanted to try (this business), it was early-stage, not many customers, unlike now, there are more and more. I had all my family here, it was definitely better at home, when I was out in the city I worried about both my child and my parents. ...Now I use my own house (to host tourists), there is no rent, at beginning I made the same amount of money working out in the city, and there was no risk. It is so much better now. (EM-4, translated by author)</p>	<p>Initiation of mobility Return migrant</p>	<p>Previous experience, Independency, Family obligation, Hometown (root) attachment, Low risk</p>	<p>Property-owning is important, migrant workers working in cities but could not afford buying property, Returning is for both social and economic reasons, Tourism provides opportunities for small hospitality businesses to start at low cost and low risk</p>
<p>I came here last July to research on everything about Luotian, the macro political, economic, social situations, as well as tourism development in Luotian, I also needed to know the history, culture, folklore, geography, and so on, about this place,... this place, what first moved me was something local leaders said, gold mountain, silver mountain, nothing worth more than green mountain, ... because they protect the ecological environment, these green mountains can be preserved... I think history is another reason, people here love this place, they are emotional towards their land and willing to protect. A third reason is the climate advantage, Wuhan is a heating oven, but here in Dabie mountain the temperature is a few degrees lower, and the environment is good, ... there is a huge market around Luotian, if the market is not good, we would not want to invest, this is what we value the most. And the forth reason is the local government agrees on our business model, our company always takes on government projects, because they look for us, we did not find them.... And then there is the national policy, how amazing it is, many years ago the secretary of the world tourism organization said China will be the biggest tourism country in 2020, in both inbound and outbound tourism,...(ME -1, translated by author)</p>	<p>Initiation of mobility Corporate Investor</p>	<p>Natural resources Protective culture towards natural resources Market potential for tourism Government-corporate interaction Business model National tourism policy direction</p>	<p>Corporate investors are experienced in tourism projects and they have a set business model, Local government and corporate investor have multiple interactions to reach an agreement for project development, Market-size and local tourism resources are primary considerations for corporate investors</p>

Appendix 6.2 Categorizing and connecting codes

Code name: Social contact – migrant employee

References (translated from Chinese)	Inter-code connections	Notes
<p>I seriously came here because of my boss, I learned a lot from him and I trusted him, so I knew I would be working under his supervision then I agreed to be relocated (to Luotian), otherwise I would not come here.</p> <p>My neighbor heard that I am back home to do this (developing a tourism site), she wanted to ask her kid to come back and work in this too, I bragged about it, (laugh), I have talked three of my friends into working for us, they all agreed.</p> <p>I have recommended two guys in my village to work here.</p> <p>Our boss is very kind, he gives people an impression that he is approachable. He is at the age of my parents, and he has a good personality. I think maybe this is one of the reasons that I stick on to working here, his ways of dealing with people and handling the business are very good.</p> <p>Our boss is very good to us, it is of no doubt, we work for him it is like a big family, and he treats us like his own children.</p> <p>I found this job because of Shouren (acquaintances), they knew my parents and that I was out in the city to work...</p> <p>We play badminton afterwork, our colleagues and I, people are good here, even though we don't have much entertainment, the company arranges activities.</p> <p>We have a colleague from Hunan, it is because his wife is from here, so he came here to find work. He used to work in the hotel, and then was relocated up here (in the scenic site), a few years ago we had a colleague from Shandong, but he reached an age to be married, so he left to go back to get married.</p>	<p>Job attainment and retention,</p> <p>Decision-making on mobility,</p> <p>Leadership,</p> <p>Loyalty,</p> <p>Information sharing/social interaction,</p> <p>Lack of contact/social life</p>	<p>Social contact influences job attainment and the retention of employees, especially good leaders, whose leadership seems to have a relationship with employee loyalty.</p> <p>Social contact and social interaction provides channels for information and job opportunities to spread.</p> <p>In the meantime, the lack of social contact may be a challenge for young employees who did not have local friends.</p> <p>This feature is probably unique to early-stage destinations, where local employee and migrant employee have different social and education background, possibly with more development, more migrants with similar background to come can mitigate the issue.</p>

<p>I am not quite happy, because of no entertainment, no lifestyle activities. This requires myself to balance, I go back to Wuhan every month, to stay for a few days to catch up with my friends.</p> <p>Here I talk to people, villagers would wait to pick up their kids in front of our school, I talked to them at first, but afterwards I found out I have nothing in common to talk about with them, they only talked about how much money they spent on their kids, bought a new clothes, and so on, you would think they want to talk about how their kids did in school, but no, so this is different.</p>		
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Code name: Social contact – entrepreneurial migrant

References	Inter-code connection	Notes
<p>Chief Wang from the Water bureau showed us around and helped us a lot.</p> <p>I said Mayor Chen was a big fraud, he fooled me to come back and did not care about me now. He said he cares and if I really invest he would help me, but I know now, he wanted help but how much power does he have, now there are so much not done here, why did not he say anything. If he really helps, there are work meetings here for the working departments, he never show up, because the county council did not inform him, ...</p> <p>Here in Luotian you have to have acquaintances to get things done, even I don't know people, but I know somebody who knows them, then I can find them. And then it would be easier to do business, but I don't want to run around (to ask people).</p> <p>One of our Hubei friends in Shandong, is a head in the military, I am his good buddy, he is leading the national project and looking for suitable places around the country, so we went to present all this information to him, videos, paperwork, plans, they were very interested, so originally we wanted to invest by ourselves, now this project has bigger investors, they can give us tens of millions, we could only raise several, now this will make big impact.</p> <p>Mr. Yao's brother was working for him, so we showed him around on the mountains, and he was very interested in the landscape and scenery up there. At that time, he had a friend who graduated from China geology university, also came with him to visit, his friend said it looked like a national geological park, ...</p> <p>For AI we go out to promote our town,</p>	<p>Government contact and support,</p> <p>Guanxi obtaining and maintaining,</p> <p>Decision-making on mobility,</p> <p>Project establishment and implementation,</p> <p>Find project based on investor's ability,</p> <p>Start-up phase,</p> <p>AI scheme</p>	<p>The role of social contact is controversial in entrepreneurial experiences, especially the ones with government officials, which could save time and energy on formalities.</p> <p>Both local and external social contact provided importance in project establishment and implementation, indicating different bonding and bridging networking abilities for returnee and new migrant entrepreneurs, and these networking abilities can lead to different outcomes.</p> <p>AI scheme is largely reliant on external social networks and particularly gatekeepers. Some gatekeepers were not valued by the government, it seems like there is a lack of transparency on bidding the project and who actually gets it, when the distribution on natural resources is concerned.</p> <p>The maintenance of guanxi with government contact is more important in the start-up phase, when lots of infrastructure support is needed from the government departments. However, government officials were criticized of lack of support on proper training and ongoing support through the implementation of tourism</p>

<p>we found a few investors but the negotiation did not go well, ..., the AI mostly still rely on acquaintances, if you go to a place and nobody knows you there, how can you look for investors, so it is more about meeting people through acquaintances, or to go to a social dinner, you may meet someone there and have a chat..., there are successes if you knock on doors, but the key problem is information asymmetry, who are you looking for, how do you bridge the contact, through what channel, it is like two people in a relationship, you both have standards for the other half, the two people meet the other's standard quite well, but they don't know each other.</p> <p>We heard of the company, which is big and has many ancient town projects in China, from one government official's daughter, who is working for this company in Beijing. He heard from his daughter that this is a tourism company, and asked her to contact their CEO to see if they are interested in investing in Luotian.</p> <p>....</p>		<p>projects. This issue moves beyond social contact to institutional support.</p>
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Appendix 6.3 Consolidating findings

Category: Initiation of mobility

Sub-category	Relevant codes	Findings
Initiation of mobility – ME	Decision-making on mobility, Social contact, Previous experience, Family, Hometown, Lifecycle, Organizational requirement, Personal development, Tourism potential	Sources of mobility: geographical, social, and organizational Motivations of initiation of mobility Decision-making process Role of previous experience Influences of social capital Commonalities and comparisons between ME and EM, and between returnee and new migrants
Initiation of mobility – EM	Decision-making on mobility, Social contact, Previous experience, Family, Government contact and support, Hometown, Lifecycle, Tourism potential, Independence, Giving back to community	

Appendix 7: Example of collected formal documents (Scanned)

Document name: Government issued document on supporting HFH 2009

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