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Large-scale enterprises, social capital and the post-disaster development of community tourism: The case of Taoping, China

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Abstract
This study explores how large-scale enterprises build and mobilise social capital with intra- and inter-community actors to stimulate the post-disaster development of community tourism. Based on in-depth interviews, this case study was conducted in Taoping, China. The findings show that large-scale enterprises integrated bonding social capital created through engaging with Taoping villagers with bridging social capital developed through inter-community collaborations to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism. This study focuses on the dynamics of interactions between large-scale enterprises, intra- and inter-community actors. It contributes to providing a deeper understanding of the significance of large-scale enterprises for the post-disaster development of community tourism through the lens of social capital.

KEYWORDS
community tourism, large-scale enterprise, post-disaster development, social capital, Taoping, Wenchuan earthquake

1 | INTRODUCTION

Community tourism has recently gained increasing attention within the post-disaster[1] management research (Lew, 2014; Orchiston, 2013; Robinson & Jarvie, 2008). Community tourism is regarded as the product (tourism) of a destination experience that intermediaries package and sell, which has thereby evolved into an industry that relies heavily on the goodwill of and collaboration with host communities (Li, 2004; Murphy, 1985). It places emphasis on enhancing local capacity to engage in tourism, both "directly through investment in and employment in tourist businesses as well as in supporting activities such as agriculture and craft industries" (Wall & Mathieson, 2005, p. 322). Various types of actors are incorporated into community tourism, among which small-scale enterprises are one of the most common types[2] (Biggs et al., 2015; Calgaro & Lloyd, 2008). Past studies have explored the ways in which small-scale enterprises build and

mobilise social capital for the post-disaster development of community tourism (Baker & Coulter, 2007; Cioccio & Michael, 2007; Filimonau & Coteau, 2019). Social capital is defined as: "the networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993, p. 35). Social capital is usually classified into two types: bonding social capital (formed by homogeneous interactions between individuals or groups of the same ethnicity); and bridging social capital (formed by heterogeneous interactions between individuals or groups from different ethnic backgrounds) (Aldrich, 2011; Bourdieu, 1986; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). As small-scale enterprises are often rooted in the local community, they tend to offset the adverse disaster impacts by utilising resources generated by interactions with people/groups who share similar demographic characteristics (Smith & Henderson, 2008). However, it may be difficult for such small-scale enterprises to access heterogeneous resource support, which is

critical to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism (Lyons, 2009).

With the rapid development of community tourism, large-scale enterprises[3] - as emerging actors - have been increasingly incorporated into community tourism by local governments (Gill & Williams, 2006; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012; Ying & Zhou, 2007). Compared to small-business enterprises, large-scale enterprises have greater capacities to access heterogeneous resources through interactions with individuals or groups from different ethnic, geographical, and occupational backgrounds (Matsui, 2005). Such resources often take the form of professional expertise, managing complicated reconstruction projects, or establishing partnerships with inter-community organisations, etc. (Akama, 2002). As well as utilising heterogeneous resources, large-scale enterprises can engage local residents in community tourism as shareholders or employees (Li, 2004). In this way, an alliance of shared interests may be gradually established (Noran, 2014). Social capital generated through intra-community interactions can be mobilised to build community capacities for tackling post-disaster issues relating to community tourism (Li, 2004). The rapid emergence of large-scale enterprises can provide a new nexus of opportunities for the post-disaster development of community tourism and affected communities by utilising substantial social capital (Dahles & Susilowati, 2015; Knoke, 2009). However, to date, little discussion has been given on the ways in which large-scale enterprises build and utilise social capital for the post-disaster development of community tourism. As the builders and bearers of social capital, large-scale enterprises play a significant role in facilitating the development of community tourism through the intra- and inter-community interplay (Hall et al., 2018). Affected local communities may increasingly rely on networks, norms, and trust built by large-scale enterprises to facilitate the post-disaster coordination of community tourism development (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012).

Based on the preceding discussion, this study aims to explore how large-scale enterprises interact with intra- and inter-community actors, and how social capital is built and mobilised through those interactions to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism. The study focuses on the way in which large-scale enterprises stimulate the post-disaster development of community tourism through the lens of social capital. Attention to social capital not only helps to reveal the interaction dynamics between large-scale enterprises, intra- and inter-community actors that occur in the post-disaster development process of community tourism over time, but also contributes to establishing a deeper understanding of the role large-scale enterprises play in the development of community tourism, especially in the post-disaster context.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 | Social capital and the post-disaster development of community tourism

Hanifan (1916) first referred to social capital as constituting cooperation, sympathy, and fellowship between groups and how individuals can benefit from the advantages of groups. A more formal definition of social capital was given by Bourdieu (1986), who viewed social capital as a collective asset that increases social efficiency through the exchange of resources. The notion of resources is important in two overlapping respects: firstly, the resources obtained by the individuals from their companions; and secondly the quality and quantity of these resources. Portes (1998) developed this idea further and defined social capital as the ability by which individuals acquire scarce resources through their membership of social networks. This definition highlights social capital as an asset contained within a relationship. Lin (1999) also linked social capital with networks and referred to it as the resources embedded in social networks. Although social capital has evolved into a broad concept in many research fields, a consensus has been reached about the elements of social capital that include networks, norms, and trust (Putnam, 1993). Thus, social capital could be regarded as resources that facilitate individual or group collaboration for the post-disaster development (Aldrich, 2011, 2015; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Minamoto, 2010). According to the nature of the interactions involved, social capital are generally classified into two types (Lin, 2001; Portes, 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Bonding social capital is established through homogeneous interactions between family members, neighbours, close friends, and business associates with similar demographic characteristics (C. Kim et al., 2017; Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital is formed by individuals or groups from different ethnic, geographical, and occupational backgrounds through heterogeneous connections (Lin, 2001).

Much research has increasingly focused on incorporating bonding and bridging social capital into the disaster management of community tourism (Chowdhury et al., 2019; Guo et al., 2018; Wearing et al., 2020). The functions of bonding social capital rely heavily on the extent of intra-community interactions during the post-disaster development period (Biggs et al., 2012). Through different types of intra-community interactions, including engaging in collective rescue activities or helping affected community members to re-develop tourism businesses, community members can facilitate intra-community trust, norms, and reciprocity. Community members with positive attitudes towards intra-community interactions are likely to actively participate in those activities (Nakagawa & Shaw, 2004), which in turn strengthens intra-community relationships (Perkins et al., 2002; Talò et al., 2014; Thomas et al., 2011). As well as bonding social capital, affected individuals and communities take advantage of bridging social capital to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism. This occurs via interactions between various stakeholders from different ethnic, geographical, and occupational backgrounds, such as community activity groups, neighbouring associations, and consultants (Y. Kim et al., 2008). Frequent inter-community interactions can lead to greater collaboration and access inter-community resources, which in turn facilitates community tourism development. Thereafter, through intra- and inter-community interactions, trust, norms, and reciprocity can be continually accumulated over time. In this way, bonding and bridging social capital are built and strengthened by individuals in the post-disaster management of community tourism.

Stakeholder theory has also received considerable attention on the post-disaster management of community tourism research and been applied in some empirical studies (Jiang & Ritchie, 2017; Scarpino & Gretzel, 2014). The main focus of stakeholder theory is on governance, cross-sector collaboration, and partnerships, as well as defining stages of collaboration (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Simo & Bies, 2007). Overall, the theory emphasises the roles played by stakeholders in the collaboration process (Renn, 2015). However, in relation to the aim of this study, stakeholder theory has some disadvantages compared with social capital theory. First, although stakeholder theory contributes to understanding community-based tourism and sustainable development in normal conditions (Graci, 2013; Waayers et al., 2012), it may not be as effective in cases of extreme conditions, such as unforeseen natural disasters. Unexpected extreme disturbance undermines the foundations of stakeholder collaboration, and it also takes a long time to recover and rebuild these collaborative relationships (Cakar, 2018; Chan et al., 2020). However, disasters seem to have little effect on social capital; rather, it can be generated and facilitated through effective post-disaster management (Chowdhury et al., 2019). Second, stakeholder theory helps to explain the actions of stakeholders and their collaborative relationships (Nguyen et al., 2017), but it gives little consideration to other elements such as trust, reciprocity, and norms, which are of great significance to the post-disaster development of community tourism. Social capital theory not only centres on collaboration, but also places great emphasis on those elements generated by interactions and relationships (Aldrich, 2011, 2015). In addition, while stakeholder theory undoubtedly focuses on how different types of actors collaborate to achieve common goals, it pays little attention to the roles played by intra- and inter-community actors in the development of community tourism. The lens of social capital can offer greater insights into how intra- and inter-community trust, reciprocity and norms are generated and utilised via collaborative opportunities in the post-disaster management of community tourism (Andriotis, 2002). Therefore, as explained in the preceding discussion, social capital theory was chosen to investigate the role of large-scale enterprise in the post-disaster development of community tourism in this study.

2.2 | Large-scale enterprises, social capital and community tourism: In the context of post-disaster destination development

Large-scale enterprises have increasingly engaged in community tourism (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012; Yang et al., 2010). The creation and utilisation of bonding and bridging social capital by large-scale enterprises can play a significant role in developing community tourism, especially in the context of post-disaster development. This is mainly achieved through intra- and inter-community interactions. Large-scale enterprises can build bonding social capital by interacting with work-related actors within the community, such as co-workers, team members, managers, executives, and owners (Knoke, 2009). The mechanism by which large-scale enterprises build and utilise bonding

social capital can take the form of enrolling work-related actors as co-workers or team members (Li, 2004). This strategic "alliance" involves agreements with local communities to: (1) share the benefits of some critical resources; (2) make contributions to or participate in strategic areas, including tourism products, and managerial control, etc. (Li, 2004). Although a few studies have focused on interactions between large-scale enterprises and community members (Hillmer-Pegram, 2014), there has been little discussion of the strategic "alliance" that large-scale enterprises establish with intra-community actors to overcome recovery challenges, or facilitate collective activities for the post-disaster development of community tourism (Robinson & Jarvie, 2008; Wu & Hou, 2019). In addition, bridging social capital can be developed at the inter-organisational level, mainly through multiple exchange and collaborative relations with inter-organisations (Knoke, 2009). To some extent, inter-organisational business ties are perceived as a type of insurance against the negative impacts on community tourism (Dahles & Susilowati, 2015). Existing studies have placed much emphasis on the significance of bridging social capital that large-scale enterprises build and utilise for the post-disaster development of community tourism, but the interplay between large-scale enterprises and inter-community actors has been under-researched. That interplay can facilitate inter-community trust, norms, and reciprocity, which may create a new nexus of post-disaster development opportunities for community tourism (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012).

Therefore, drawing on the interviews, the remainder of this study aims to examine how large-scale enterprises build and mobilise bonding and bridging social capital to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism.

3 | CASE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 | Introduction to Taoping Qiang Village

Taoping Qiang Village is located in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan province, approximately 30 kilometres from Wenchuan (see Figures 1 and 2). As a tourist destination, Taoping is famous for its magnificent stone castle built 2000 years ago. Taoping was declared as a provincial-level cultural relic protection unit in 2002 and national-level cultural relic protection unit in 2006. It was listed on the World Cultural Heritage waiting list in 2008. A total of 800 people live in Taoping, 95% of whom are Qiang ethnic people and make a living by participating in the community tourism. Jixiang enterprise (JE) is the only large-scale tourism enterprise established by Li county government and has been in charge of managing Taoping attraction since 2011.

There are two districts within Taoping: the Old Village (indicated by the green line) and the New Village (indicated by the red line). The Old Village comprises an ancient castle with stone-built houses, high towers, a dense groundwater network, and lanes. The Old Village contains one of the most well-preserved watchtowers in the world and is known as a "living fossil" of Qiang architectural art. The New Village,
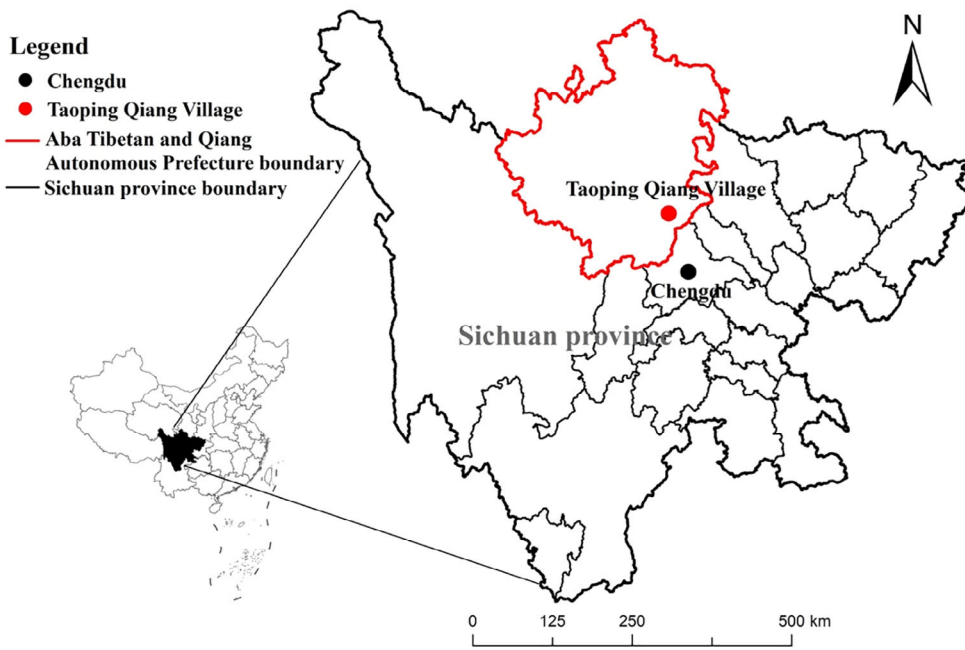
FIGURE 1 The location of Taoping Qiang Village (Source: Authors) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]
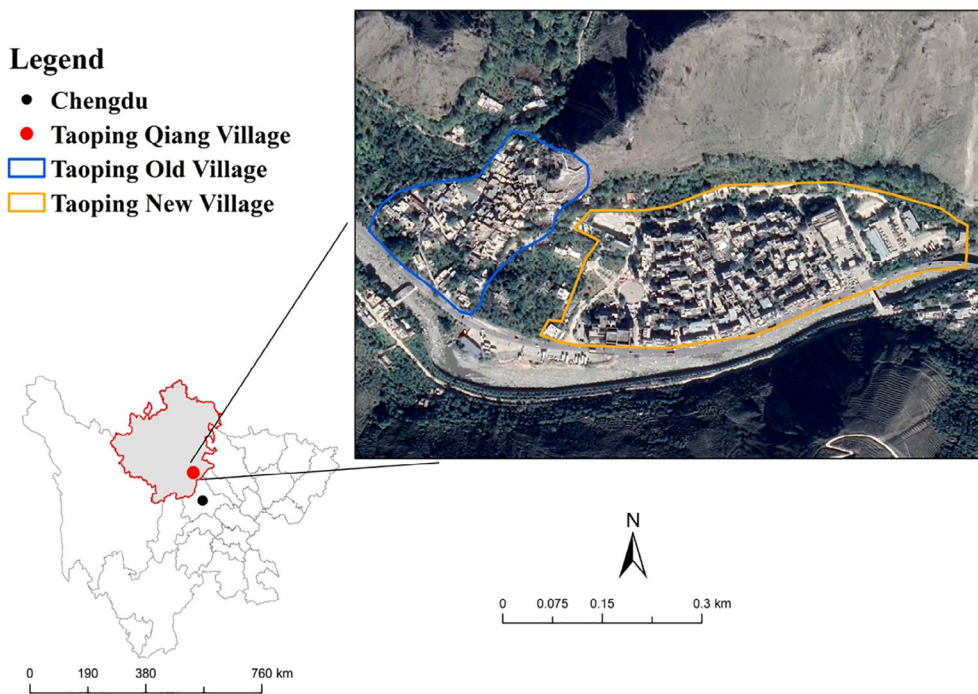
FIGURE 2 The spatial configuration of Taoping Qiang Village (Source: Authors) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

located to the southeast of the Old Village, was first built in 2006 and rebuilt after the Wenchuan earthquake. It offers a variety of inns, hotels, and restaurants.

Community tourism in Taoping underwent three development stages before the Wenchuan earthquake.[4] The origins of tourism development in Taoping can be traced back to the 1980s when art college students from Chengdu went there for painting every spring. In the 1990s, Li county government established the Taoping administrative committee to manage the local tourism industry. In 2006, Li county government cooperated with Jiazhou company and Jiuzhaigou

tourism company to manage Taoping together by establishing Taoping Tourism Development Company. In order to preserve Taoping Old Village, the company selected a new district for villagers to build more hotels, restaurants, and tourist amenities. This district, which contained lots of new houses, was called the "New Village" by the Taoping villagers, while the former settlement with the stone houses was correspondingly known as the "Old Village". Together the Old Village and the New Village formed the Taoping attraction. After 20 years of development, Taoping became a well-known tourist destination within Sichuan province. All the Taoping villagers in the Old

Village renovated their houses, so that they became tourist attractions and charged entrance fees to visitors. Most Taoping villagers worked in tourism-related small businesses, such as shops, inns/hotels, restaurants, or as tour guides, etc.

The 2008 Wenchuan earthquake seriously affected the local tourism industry in Taoping. The tourism complex, consisting of accommodation, restaurants, shops, and transport systems, was almost destroyed. The earthquake caused an economic loss which amounted to 80 million yuan. Local livelihoods were directly affected by the decline in the number of tourists. Many local tourist guides and agents, owners of hotels or inns and restaurants, and souvenir vendors lost their jobs. After the earthquake, multiple community actors worked together to restore the Old Village and rebuild the New Village. The state administration bureau of cultural relics was put in charge of rebuilding the Old Village, as it was a national-level cultural relic protection unit. The National Administration Bureau of Cultural Relics invested 80 million yuan in salvaging the Old Village and appointed Dalong company to restore 113 houses in the Old Village. At the end of 2009, the restoration of the Old Village was complete. The rebuilding of the New Village was made possible with the assistance of Hunan province. In the winter of 2009, the governments of Hunan province and Sichuan province jointly invested 0.3 billion yuan in rebuilding the New Village. In total, 109 Qiang architectural style houses were built in the New Village by the end of 2011, comprising 105 residential properties and four houses for public use.

In 2012, Li county government established Jixiang enterprise (JE) to facilitate the post-disaster development of Taoping, whose registered capital amounted to 20 million yuan. JE is mainly responsible for managing Taoping attraction. All the Taoping villagers became business associates of JE by offering their houses in Taoping Old Village as tourist attractions. Some Taoping villagers are also employed by JE as managers, tour guides, and accountants, etc. Although Li county government and the Taoping village committee are not directly involved in managing the Taoping attraction, they primarily supervise the daily business activities of JE. JE's main income comes from the entrance fees charged to gain admission to the Old Village, but a certain proportion of that income is allocated to the Taoping villagers. They can also operate their tourism businesses such as restaurants, provision of accommodation, or running souvenir stalls in Taoping attraction, and JE has no right to interfere in these businesses. The Taoping villagers and JE are supposed to be equal partners in the development of community tourism in Taoping.

3.2 | Data collection and analysis

Using the case of Taoping, this study explores how JE built and mobilised social capital to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism. The qualitative method was used to describe, interpret, and contextualise the interplay between JE, the local community, and inter-community organisations in the post-disaster development process of community tourism. Thus, research data was generated from the semi-structured interviews that were conducted by the research team during April, September and October of 2017 and August of 2019. In order to gain better insight into the interaction dynamics between JE, Taoping villagers, and inter-community actors during the post-disaster development of community tourism, a total of 51 interviews were conducted, comprising 32 Taoping villagers, 7 government officers of Taoping township or Taoping village, 9 JE employees, and 3 travel agents (See Table 1). This gave the research team a broad coverage of community actors who participated in the post-disaster development of community tourism in different ways. The sample comprised almost equal numbers of men and women and represented considerable diversity in terms of social classes/backgrounds. Table 1 displays basic information about all the respondents.

Government officers from Taoping township provided the first point of contact for the fieldwork and interviews were initially conducted with government officers. The research team used the "snowball" technique to gain access to more respondents, who might otherwise have been hard to contact, with the assistance of the government officers. The snowball technique has been described as the "main vehicle through which informants are accessed" (Noy, 2008, p. 330). The next interviews were held with Taoping villagers and JE employees. All the interviews lasted between 45 and 90 min. Different basic interview scripts about the building and utilisation of bonding and bridging social capital were designed for each group. The first part of the interview that related to bonding social capital concentrated on how intra-community interactions and community participation helped to foster intra-community trust, reciprocity, and norms for the post-disaster development of community tourism. The second part of the interview was designed to explore inter-community interactions, collaboration, and innovative development strategies involved in community tourism. This part mainly focused on the collaboration between inter-community organisations, JE, and Taoping villagers, and how the collaborative process stimulated bridging social capital for the post-disaster development of community tourism. To maximise transparency, the interviewees were reminded of the confidentiality of their responses, and they all showed great willingness to talk frankly about the aforementioned issues.

All the interviews were digitally recorded and professionally transcribed into text format. The data analysis utilised grounded theory analysis techniques to identify themes with the assistance of NVivo 12. Grounded theory analysis has been widely used within qualitative methodology (Cho & Lee, 2014), and helps to "render the data into codes and categories that reflect layers of abstraction based on phenomena and relations observed in the data" (Teppo, 2015, p. 6). The first step was to carry out open coding. At this stage, data with common features were collated into the same group. Representative semantic units were selected as initial codes that were both descriptive and interpretative. A codebook comprising 87 distinct codes within a coding hierarchy was developed. The second step of data analysis involved axial coding, which collated initial codes into groupings by comparing the relations, similarities, and dissimilarities between them. These groupings were comprised of five themes. The first three themes, namely "intra-community barriers to the post-disaster recovery of community tourism", "community participation in drawing up the new ticket scheme", and "strengthening relationships with Taoping villagers", were used to analyse how intra-community interactions contributed to the post-disaster development of

TABLE 1 Respondent information

Type	No.	Occupation	Gender	No.	Occupation	Gender
Taoping villagers	V1	Employee A of X inn	F	V17	Small vendor E	F
	V2	Owner of Y hotel	M	V18	Owner of F inn	M
	V3	The executive of T resort	M	V19	Small vendor F	F
	V4	Owner of X inn	M	V20	Small vendor G	F
	V5	Small vendor A	F	V21	Owner of Q inn	F
	V6	Owner of E inn	F	V22	Owner of Q inn	M
	V7	Owner of Q inn	M	V23	Owner of N inn	M
	V8	Small vendor B	F	V24	Owner of QZ inn	M
	V9	Small vendor C	F	V25	Owner of Q silver store	F
	V10	Informal tour guide	F	V26	Owner of Q handicraft store	F
	V11	Owner of C attraction	M	V27	Owner of X handicraft store	F
	V12	Owner of C attraction	F	V28	Owner of L hotel	M
	V13	Owner of C inn	F	V29	Small vendor D	F
	V14	Owner of W hotel	M	V30	Small vendor E	F
	V15	Employee B of X inn	F	V31	Small vendor F	F
	V16	Employee C of X inn	F	V32	Small vendor H	F
Employees of Jixiang company	J1	Director of department A	M	J6	Employee E	M
	J2	Employee A	F	J7	Employee F	M
	J3	Employee B	M	J8	Tour guide G	F
	J4	Employee C	F	J9	Director of department B	F
	J5	Employee D	F			
Government officers	G1	Officer A of Taoping village	M	G5	Officer B of Li county	F
	G2	Officer B of Taoping village	M	G6	Officer C of Taoping village	M
	G3	Officer A of Taoping township	M	G7	Officer C of Li county	F
	G4	Officer A of Li county	M			
Tour agents	T1	Tour agent A	F	T3	Tour agent C	F
	T2	Tour agent B	F			

community tourism. The remaining two themes, namely "establishing collaboration with neighbouring attractions" and "separation of management and ownership of Taoping", were used to gain insight into the role of inter-community interactions, collaboration, and innovative strategies in post-disaster development. The last step took the form of selective coding. Themes were organised and integrated to form a coherent understanding of the relationships between large-scale enterprises, social capital, and the post-disaster development of community tourism.

4 | LARGE-SCALE TOURISM ENTERPRISES, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE POST-DISASTER DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY TOURISM

4.1 | Intra-community interactions and community participation

After the Wenchuan earthquake, the reopening of Taoping to the public triggered a community-wide conflict between JE and the Taoping villagers. The conflict mainly resulted from a change in

the ticket scheme: the entrance ticket fee for Taoping Old Village was increased from 30 to 60 yuan by JE, but they did not seek the villagers' consent before making that change. Consequently, the Taoping villagers felt that they had been marginalised after the Wenchuan earthquake, despite supposedly being equal partners in the management of Taoping attraction, and that they were very unlikely to obtain any benefits from the increase. They also feared that the increase in the ticket fees may lead to a reduction in the amount of tourists. The villagers also found it extremely difficult to develop alternative livelihoods after the Wenchuan earthquake. Taoping villager V26 commented:

> "Taoping's tourism had just begun to rebound, but JE wanted to raise the ticket fee right away. Tourists did not want to visit Taoping any more. It seemed that we could get more ticket revenue, but each family only got several thousand yuan every year which was just meaningless for us". (V26, 01 Oct 2017)

JE was in charge of managing Taoping attraction and maintained a good relationship with the local government. This close relationship

directly shaped the hierarchical interactions between the Taoping villagers and JE. Well aware that they would receive little support from the government, the Taoping villagers adopted an offensive strategy to fight for their rights. They embarked on a non-violent campaign of non-cooperation, by intercepting tourists' vehicles at the gates to the Old Village, and explaining how they could gain free entry to Taoping attraction. Some of the inn/hotel owners told their guests that they could get into the Old Village without tickets after 6 PM. Through this "social movement", the Taoping villagers opposed to the new ticket scheme and defended their rights, as the villager V1 explained:

> "At that time, we often went to the gate of Taoping Old Village and persuaded tourists to follow us. We just wanted to cause some trouble for JE to fight for our survival rights". (V1, 03 Oct 2017)

To resolve the community-wide conflict, JE invited the Taoping villagers to participate in the post-disaster development agenda and facilitated inter-community collaboration. Assisted by an officer from Taoping township government, JE organised several village meetings to persuade villagers to abandon the movement and to explain the rationale for the new ticket scheme. JE emphasised the internal and external benefits that the new scheme could offer to the Taoping villagers and tried to cultivate a sense of "community alliance". Frequent interactions between JE and the Taoping villagers were significant in strengthening the qualitative elements of social capital, including shared norms, reciprocity, and trust, which were fostered during the interaction process. After many rounds of discussion, the Taoping villagers finally agreed upon a revised ticket scheme: the entrance fee was still raised to 60 yuan per person, but tickets for smaller attractions inside the Old Village, such as Yang courtyard and Chen tower, were no longer available; this part of the income would be directly compensated by paying subsidies to the owners. Instead of 20%, 25% of the ticket income would be given to the villagers, and the new scheme would be supervised by the Taoping village committee. The new scheme increased the dividends that villagers could obtain each year. The engagement of the Taoping villagers in the decision-making process and the new collaborative mechanism improved the rationale for and the feasibility of the new ticket scheme, as the Taoping villager V15 explained:

> "We had several discussion meetings with JE about the new ticket scheme. It was an incredible opportunity for us to express our needs and participate in community management". (V15, 27 September 2017)

The new scheme helped to change Taoping villagers' perceptions about the relationship with JE. To many villagers, the new scheme reflected that JE attempted to establish an equal relationship with them, as they had originally been led to believe. The Taoping villagers also showed their capacities of participating in the community tourism development agenda, and felt empowered to defend their interests and achieve their aims. Consequently, the Taoping villagers gradually abandoned the movement and sought more effective ways to engage in community tourism. The following comment from a JE employee supports this view:

> "Villagers seldom complained about the new ticket scheme. To be more exact, they began to focus on their own business. They had found a way to survive and had no time to bother the government and tourism companies again". (J1, 29 Sep 2017)

JE also attempted to strengthen deeper bonds with the Taoping villagers by generating more business opportunities, so that they could actively engage in community tourism. For instance, JE set up souvenir stalls on each side of the main streets and villagers were able to use the stalls to sell ethnic handicrafts for free. To some extent, this helped to improve the formerly chaotic situation regarding souvenir stalls in Taoping, which had been difficult to manage before the Wenchuan earthquake. When asked why JE provided the free stalls, the villager V20 replied:

> "JE always complained about the mess with the souvenir stalls. In fact, we did not want to cause this mess, but there were no fixed spots where we could sell". (V20, 05 Oct 2017)

There were further examples of positive community participation in Taoping village owing to JE's efforts. Many villagers greatly appreciated the business facilities provided by JE. The director of JE recounted that the increasing interdependence between the company and the Taoping villagers and the spirit of their cooperation brought broader benefits for the whole community. JE also assisted the Taoping villagers in recruiting a Qiang dance team and a sheepskin drumming group. Both teams performed in Shalang plaza every day during the peak season. One JE employee emphasised the significance of these additional forms of community participation in creating greater benefits and strengthen community bonds during the post-disaster recovery phase, as follows:

> "The revival of Qiang dance and sheepskin drumming was greatly supported by villagers, because it created more employment opportunities and brought economic benefits to them. Furthermore, it helped them to strengthen their ethnic identity". (J3, 30 Sep 2017)

The intra-community interactions described above illustrated the dynamic that JE created by building and mobilising bonding social capital with the Taoping villagers. The acceptance of the new scheme and the benefits derived seeded deeper bonds between the two groups, which continued in the later phases of post-disaster development. The formerly unequal economic relationship between JE and the Taoping villagers was redressed, and a sense of interdependence between JE and the local community was in turn reinforced. The harmonious relationship between JE and the Taoping villagers played

a significant part in driving the post-disaster development of community tourism, generating further economic benefits and bringing about intangible changes, such as redressing the unequal power relations.

4.2 | Inter-community interactions, collaboration and innovative strategies for post-disaster development

4.2.1 | Establishing collaboration with neighbouring attractions

The Wenchuan earthquake destroyed most houses in Taoping as well as the roads to Taoping. By the end of 2012, the post-disaster rebuilding project was almost complete. However, a handful of homogenous ethnic attractions emerged around Taoping, making the local tourist market more competitive. In an attempt to resolve these external market challenges, JE decided to collaborate with neighbouring attractions to improve Taoping's market competitiveness. Firstly, JE bundled Taoping Qiang Village and Ganbao Tibetan Village together to apply for the title of "National Fourth-level Degree (4A) Attraction". Following the application, JE implemented the *Improvement Plan of Tourism Facilities* to upgrade both attractions. This inter-community collaboration attracted substantial resource support from multi-level government bodies. A considerable amount of funding from the provincial, state, and county governments was approved to implement the upgrade plan, as the JE employee J1 described below:

> "With the help of Li county government and Taoping township government, our company could make full use of the cultural resources of the Qiang and Tibetan ethnic attractions. Recently we built a cultural wall to fully represent Qiang and Tibetan culture and constructed a walkway to integrate the cultural and natural landscapes of Taoping". (J1, 29 Sep 2017)

This inter-community destination collaboration not only made the upgrading of Taoping possible, but also kept the Taoping villagers happy. Both attractions were renovated in a way that made them appear more mysterious and highlighted their distinctive ethnic characteristics. This can be seen as an example of commodification arising from collaboration, which brought about wider community benefits for the Taoping villagers, including the increase in the amount of tourists and the boom of local small businesses. During the upgrading, JE organised further interactive activities, such as providing training courses for Tibetan tour guides. The company also recruited Ganbao villagers to join the Qiang dance team, and the new team took turns at performing in the two villages. Both villages worked towards a shared goal and achieved it through an inter-community collaborative mechanism. This, in turn, fostered further economic connections and resource sharing, thus generating more bridging social capital in response to the development challenges they faced.

Within this collaborative framework, JE established broader collaboration with more neighbouring attractions, namely Xuecheng Qiang Town, Ganxi Qiang Village and Muka Qiang Village, as well as Ganbao Tibetan Village. This was mainly achieved through promoting a two-day tourist route: Taoping attraction was the core destination of this tourist route, and most tourists would stay overnight in Taoping and then choose one or two neigbouring attractions to visit. The two-day route indicated that Taoping was no longer a single destination but part of a tourist package, with multiple ethnic destinations and various types of entertainment and activities. Therefore, the collaboration with other attractions made it possible for Taoping attraction to become a more attractive destination, as confirmed by the JE employee J1:

> "Tourists were not willing just to stay at Taoping, because they thought it was boring. The two-day route provided more attractions that weekend tourists could explore. Taoping was the central attraction because tourist facilities were well developed. Tourists could find a high standard of accommodation and stay there for one night". (J1, 29 Sep 2017)

This wider collaboration not only resulted in local tourist attractions/products being upgraded, but also led to the further development of community tourism. More inter-community links created by JE with the other four attractions also took root: Qiang-Tibetan souvenir shops were opened at all five attractions; and Qiang-Tibetan fairs were regularly held in the five attractions in turn. These inter-community interactions helped to integrate more bridging resources for expanding the local tourist market and improving local market competitiveness. The visible increase in the amount of tourists, the mature tourist routes, and the boom of local small business saw villagers' income grow, and also demonstrated that bridging social capital built through inter-community collaboration was the driving force behind the post-disaster development of community tourism in Taoping.

4.2.2 | Separation of management rights and ownership of Taoping

As well as the emerging external market challenges that Taoping attraction faced, it was also plagued by internal management problems. After the Wenchuan earthquake, Taoping attraction was jointly managed by Li county government, JE, and the Taoping villagers. The multi-stakeholder management system promoted community participation to some extent, but it also created inefficient management issues. In the following excerpt, the JE employee J1 shared his thoughts about this situation:

> "Our company spent much more time and money on communicating with villagers, but it bore little fruit. We were tired of this ineffective collaboration and this

prevented the post-disaster development of community tourism to some extent". (J1, 29 Sep 2017)

In this context, JE managed to reform the existing management system by persuading inter-community organisations to jointly invest in and manage Taoping attraction. The employee J1 explained the role inter-community organisations would play in tackling management issues and funding the post-disaster development of community tourism:

> "We had thought about how to manage post-disaster Taoping and felt that we must collaborate with an outside company to facilitate the tourism development of the attraction in response to new market challenges and inefficient management issues. Thus, we contacted many tourism companies and had several discussions with them before choosing Chengdu G real estate". (J1, 29 Sep 2017)

This excerpt highlights the need to resolve management tensions and establish the feasibility of incorporating new organisations into the management system. An executive from Touch Cloud Resort introduced a friend of his to the JE employee J1, who was the CEO of Chengdu G real estate company (GC). The executive arranged for his friend to go on a Taoping "fieldtrip". GC showed great interest in collaborating with JE for managing Taoping attraction. The negotiations between GC and JE finally resulted in a collaborative agreement: in terms of rights, GC would take over Taoping attraction for 40 years, while JE would only be responsible for approving the development and conservation schemes of Taoping attraction; in terms of revenue sharing, GC would pay 200,000 yuan to JE and 20% of ticket income to the Taoping villagers annually. The collaborative project was characterised by a shared management structure and vision, as the JE employee J9 explained:

> "The partnership with GC was a new venture to manage Taoing Qiang Village more effectively at that time, because we strongly believed that an external organisation could offer some new ideas and implement new development practices". (J9, 29 Sep 2017)

The separation of management and ownership freed JE from the responsibilities of daily operational management, which enabled itself to maintain a purely supervisory role. Thus, GC was able to implement new development strategies for managing Taoping attraction, the most effective of which was to mobilise its substantial marketing resources. For instance, GC invited potential house buyers who were looking to purchase properties built by GC in Chengdu to take a one-day trip to Taoping. GC also collaborated with an advertising agency to advertise Taoping attraction on social media, and the advertisement specifically emphasised Taoping's millennium castle and its post-disaster recovery story. Consequently, Taoping attraction became much more famous than before and the number of tourists who visited it increased dramatically.

The engagement of GC and the separation of management and ownership made the management system operate more effective. As the bearer of new capital and resources, GC had a greater capacity to develop deeper bonds with the Taoping villagers, which brought further mutual benefits. GC provided training courses for Taoping tour guides to improve their professional skills. The company also organised additional tourist activities, including campfire parties, ethnic dance performances, and ethnic cultural exhibitions, to entertain tourists. Whilst visiting Taoping Old Village remained the main focus for tourists, these additional activities that helped tourists experience the Qiang ethnic culture made the destination more attractive. These development strategies led to the engagement of more Taoping villagers in community tourism, and facilitated the integration of Qiang ethnic culture. The deeper bonds established with the Taoping villagers delivered wider post-disaster development of community tourism, whose value was truly captured by villagers.

5 | DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored the building and mobilisation of social capital by a large-scale enterprise for the post-disaster development of community tourism. A number of dynamics of social capital building and mobilisation between the large-scale enterprise of JE, the Taoping villagers, and inter-community organisations were examined. JE pursued the post-disaster development of community tourism by integrating bonding social capital created through the engagement of the Taoping villagers with bridging social capital developed through inter-community interactions (see Figure 3). Networks, norms and trust that JE built with intra- and inter-community actors facilitated mutual coordination and collaboration to deliver the post-disaster development of community tourism. The study provided greater insight into the role played by large-scale enterprises in the post-disaster development of community tourism through the building and mobilisation of social capital.

Bonding social capital that JE built with the Taoping villagers served as the foundation for undertaking the post-development measures. Trust, norms, and reciprocity - key ingredients of social capital - were formed as intra-community interactions between JE and the Taoping villagers occurred and developed. However, the interaction dynamics became more complicated over time, as both groups had their own set of priorities and group interests. Conflict between the Taoping villagers and JE was triggered by the changes JE made in the Taoping attraction's entrance fee. The new ticket scheme threatened the livelihoods of the Taoping villagers and consequently they instigated a non-violent campaign of non-cooperation. JE was forced to compromise with villagers and include them in the decision-making process with regard to the post-disaster development of community tourism. Beyond that, JE provided more business and employment opportunities for the Taoping villagers and upskilled the local workforce, so as to encourage wider participation, which cultivated a sense
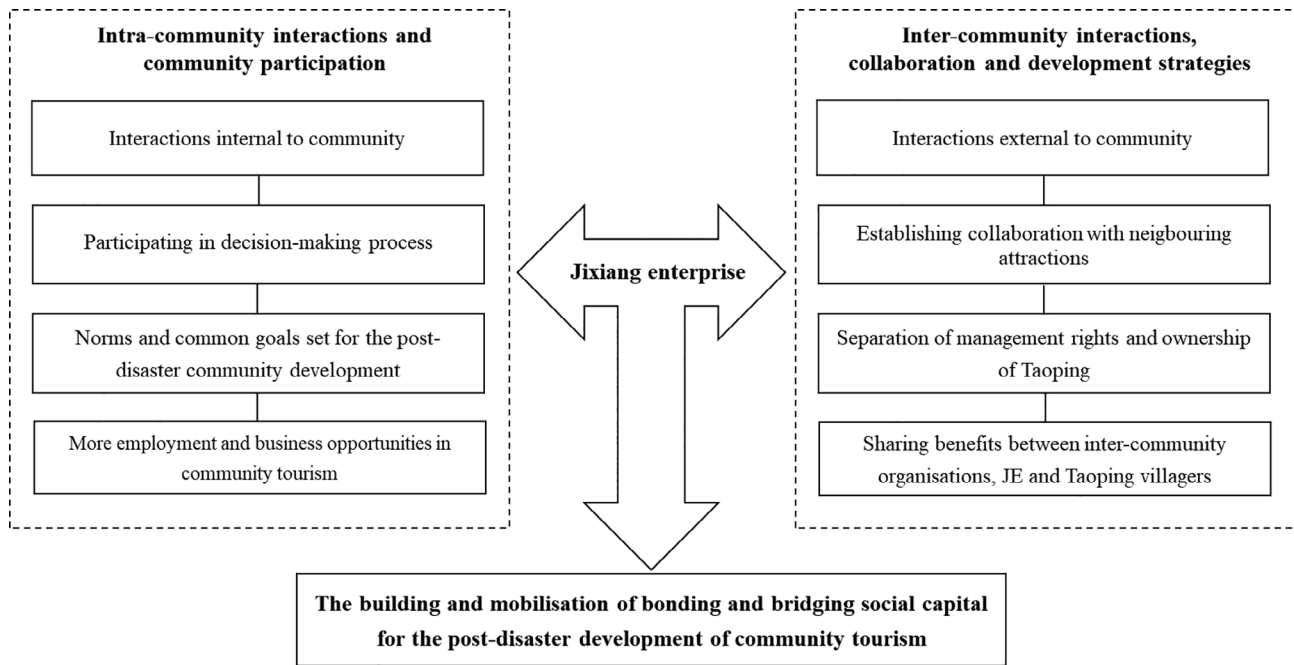
FIGURE 3 Simultaneous building and mobilisation of social capital by Jixiang enterprise (Source: Authors)

of interdependence between the company and the villagers and re-defined their relationship. A more equal relationship between JE and the Taoping villagers was thus created. When JE incorporated the Taoping villagers' interests and values into its management system, this further facilitated bonding social capital (Goulden et al., 2013; Graci, 2013). The increase in opportunities for villagers to participate in post-disaster community tourism drew attention to the resources and capital embedded in the local interactions between large-scale enterprises and the Taoping villagers.

These inter-community interactions, involving the incorporation of inter-community organisations into community tourism within Taoping, and bridging social capital generated, enabled JE to successfully resolve external market challenges and internal management issues. JE collaborated with neighbouring attractions to forge an alliance that helped them overcome the fierce market competition. Instead of viewing neighbouring attractions as rivals, the alliance emphasised and reinforced inter-community interactions between neighbouring attractions, which in turn expanded the local tourist market. This alliance led to a "win-win" outcome, demonstrating that Taoping attraction was well equipped with bridging social capital built by JE with neighbouring attractions in response to emerging market challenges. In addition, the post-disaster development of Taoping attraction was constrained by the inefficiency of the multi-stakeholder management system. By separating the management and ownership of Taoping attraction, the involvement of GC contributed to further development of post-disaster community tourism. GC encouraged the Taoping villagers to use their specific skills, such as ethnic dancing, as a way of participating in community tourism. These collaborative relations constituted the social glue that bound the whole community together

with GC to resolve the post-disaster development challenges they faced.

The case of Taoping provides a valuable glimpse into the role played by large-scale enterprises in building and utilising social capital to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism. The engagement of large-scale enterprises in local community tourism is a phenomenon that has increasingly been observed in many tourism destinations (Calgaro & Lloyd, 2008), but there has been little discussion about whether large-scale enterprises continue advancing a post-disaster development model of community tourism. The resources provided by large-scale enterprises and social capital that they create and mobilise are very significant in shaping the post-disaster development of community tourism, which is achieved through binding community actors together and acquiring external support. Bonding social capital formed between JE and the local community laid a solid foundation for the post-disaster development of community tourism; the interactions between JE, inter-community organisations and the Taoping villagers offered wider development pathways. Whilst JE undoubtedly profited from the development of post-disaster community tourism, it also fulfilled its public obligations to the local community as a state-owned company. The control that JE exerted over Taoping attraction did not mean that the Taoping villagers were marginalised; rather, JE became more dependent on the Taoping villagers and acknowledged their significant contributions to the post-disaster development of Taoping. The building and mobilisation of bonding social capital has not only been observed in the case of small-scale enterprises in the post-disaster development of community tourism (Minamoto, 2010), but it has also served to support the post-disaster development model initiated by large-scale enterprises. Compared with small-scale enterprises, JE proved to be more capable of and

successful at exerting influence over inter-community organisations. Interactions among inter-community organisations, JE, and the Taoping villagers played a significant part in the building and mobilisation of bridging social capital and its continued circulation in the post-disaster development of community tourism. The experience of Taoping reflects neither the sole mobilisation of bonding nor bridging social capital to facilitate the post-disaster development of communities (Nakagawa & Shaw, 2004). Rather, it is the combination of bonding and bridging social capital, which enabled Taoping to overcome the post-disaster development challenges that it faced.

This study has drawn attention to the significant role played by large-scale enterprises in the post-disaster development of community tourism through the lens of social capital. Other forms of capital may also have a significant impact on the post-disaster development of community tourism. Future research could therefore investigate other forms of capital to fully unpack how to facilitate the post-disaster development of community tourism. The post-disaster development of community tourism often entails engaging many different types of stakeholders. Thus, future empirical studies could also use stakeholder theory to explore the collaborative relationships between stakeholders in the post-disaster development process. Two recommendations can be made based on the preceding discussion. Firstly, it is vital to establish a harmonious relationship between tourism organisations and the local community. Tourism organisations, especially large-scale enterprises, can provide training for affected communities to improve their capabilities and create more development opportunities for community tourism. This is of great significance for communities that suffer natural or man-made disasters, in particular for community members who have been gradually marginalised during the post-disaster development process over time. Secondly, it has been shown that interactions between JE and inter-community organisations brought tremendous benefits for the development of community tourism after the disaster. Therefore, policies should aim to encourage greater collaboration between inter-community organisations.

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ENDNOTES

[1] A disaster is defined as sudden unforeseen events generated by natural or man-made factors that result in destruction, damage, and loss (Alexander, 2005).

[2] In the tourism context, small-scale enterprises are businesses such as economy class hotels and craft tourism businesses, including homestays, small independent restaurants, and souvenir shops, etc., which commonly employ fewer than 10 people (Wanhill, 2000).

[3] In the tourism context, large-scale enterprises are businesses such as hotels with a hundred or more rooms. Large-scale enterprises take the form of transnational/national tourism enterprises, listed enterprises, four/five-star chain hotels or resorts, etc. (Andriotis, 2002; Wanhill, 2000).

[4] The Wenchuan earthquake that occurred on 12 May 2008 has been one of the most severe natural disasters in recent decades. It was measured at a magnitude of 8.2 and affected most Chinese provinces and several East Asian countries.

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