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COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE TOURISM GOVERNANCE AT THE CHINESE BORDER: POWER, BOUNDARIES AND VALUES

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Min (Lucy) ZHANG

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Life is indeed darkness save when there is urge,

And all urge is blind save when there is knowledge,

And all knowledge is vain save when there is work,

And all work is empty save when there is love.

And when you work with love you bind yourself to yourself,

and to one another, and to God.

— From The Prophet, by Khalil Gibran, 1923

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Abstract

The overarching research question for this study is concerned with examining the conditions under which border ethnic communities could participate in local tourism development, not only in terms of passive economic benefit sharing but also in terms of active decision-making, which is expected to lead to an inclusive, cohesive and sustainable development. To address this question, a conceptual framework is proposed based on an in-depth review of the extant literature on governance and community participation. While the construction of the analytical model is framed by interpreting the Social Exchange Theory. The notion about the importance of borders at the critical moment of 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) initiative of China, which aims to connect and collaborate with the neighbouring countries, calls for a research framing within a social exchange context. This study brings together a cross-disciplinary collection of major theoretical concepts from sociology, anthropology, economic theory, governance, tourism, and sustainable development to frame a novel multi-dimensional enquiry into the subject of community participation. It applies social network analysis combined with content analysis, which introduces new approaches to research on the subject. By doing so, it provides empirical evidence to support the theoretical concept of community participation with endogenous power in the coalition with local CBT enterprises, as a bridge between the macro (destination) and micro (community) levels. These findings are particularly useful for informing future participation processes that can pave the way for sustainable and inclusive development of border tourism destinations.

Keywords: governance; border; power; boundaries; values; China

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research interest

Don't misunderstand me by reading the research credo. This thesis is not about God. However, for what god matters is life and love. It has been such a long journey that I searched for meanings of work in the darkness of my life. I was "haunted" by the question "How can I find love to fulfil my 'empty' work?" until I started to work with UNDP on the development projects in remote areas of China, mostly ethnic regions, even at borders. Having worked as a development consultant for over five years and the previous work experiences in public administration, I have gradually become aware of a number of challenges in implementing development initiatives that are beneficial for both the private tourism sector and the local communities. Amongst many challenges confronted, I realized that institutional power and policy choice at multiple levels of governments set the 'tangible' scenarios for various project delivery on the ground. Therefore, the goal as a developer should not just about how to directly benefit local communities through small scale project implementation (mostly even merely for a short term) in practice, but also reveal why Community-based Tourism (CBT) initiatives could contribute to optimizing the policy environment to reach consensus among stakeholders at a conceptual level. It can be argued that such a process and work mechanism behind is essential to achieve a sustainable and inclusive local development.

This introductory chapter of the dissertation is divided into four main sections. The current section shares some personal reasons why the research project was initiated and eventually it developed into a research interest. The following sections depict the research background and raise research questions and objectives. Section 1.3 presents the research design in a technical map. The last section briefly introduces how the dissertation is organized and structured.

1.2 Research objectives

Although the literature has been advocating for citizen/community-inclusive approach for decades, there is still little knowledge of how policymakers and practitioners can effectively engage communities, in both decision-making and benefit sharing (Ashley & Jones, 2001). In contrast to decentralization in western societies, governance in many developing countries is found less effective in the context of globalization and marketization, because power is often centralized in the administrative departments, and the bureaucracy increasingly becomes an obstacle to efficient governance (Bramwell, 2005; Yang & Bao, 2016; Zhou, 2015; Zhe & Chen, 2011). In the liberalizing Chinese context, economic reforms, the open-door policy since 1978 and the recent OBOR initiative have given significant impetus to gradual power devolution (Lin & Simmons, 2017). Taking into account of such a novel scenario of nuanced economic and socio-cultural contexts, in order to examine governance models, this study proposes to scrutinise a series of fundamental questions: How is the power delegated within a political network? Is there a gap between the policy formulation and implementation actors within a formal political structure? If so, why? How do policy implementation consequences influence the formulation processes through the outcomes? Under what conditions are public sectors and local communities related to private partners? What are the outcomes in terms of different types of partnership? How do such partnerships impact the overall policy choice on destination governance and wider society?

Up until now, few research has been undertaken, either in the academic world or by professional tourism consultants, on the significance of ‘community ethnic boundaries’ and ‘organizational conditions’ in terms of their effect on consolidating the social exchange relations between communities and private sector, further on establishing a participatory governance network. My research interest grew out of an attempt to understand such complex ‘puzzles’ that would help fill this knowledge gap by adopting a Social Network Analysis and content analysis to explore the distinctive features in a holistic approach. This thesis set out to explore a feasible model that may innovatively answer these questions. In detail:

The research question of the thesis is:

Why and how ethnic community participation to the local initiated firms could possibly contribute to the establishment of a participatory governance network in a border context?

General objective: to gain insights into the relations among multiple social actors and their deep motivations behind social connections and power structure, from an emic standing point to interpret the cultural meaning of the relation in a specific border context.

Specific objectives:

1. To investigate how multiple actors, interact within a governance network and how border complexities influence the governing process and actors’ relations;

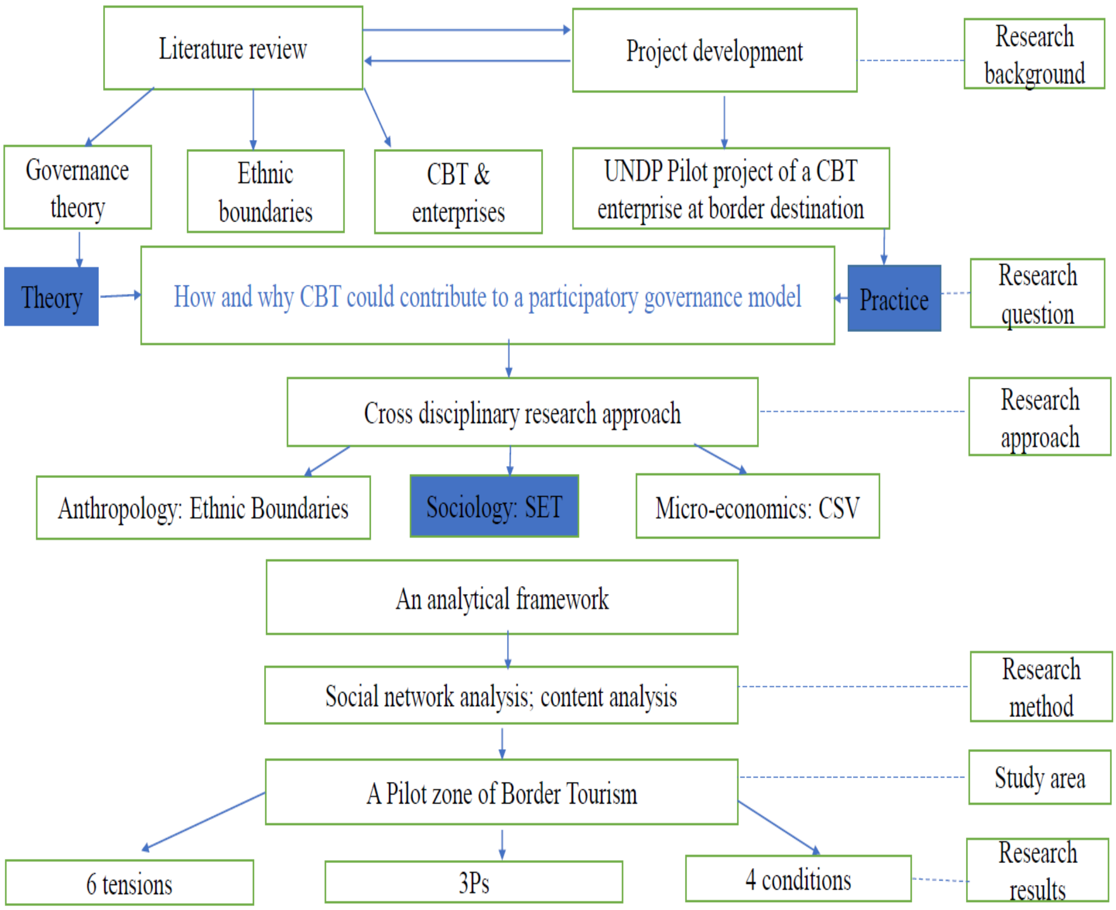
2. To explore what conditions tourism (as a form of dynamic social interaction) provides in the process of maintaining ethnic boundaries, and understand how ethnic boundaries play a significant role in transforming the ethnic cultural expression into a place identity;

3. To scrutinise why and how the CSV concept can be adopted in CBT initiatives to improve community participation effectively and, by so doing, enhance equality in benefit distribution and social cohesion.

1.3 Research design

This thesis seeks to answer the question of why and how CBT enterprises can contribute to the establishment of a participatory governance network in a border context. To do this, the research project is designed to complete in six stages.

Figure 1. Map of technical routes of research design



Source: Author

First, regarding the research background. The author was called to join the project team on the theme of ethnic community-based tourism at border destination. By then, with limited information and locally proposed ideas, the problem was initially identified and contextualised specifically at borders. Accordingly, prior to the fieldwork, the first stage was mainly devoted to the literature review on the subjects of ethnic cultural tourism, community-based tourism enterprises, border tourism, and governance theory.

Second, the research question starts to emerge during the fieldwork with the development of the project and data collection. During this stage, the author tries to converge the theoretical and practical approaches: one the one hand, it is necessary to understand the nature of the project supported by the local government and targeted the private sector and the ethnic community; on the other hand, it is a gradual process to position the appropriate theoretical backup to "cover" the data and guide the rest of the project development.

Third, having recognized the limitation of the traditional SET based on relative power-dependence relations, due to the complex nature of the research question, a cross-disciplinary approach is proposed at the third stage. This thesis seeks to explain community participation in governance in relation to withholding or relinquishing power. As to how to define a community or group boundaries, the motivations behind boundary formation and maintenances, and the impact of such boundaries, it is necessary to borrow an anthropological approach. Furthermore, anthropological approaches specifically focus on the powerless and the inequalities centralized power produces (Akram et al., 2015). Strategies that the community takes reflect their motivations which are rooted in a wider power relation. Microeconomics is the other effective entry to understand social exchange theory (Cook et al., 2006). As Sahlins & Graeber (2017) argued that apart from self-interest, mutual concern and more generalized concern also could be important motives in social exchange relations. Therefore, in these two different types of exchange relationships, the motivations and drivers of 'value' creation could follow different principles and logics. Productive exchange with identity-based trust readily involves multiple actors, thereby freeing exchange theory from its dyadic format (Emerson, 1976) and allowing stakeholders co-create value that benefits all within a coherent social exchange network. Based on the extended SET compensated with both anthropological and microeconomic theories, an analytical framework is proposed by the end of this stage presented in Chapter 2.

Fourth, regarding the research method. Social network theory provides an important analytical approach for understanding about government-industry–community relations and explaining the policymaking process where power and responsibility are diffused (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007). Social network analysis (SNA) provides both a visual and mathematical analysis to reveal socially constructed linkages and collaborations between stakeholders (Tolkach & King, 2015; Iorio & Corsale, 2014). Moreover, social text analytics is concerned with the substantive nature of the interactions, it focuses on the topics discussed and how they are discussed. In line with the purpose of the research, this study is engaged to investigate the 'softer' and less tangible social and cultural aspects of networks, rather than the structure of the network that measures relationships and describes network structures, which dominate the limited literature on tourism networks (Dredge, 2006a). In this vein, data management and analyses can be facilitated with a text mining software called KH Coder (Higuchi, 2015), which provides data pre-processing, lexical analysis, and visualization. while content analysis is the typical method for qualitative research, it refers in particular to the interpretation or analysis of products of communication, although there is no standard definition (Creswell, 2014). Six Protocols are suggested to follow in conducting content analysis in Chapter 3.

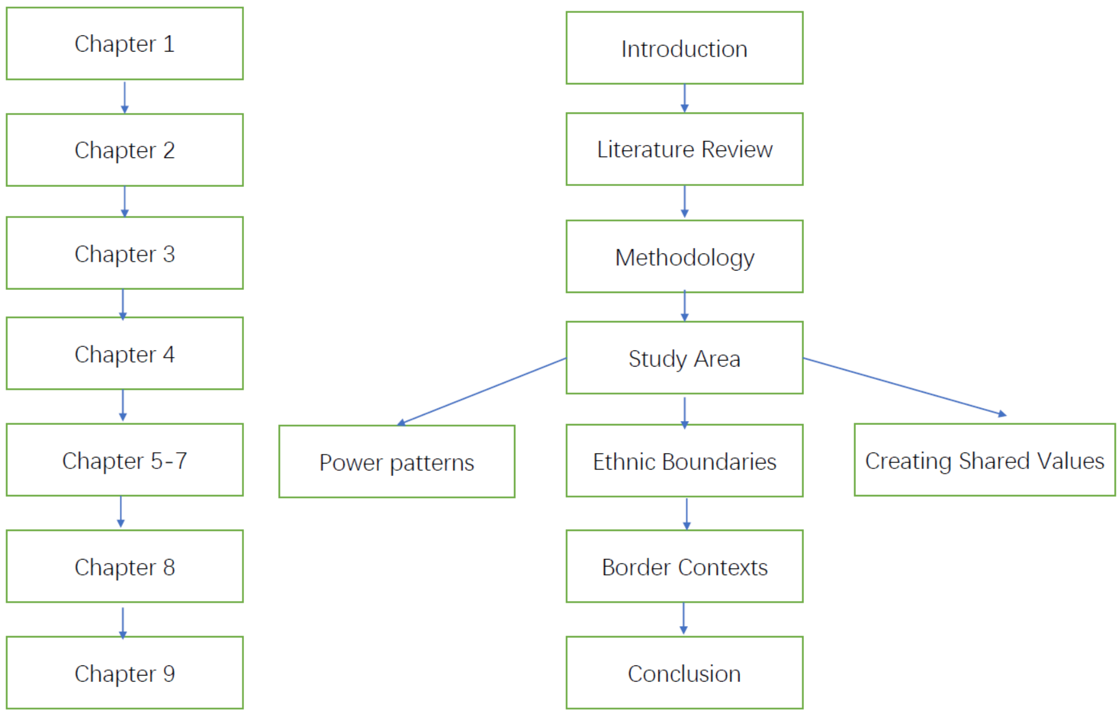
Fifth, to understand the nature of community participation at border region from a social exchange perspective, it is necessary to recall the historical evolution, since the institutions, cultural resources and local norms that affect community participation in governance, have rooted in a particular historical context. As such, the aim of Chapter 4 is to provide a historical overview of the political economy development of the study site Dongxing (DX), touching upon political, economic and societal issues.

Sixth, the results of the research identify the conditions under which community participation could take place at macro-, micro- and meso- levels, which might contribute to the policy design in border regions, particularly in the transformational period of China under the influence of OBOR initiative. In detail, this study focuses on the particularities of border regions by articulating three main aspects: 1) institutional power patterns in governance, which set a formal and legitimate scenario for community participation in Chapter 5; 2) ethnic community boundaries, reflecting endogenous strategies from an emit perspective, influenced by high mobility within and across borders in Chapter 6; and 3) socio-economic values that intrinsically emerge from the grassroots enterprises embedded in everyday social relations in Chapter 7.

1.4 Dissertation structure

This chapter has provided an underlying context for the forthcoming chapters by introducing the subjects of community participation and social exchange theory. It has outlined why these topics should be studied in a holistic approach, as well as the aims and objectives of the thesis. The following chapter reviews the literature relating to the main concepts, including governance and community participation, as well as the literature on SET. Furthermore, Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive analysis of the extension of SET by borrowing anthropological and micro-economic perspectives. This lays the theoretical foundation of the SET framework for studying community participation at macro, micro, and meso levels. Chapter 3 presents the methodological approaches carefully selected in the current research project and outlines how the author engaged with relevant ethical issues within the research project. Chapter 4 provides an insight into the context of research, which is important for understanding the research question in the empirical setting of borders. From Chapter 5 onwards to Chapter 8, the results of this study are presented on macro, micro, and meso levels, followed by the findings on border relational contexts. Firstly, Chapter 5 presents the power patterns in destination governance network at a macro level, supported by social network analysis. Secondly, the findings related to the ethnic boundaries in the process of social interactions, specifically the impact of tourism activities embedded in everyday life of the ethnic community on the boundary maintaining dynamics are presented in Chapter 6, this is a relatively micro-level in comparison. Thirdly, value as a significant dimension of the theorization of SET is explored in the context of a community-based tourism initiative, Chapter 7 reveals the mechanism and conditions under which how economic and social values could be created simultaneously by integrating community participation into enterprise operations. Last but not least, the SET framework is contextualized in a border destination, by presenting an analysis of the factors that distinguish border destinations and stress their particularities in Chapter 8. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes by expanding the discussion of the findings and provides implications for future policy design at border destinations.

Figure 2. Structure of the dissertation



Source: Author

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the conceptual body of knowledge by taking the Social Exchange Theory (SET) as an epistemological lens to scrutinise tourism governance and community participation. To do this, the next section (2.2) tackles the concept of governance, introducing different approaches from the literature that allow gauging its effectiveness and efficiency according to either economic, administrative or social criteria as the ultimate objective of governance systems. Following this line, the derived stems of governance philosophies are discussed in the context of community-based tourism initiatives. Community participation as one of the most significant dimensions of governance systems (Bramwell, 2005) is then further excavated in two strands of literature, namely, performance-oriented and process-oriented participation. My reading of the literature reveals a substantial gap in the little attention paid to situate community participation in a wider relational approach, not only in view of community development, but also of the broader societal and economic impacts at multiple scales (Xu & Huang, 2018; Gao et al., 2019; Mukherjee & Dutta, 2018). The literature on community participation has been growing in the past half-century since Arnstein (1969) introduced the ladders of participation. However, with the rising mobility and globalization and tremendous changes taken place in developing countries, the conceptualization and operationalization in centralized power structures deserve more attention for its disparities from western societies (Hall et al., 2008). Particularly, border regions subject to different tensions for shifting from peripheries to contact zones, increasing unbalanced relations between economic growth and socio-cultural cohesion challenge the existing literature. After approaching this body of knowledge on governance, the following section (2.3.2) reviews the Social Exchange Theory (SET) and its core constructs. Furthermore, three types of exchange relations are explained in detail, namely, resource-based, relation-based and context-based (2.3.3). Several limitations (2.3.4) are identified by utilising SET as an explanatory tool to examine ethnic community participation in the tourism governance system. Therefore, new perspectives from anthropological and micro-economic concerns are introduced (2.3.5), compensating for the competence of a theoretical explanation of the original SET framework. After that, three perspectives of my original approach to the study of governance at tourism systems on the ethnic Chinese border are articulated in subsection 2.3.6: (1) the source of power; (2) boundaries and identity; and (3) creating shared value (CSV) in comparison to corporate social responsibility (CSR). The last subsection (2.3.7) proposes an analytical framework by integrating the relation-formation, relation-attribute, and relation-context perspectives to depict a dynamic process of power negotiation and balancing in the state-market-community relations embedded in the border contexts.

2.2 Community participation in Governance: conceptual approaches

2.2.1 Governance: origins

Governance is a key concept in politics and public policy that is increasingly utilised in tourism (Hall, 2011), for tourism is an ideal field to investigate governance due to the nature of tourism industry, including multiple scales of power and multiple actors from government, quangos, volunteer actors, communities and market forces. Since the 1980s, there has been a shift of focus from government to governance in political science (Bevir, 2013). This trend could be explained from two narratives. First, the concern for governance emerged from neoliberal reforms of the public sector. The marketization of government services is supposed to improve efficiency based on criteria of entrepreneurialism, competition, and market-centric rationality, and has been largely based on the promotion of public-private partnerships (PPP). This was fleshed out in the ‘good governance’ concept proposed by the World Bank in 1992. Yet this shift has attracted wide criticism (Turner and Hulme, 1997; Stoker, 1999; Mercer, 2003;

Bramwell, 2005). For instance, Bevir (2002, p.5) asserts that “neoliberal reforms fragmented service delivery and weakened central control without establishing proper markets”. Rothstein & Teorell (2008) criticize it remaining at the conceptual level. Furthermore, the question ‘good for whom’ interrogates its standing position. Instead, ‘quality of governance’ is proposed with three components: democracy, the rule of law, and efficiency and effectiveness. In contrast, Narisong et. al (2015) explores the relationship between trust and governance in an authoritarian country like China, since grassroots governance is embedded in social relations, especially in rural areas, the particularized trust is influential.

The debate has been focusing on state-market relations, such as government role and efficiency, leadership, legitimacy, accountability, transparency, and power relations (add literature here). Apart from this pro-growth approach, Kooiman (1993) and a group of scholars (such as Bouckaert,1993) advocated for a broader investigation agenda on governance addressing the balance between government and society, encouraging public participation and social cohesion. This was the second origination of governance—a processual approach targeting social inclusiveness rather than effectiveness. With this influence of the understanding of governance, the topics under debate include social trust, credibility, socio-economic resilience, public participation, democracy, etc. For example, Wang & Yotsumoto (2019) discussed eight issues in tourism governance, including land expropriation, house demolition, house building, vending rights, ticket revenue distribution, tourism management rights, entry restrictions, and village elections. Most issues and conflicts are concerning community participation in rural China.

Either way to delegate state powers as previously reviewed to local governments, quangos, private sectors or volunteer organizations illustrate the essence of governance as decentralization, which leads to three aspects that deserve further discussion: 1) the role and relations between multiple actors in governance networks, 2) multi-scalar power structures, and 3) public-private partnership (PPP). Because of the diverse usage of governance in various fields, the definition of the concept of governance is confusing and controversial (Windsor, 2009). As Ruhanen et al. (2010, p. 5) review, “there are numerous and disparate definitions of governance, with definitions constructed from different narratives (Bevir & Rhodes, 2001). For example, a corporate based definition is evident in the Cadbury Report (1992, p. 15) where governance is defined as ‘the system by which companies are directed and controlled’. Conversely, in the political sciences, it has been defined as the ‘conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm’ and emphasizing theories of contemporary politics relating development and democratization. A widely cited political approach to the definition of governance (e.g. Bevir, 2004; Bevir & Rhodes, 2000; Newman, 2001; Rhodes, 1999; Stoker, 1998) was developed by Rhodes (1997, p. 15) defined governance as ‘the self-organizing inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game and autonomy from the state’. These diverse definitions reflect the differing contexts in which governance is being studied along with the disciplinary perspective of the researcher.” There is no single agreed definition yet. However, wide recognition that both the public and private sectors are involved in network relations in the form of PPP (Rhodes, 1997). As Kooiman (1993, p. 5) states “it is a collection of rather specific models of interaction between the public and private sector in terms of co-managing, co-steering, co-guiding of actors.”

In contrast to decentralization in western societies, governance in many developing countries is found less effective in the context of globalization and marketization, because power is often centralized in the administrative departments, and the bureaucracy increasingly becomes an obstacle to efficient governance (Bramwell, 2005; Yang & Bao, 2016; Zhou, 2015; Zhe & Chen, 2011). In the liberalizing Chinese context, economic reforms, the open-door policy since 1978 and the recent OBOR initiative have given significant impetus to gradual power devolution (Lin & Simmons, 2017). Taking into account of such a novel scenario of nuanced economic and socio-cultural contexts, in order to examine governance models, this study proposes to scrutinise a series of fundamental questions: How is the power delegated within a political network? Is there a gap between the policy formulation and implementation actors within a formal political structure? If so, why? How does policy implementation consequences influence the formulation processes? What are the factors to balance various power relations? Under what conditions are public sectors and local communities related to private partners? What are the outcomes in terms of different types of partnership? How do such partnerships impact the overall policy choice on destination governance and wider society? Keeping these questions in mind, the next section will review relevant literature in tourism studies to deconstruct the concept of governance in order to have a better understanding of its key dimensions.

2.2.2 Key dimensions of governance

A growing body of literature has studied the relations amongst actors in governance networks. Provan & Kenis (2008) identified three critical tensions on the network level, namely, efficiency vs. inclusiveness, internal vs. external legitimacy, and flexibility vs. stability. Three pairs of dimensions are elaborated in detail: inclusive public participation in decision making might compromise administrative efficiency in the short run; internal legitimacy among participants should be a key concern in comparison to external one (which might even lead to different visions and goals); stable network structure facilitate long-term relationships among participants to maximize network outcomes, while flexible adaptation of network overcomes a formal hierarchy. Furthermore, Beaumont & Dredge (2010) takes views of actors and demonstrate the importance of vision and leadership, developing knowledge, learning and sharing expertise based on the comparison of three cases in Australia. Accountability is a significant parameter of "good governance" because it implies transparency in the process of decision-making and also a cornerstone in establishing credibility and trust (Good Governance Advisory Group, 2004, cited from Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013). On the contrary, some obstacles are identified in governance, such as legitimacy limitation and power contestations, institutional limitation, knowledge or technical gaps (Lin & Simmons, 2017; Stoffelen et al., 2017). Efforts to explore the theoretical constructs have been made by scholars such as Hall (2011), conceptualizing four governance structure models, i.e. hierarchies, markets, networks and communities, based on hierarchical/non-hierarchical steering modes, and public/private actor property.

Reflecting upon the previous literature, the key dimensions of network governance seem to converge: legitimacy, effectiveness, accountability, credibility, public participation, trust, and power (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013; Dredge, 2006, 2017; Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Provan & Kenis, 2008; Lin & Simmons, 2017). Among these dimensions, power in the destination governance context has a determinant position for its steering capability, and the pattern of power relations is essential to the formulation and implementation of tourism policies (Ryan, 2002; Bramwell, 2006; Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013; Moscardo, 2011).

Studies conducted in China have advanced the understanding of tourism governance modes. In terms of study settings, most concerned areas are rural due to the complicated stakeholder relationship for land policy and corresponding resident rights in the tourism development process. Ying & Zhou (2007) examined power relations in rural China and proposed a “communal approach” to balance the relations among governments, community and external capitals, stressing that external actors could influence the structure of the local network and even the vision, particularly in the context of cultural tourism destinations. Some others proposed sub-types of tourism governance in the logic of market-led steering mode, according to the arrangement of property rights for effective public participation (Xu et al., 2017). Furthermore, Qian et al. (2017) compared local livelihood under the two types of governance, CBT (Community-Based Tourism) and LOT (Lease-Operation Tourism) model, demonstrating leadership of actors determines the collective goals and network function, the case confirmed that community-led governance performs more sustainable due to its social capital and trust. Similarly, Yang & Bao (2016) supported a hybrid model between community and market forces with an empirical study, emphasizing the balance between social and economic benefits among stakeholder leads to sustainable and collaborative governance. These studies reflect China-specific characteristics of power imbalance in the land expropriation emerged as a severe concern during the tourism development process in the past 30 years after the economic reforms (Zhang, 2014; Gao et al., 2009).

Based on the aforementioned literature, the key dimensions of governance can be classified into three categories, namely, strategies & goals, actors & agencies, structure & functions. This lays a foundation to further discussion on the questions raised in the previous section. According to Bramwell (2005), to evaluate the decentralization of tourism-related governance, three essential aspects are suggested to include: distribution of authority, power, and public participation. This can be interpreted as the delegation of power either to organizations or individuals. In his paper, five types of power delegation to organizations are identified, including (1) within the formal political structure, (2) within public administration and quangos, (3) to private partners, (4) to NGOs (sometimes represent community inspirations) and (5) to wider network which could potentially include all types of organizations mentioned above. Unlike the power delegation to organizations, individual empowerment related to community participation is a much more complicated issue. This is why public/citizen/ community participation has long been a heated controversy. Therefore, to understand the governance system, actors and agencies are identify as the starting point to discuss any relations. The present study attempts to frame governance issues in the community–based tourism and emphasizes that community participation is the key to examine to what extent the power de-concentration in practice (Table 1).

Table 1. Key dimensions of governance

Category	Property	Dimension	Contributors
Actors & agencies	Number and type of actors, capacities and resources, the degree of professionalization,	Roles, responsibility, power, legitimacy internal & external; inclusiveness, public	Dredge (2006); Bramwell (2005); Ryan (2002); Moscardo (2011); Chen et al (2016);

	attitudes, and responsivities of the actors.	participation, diversity.	Ying & Zhou (2007); Xu et al. (2017)
Strategies& goals	Growth, sustainability, influence the selection of the network members, influence the direction and function of the network.	Visions, value, leadership, consensus.	Beaumont & Dredge (2010); Lin & Simmons (2017)
Structure & functions	Size, boundaries (open or closed), relation patterns; access to the decision-making process, negotiation, cooperation, coordination.	Effectiveness, efficiency, accountability, creditability, trust, laws & norms.	Provan & Kenis (2008); Kimbu & Ngoasong (2013); Qian et al (2017); Yang & Bao (2016)

Source: adapted from Dredge (2006a)

2.2.3 Community participation

Community-based Tourism (CBT) offers tourism experiences that should be designed and agreed by the local community, although in practice the term is also used to describe experiences that happen in a community setting. CBT has been promoted as a means of development due to its ability to empower communities (Okazaki, 2008; Arnstein, 1969) and to make appropriate use of their cultural knowledge (Cole, 2007). Most studies are, however, critical of the achievements of CBT attempts, in relation to the unfair distributions of economic benefit to communities and the inequalities of community involvement in decision-making. Consequently, the question of “under which conditions can communities be efficiently involved in CBT?” still attracts tremendous attention (Novelli et al., 2017; Sood et al., 2017).

Reality has revealed there to be more challenges than successes, with examples across a range of developing countries in Asia-Pacific, Africa, South America and the Middle East (Yang, 2011; Ashley & Jones, 2001; Sebele, 2010; Harrison & Schipani, 2007). The high failure rate in CBT initiatives has led to the approach being strongly criticized for its low economic impact at the community level and for the initiatives themselves having: i) low survival rates without external funding; ii) low operational levels, due to a lack of professional management skills; and iii) low community engagement (Sebele, 2010; Okazaki, 2008). CBT frequently generates social conflict when a community is empowered to take decisions (Yang, 2007). Notwithstanding previous research, more attention is needed on how stakeholders exert their power and influence at the local level in order to achieve the supposedly shared objectives of tourism projects.

Community-based tourism (CBT) is meant to be "a form of tourism which is planned, developed, owned and/or managed by the community, for the community, guided by collective decision-making, responsibility, access, ownership and benefits" (Tasci et al., 2013, p. 9). The foundations of CBT were laid by Arnstein (1969), emphasizing that citizen participation has to be accompanied by power redistribution. A typology of citizen participation is developed and arranged in a ladder pattern corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan: from manipulation and therapy as forms of non-participation to delegated power and citizen control as the highest degree of participation. The critics reflect the background of the research on public participation in western societies as follows (p. 216):

> The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of the democracy-a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-not blacks, Mexican- Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos, and whites. And when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition.

Therefore, public participation is not simply related to political positions and attitudes, but also in regard to racial, ethnic, even ideological issues. However, it is important to note that the principles of CBT are underpinned by Western values (Reed,

1997) and require a reality check in different contexts. For example, Sun & Bao (2006) noted that CBT in China overlooks community participation from the outset due to China's hierarchical social structure and top-down approach; so-called CBT is either government or enterprise-led, causing problems between tourism development agents and the local community. When it comes to indigenous communities, Stronza (2008) observed that they are more likely to be marginalized when external actors dominate over tourism. Thus, in such circumstances, CBT possibly generates social conflict and economic disparity rather than benefits (Yang, 2007b). Although Li (2006) agreed that there exist various constraints to employing a bottom-up CBT model in practice, she argued that despite weak participation in decision-making processes, local communities can still benefit sufficiently from tourism initiatives. Hence, the necessity for, and feasibility of, community participation in CBT (in particular in developing countries and marginalized regions) led to a debate on the relation between economic benefit and social progress. Overall, the literature shows that CBT initiatives can be classified as either performance-oriented or process-oriented and that the relationship between economic benefit and social cohesion differs considerably between the two classifications.

A performance-oriented approach mostly focuses on measuring and increasing the economic benefits of CBT for the local community (Mohamad & Hamzah, 2013; Simpson, 2008; Iorio & Wall, 2012). This is especially the case in developing countries where CBT is widely adopted as a development, and poverty alleviation strategy in rural areas (Harrison & Schipani, 2007). In order to measure CBT project performance, Nyaupane et.al (2006) developed an inclusive system of indicators with six dimensions: political, social, ecological, economic, technological and cultural. However, these efforts to develop nuanced accounts of CBT have not unpacked the root causes behind the limited success of CBT (Novelli et al., 2017). Simpson (2008, p.13) argues against direct community involvement in decision-making and operation, as long as expertly managed CBT projects deliver benefits to the host communities. It is believed that this approach "transfers benefits to a community regardless of location, instigators, the types of ownership structure, size, levels of wealth, involvement, participation, ownership or control of the community". This is a utilitarian approach, whereby the ends justify the means.

The second strand of literature focuses on process-oriented community participation. This approach suggests that power relations should be taken into account in understanding the feasibility of community participation in decision-making (Mohamad & Hamzah, 2013; Hess & Dunfee, 2002). Accordingly, Li & Hunter (2015) proposed a conceptual model of participative decision-making in heritage tourism development for sustainability, including three motivation factors that account for the reasons why tourism organizations would choose to involve the community in businesses, namely: instrumental, normative and descriptive. Instrumental motivation is based on whether, or to what extent, community participation could potentially benefit the organization's performance. Normative motivation looks into the corporate responsibility to society. Descriptive motivation takes a broader view by considering businesses to be part of a greater community setting, as members that share the same identity and environment as locals.

Several studies have echoed such a process-oriented approach. Okazaki (2008) adopted a comprehensive CBT model including four dimensions to assess the status of community participation: the 'ladder of citizen participation', power redistribution, collaboration processes, and social capital creation. Yang (2011) investigated the levels, forms, senses, and effect of community involvement. Rasoolimanesh et al. (2017) adopted quantitative methods to further explore the motivation, opportunity, and ability of community participation. What they all have in common is that they advocate for the involvement of locals in the decision-making process, to rebalance stakeholder power relations. Such collaboration is expected to improve the economic benefit of the community by enhancing social cohesion (Reed, 1997). This is a deontological approach: the actions themselves must be ethical.

Although community participation in tourism development has been regarded as an important aspect of social sustainability in China (Sun & Bao, 2006), CBT studies in China focus more on economic distribution mechanisms than on shared decision-making (Yang et al., 2016; Yang, 2007; Zhang, 2015). For example, Liu & Yang (2009) thoroughly investigated the evolution of the economic distribution mechanism in a Tibetan village and found that traditional moral values, rooted in ethnic culture, were the key drivers that balanced the power structure towards equitable sharing of benefits. Shan (2009) argued that local communities, as owners of intangible cultural tourism resources, should be the greatest beneficiaries of sustainable tourism development. In the process of CBT implementation, some critics of traditional top-down power structures and government intervention have emerged in recent research. Wu & Deng (2012) reported that, in their case study, the government's misconduct resulted in inefficient management, which negatively impacted the enthusiasm of the community to participate. Likewise, Yang et al. (2008) examined a government’s role in CBT and noted that different levels of government intervention tended to create various tensions. It seems that, in many cases, compared with that of government and businesses, communities have weak knowledge, capital and bargaining powers (Yang et al., 2013). Wang & Yotsumoto (2019) conflicts issues regarding community participation are crucial to achieving a coherent governance system. Notwithstanding the contributions of previous studies, there remains little empirical evidence to show under which conditions a collaborative network of CBT could possibly be constructed, with a relatively balanced power relations among key stakeholders. To address this research gap showed in literature, the following section attempts to establish an analytical framework based on social exchange theory by borrowing the anthropological perspective and concepts of Creating Shared Value (CSV).

Table. 2. Major contributions to destination governance & community participation in tourism studies

Source	**Main contribution**
Murphy, 1983	Recognize tourism is essentially resource-based and firstly advocate that the industry and the destination community should develop a mutually symbiotic relationship.
Simmons, 1994	Apply and evaluate a three-stage community participation programme in tourism planning taking into account that community residents are being recognized as an essential ingredient in the 'hospitality atmosphere' of a destination.
Hall, 1999	Governance systems for sustainable tourism, via the concepts of policy learning and failure. Policy learning is discussed in instrumental, conceptual/paradigmatic and political learning/strategic terms.
Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003	Provide implications for the sustainable development of coastal tourism, relating to governance systems, power relationships, democratic processes, and local participation. (Marroco & Tunisia cases)
Yüksel et.al, 2005	Develop a framework for evaluating the decentralization of tourism governance, including its potential benefits and shortcomings in the process of transfer of authority, the distribution of power, legitimacy, and accountability. (Turkey case)
Sun & Bao, 2006	Setting the research scenario for community participation in tourism discourses by disclosing the process of 'from absence to distinction'.
Li Yang et al., 2006	Analysing ethnic tourism development in China from the perspective of the relation between government strategy and ethnic rights, local enterprises. Suggest tourism planning should provide greater control of tourism by local ethnic people, cultural preservation, and public participation in decision-making processes.
Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006	Tourism is a powerful social force that can achieve important ends when its capacities are unfettered from the market fundamentalism of neoliberalism and instead are harnessed to meet human development imperatives and the wider public good.
Dredge, 2006	Revealing conditions under which public-private partnerships could be fostered, including relations between state and societal dominance, the active tourism network and the wider, passive community.
Provan & Kenis, 2008	Both the governance of organizational networks and the impact of governance on network effectiveness are examined. Three basic models of network governance are developed focusing on their distinct structural properties.

Timur & Gets, 2008	A lack of "bridges" in the network between the tourism industry, government, and the community are analysed by network mapping.
Sørensen & Touring, 2009	Meta-governance tools can be used in the pursuit of effective and democratic network governance based on an assessment of the effective performance and democratic quality of governance networks. Public meta-governors must develop their strategic and collaborative competencies in order to become able to meta govern governance networks.
Beaumont & Dredge, 2010	Opens up a discussion about local tourism governance, highlights the advantages and disadvantages of three different approaches and reflects on their relevance to sustainable tourism management.
Ruhanen et.al, 2010	Explore and synthesize the governance literature with the objective of identifying the key elements and dimensions of governance.
Hall, 2011	Categorical variables are developed from the relationship between state intervention and self-regulation and the relationships between policy actors and steering modes. The resultant matrix identifies four governance types: hierarchies, markets, networks, and communities.
Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013	Mobilizing destination stakeholders into a governance system to allow for effective tourism development are critically examined.
Chen et. al, 2016	Identify the dominant logics driving the behaviours of the central government, local government, tourism enterprises and local communities in China's tourism development.
Lin & Simmons, 2017	Non-governmental organizations led-by government structuralized in a collaboration network have the potential to become the dominant paradigm of public participation in tourism planning in China.
Stoffelen et al., 2017	Tourism governance processes in borderlands require explicit multi-scalar analysis and recognition of both transnational and within-country contexts.
Wang & Yotsumoto, 2019	Eight issues in community participation in tourism development in rural China.

Source: Author

2.3. Social exchange theory: Introducing the framework

2.3.1 Origin of SET

Social Exchange Theory (SET) emerged back in 1950s-70s with seminal works of a group of pioneers like George C. Homans, Phillip Blau, and Richard Emerson. SET is rooted both in sociopsychology and rational choice theory. As a sociological theory, SET was initially developed to analyse individual social behaviour in terms of exchange of resources. Early theorists were engaged in explaining the dyadic relation formation at micro-level that occurs between individuals or small groups, which helped to form the basis for the related sociological constructs, such as power, authority, solidarity, and cohesion. In particular, Homans asserted that social ties could be established based on the exchange of valued resources, tangible or intangible. Psychology of instrumental behaviour was the focus of Homans research. In contrast, Blau (1964) distinguished between economic and social exchange relationship, although his theory technically emphasizes economic analysis. Furthermore, Emerson examined why and how resources flow at both the inter-individual and intergroup levels by investigating power dependence (Emerson, 1962). He argued that a resource continues to flow only if there is a valued return contingent upon it within a rather equitable relationship. Although there are many other theorists such as Kelley and Thibaut, Frazer, Malinowski, Sahlins from various disciplinary background to develop SET like economics, anthropology or cultural studies, the next section will concentrate on the several significant concepts in understanding exchange relations mainly from Emerson's seminal work in 1962, including: power, reciprocity, balancing operations, cohesion, authority and legitimacy.

2.3.2 Key constructs of SET

As reviewed in the previous section, CBT initiatives are not purely market-oriented, but they are embedded in community relations. The informal economic exchange relations among actors follow principles such as reciprocity, negotiation, and trust (Zhe & Chen, 2004; 2018). As a sociological theory, SET was initially developed to analyse individual social at micro-level that occurs between individuals, which helped to form the basis for the related sociological constructs, such as power, authority, solidarity, and cohesion. In order to explain how CBT could be situated in governance structure and why such informal community participation is fundamental to policy choice, this section focuses on developing an analytical framework based on understanding SET in the discussion about the research topic of governance, in particular, community participation in governance networks.

The next subsection (2.3.2) introduces SET origin and its core constructs, including power & cohesion, balancing operations, value, and trust. Based on the understanding of the theory, the second subsection (2.3.3) reviews some contrasting perspectives on SET and critical limitations, and in particular how such limitations could be compensated with anthropological and microeconomic approaches (2.3.4) in theoretical development. After developing the original theoretical constructs (2.3.5), namely, source of power, boundaries/identities and creating shared value (CSV), a comprehensive analytical framework is proposed by integrating the relational context perspective (2.3.6), to explain the dynamics of actor relations and their interactions with the geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural contexts. Thus, the study of governance and community participation grounded in SET provides a multi-disciplinary perspective by integrating approaches from sociology, anthropology, and economics.

2.3.2.1 Power and cohesion

Introduced by Emerson (1962) in social exchanges, the concept of power is a central component of the SET. According to Emerson, power refers to a property of the social relation, instead of an attribute of the actor. “One has power” is vacant, unless it is specified “over whom”. Power-balance is used primarily to refer to power equality in exchange relations. The lack of balance in an exchange relation is defined as differences in relative dependencies of the actors.

To gain a deeper understanding of power-dependence relation, Emerson (1962, p. 32) explains in detail:

"Two variables appear to function jointly in fixing the dependence of one actor upon another. Since the precise nature of this joint function is an empirical question, our proposition can do no more than specify the directional relationships involved: Dependence (Dab). The dependence of actor A upon actor B is (1) directly proportional to A's motivational investment in goals mediated by B, and (2) inversely proportional to the availability of those goals to A outside of the A-B relation."

Pab=Dba

Pba=Dab.

Deriving from the power-dependence relation, cohesion is one of the core concepts that would affect the structural changes in Emerson's articulation. As he asserts (1962, p. 34), reciprocal power provides the basis for studying three more features of power relations:

- A power advantage can be defined as Pab minus Pba, which can be either positive or negative (a power disadvantage);
- The cohesion of a relationship can be defined as the average of Dab and Dba, the higher the average mutual dependence, the higher the relational cohesion;
- It opens the door to the study of balancing operations as structural changes in power-dependence relations, which tend to reduce power advantage.

2.3.2.2 Power dynamics and balancing operations

Clearly, the notion of "reciprocity" in power-dependency, according to Emerson, represents a relative position of the two parties in the power relation. When actors are situated in a relatively balanced position and depend on each other, they are in a cohesive and stable relationship. The more they depend on each other, the more cohesive their relations are. Otherwise, when actors are in an unbalanced relation, the actions aiming to rebalance the relations are called “balancing operations”. Four types of balancing operations are identified corresponding to social processes:

- Withdrawal: the operation yields balance through motivational withdrawal by the weaker member.
- Extension of power network: the operation involves the cultivation of alternative social relations by the weaker member.
- Emergence of status: the operation is based upon “giving status” to the stronger member.
- Coalition and group formation: collective actions between parties (collectivization).

The aim of the balancing operations is to regain balance. Among the balancing operations described above, coalition formation is the most commonly recognized as a power-dependence process to form network relations for mutual benefits among actors. Hence, coalition processes deserve more attention as below.

Coalition. According to Emerson, coalitions are established on the basis of dyadic relations. Thus, the formation process of a triad relationship is presented as (AB)-C, (AC)-B, or (BC)-A. Dyadic exchange relation is ready to be extended to a triadic network under two conditions:

- Only if two members unite as a single actor in the process of dealing directly with the third.
- Only if ABC share the same goal X, represented as ([AB]-C)-X. Instead of having the control of actor C as its end, the group attempts to control C in the interest of achieving X.

Although this coalition formation is highly conceptual, it demonstrates that the network should not be taken as pre-existing, instead, it needs to be tested with empirical research on each application condition, like what Emerson (1962, p. 38) suggested for future research direction: "These concepts and theories are meant to apply across a wide variety of social situations. Operational definitions provide the necessary bridge between generalizing concepts on the one hand and the concrete features of a specific research situation on the other hand."

Authority & legitimacy. Related to the formation of the coalition (into network or group), Emerson (1962) identifies two conditions to organize new group relations, namely, role-prescriptions and group norms. In detail, role-prescriptions means specifications of behaviour, which all group members expect (demand) of one or more but not all members, group norms refer to specifications of behaviour which all group members expect of all group members. Authority & legitimacy are closely related to power and roles. Authority is usually used to refer to the power vested in an office or role. In other word, role prescriptions define the boundary of "legitimate power" or authority. Thus, authority emerges as a transformation of power in a process called "legitimation" and that process is one special case of balancing operation of the coalition (Emerson, 1962, p. 38).

2.3.2.3 Value in negotiated and reciprocal relations

The value lies at the heart of exchange theory as one of the most important concepts of all (Emerson, 1976), although it might be termed differently in the various disciplines. Homans (1974) defines value as the degree of reward. Whilst in Turner's (1991) term "utilitarianism", Emerson prefers "benefit" among others. Homans (1974, p. 25) proposes a value proposition, as "the more valuable to a person is the result of his action, the more likely he is to perform the action." Meeker (1971) developed this value proposition to predict people's future choice behaviour.

Although these theorists seem to take a utilitarian approach in the view of value, following Blau (1964) who distinguishes the economic and social exchange relations, Molm (1994, 1999) further clarifies properties of "value" by developing the concepts of negotiated and reciprocal exchange relations. The former is based on stated arrangements between both parties; the transaction is oriented in economic value as in the modern competitive industrial market. This economic relation is conceived short-term and "de-personalized". In contrast, the latter is engaged in voluntary actions without specific terms of the transaction. Instead of immediate return and profit maximization in the negotiated relations, reciprocal relation relies on consistent interactions between two parties over time. Inherently, the value expected from different types of social relations differs, as Mitchell and her colleagues (2012) highlight that reciprocal relations imply low inequality, low level of power use, strong engendered trust and high fairness. The concept of value thus leads to a meaningful discussion on the quality of such relation per se as a resource, in the term of Mitchell (2012), this is "relation-attribute perspective" of SET, which contributes to extend the traditional SET theory focusing on "relation-formation" based on resource exchange.

2.3.2.4 Trust as the transformer from negotiated to reciprocal relations

Negotiated and reciprocal exchange relations are not mutually exclusive. The dynamics of markets and partners relations may evolve over time. Blau (1964) suggests negotiated exchanges could turn to reciprocal exchanges under the condition if partners display trustworthy characteristics, supported by empirical studies of Lawler and Yoon (1993, 1996, 1997). Therefore, "trust" lies in the heart of reciprocal exchange relations. In particular when actors are culturally, ethnically and economically connected as Emerson observed (1976, p. 354), "each transaction is one of a series between members of a trade friendship or partnership. Under such conditions, each transaction must preserve the trust and solidarity built by previous transactions and prepare the ground for future transactions. There emerges in longitudinal relations—if the parties enjoy a balance of power—equity and even a touch of altruism as exchange rules." Lewicki et al (1995, 1996, 2006) specify three forms of trust, indicating the contingency of transformation from negotiated to reciprocal relations: 1) calculus-based trust involves economic calculation, 2) knowledge-based trust refers to the understanding between partners about the other, which helps predict their behaviour, thus reduce uncertainty, and 3) identity-based trust is based on shared vision and strategies among members. The first is similar to negotiated relations, and the last is closer to "productive exchange", which is group-oriented, a coordinated task that actors seek to produce a valued result through their joint collaboration (Lawler et al, 2000).

2.3.3 Relational contexts

In the last sections, we have discussed two perspectives of SET, namely, relationship-formation and relationship-attribute. The first is based on resource exchange, whilst the second focuses on relation itself as a resource. Either resource-based or relational attribute-based are both embedded in the certain social context in which economic, political, social and cultural interactions occur. Relationship-context emphasizes how these contextual elements impact the relations as a moderator and vice versa, how the embedded relationships influence the contexts. Therefore, it is vital to integrate contextual perspectives when we investigate social relationships. As Mitchell et al. (2012, p. 115) assert that:

> "From this perspective, we can begin to understand how and why some relationships evolve into committed and trusting commitments in which relational attributes, as well as concrete benefits, are exchanged, and why others simply emphasize economic, tangible, and negotiated interactions. An integrative relational perspective allows for a better understanding of why social exchange relations develop from economic exchanges, why economic exchanges may never develop, and why some tarnished; social exchange relations can be reinvigorated. In particular, it is important to consider dissecting and valuing resources within the 'context' of the relationship."

It is important to bear in mind that participation takes place in a social space and that those entering it will bring with them their own notions and beliefs (Fischer, 2006). Pearce & Moscardo (1999) and Ryan (2002) state that most community development models and theories (not necessarily relating just to tourism) have failed to take into account the growing awareness of social complexity and the associated complexity of community development efforts, with local communities being presented in a stereotypical idealization as homogeneous blocks, lacking internal power struggles, dependency, decision-making processes or competing for value. For this reason, in general, getting local communities involved in tourism can pose "a major challenge" (Boyd & Singh, 2003, p. 19) owing to their societal complexities; this is especially true when it comes to a border region to gain an in-depth understanding of community in the real world. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a comprehensive framework taking into account the contexts in analysing community participation and governance.

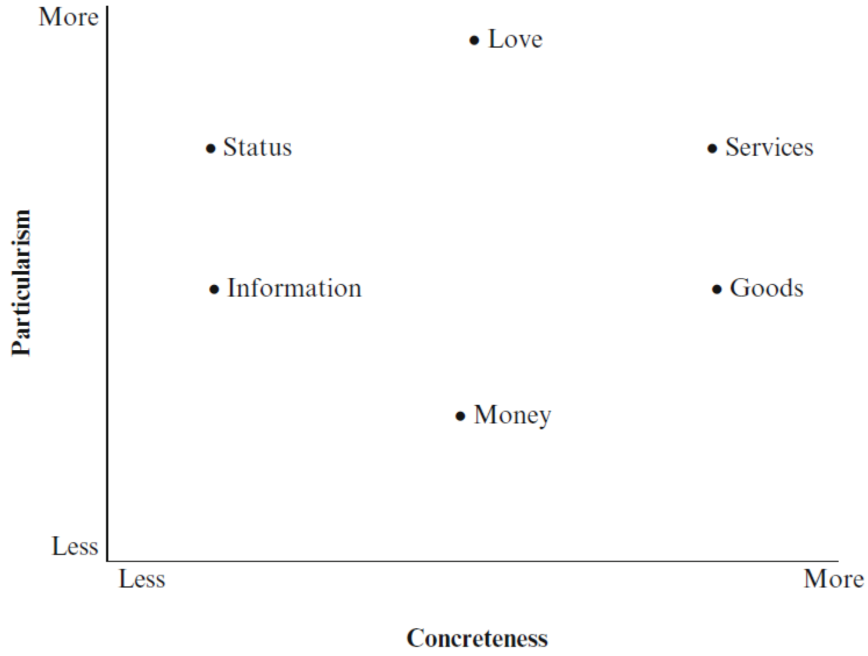
The decentralization of power from the state to markets is supposed to improve the efficiency of public administration based on criteria of competition and market-centric rationality, meanwhile to bring decision-making closer to the population (Bramwell, 2005; Bevir, 2013). In this sense, the core of governance mode lies in state-market-community relations. Border regions can provide an interesting setting to understand such relations from both top-down and bottom-up approaches. On the one hand, borders are considered the physical and static outcome of a political decision-making process (Newman, 2006a), which define a nation with its sovereignty boundaries. Inherently, the border is an extreme example of national power (Paasi & Prokkola, 2008) and border tourism markets are influenced, if not determined, by the national border policy (Laine, 2016; Gao et al., 2019). This is a top-down approach focusing on the one-way impact of policymaking on tourism markets. On the other hand, people---normally governments, private sector, and communities, form borders. Arguably, borderlands are socially constructed by multi-scalar actors (Newman, 2006b) and influenced culturally, politically, and economically by their proximity to the neighbouring countries (Timothy, 1995; Gelbman & Timothy, 2011; Weidenfeld, 2013). This is a bottom-up approach underlining that the policy implementation depends on grassroots governance, local power relations and complex factors of the specific border location. As Newman (2006b, p. 143) states that "borders should be studied not only from a top-down perspective but also from the bottom-up, with a focus on the individual border narratives and experiences, reflecting the ways in which borders impact upon the daily life practices of people living in and around the borderland and transboundary transition zones." Thus, borderlands provide an ideal context to understand the gap between tourism policy and implementation from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives by examining the state-market-community relations in the governance structure.

2.3.4 Critical limitations of SET

2.3.4.1 Limitations of resources and actors

As mentioned in the last section, the early theorists focus on how the exchange relation was initiated based on resource valued by the other party, it could be tangible or intangible (Homans, 1958). The shift from government to governance aims to maximize the efficiency of collaboration taking into account the resources that both public and private sectors can contribute. Potentially, the social exchange theory leaves the nature of resources unspecified (Schaefer, 2011). In theory, resources could be any potential behaviour by one actor that would act as reinforcement or reward for another actor (Emerson, 1972). As expanded by Grant (1995, p. 121), aside from material or immaterial types, resources also include human, "involving personal competencies and knowledge, relational and communication skills, and motivation." However, the governance literature often focuses challenges such as reaching consensus among different stakeholders, setting common aims, managing trust, and power (Huxham & Vangen, 2000), while somehow neglecting the departure point of forming exchange relations and the human dimension. The nature of resources and its ownership could be determinant whether certain communities could get involved in those salient aspects of governance mentioned above. Regarding the nature of resources, Foa and Foa (1974) developed a resource typology with two dimensions of particularism and concreteness (see Figure 3). As explained by Mitchell et al. (2012, p. 108). The particularism dimension refers to whether a resource is valued by its source (i.e., particular) or by individuals more generally (i.e., universal), whereas the concreteness dimension refers to whether a resource is tangible (i.e., concrete) or intangible (i.e., symbolic). This framework attempts to build an understanding of the types of resources transacted within exchange relations.

Figure 3. Configuration of the six resource classes



Source: Foa and Foa (1974)

According to this categorization, there are six ‘classes’ of resources as indicated in the figure. Viewing from the particularism dimension, information and goods are less particular than status and service. From the concreteness dimension, status and information are more symbolic than services and goods. In the middle of the figure, love and money stay on two opposites in the particularism dimension, which indicates that love is the most particular (a resource is valued by its source rather than general individuals), whereas money is the most universalistic (the opposite to love, it is a resource valued generally than individually). The principle is that concrete resources like goods and services can be easily priced in the market, more symbolic the resources are the more difficult to price, like information, status and love.

Hence, one aspect deserves further exploration in this definition of resource: when resources are intangible, such as ethnic cultural heritage in tourism sphere, a dilemma is often confronted to classify culture in the categorization provided. On the one hand, culture is highly particular, because it is valued by its source, such as the ethnic community. On the other hand, it is also highly universal, because when culture becomes a special tourism product, in particular, those inscribed into national or even international list of heritage (Zhang, 2014) is widely recognized and priced in the tourism market. Consequently, the contradiction in the nature of cultural resources has initiated a debate between the cultural preservation related to existing relation affirmation and cultural commodification (Cave, et al., 2007; Stern & Seifert, 2010; MacDonald & Jolliffe, 2003; Yang et al., 2013).

2.3.4.2 Limitations of power

Emerson (1962) introduced the concept of dependence between actors to explain power in the relative sense. In this sense, actors are either power advantaged or disadvantaged if they are not in a balanced relationship. CBT has been studied as a process of power redistribution enabling a fair distribution of benefits and costs since the late 1960s, especially in western societies. This is based on the relative position of different actors in the power structure. Cook &Yamagishi (1992) discover that latent relations between actors (such as the relation with the community) can modify the distribution of power in the network if they are activated as an alternative source of valued resources. For example, ethnic culture has been developed as a specific tourism product in many places of China to combat poverty or generally regional economic growth. Thus, the ever-passive communities in ethnic regions are activated to form a new relationship as cultural resources providers (Yang et al, 2006, 2016). Nunkoo (2016) asserts that SET has made an important theoretical contribution to studies on residents' perceptions of tourism in terms of stakeholder power positions. Despite the wide application of SET by researchers investigating this topic, power as an important construct, however, has not been fully developed, since the existing studies somehow ignore a significant source of power. Therefore, this study suggests following

Foucauldian thoughts on power/knowledge to provide a compatible epistemological lens in further searching for implicit motivations of different actors in the formation processes of exchange relations. This will be illustrated in the next subsection (2.3.6.1) in detail.

2.3.4.3 Limitations of value

In the last section, economic and social values were contextualized in two exchange relations, namely, negotiated and reciprocal. The traditional SET made the contribution to distinguish two different types of values and explained what social relations could produce such values. Until the 1990s, the economic and social values were considered mutually exclusive. Lawler & Yoon pointed out the important transformer between these seemingly opposite values is trust. Negotiated relations could develop into reciprocal ones if the actors involved showing an intention to establish a long-term relationship, instead of immediate economic return. In this vein, further research line was developed to study trust, particularly in the field of cluster and network (Taylor et al. al., 2007; Pechlaner et al., 2010).

Another research line emerged later on, instead to see economic and social values as separate, even opposite or exclusive, taking into account social issues into consideration, economists Porter & Kramer (2011) initially coin the concept of "creating shared value" (CSV) to combine both economic and social value in the same process of value chain innovation. Since then, studies have been explicitly developed the understanding of CSV with empirical evidence (Serra et al., 2017). In comparison with corporate social responsibility (CSR), CSV is especially useful in explaining community participation and value creation. Therefore, it could contribute to SET construction, apart from the negotiated and reciprocal relations, there might be a third exchange relation among actors to tackle the economic and social problems at the same time, which might lead to more effective governance of tourism destinations. To enrich the theory, it is suggested that the application in tourism studies could help to identify more dimensions of value (Busser & Shulga, 2018). The necessity of taking such a microeconomic perspective will be further developed in the next subsection (2.3.6.3).

2.3.5 Theorization of SET from anthropological & economic perspectives

2.3.5.1 Anthropological perspective

In relation to the previous subsection on identifying the ownership of resources, it was explained that there is a long tradition in sociology and psychology to focus upon social relations, viewing individual and actions as purely analytic elements, actors are naturally considered individuals (Emerson, 1976). However, when actors are not individuals, in order to identify the ownership of resources (such as culture, which represents a group), the first issue in an empirical study is to define boundaries of actors. In this vein, an anthropological perspective could be of great help. Thus, how to define a community or group boundaries, the motivations behind boundary formation and maintenances, and the impact of such boundaries need further investigation.

The second justification that we argue for borrowing an anthropological approach is as Akram et al (2015, p. 346) state that "a study of power should focus not only on 'who gets what, when and how', but also on 'who gets left out and how'. Most anthropological approaches made on the subject of power focus on the powerless and the inequalities centralized power produces." what strategies that the community would take reflect the motivations behind, however, this is still rooted in power relations of a wider network of governance.

Therefore, from the discussion above about definition and classification of resource, identification of resource ownership (especially when it comes to cultural resources, hence, the necessity of boundary identification of the actor group), and the focus of anthropology on the decentralization of power, in particular its tradition to study in the marginalized and/or indigenous regions. Based on the justifications, anthropological perspective is well recognized to be assistance for investigating further questions: how the nature of resource influences the exchange relations between actors, how the actor relations further influence the destination governance as a whole. The existing literature barely provides explanations from the perspective of SET. This leaves some space to further extend SET from the anthropological perspective.

"Structuralism builds from the myth of society as some pre-existing entity." (White, 1992, p. 9). Hay confirms White's approach on a constructivist ontological position, which argues that there is no real/'objective' world 'out there', which is independent of our understanding of it. Rather, the world is a social construction (Akram et al, 2015. p348). This means that structures do not exist independently of agents' construction of them; rather structures and agents are co-constituted, and structures have no independent causal power. In this vein, the anthropological approach starts from identifying boundaries of exchange parties (agencies) before explaining the social organization (Barth, 1966, 1969). Barth's work on strategic interaction and social organization has strong affinities with an exchange approach and responds to Emerson's quest "Do we gain anything by treating identity and presentation of self in social interaction as commodities of a sort, subject to gain or loss through implicit bargaining？" (Emerson, 1976, p. 158). Barth developed an explicit exchange principle in anthropology from the perspective of boundaries. This will be further elaborated in the next subsection (2.3.6.2).

2.3.5.2 Microeconomic perspective

CBT initiatives have been criticized for their high failure rate due to reasons such as poor financial or operational management, and low community participation. It is argued that the failure behind many so-called CBT projects results from their being underpinned by a traditional understanding of development according to the principles of corporate social responsibility (CSR). In so doing, how CBT needs to be rooted in the CSV will be situated in the SET framework.

As illustrated previously, productive exchange with identity-based trust readily involves multiple actors, thereby freeing exchange theory from its dyadic format (Emerson, 1972) and allowing stakeholders co-create value that benefits all within a coherent social exchange network. Therefore, microeconomics is the other effective entry to understand social exchange theory (Cook, 2006). Although SET and economics share some core assumptions such as individualistic view and self-interested actors, SET broadens its view to tradition-bound or normatively regulated behaviour, different from rational individual decision making in a competitive market (Emerson, 1976). As Sahlins (1972) argued that apart from self-interest, mutual concern and more generalized concern also could be important motives in exchange relations. Therefore, in these two different types of exchange relationships, the motivations and drivers of 'value' creation could follow different principles and logics, inherently, together with correspondent management and measurement deserves further exploration in a later section.

2.3.6 Underpinning the core concepts

Based on the previous discussion, this section lays the cornerstones for the conceptualization of the theoretical framework of the thesis.

2.3.6.1 Sources of power

As discussed, the limitation of the traditional SET based on relative power-dependence relations between parties, now we take in the Foucauldian view on power/knowledge and put it into the concrete setting of CBT to gain a further understanding of the concept of power. This requires taking a closer look into decision-making processes of CBT initiatives, in particular, to investigate: i) where power locates and flows; ii) how power relations are negotiated among stakeholders; iii) what the motivations are to share power, and iv) under what conditions collaboration is reached.

Foucault (1980a, p. 93) stated that power exists in a social network: "Power is everywhere; it is a repetitious, self-producing effect of mobile, strategic practices and relations within particular social networks." As Akram et al (2015, p. 355) comment, Foucault's understanding of power "extends beyond decision-making processes to encompass structures of thinking and behaving that were previously understood as devoid of power relations." Power is not an instrument that agents use to prevent the powerless from acting freely, but rather acts as social boundaries that define the field of thinking and acting for all actors. Put simply, it acts 'upon the boundaries that constrain and enable social action' (Hayward, 1998, p. 12). Furthermore, the concept of power has been applied to the tourism field; Beritelli & Laesser (2011) found that knowledge control in tourism project implementation is particularly relevant to sources of power.

This leads to another important concept in Foucauldian theory: knowledge, which, according to Foucault (1973), is one of the most crucial components for the workings of power in modern societies, as "the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power" (1980a, p. 52). These two concepts are often intertwined into "power/knowledge" in many of his writings. As such, Foucault acknowledged the potential of common people to use their knowledge, culture, and competence to rebalance power relations. This approach sheds light on how power relations can change through the implementation of CBT projects.

Power is recognized as a key influence in stakeholder collaborations (Shaw & Williams, 2002; Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005) and can be a major determinant in the success or otherwise of collaborative arrangements. As early as the 1990s, Hall and Jenkins (1995) suggested that power should be analysed within the specific context in which it operates because the decision-making process is shaped by the interaction of various elements. Later on, researchers shifted their focus to factors that influence power relations in specific contexts. For instance, Marzano & Scott (2009) examined how authority as the power holder to persuade, even impose the process of branding in Australia; Ford (2012) discovered that the positions of stakeholders within an institutional network determines power relationships. Despite these works, the applicability of power in CBT networks remains under-researched (Church & Coles, 2007; Marzano & Scott, 2009). Hence, this thesis seeks to explain community participation in governance in relation to withholding or relinquishing power. As noted that the principles of CBT are underpinned by Western values (Reed, 1997), we give some special attention to the Chinese context.

Although power relations in tourism studies have been well debated in the west since the late 1960s (Arnstein, 1969; Okazaki, 2008; Frost & Laing, 2018; Zapata & Hall, 2012), contemporary China, especially border areas, might draw specific attention due to its unique geopolitical, economic, and socio-cultural contexts in the new era of OBOR. This section focuses on recent studies conducted in China on power devolution and operation mechanism, aiming to gain a deeper understanding of Chinese literature (about China or by Chinese authors) and lays a foundation for further discussion. Before dashing into the tourism sphere, several noteworthy research in political sciences should be introduced. Zhe & Chen (2011) proposed a "hierarchical model of institutional mechanism" in China's policy-making process, which involve central government contracting out the projects, regional government packaging projects and local government competing in project initiation and application. This topic has recently been echoed by a group of scholars (Zhou, 2015; Zhou, 2018; Zhe & Chen, 2014) and further examined for the logic and nuances in the 'project system' (Zhou, 2015). These studies construct the power structure in three scales. They are not only hierarchically or vertically connected, but also form a circulating cycle. This model could provide an analytical cornerstone to illustrate how multi-scalar power operates and how the operation influences policy choice in Chinese circumstances.

2.3.6.2 Boundaries / Identity

In the previous section, we have discussed the necessity to identify group boundaries, in particular in terms of cultural resources and its ownership. More importantly, the anthropological approach was suggested to explain the rules of boundary formation and maintenance. Following this line, this section focuses on breakthrough work in social anthropology by Fredrik Barth's (1969) on "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries" concerning ethnicity and culture.

Barth introduces an epistemology of 'ethnic boundaries' that challenges categories widely used in the anthropology literature. He considers boundary formation as a dynamic process of social interaction: "ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built." (Barth, 1969, p. 10). Furthermore, interaction in a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation: "cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence" (p. 10). He contends the "naive assumption" that each tribe and people has maintained its culture through a bellicose ignorance of its neighbours, and claims that the simplistic view according to which geographical and social isolation have been critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity should be debunked (Barth, 1969, p. 9). Essentially, Barth's theory provides a conceptual background to break down static analytical frameworks that rely on a "power domination" perspective, and approach ethnic culture in a wider and more dynamic social context.

Barth's theory may be interpreted and summarized as consisting of 3 P's: Process, Purpose, and Propriety. These may provide answers to the questions of how and why the ethnic boundaries are formed and maintained in dynamic social relations and provide a lens to examine a specific case.

Process: Social interactions provide a process to form boundaries.

Barth emphasizes that the boundaries that merit notice are social. He stated that "Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour, i.e., persisting cultural differences" (Barth, 1969, p.15). According to Barth, most Jing people have been dynamically interacting with both Chinese and Vietnamese communities through trade; however, tourism has become a new form of social interaction in recent years, playing a fundamental role in shaping the identity of the place.

Purpose of participation: ethnicity in the fabric of a dynamic society.

Ethnicity allows various roles within the fabric of dynamic societies. According to Barth, participation in wider social systems depends on proactive strategies collectively taken by ethnic groups: they may (i) attempt to become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group; (ii) accept a 'minority' status, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized society in other sectors of activity; (iii) choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns and organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes (Barth, 1969, p. 33). Aside from collective participation, individually, as McKay (1982, p. 401) pointed out, some expressions of ethnicity may be primarily ideational or affective: when persons gain personal satisfaction from carrying forward traditional elements of a threatened culture or when ethnicity is used in a person's search for self-realization of identity.

Propriety: negotiating the identity.

"Stable inter-ethnic relations presuppose such a structuring of interaction: a set of prescriptions governing situations of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity, and a set of prescriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification." (Barth, 1969, p. 16). Here Barth focuses on how ethnic boundaries are maintained and negotiated between certain groups of people in different social circumstances based on the self-defined norms of their own culture.

Taking account of the above analysis and drawing upon notable anthropologists, we now set on to respond to the quest of many "marginalized" ethnic regions on how tourism function as an agent in the dynamic process of cultural boundaries maintaining and place identity construction in a modern highly mobile society.

The relationship between place, identity, and experience is a contested aspect of social theory (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004). Tourism provides a suitable context to broaden the discussion. Tourism development in remote areas is often associated with ethnicity (historical and cultural), which involves the representation of the other or of the past (Wang, 1999). Tourism also increases the chances of contact between members of different cultural groups (Esman, 1984). It is a heated debate on the consequences of such contacts. Barth (1969) holds positive views: "Contact with members of other groups is generally recognized as an instigator of ethnic pride and solidarity and of ethnic revitalization in contexts of acculturation". Esman (1984) supports Barth's opinion by examining the impact of tourism on the preservation of ethnic identity with specific reference to the Louisiana Cajuns. This case shows that "tourism may be a field of expression of ethnic differences, and this helps perpetuate an ethnic boundary that might otherwise disappear due to acculturation. In other words, tourism can revive 'pride of belonging' and thus provide a basis for the preservation of local expressive culture, if not the whole culture itself." A similar case in China also demonstrates the positive impact of tourism in the preservation of ethnic identity: the officials' representation of the Naxi past and reinvention of Dongba culture offered a brilliant opportunity for the government to support tourism as the main industry for economic growth (Zhu, 2012). It reveals that tourism develops "new meanings" to support local identities (Cohen, 1988). The common precondition of these cases is that tourism is embraced as an instrument for economic growth based on the value of culture and ethnicity in the relation.

2.3.6.3 Creating Shared Value

As illustrated in the last section, productive exchange with identity-based trust readily involves multiple actors, thereby freeing exchange theory from its dyadic format (Emerson, 1972) and allowing stakeholders co-create value that benefits all within a coherent social exchange network. This section focuses on the process and conditions under which a coalition could be established in the scenario of CBT by comparing with CSR.

First, we need to compare the two concepts before we can consider how they relate to CBT. Vaidyanathan & Scott (2012) deconstructed CSV into dimensions and compared it with CSR, presenting a comprehensive understanding of the difference between the values and mechanics behind both, as shown in Table 3. This lays a solid foundation for this study to expand a theoretical framework to analyse CBT.

Table 3. Comparison between CSR and CSV

	CSR	**CSV**
Motivation	Corporate reputation	Competitive advantage
Driver	External stakeholders	Business strategy
Management	CSR department	Across all departments
Measurement	Effects & expense	Social & economic values

Source: Adapted from Vaidyanathan & Scott, 2012

Motivations. Motivations to engage in CBT could be intrinsic or extrinsic - experiencing an activity for its own sake or for its outcome (Woolley & Fishbach, 2018). CSR separates social responsibility from the business, motivated by extrinsic reasons such as a firm's reputation. In CBT projects, Hess & Dunfee (2002) confirmed that organizations could be motivated to involve host communities because such a "contractual relationship" would be expected to enhance its potential market share; this is an "instrumental motivation" in Li & Hunter's term. In contrast, the CSV approach emphasizes intrinsic organizational motivation, similar to that which Li & Hunter (2015) observed as "descriptive motivation" resulting in high levels of community involvement in the strategic decision making of a heritage tourism destination, due to shared identity and concerns between private partners and host communities.

Drivers. Motivations explain the reasons why activities are conducted at the outset; whereas drivers indicate the power sources and related competencies to conduct these activities towards a certain direction (Deng, 2015). Since social responsibility is a relatively independent programme for enterprises under the CSR principle, there is often no clear direction where projects should proceed nor clearly defined external stakeholders, hence funders or project facilitators usually make decisions based on their understanding of what is important for all stakeholders (Wells et al., 2015). For instance, Simpson (2008) highlighted those external stakeholders, such as investors, potentially deliver better performance without the burden that can come with community involvement in the decision-making process. In this approach, effectiveness outweighs inclusiveness. Instead, CSV leverages all possible resources to collaborate with engaged stakeholders by integrating profitability and social needs (Porter & Kramer, 2011). Consequently, the CSV approach hinges on forces endogenous to the synergies within a broader network. Cases in Romania and Southern Africa (Iorio & Corsale, 2014; Ashley & Jones, 2001) have demonstrated this approach. Finally, on the spectrum of partnership in CBT development, there are other cases in transition, moving from an external focus towards "strategic CSR", which starts to address much deeper problems that involve value chain and competitive advantage by integrating some social benefit (Font et al., 2016).

Management. Management of CSR is isolated from a company's whole framework because it responds to public relations, based on a need to improve the company's image and strengthen its brand (Porter & Kramer, 2007). In CSR, power concentrates within a few hands, similar to Simpson's (2008) argument that centralized CBT programmes are more efficient and effective. In spite of the various limitations of community participation in management (Tosun, 2000), Li & Hunter (2015) proposed that community empowerment, as a managerial approach, should involve the host community for sustainable development. In this case, power would come from diversified sources and would enable synergy to be created among different stakeholders. These cases show that the CBT model, at an operational level, has experienced a gradual shift from "why or whether power should be shared" to "how power can be shared".

Measurement. One of the critical differences between CSR and CSV is the measurement of value and, implicit within that, what is understood as value. Some scholars have questioned whether outcomes really matter as long as the organization is involved in doing some good (Majumdar et al., 2012). The effect of CSR measurement has been criticized because it has been approached in a similar way to philanthropic initiatives; counting funds and volunteer hours spent, for example, instead of the impact generated (Porter & Kramer, 2011). Most CBT projects have used the triple bottom line (TBL) to evaluate both immediate outcomes and a project's potential for long-term sustainability, in particular, social value has been stressed increasingly (Taylor, 2017). In addition, the CSV concept interrogates more profound questions such as what would be the appropriate criteria to measure and, more specifically in CBT initiatives, whether the definition of "success" is agreed between stakeholders.

Although the strength of CSV has been recognized, Crane et al. (2014) criticized the concept mainly for two "serious shortcomings"; first, being naïve about the challenges of business compliance, and second, ignorance of the tensions between social and economic goals. The CBT model has confronted critics for similar reasons for example, Tosun (2000) considers it unrealistic to involve communities due to uncontrollable problems that will inevitably arise, such as stakeholder conflict and power struggles. Other cases have tried to avoid such economic and social tensions by arguing that a community can receive satisfactory benefits from tourism without actively participating in decision-making (Li, 2006). Despite challenges and doubts, such an innovative perspective of CSV appears to have been welcomed by practitioners and academic audience for its systematizing what were previously disconnected areas of research and practice to look for synergies across disciplines and sectors (Serra et al., 2017; Hsiao & Chuang, 2016).

2.3.7 Reconceptualizing SET as an analytical framework

The discussion about the main constructs of social exchange theory suggests that a multi-perspective SET approach may provide a way forward to enable a better understanding of community participation in governance; this section seeks to propose an analytical framework for the thesis.

As explained in the previous section, governance refers to the interactions and processes of government and non-governmental actors in collective decision-making (Gaventa, 2004, Bevir, 2013). However, due to the complex structure of the tourist destinations, it is difficult to implement strategic management (Sainaghi, 2006), in particular, the question of how community participation can be effectively instigated remains unanswered (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). "Participatory governance" remains a descriptive term (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Mosse, 2000), which also applies largely to the cultural tourism field. Nevertheless, it is a heated debate on the involvement of community and non-expert stakeholders, for their low level of professionality, which might inherently lead to low quality in governance (Simpson, 2008; Fischer, 2006). Thus, although frameworks employed for ex-post evaluations of participation are useful (e.g. Jamal & Getz, 2005; Okazaki, 2008), this study attempts to propose a framework to analyse the dynamic process in relation formation and how contexts that such relations are embedded influence each other, aiming to contribute for an ex-ante assessment of potential community participation to destination governance processes.

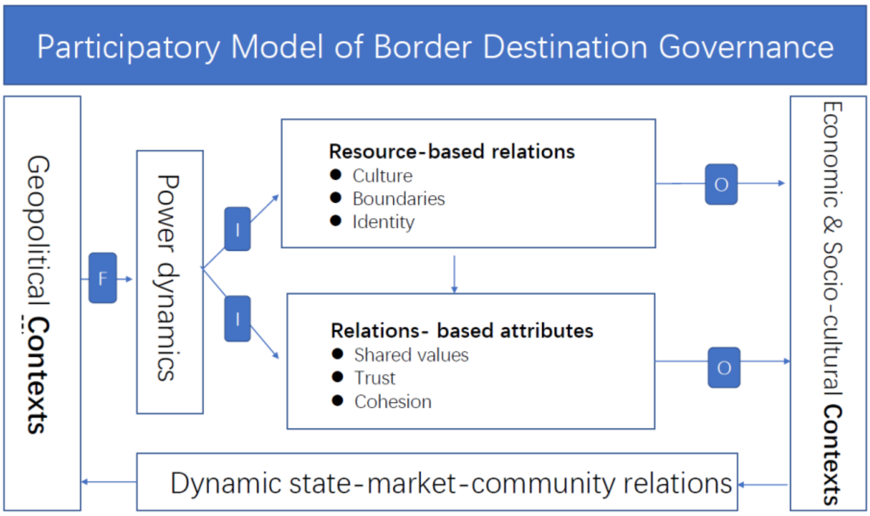
The previous discussion provides an overview of the variables identified for exploring community participation in a governance network. This framework departs from the concept of power and dependence in SET, resource-based exchange relations can be applied to examine cultural tourism as emergent from its social context, driven by the strategic actions of community members (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Etzioni, 2015), this part seeks to provide insights from anthropological view on how the community participation in tourism could help to shape the destination identity by forming flexible boundaries. Further, the relation-based attributes conceive reciprocal relations centred in shared value, trust and cohesion among communities and selected actors, who are committed to solving common problems, without top-down ruling but through cooperation and negotiation of interests (Ostrom, 1990). In this context, governance literature in the west often proposes democracy as a political arrangement that can be practiced through the establishment of decentralized multi-stakeholder fora (Fishkin, 2009). In contrast, the relationship between social trust and governance has been one of the focal points of the academic and policy-making communities (Huhe et al., 2015). The question “can social trust improve the quality of governance in non-democracies?” will be explored with relation-based attributes by explaining the conditions under which how economic and social value could be co-created among stakeholders with community participation, and social trust and cohesion as a result of such collaboration. The circles represent the dynamic nature of power-balancing operations through social exchange relation formation and its contexts, highlighting the state, market and community relations throughout the processes. As explained, this analytical framework is formed into three stages:

- **Stage 1**: policy formulation through power dynamics across multiple scales or levels, based on border geopolitical context.

- **Stage 2**: policy implementation on a micro (ethnic group) and a meso level (CBT enterprise), based on resource and relation attributes exchanges among local stakeholders.

- **Stage 3**: the outcomes of policy implementation create new economic and socio-cultural contexts at border regions, which are interwoven into the border social fabric and forms the foundation of the further round of policy formulation through the adaptation of state-market-community relations.

Figure 4. An analytical framework for a participatory model of border destination governance



Note: F: formulation I: implementation O: outcome

Source: Author's illustration

2.4 Summary

The first part of this chapter reviewed literature related to governance. It did so by introducing its origins and articulating its key dimensions. After classifying multiple dimensions of governance into three categories, the following part recognizes the importance of actors. Therefore, the literature on community participation was reviewed. It is found that there is a need for a more contextual framework that considers relationships, power and value because apart from the decision-making process on an individual basis in community and enterprise, a more structural pattern would reveal the key to network governance. With the aim to develop an in-depth understanding of governance, the chapter then turned its attention to social exchange theory.

In presenting the literature review of social exchange theory, it is found that there are gaps in research within this area. At the cross of governance, community and SET literature, the existing literature barely reveals the theoretical support why SET can explain community participation in the governance system, and its sociocultural meaning in a broader sense. In order to fill these gaps and counter the criticism that the traditional SET is largely based on utilitarian interpretations, anthropological /sociological interpretations of social exchange are embedded into the framework. Given the adoption of the anthropological/sociological interpretation, it is important to further consider the context of the study. On this basis, an analytical framework is formed taking into account the contexts in different stages of relational dynamics.

This chapter has examined the research gaps and proposed an alternative approach and an original analytic framework based on the extant literature review. The next chapter will focus on the development of research philosophy and methodology.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodology used to answer the research questions and discuss the appropriation of research philosophy and research designs underpinning this methodological approach. Therefore, it is useful at this point, to recap on the aims and objectives of the thesis.

In light of the review of the literature in Chapter 2, governance issues have become increasingly significant in the era of the network society (Castells, 1996). With the globalization and marketization process, many developing countries where power is often centralized in the administrative departments have been criticized since the bureaucracy became an obstacle to effective governance (Bramwell, 2005; Zhou, 2015; Zhe & Chen, 2011). In contrast, decentralization seems more efficient in service delivery following the neoliberal economic principles (Bevir, 2002, 2013). In the tourism sphere, decentralization of power from government to multiple actors makes governance an important topic in sustainable literature (Bramwell & Sharman, 2000). Due to the multi-scalar power relations in nature of tourism industry including hierarchical scales of government, quangos, volunteer actors, communities and market forces (Hall, 2011), tourism is an interesting context in which to study governance as it lies at the intersection of the public, private and community sectors. However, the fragmented structure of the tourism industry makes it extremely complex to implement strategic management (Sainaghi, 2006), the policy-action gap has been conceptually identified and analysed, while empirical examination has not been conducted on the fundamental questions, such as where exactly does the gap exist? How and why has it formed? Why is it important to fill in the gap and how to do it? What is the influence of such gap on tourism policy choice? What role does community participation play in the process?

This chapter seeks to understand whether these insights may apply to the development of community-based tourism in relation to power-sharing structures and to further explore the conditions under which CSV could be operational by examining it in the context of an emerging ethnic tourist destination in China. To address these questions on the macro level, efforts are made to interrogate questions on relatively micro levels to clarify the objectives of the thesis:

- To examine what causes the gap between policy formulation and implementation influenced by border complexities and bordering process;

- To understand the motivations and strategies of an ethnic group maintain their boundaries in the dynamic social interaction and how it plays a significant role in transforming the ethnic cultural expression into a place identity;

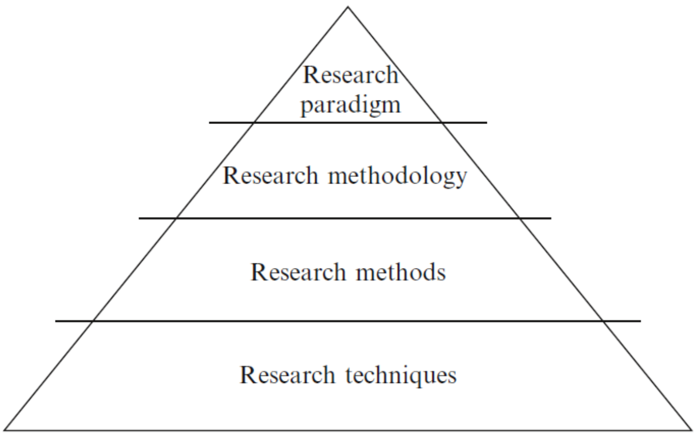
- To explore why and how the CSV concept can be adopted in CBT initiatives to improve community participation effectively and, by so doing, enhance equality in benefit distribution and social cohesion.

These aims and objectives serve to inform all the way from the research philosophical perspectives to the specific design of the research methods and tools. Different types of research questions require different research philosophies and methodologies in nature. Research topics related to process, meaning, behaviour, structure, community are suitable to adopt a qualitative approach (Yin, 1994; Zhe, 2018). Ferrelly (2011) asserts that a culturally appropriate methodology that may produce more meaningful outcomes for sustainable tourism research, especially in indigenous contexts. This study is situated in an ethnic border context, it is essential to understand the logic of everyday life by examining relatively stable roots accumulated in the process of historical evolution. Such logics and norms require careful observations in everyday life of the local communities, which is crucial to reveal the operational rules and mechanisms hidden behind behaviours (Zhe, 2018).

Jan & Pennink (2010, p. 25) introduce the Research Pyramid, which lays the foundation to build the awareness of researchers on their choices in the process of research conduct. In order to end up with a proper design, four levels in the pyramid are described as follow:

- The research paradigm: how the researcher views ‘reality’;
- The research methodologies: a way to conduct the research that is tailored to the research paradigm;
- The research methods: specific steps of action that need to be executed in a certain (stringent) order;
- The research techniques: practical ‘instruments’ or ‘tools’ for generating, collecting and analysing data.

Figure 5. Research Pyramid



Source: Jan & Pennink (2010)

The next subsections follow the order proposed in the research pyramid, introducing each step how the current research is designed and tailored to the specific research objectives. The reasons why to follow such research pyramid is to make the research process as transparent as possible. Thus, it is expected to be of assistance for researchers to justify the selected research approaches and in a way to improve the reliability of the research.

3.2 Research paradigm

This subsection introduces the top level in the research pyramid-the research paradigm. As Jan & Pennink (2010) define that a paradigm indicates the relations between the researchers and the researched, namely, how researchers view the "reality". Other definitions of research paradigm given by Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 157) as a "basic set of beliefs that guide action"; Gummesson (1999) describes it as "the underpinning values and rules that govern the thinking and behaviour of researchers"; Burrel and Morgan (1979, p. 23): "a term, which is intended to emphasize the commonality of perspective, which binds the work of a group of theorists together in such a way that they can be usefully regarded as approaching social theory within the bounds of the same problem". Instead of paradigm, others also have called it "worldviews" (Creswell, 2014) or "epistemologies and ontologies" (Crotty, 1998), even "broadly conceived research methodologies" (Neuman, 2009). Although there is no agreed definition, two primary paradigms/worldviews are widely discussed in the literature: positivism and constructivism (Finn et al., 2000; Creswell, 2014).

Unlike positivists hold a deterministic philosophy in which causes determine effects or outcomes, constructivism focuses on how individuals to shape and give meaning to the social processes, in which researchers seek understanding of the subjective meanings of experiences. Creswell (2014, p. 8) explains the meanings as follow:

These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researchers to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. Often these subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically. They are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interactions with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives. Thus, constructivist researchers often address the processes of interaction among individuals. They also focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants.

Moreover, when researchers intend to interpret the meanings, they themselves also become a part of the process to co-construct the social meanings with the researched. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p.14-15) note that the researcher is a part of the social world being studied and that although this is inescapable, such an “escape” is not necessary to effectively research the phenomena in question. Hay (2002) argues that there is no real / “objective” world “out there”, which is independent of our understanding of it. This means that structures do not exist independently of agents’ construction of them; rather structures and agents are co-constituted, and structures have no independent causal power. However, positivists often criticize this as a less scientific approach or this is evidence that case studies tend to reflect the bias of the researcher. Therefore, adopting this philosophical stance calls for reflexivity by the researcher, particularly with regard to how interpretations have been reached, recognizing the active role of the researcher in the process of knowledge construction. The later subsection about reflexivity (3.5) will discuss how to overcome such ‘disadvantages’ during the research conduct.

The approach of social constructionism considers that social members form their understanding in the process of social practice through their social behaviour and interactions, it embodies certain cultural meaning; conversely, such understanding and meaning becomes local knowledge to guide everyday practice and behaviour of social members (Burr, 1995; Hacking, 1999). Therefore, society is produced in the natural everyday life of social members. More and more researchers attempt to adopt a social constructionist approach in tourism studies. Research results constantly create new constructs of reality and contexts of meaning, so the researcher inevitably becomes involved in forming the object of his/her research (Grosch & Doherty, 2006; Simons, 2009). The application of social constructionism in tourism study emphasizes three aspects: analysis of the language system in tourism activities; construction of the symbols and meaning; focus on the construction process of the interactions between subjects, objects, and media (Ma, 2011).

From a constructivist perspective, governance networks can be treated as social structures from which individuals' interests, beliefs, and actions can be explained by examining their interactions (Bramwell, 2005). In this vein, this study was qualitative and interpretative as it involved studying people and other phenomena in their natural settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). A network perspective is not just a methodological decision, it explicitly reflects the constructivism research philosophy which requires to include both network relationships and social actors (Robins, 2015, p. 4). Hence, we need to observe both in as much detail as necessary to understand the social processes we study in everyday life.

3.3 Case study as a research strategy

Case study is a widely used strategy in tourism research. This strategy is dedicated to site/place-specificities of a tourism case study which seeks to reveal insights into how the system or phenomenon actually functions (Xiao, 2012). The social/anthropological nature of tourism leads to the widespread use of case studies (Ritchie et al, 2005). To date, they have been met with varying degrees of success. According to Yin (1994), three criteria to judge whether the case study is appropriate to be selected as a research strategy:

- What type of questions is the study going to answer;
- To which degree the researcher can control the process of research;
- The research focus is something current.

In summary, a "how" and "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control (Yin, 1994, p. 9). As we have recapped about the research questions at the beginning of this chapter, the current study is an attempt to explore how and why CBT initiative could effectively enhance the community participation in tourism governance network in a specific border context. The nature of the research question fits the three criteria of the case study as a research strategy. The observed process that CBT enterprise involves the local ethnic community in the tourism decision-making and operation is not controllable, neither the destination governance network nor the border contexts. Thus, case study research is deemed appropriate for this purpose since it involves a naturalistic approach to understand social phenomena in context-specific settings or real-world settings without researcher manipulation, instead of allowing the "phenomenon of interest to unfold naturally" (Patton, 2002, p. 39).

It is worth noting that the focus of the study centres on revealing specific interactions amongst stakeholders in a specific border destination setting, this study does not provide statistical generalization but rather an analytical generalization (Yin, 2009) supported by findings from the current study. Although the validity of case studies is specified in a later subsection (3.3.3) in detail, the distinction between statistical generalization and analytical generalization is clarified here in order to avoid misleading the research design and method selection. The generalization of the case study should contribute to the development of theory instead of mere replication to other cases (Yin, 1994; Xiao, 2012; Wang, 2002). Knowing this distinction between statistical and analytic generalization, the case study design should make efforts to develop a theoretical framework for the case study that is to be conducted, because it is the main vehicle for generalizing the results of the case study (Yin, 1994, 2009; Xiao, 2012) by assisting understanding, explaining, and describing social phenomena.

3.3.1 Rationale for single-case design

The single-case study is the most appropriate and effective method to explore the relations between the observed phenomena and the hidden rules in the details of everyday life (Zhe, 2018). Although the results of an in-depth investigation into a single case can not necessarily generalize to other cases, it might serve as useful foundations for further studies to compare with. This is a good method to obtain scientific results (Fei, 2001, p. 26). In this sense, the value of the single-case study lies in its exploratory nature and contribution to further qualitative and quantitative studies.

There are two types of case study: single and multiple case designs. Zhe (2018, p. 1-2) clarifies the relations between them: “While there is an increasing and interrelated relationship between the single and multiple case studies, the distinction exists in their focal points in different research phases. Single case study, with its focus on questioning, observing and interpreting, can provide evidence to test hypotheses or theory and find the typical institutional logic in everyday life; multi-case comparative study compensates the deficiency of individual case study by either expanding investigation or making comparison among different cases.” The focus of this subsection is to justify single-case design based on three fundamental criteria suggested by Yin (1994, 2009) in *Case Study Research*: *Design and Methods* as follow:

The first rationale for a single case is to confirm, challenge, or extend the theory. There may exist a critical single case meeting all the conditions, for testing the theory. As introduced in the previous section, since the principles of CBT are underpinned by western values (Reed, 1997), community participation has been studied in regard to democracy, racial, ethnic, even ideological issues in developed countries. This study aims to conduct a reality test of conditions of community participation in tourism governance network in different contexts, in this way SET might be extended.

The second rationale for a single case is one in which the case represents an extreme or unique case. Contemporary China, especially border areas has its unique geopolitical, economic, and socio-cultural contexts in the new era of OBOR, DX as one of the first national-level pilot zones for border tourism development (the other is Manzhouli in Inner Mongolia), was approved by China’s State Council in April 2018, because DX tourism has emerged as a promising industry with the most intensive mobility among all border cities of China. More details will be introduced in Chapter 4.

The third rationale for a single case study is the revelatory case. This situation exists when an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation. China ceased the border tourism businesses nationwide to prevent Chinese tourist gambling abroad between 2005 and 2013. DX was the first border city to resume tourism due to its significant location and international relations with Vietnam. The author as a consultant to UNDP China was called by local government at the critical moment that border tourism started to pick up and conceived promising to apply as a pilot zone of border tourism development on a national level. Therefore, this specific case deserves an in-depth study.

Although it is justified to use a single case to develop the SET theory for the aforementioned rationales, potentially, multiple-case designs could be of interest for further comparative research. However, the conduct of a multiple-case study can require extensive resources and time beyond the Ph.D. phase. And this case can function as my academic starting point to contribute to theory building in border tourism studies.

3.3.2 Embedded case study design

Within the single case may still be incorporated subunits of analysis, so that a more complex or embedded design is developed according to Yin (1994, 2009). For instance, the present study is about the role of the ethnic community and CBT enterprise in governance network at a border destination, three levels of units of analysis are involved. The main unit is the destination governance as a whole (Chapter 5), the smallest unit is the ethnic group and community members (Chapter 7), and the intermediary unit of analysis is the CBT enterprise (Chapter 6). At each level of analysis, different data collection techniques are adopted, ranging from in-depth interviews, focus group and documentation analysis. The subunits can often add significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case (Wang, 2002; Zhe, 2018). However, it is should be avoided to give too much attention to subunits and ignore the holistic aspects of the case (Yin, 1994).

3.3.3 Validity & reliability in case study

There are some well-established criteria to judge the quality of empirical social research. Since case studies are one form of such empirical research, the criteria are relevant. Yin (1994, p. 32-38) recommended four widely used criteria (tactics) at different phases of research, i.e.

- Construct validity requires to use multiple sources of evidence during the data collection, and/or have key informants review draft case study report;

- Internal validity is a concern for explanatory case studies, in which an investigator is trying to determine whether event x led to event y. This inference requires analytic tactics such as pattern-matching, explanation-building, and time-series analysis;

- External validity deals with the problem of knowing whether a study’s findings are generalizable beyond the immediate case study;

- Reliability means that different investigators conduct the same case study, arriving at the same findings and conclusions by using the case study database developed by the earlier researcher.

This subsection is engaged to explain validity and reliability in detail.

3.3.3.1 Construct validity

Construct validity means triangulation in doing evaluations, there are different types of triangulation, Patton (1987) discusses four types as follow:

- data triangulation (various data sources);

- investigator triangulation (among different evaluators);
- theory triangulation (of perspectives on the same data set);
- methodological triangulation (of methods).

The present study pertains only the first two types in the data collection. Data sources include government documents provided by relevant official channels, interviews and focus groups. Before the fieldwork, key informants (especially government officials and enterprises) are carefully selected based on the discussion with local University professors who are familiar with the research topics and engaged in border tourism studies for many years. After fieldwork, key informants help review the draft case study report and further meetings are arranged. As a result of the inspiring discussions with one of the interviewees, a co-authored article is published on *China Tourism Review* (2019).

3.3.3.2 Internal validity

It is important to have a general analytic strategy to treat the evidence fairly in order to produce a compelling analytic conclusion. Relying on theoretical propositions is one of the preferred strategies to lead the data analysis process (Yin, 2009). In light of the constructivism stance, it is a mutually constitutive relationship between the researcher and the researched during the process of data interpreting and knowledge development. Therefore, validity involves how the researcher link the methodology and theory, on one hand, the explanation-building technique is employed in this case; on the other, it also relates to the interactions between the researcher and the data sources, which influence the way that data is interpreted. In the later sections of data analysis (3.4.2) and reflectivity (3.5) respectively, these two aspects regarding internal validity are explicitly demonstrated.

3.3.3.3 External validity

A common misunderstanding about case studies is that it is difficult to generalize from one case to another. However, researchers (Wang, 2002; Xiao, 2012; Yin, 1994,

2009) argue that the notion of generalizing to other case studies, i.e trying to select a "representative" case or set of cases is misleading. According to Yin (1994, p. 30)

> In statistical generalization, an inference is made about a population on the basis of empirical data collected about a sample. This method of generalizing is commonly recognized because research investigators have ready access to formulas for determining the confidence with which generalizations can be made, depending mostly upon the size and internal variation within the universe and sample, this is the most common way of generalizing when doing a survey.

In comparison, Yin (1994, p. 31) even claims that "a fatal flaw in doing case studies is to conceive of statistical generalization as the method of generalizing the results of the case. This is because cases are not 'sampling units' and should not be chosen for this reason. Rather, individual case studies are to be selected a laboratory investigator selects the topic of a new experiment." Analytic generalization is used to compare the previously developed theory and the empirical results of the case study. This is well illustrated with an example of Jane Jacobs' book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), reflecting the single experiences of New York, cover broader theoretical issues such as the role of sidewalks, neighbourhood parks, the need for small blocks, etc. These issues, in fact, represent the building of a theory of urban planning, which became the vehicle for examining other cases.

3.3.3.4 Reliability

This is about the way of organizing and documenting the data collected for the case studies, in order to demonstrate a transparent research process and provide future researchers with reliable data sources and references. For instance, other investigators can review the evidence directly and not be limited to the written reports. In this manner, a case study database markedly increases the reliability of the entire case study (Yin, 1994, p. 95).

In principle, the database includes two types of data, one is the evidentiary data, such as narratives, documents, tabular materials (collected from the site); the other is the report of the investigator, it could be in different forms, such as field diary or notes, etc. which record what the researcher hears, observes, experiences and thinks during the course of collecting data and reflecting on the process. A research diary for recording reflections was therefore kept throughout the process. Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight (2001) argue that this is essential in undertaking qualitative research and is an important aspect of being reflexive.

In summary, the discussion of the research paradigm and theory in relation to the process of data collection and analysis in this part has raised important questions that advance our understanding of validity, reliability, rigour, and interpretation. These questions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, after the presentation of the outcomes of the field research.

3.4 Research methods and techniques

Different paradigms generally lead to distinct approaches to data collection: qualitative or quantitative (Melkert & Vos, 2010). Qualitative approaches are arguably more suitable to explore questions from an epistemologically subjective perspective (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Ritchie & Lewis (2003, p. 5) indicate that “qualitative methods are used to address research questions that require explanation or understanding of social phenomena and their context”. Denzin & Lincoln (1994, p. 2) define qualitative research as multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials, case study, personal experience, introspective, life history, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ life.

In Erikson (2011, p. 43) terms: qualitative inquiry seeks to discover and to describe in narrative reporting what particular people do in their everyday lives and what their actions mean to them. It identifies meaning-relevant kinds of things in the world---kinds of people and kinds of actions, kinds of beliefs and interests-focusing on differences in forms of things that make a difference for meaning. It is suited for situations where little is known about the subject matter to be analysed. As Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 6) state that these situations are typically ‘banal’ or normal ones, reflective of the everyday life of individuals, groups, societies, and organizations.

In line with the previous section about the research paradigm of constructivism, governance networks as social structures, actors and their interactions co-constitute interdependently. This study attempts to adopt a qualitative research approach to obtain a deeper understanding of the social, cultural and political connectivity amongst the actors within the network of governance at a pilot zone of border destination. This echoes the units of analysis in the research strategy of the embedded case study design, which suggests three levels of investigation, namely, the destination governance network at macro level, the intermediary unit of analysis of the CBT enterprise representing one of the significant relationships at meso level, and the ethnic group at micro level. This section is composed of two parts. The first part introduces the data collection methods and processes; aside from content analysis, the second part focuses on social network analysis and the use of software KH coder.

3.4.1 Data collection

Duration. The primary data were collected using a variety of methods including in-depth interviews and focus groups; the secondary data provided by relevant local government departments such as Bureau of Culture & Sports, Tourism Administration, Commerce & Trade Management Office, etc.

The entire fieldwork lasted 70 days. The first visit took ten days in July 2016 as a part of the UNDP mission (the author playing a consultant role rather than an individual researcher). The second visit took place in October-November 2018, this was a personal visit without any mandate. The author stayed in DX and Wanwei village twice, each time about 25 days. The 10-day interval of two stays was spent cross-border at Mongcai Vietnam to observe the counter situations and reflect on the data collected in the previous round. The 'break' in the fieldwork was crucial. One the one hand, it allowed me to distance myself from the site and to reflect the research process by elaborating the findings and restructuring the general understanding of the research aims; on the other hand, it provided the opportunities to get in touch with Vietnamese counterparts and understand the issues from another perspective. After the break, I went back to the field not only physically refreshed and energetic but also having identified questions about missing data and empirical gaps. For example, I realized that there is a specific group of local government officials who are Jing people, they might express different views if I could arrange face-to-face interviews out of their offices. Therefore, for the third round of interviews, I was more conscious of the interview environment and the sensitive questions, in particular when and how I should ask them. More details about the impact of different roles of the researcher toward the research are elaborated in the "Reflexivity" section (3.5).

Participant recruitment. At the research design phase, the author first identified three key stakeholder categories by reviewing the stakeholder selection criteria at ethnic cultural tourism destinations in China, supported by relevant literature (Xie, 2011; Yang & Wall, 2014; Yang et.al, 2016) due to its similar research settings to this study. They are tourism enterprises including external capitals and local SMEs, Jing community, and relevant governmental departments, including multi-level tourism authorities in this case. The current data collection takes account of such categories. Table 4. shows the stakeholder categories and data sources. Data regarding the central government mainly relies on policy documents and literature. Interviews were conducted with selected government officials from provincial to village level, interviews are also conducted with Chinese and Vietnamese tourism companies and Jing community.

Enterprises: At the first visit, the author was arranged in a CBT resort under study, which facilitates participating observation and interviews to various respondents, not only the formal interviews with major managers and focus groups with staff, but also informal or casual talks with performers, local visitors, and domestic tourists. A broader range of enterprises was identified at the second visit, not only the Chinese enterprises but also Vietnamese businesses, including both SMEs and external capitals.

Community: The author chooses to stay overnights in three different B&B of the Jing families for the second visit, in order to approach more Jing community members in a friendly way. On the one hand, this allows the slow pace to build trust (Ashley & Jones, 2001) with the community by staying close with them for a relatively long time; on the other hand, it makes sufficient time to explain the author's intention and interest to the participants. Although in the beginning, the villagers did not really understand what the academic part was about, they were open to tell what happened and described how they felt.

Government officials: taking into consideration that the government plays a dominant role at different levels in Chinese circumstances (Chen et al, 2016), four levels of governments are identified in order to understand the hierarchical power relations and the operational mechanism in the formal institutional system, including regional level (Guangxi Autonomous region), municipal level (FCG), city-county level (DX) and village level (Jing Islands, specifically Wanwei village).

Key interviewees were selected by the author based on the discussion with two professors from Guangxi University who are familiar with the research topics. The contacts with governments were arranged through the official channel with the facilitation of Guangxi University Business School. For interviews with enterprises, a snowball sampling approach was adopted because "it usually generates strongly connected social networks by using network actors' social relations to construct the sample, each round of nominations typically uncovers new participants who have relations with the extent actors" (Knoke & Yang, 2007, p. 18). Specifically, this is a very useful approach to reach out Vietnamese tour operators through the connection of their Chinese partners or friends. In contrast, it is relatively easier to reach community members since they are organized into 23 production teams concentrating at coastal areas. However, the core is to build trust with them to obtain valid data (Yang & Wall, 2009; Yang et al., 2016).

Table 4. Data sources and stakeholder categories

Stakeholder category		Data sources
Tourism company	Chinese & Vietnamese External capitals & local SMEs	Interviews, internal business reports and plans
Jing community		Interviews
Government	National level	Policy documents & literature
	provincial level	Interviews, Government documents & literature
	Municipal level	Interviews, Government documents, statistics
	City/county level	Interviews, Government documents, statistics
	Village level	Interviews

Source: Author

3.4.1.1 Interviewing

It depends on the aims of the research to select different types of interviews. There are mainly three types of interviews commonly employed: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interview. There are certain advantages and disadvantages for all. In order to combine the flexibility of the unstructured interview with a comparability of the responses to the same questions, this study adopts the semi-structured interviewing method. According to Finn et al. (2000, p. 75), "to undertake a successful ethnographic interview the researcher must establish a feeling of trust and rapport with the interviewees. The interviewer should be understanding, non-judgemental, sympathetic, able to empathize, knowledgeable of the situation and able to appreciate the interviewee's point of view." Keeping these principles in mind, the interview instrument was developed starting with identifying the theoretical concepts from SET and the analytical framework to be examined. The instrument began as an outline of concepts and questions to explore with participants: power relations, ethnic boundaries, trust, values, cohesion, etc. situated in the border contexts. The instrument underwent several revisions, as I worked on transforming it from a set of concepts into both open-ended and specific questions. The final instrument was organized around the following themes:

- Resource-based relations: questions centred with cultural resources, ethnic cultural expressions, place identity, motivations of various stakeholders in participating tourism, their relations in the processes;

- Relation-based attributes: questions centred with a shared vision, value creation, trust and cohesion related to power balancing operation;

- Context-based relations: geopolitical, economic, socio-cultural influence of the border to the previous relations mentioned above.

The next subsection explains the detailed process at each level of investigation.

Macro level-governance network. The first objective of this study is to examine network relationships among key stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation processes by examining the patterns of network relationships among key stakeholders. To obtain relational data, in-depth interviews were conducted with 48 informants from October to November 2018. Table 5 provides details on the representation of the interviewees. Each interview lasted one to two hours. It generated over 100,000 words transcribed documents aside from the author´s notes and diaries. The use of an interpreter removed language barriers occasionally when the interviewees were senior Jing who only speaks Vietnamese. Data was captured via voice recorder, photography and written notes. Transcription was done on the same day, in order to understand the key information of the interview, because it might lead to the next important relevant questions that the author could not think of during the research design prior to the fieldwork.

Table 5. List of Interviewees

Position of interviewees	**Representing**	**Number**
Head of tourism policy-making department	Guangxi provincial Tourism Administration	1
Head of tourism project monitoring department	FCG Municipal Tourism Administration	1
Director of the administration	DX Tourism Administration	
Head of the coordination office	DX Tourism Administration	
Director of the committee	Jing Island Management Committee	1
Head of the tourism management office	Jing Island Management Committee	1
Director of the council	Wanwei Village Council	1
Head of the coordination office	Wanwei Village Council	1
General managers (hotels)	External capitals	3
Managers & guides -China	Tour operators	7
Managers & guides-Vietnam	Tour operators	5
The Jing cultural leader	Jing community	1
Jing business owners (B&B, restaurants…)	Jing community	10
Jing villagers	Jing community	14
In total		**48**

Source: Author

Semi-structured interview questions were formulated to explore how the stakeholder groups were interrelated; these were based on key dimensions of governance network, concentrated in three aspects, namely, strategies and goals, actors and agencies, structure and functions. The use of an interpreter removed language barriers occasionally when the interviewees were senior Jing who only speaks Vietnamese.

Meso level-CBT enterprise. Based on a clear definition of the case as above, according to the specific propositions drawing from the research question, the relations among key stakeholders involved in CBT enterprise should be the relevant data to collect and analyse (Yin, 1994). 38 key-informants were selected to conduct interviews out of 135 staff in Haiyingmen. The process of selection followed snowball and convenient sampling methods. First of all, the major initiators and managers (both Han and Jing) were identified; following the interview contents, tourism authority and cultural authority were recommended to understand CBT policy from the public point of view. Encountering the on-site rehearsal, Jing performers and their cultural leader were interviewed. Due to the important role of the cultural leader, a second interview was arranged the next day. Thus, the enterprise initiators, managers, Jing community members, relevant authorities were included in the boundaries of the defined case (Yang & Wall, 2008).

Semi-structured interview questions (see Table 6) were formulated to explore how the stakeholder groups were interrelated based on four dimensions of CSV principles developed in the theoretical framework. Interview data were transcribed and classified into themes and categories following the content analysis method (Saldaña, 2009). Dimensions of CSV were used as a conceptual tool for guiding the interpretation of the data (Serra et al., 2017). The working language was Mandarin and on-site interpretation was assisted by a local guide when necessary (given some Jing people, like Jing businessman, are not accustomed to speaking Mandarin).

Table 6. Interview questions used in accordance with CSV principles

	Relations	Main Questions	Sub-Questions
1	Han & Jing Joint venture	What were the motivations to establish a joint venture?	Whose idea was it to start a business based on Jing cultural heritage of Jing community? Why? What was the determinant factor to influence your decision? Why did you believe this project would be promising?

			What do you contribute to the venture?
2	Jing community & Han-Jing joint venture	How did this CBT project involve Jing community?	Whose idea was it to involve the Jing community to play different roles in the company? How did so many locals come to participate in the business? How do you define the relationship between the joint venture and the Jing community? What was the determinant factor in reaching such collaboration; what are the challenges in management? What do you expect from the collaboration? From both community and enterprise perspectives (economic, social, environmental…); Are you happy about what you get from the project?
3	Cultural authority & Jing community	How did cultural authority influence Jing community on their cultural expression?	Was there disagreement on the forms of performance between the culture authority and the Jing performers? If yes, how did they communicate on the differences? Eventually, who decided what should be done? What was the impact of the culture authority's advice on the resultant performance? Does the community think that tradition has changed over time? If yes, what might be the reasons that are causing such changes and what are their perceptions on it?
4	Cultural authority & Han-Jing enterprise	How did the cultural authority impact the CBT?	Who made the first step to reach the collaboration? Why does enterprise need the culture authority's help and in what way? How has it worked so far?
5	Tourism authority & Han-Jing enterprise	How did the tourism authority impact the CBT?	Who made the first step to reach the collaboration? Why does enterprise need the tourism authority's help and in what way? How has it worked so far?

Source: Author

Micro level-ethnic group. Step 1: 24 valid questionnaires were collected from locals through convenience sampling. Questions included "what can represent Dongxing in your opinion?" by further elaborating on the travel circumstances "if your friends/relatives plan to visit Dongxing, what is the first thing coming to your mind to recommend?" The result shows that Jing culture emerges as the most important factor to represent the place as a tourist destination (see Table 7). Our following inquiry focused on how Jing culture has become the mainframe of representation of the border city; and what role tourism plays in the process of transformation of the Jing cultural expressions to the place representation.

Step 2: 38 interviews were conducted with selected stakeholders (key informants) including:

- 5 government officials: Dongxing Bureau of Culture & Sports, Tourism Administration, Commerce & Trade Management Office.
- 5 leading local tourism enterprises: Haiyingmen Resort, Baiguoxiang Resort, Dunlangbinxiu Mansion, Changhu Eco-park, Liangjiayou Technology Company.
- 9 local community representatives: Jing cultural inherits of national intangible heritage, performers, and residents.
- 19 tourists: selected through convenience sampling at major tourist attractions such as Gold Beach and Mt. Bamboo Park; border-crossing hall and its surrounding souvenir shops and Hotel lobbies.

Table 7. Perceptions of locals on the most representative cultural resources in Dongxing

cultural catalogue	frequency	government	enterprise	local community	%	score in total
Jing culture	10	4	3	3	83	944
Border culture	8	2	3	3	66	728

General Chen's residence	2	-	2	-	16	173
Mt. Bamboo park	2	-	2	-	16	148
Zhuang Culture	1	-	-	1	8	100
Yao Culture	1	-	1	-	8	80

Source: Author

Table 8. List of Interviewees

Position of interviewees	Representing	Number
Director	DX Tourism Administration	1
Deputy director	DX Tourism Administration	1
Director	DX Bureau of Culture & Sports	1
Director	DX Commerce &	1
Deputy director	Trade Management Office	1
Entrepreneurs	Local tourism companies	5
Jing culture leader	Jing community	1
Jing performers	Jing community	8
Tourists	Domestic tourists	19
In total		**38**

Source: Author

The interviews were directed at exploring stakeholder perceptions of the place representation factors, tourism impact on social-cultural changes and local lifestyle, the way to participate in the tourism industry, percentage of tourism income taking the total income, relations with other ethnic groups, etc. Questions concerning how (much) they are involved in tourism and the role they play to influence the cultural expression, how they perceive the authenticity of their performance, and how they view the current cooperation with other ethnic groups were at the core of interviews.

3.4.1.2 Focus groups

Peterson (1994, p. 487) defines that focus groups are a method that a small group of people interacts with one another and a group facilitator (the researcher) to explore a topic in a relatively unstructured way. Group dynamics are used to generate ideas and pursue a topic in greater detail. Although there are no definitive guidelines on the number in the focus group, it is commonly agreed that less than twelve is the norm (Finn et al, 2000).

The facilitator of a focus group plays a vital role in the success of the discussion. He/she introduces the topic, observes and takes notes and/or records the discussion (Sekaran, 2003). The author moderated three focus groups, each including four to nine participants. An unstructured topic list was used to stimulate discussion. The discussions lasted between 40 minutes to 90 minutes, depending on the number and the degree of involvement of the participants. An effective and skilful facilitator keeps participants focused, particularly so that one individual, or a small coalition, does not dominate the discussion (Fontana & Frey, 1998). This makes it hard for the researcher to take detailed records while facilitating the discussion. Thus, a project manager of the UNDP team took notes during the discussion in this case.

The advantages of focus groups are more time-efficient than interviews, it also encourages the on-the-spot synthesis of a different point of views, it is more flexible in terms of a number of issues discussed, which might be unexpected by the researcher (Daniel et al, 2010). The group discussion could be influenced by the presence of the authority, respondents' age, gender, and social status. For instance, when the focus group was composed of eight female dancers and one male instrument player, almost all women kept smiling and silent. It seemed that the man was automatically authorized to represent the group, so he was re-organized in another group. Therefore, it is usual to balance the groups by age, gender, and economic status if possible, to create a permissive atmosphere.

3.4.2 Data analysis

3.4.2.1 Social network analysis

Producing ‘good scientific’ data or knowledge requires an academically accepted analysis. Bernard (2006, p. 338) defines analysis as “the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain why those patterns are there in the first place”. As illustrated previously, this study aims to examine actor relationships in policy formulation and implementation processes to understand the patterns of the governance network.

The concept of a network is based on relationships that have been purposefully established to connect multiple actors (Benckendorff & Zehrer, 2013). A network consists of two elements: nodes and ties. “Nodes” or “actors” represent any entities, such as individuals, organizations, NGOs, government departments. The linkages between nodes represent some kinds of relationship, known as “ties” or “edges” in network theory. The basic unit of network analysis is not an entity itself but rather the relationship between two entities (Robertson et al, 2012). The relationship is presented through several important concepts, such as density and centrality (Timur & Getz, 2008). “Density” refers to the number of connections between actors within a network. “Centrality” means that there may be one central actor within a network linking many other actors. “Centrality” may also indicate a central position with the amount of power obtained through the structure, and capacity to access information and other members. Network theory provides an important analytical approach for understanding about government-industry–community relations and explaining the policymaking process where power and responsibility are diffused (Benur & Bramwell, 2015; Bramwell & Meyer, 2007). Previous research has used network analysis to reveal socially constructed linkages and collaborations between stakeholders (Tolkach & King, 2015; Iorio & Corsale, 2014). The goal of adapting the network perspective to this study stems from the recognition that a destination is a system which consists of relations that are likely to influence destination stakeholders’ opportunities, constraints, behaviour, even values.

There are two types of social network analysis: 1) social graph analytics is concerned with the structure of the relationships emerging from social media use. It focuses on identifying the actors involved, the activities they undertake, and the artefacts they create and interact with. In contrast, 2) social text analytics is more concerned with the substantive nature of the interactions, it focuses on the topics discussed and how they are discussed. What keywords appear? What pronouns are used? How far are negative or positive sentiments expressed? In line with the purpose of the research, this study is engaged to investigate the 'softer' and less tangible social and cultural aspects of networks, rather than the structure of the network that measures relationships and describes network structures, which dominate the limited literature on tourism networks (Dredge, 2006a). In this vein, data management and analyses can be facilitated with a text mining software called KH Coder (Higuchi, 2015), which provides data pre-processing, lexical analysis, and visualization.

Social network theory provides an important analytical approach for understanding about government-industry–community relations and explaining the policymaking process where power and responsibility are diffused (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007). Social Network Analysis (SNA) provides both a visual and mathematical analysis to reveal socially constructed linkages and collaborations between stakeholders (Tolkach & King, 2015; Iorio & Corsale, 2014). The goal to adopt SNA in the present study is to build a useful understanding of government-industry–community relations within a social network. According to Hanneman & Riddle (2005), the identification of social relationships in each pair of actors is a necessary starting point for analysis. Inherently, the relations of each identified pair of actors will be the perspective that we present the findings in the following section.

This study adopts the software KH coder, which is designed based on SNA, as the text mining and analysing tool for it is extensively used in non-structural text analysis and has been proved advanced in previous studies (Xu et. al, 2018; Tussyadiah & Zach, 2017). Data analyses follow three steps, pre-processing, lexical analysis, and visualization (Higuchi, 2015). Firstly, the dataset was pre-processed following this procedure: (1) tokenization (breaking a stream of text into words, which are called tokens); (2) eliminating stop words (articles and auxiliary verbs, including “a,” “and,” “the,” in English, while in Chinese language it would be “个,” “和,” “那个”); (3) part-of-speech (POS) tagging (noun, verb, adjective, etc). KH coder can process in natural Chinese language and this assists to avoid mistakes in a translation process. Secondly, lexical analysis including word frequency, word co-occurrence network and cluster analysis. The size of the circles represents the appearance frequency of each word (node). In this study, the underlying assumption is that most frequently appeared nodes indicates the degree of concerns. Word co-occurrence network is based on word frequency and it identifies how words are connected with each other, therefore providing contexts of each selected word shown in a KWIC list, by applying Jaccard Coefficient to the word pairs. The co-occurrence networks use the igraph package in the R statistical program. The Jaccard Coefficient of a word pair A and B is:

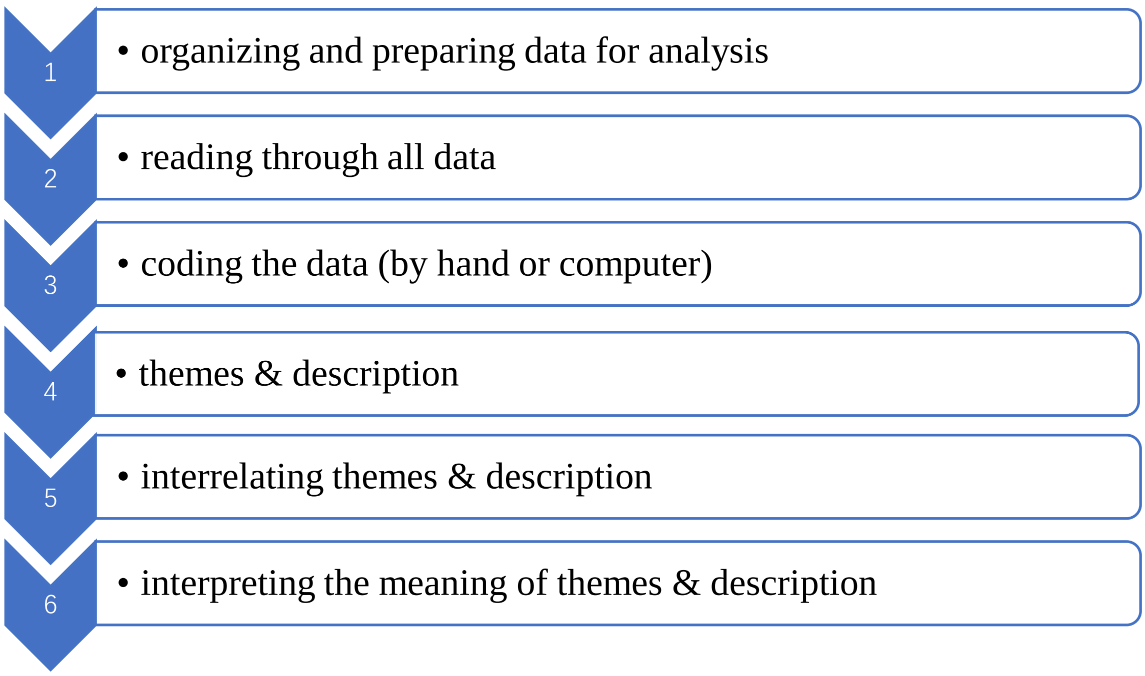
$$J(A,B) = \frac{|A \cap B|}{|A \cup B|}$$

Agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted to partition the dataset into meaningful and coherent groups (Tussyadiah & Zach, 2017). The agglomerative method is Ward’s minimum variance method (Ward, 1963), which uses the error sum of squares to merge clusters. Cluster analysis in this study helps to divide the sample into subgroups with themes. The interpretation of such themes depends on the contexts that each word appears in the KWIC list. This helps to understand how and why words are connected within a thematic cluster. In addition, KH coder provides visualization using formal methods (mathematics and graphs) for representing social network data. This is important because the techniques of graphing and the rules of mathematics suggest patterns of relationships that we might look for, but not occur if data is presented and analysed using descriptions in words (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005).

3.4.2.2 Content analysis

Content analysis is the typical method for qualitative research; it refers in particular to the interpretation or analysis of products of communication, although there is no standard definition (Creswell, 2014). As Finn et al (2000, p. 134) state that it is a technique that is applied to non-statistical material and that it allows to analyse such material in a systematic way. To justify why content analysis is appropriate for the present study, Krippendorff (1980, p. 23) argument is helpful: "content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of the context of the data and that sage content, are alike in concerning themselves with the relationship between data and their context." In order to validate the accuracy of the information, a commonly agreed procedure to conduct content analysis with six steps (Creswell, 2014, p. 197; Finn et al., p. 135-137; Wang, 2016) is introduced (Figure 6). This figure looks linear or hierarchical built, however, the process is interactive in practice. Various stages can be interrelated and not always present in order.

Figure 6. Protocols to follow in conducting content analysis



Step 1. Organize and prepare the data for analysis. This involves transcribing interviews, typing up field notes, cataloguing all the visual material, and sorting and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information.

Step 2. The first step provides a general sense of information and an opportunity to reflect on its overall meaning. What general ideas are participants saying, what is the tone of the ideas, what is the impression of the overall depth, the use of the information?

Step 3. Coding is the process of organizing the data by bracketing chunks and writing a word representing a category in the margins (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). It involves taking text data or pictures gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences or paragraphs or images into categories, and labelling those categories with a term, often a term based on the actual language of the participant. The software Atlas.ti 8 is very helpful in managing the massive data.

Step 4. Use the coding process to generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis.

Step 5. Advance how the description and themes will be represented in the qualitative narrative. The most popular approach is to use a narrative passage to convey the findings of the analysis (Creswell, 2014)

Step 6. A final step in data analysis involves making an interpretation in qualitative research of the findings or results. Asking, “what were the lessons learned?” captures the essence of this idea.

At the end of the day, written notes were sorted out and turned into a research diary organized in different headings on-site observation of the interactions of actors. After the fieldwork, all research diaries were categorized by headings, which facilitated the process of coding. This method allows checking the recording of data and the logic behind it.

3.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a significant component of the research process within a constructivism paradigm (Killion & Fisher, 2010). Reflexivity has been defined as the researchers' critique of their influence on the research process and is recognition of, and accounting for, power and trust relationships between researcher and participants (Hall & Cllery, 20012, p. 258). Put it simply, reflexivity is an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process (Robson, 2002, p. 22). In qualitative research, the inquirer reflects about how their role in the study and their personal background, culture, and experiences hold potential for shaping their interpretations, such as the themes they advance and the meaning they ascribe to the data. This aspect of the methods is more than merely advancing biases and values in the study, but how the background of the researchers actually may shape the direction of the study (Creswell, 2014). Denzin & Lincoln, in their *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, state that in being reflexive, the researcher becomes a bricoleur, an academic borrowing from other different disciplines who, "understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting… the political bricoleur knows that science is power, for all research findings have political implications" (2005, p. 6).

Thus, according to the existing definitions of reflexivity, two aspects deserve detailed examination as follows:

- The research has a political implication because he or she might be linked to power at the various levels, and his or her personal factors might impact the way data is interpreted;
- Research is an interactive process between the individuals researched and the researchers, who are not neutral.

3.5.1 Impact of personal factors of researchers on the research process

The researchers should understand that "research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). It is important to recognize that it is inevitable that the person's historical and contextual background have an influence on different aspects of data collection and analysis. Related to the research aims and contexts, three aspects are discussed here to demonstrate the potential impact of the researcher as an instrument in the research process.

Personal factors. As previously mentioned, my first visit to DX as a tourism expert of UNDP (China) team facilitated access to many resources. Due to the official mandate, my personal biological factors, such as gender, age, ethnicity, educational level were all considered "filtered" and/or "weaken" by the role being a consultant recognized by the international organization. However, all the factors somehow became an issue at the second individual visit. Once I confronted that, the respondents felt I was too young to truly understand the complexity of the issues. Statements such as "you are too young to know there are many sensitive things in government system"; when I asked about why the helpless community members do not turn to justice service which is offered by the village council, the reply was "you are still naive, YOUNG LADY, this is just what it is claimed so". In these situations, the researcher needs to honestly and humbly ensure his/her interests in learning the experiences and knowledge from the respondents to better understand the situation, while confirming his/her true concerns to the local issues and further explaining why his/her contributions might matter to the researched. Of course, such process to build rapport takes time and patience, as well as psychological construction such as overcoming the embarrassment or discouragement. Moreover, like the interviewee might hold produce against young (or young-looking) females, the researcher also tries to talk with senior ones, supposing they are more knowledgeable when no information is available to select the interviewees based on job ranking or positions beforehand. In my case, village council was not reachable before I arrived at DX, surprisingly, my visit without any appointment was accepted, especially by a senior official. However, after one-hour interview, the younger official sitting next to the senior interviewee started to join the discussion! He is the director of the village council, who has been elected by local community since the beginning of its establishment nine years ago! He explained that "I see from your questions that you understand exactly what the problems are in our village. You are different from the previous researchers who ask about superficial issues, I do not care to talk with them. But I would like to discuss with you about the possible solutions." Once heard this sentence, the senior official handed me a package of cooked sweet potatoes (a local special agricultural product with geographical designation) without saying an extra word! By then, it seems that my age or being a young girl is not a barrier anymore once the counterpart changes. This interview eventually went well, I was even introduced to two of the director's friends who are recommended for their knowledge and experience concerning local governance system afterwards. This was one of the facets during the data collection process, fortunately the bias occurring in the fieldwork is minimised. Notes were also made about the physical environment, body language, the relationship and interactions between different interviewees, etc, which provides abundant data for the case analysis.

Dual roles of the researcher. From personal experiences working as a tourism consultant in China, I understand that tourism planning or project designs commissioned by the local government usually serve certain political purposes as an instrument, which could be implicit sometimes. Therefore, it is crucial to detect two folds of the practical problems to be solved if they are not consistent to each other: what are the expected results from the government and what is the real problem on the ground. The task ideally is to combine such two layers into the delivery. However, the reality is often more challenging than ideology. For instance, the UNDP was invited to advise on the cultural tourism development at the border area in DX, the project was to design site-specific cultural products and destination branding strategy. However, this activity actually serves the application for a national level pilot zone of border tourism, taking advantage of the reputation of the international organization, which is appreciated by the upper levels of government in evaluation. Due to limited duration of stay and fully arranged schedule to selected sites, it was not easy to get away from what is meant to be shaped.

When I started the doctorate program, it was hard to think in a different way in converting the practical problems to academic questions. It means a huge leap from experience to theory. During the fieldwork, I searched for the intermediate mechanism to connect the observed phenomena and its possible theoretical explanation. Among others, *Everyday Life Logic in Field Research: Experience, Theory, and Method* by Zhe (2018) was an enlightening work guiding me out of the confusion. “The main task of the fieldwork is to understand the logic of everyday life and explain the ‘accumulated foundation’ that is hidden in the details by immersing oneself into the field.” (Yang & Sun, 2015). In this vein, my practical experience compelled me to rethink the role and impact of such research beyond the ivory towers of academia and my work as a consultant. I had to ask myself several questions: Whom does my research serve? How do I contextualise the “sensitive stories”? How far should I go to make the invisible visible?

In my quest for answers, the path became gradually clear: this is related to the dual roles of an independent researcher who seeks to serve the society with his/her knowledge, working as a consultant could be an opportunity to balance the power for the benefit of the community. Maybe such a path is painful sometimes, it must be enlightening, not only for the others who might benefit from it but also for the researcher him/herself to know the firm position rooted in the society.

3.5.2 The relationship between the researcher and the researched

Qualitative research is not only influenced by the personal factors of the researcher but also impacted by the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which involves emic and etic perspectives. According to Morris et al (1999, p. 782), “emic accounts describe thoughts and actions primarily in terms of the actors' self-understanding—terms that are often culturally and historically bound. In contrast, etic models describe phenomena in constructs that apply across cultures.” In line with the dual roles that the researcher plays in different stages of research process as explained above, both emic (insider) and etic (outsider) perspectives are integrated into the whole process of data collection. The first visit as a tourism consultant, I was expected to “diagnose” the situation and “prescribe” a solution as an expert within a short stay; while the second visit when I entered the study site as an independent researcher, in order to establish an effective rapport with participants and gather empirical materials, a close and increasingly “emic” interactions are created (Killion & Fisher, 2010). The shift between etic and emic perspectives provides opportunities to observe, discover, experience and understand the basic values and norms of communities (Zhe, 1997).

Another way to look at emic or etic perspectives is a temporal interpretation of the research process. When the researcher stays for a long time at the study site, his/her feelings towards the specific place or people might change over time, which could affect his/her judgment and interpretation. Thus, it is suggested to adapt the distance of observation (Zhe, 2018) and leave some time to collect relevant document and materials. In my case, I took a ten-day break to stay away for the study site to reflect the collected data and gradually create the dialogue between what has been observed and new knowledge and understanding.

Reciprocity. Before relationships are established, it is not unusual for participants to want to know: “what is in it for me?” (Killion & Fisher, 2010). Therefore, the research needs to recognize reflexivity not only as a self-indulgent practice of writing the role of the researchers but also as a wider socio-political process which acknowledges and incorporates the researched. Thus, how to build a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched is a challenge in the fieldwork, since no explicit or immediate benefit could be created as a foundation of the relationship. From relevant experiences cited by Chen (2000), very often the investigator may wish to express appreciation in providing “thank you” gifts or meeting with participants for a meal and so on.

However, from my personal fieldwork experience, the most convincing reason is to precisely identify the stake for the targeted stakeholders, instead of casual gifts. Only in this way, the participants would not think that they lose time to contribute to what others concern, but he/she gets inspired by what he/she is truly interested and cares about. Most importantly, such a reciprocal relationship gains a solid foundation to sustain itself for the long term, which is beneficial for the triangulation and further research development. As Wilson et al. (2015) assert that such reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched means to break the conventional top-down lead of expert knowledge and call for complicity in research, where ‘local’, ‘communal’, ‘situational’, and ‘non-scientific’/‘non-academic’, ‘collaborative’ and ‘community-auspices’ forms of knowing are explored (Moses & Knutsen, 2007, p. 248), which stresses the significance of ‘researcher-host population’ or ‘researcher-all populations’ collaborative work in the bona fide production of knowledge.

3.6 Ethnical issues

Ethical issues in research require increased attention. The ethical considerations that need to be anticipated are extensive, and they are reflected through the research process. Research involves collecting data from people, about people (Punch, 2005). Inherently, researchers need to protect their participants, develop a trust with them, promote the integrity of research and avoid misconduct and impropriety (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, ethical issues exist throughout the whole process of the research (Creswell, 2014, p. 93-94):

- Prior to conducting the study, researchers should gain local permission from site and participants, select a site without a vested interest in the outcome of study, etc.

- During the data collection period, researchers should respect the site and disrupt as little as possible, make certain that all participants receive the same treatment.

- When analysing data, researchers should avoid disclosing only positive results and respect the privacy and anonymity of participants.

- Eventually, report honestly and share data with other researcher and participants. Communicate in clear, straightforward, appropriate language and most importantly, do not plagiarize.

In practice, I found that it could be hard to strictly follow the ethical norms in the cross-cultural contexts that the researcher is not familiar with. For example, when I tried to make an appointment in advance with the village council and the Jing Island Tourism Management Committee before visiting the village, email address or telephone number was not available online. In this situation, due to the importance to understand the policy implementation actions, I had to imprudently visit their offices and apologize for my sudden appearance. Surprisingly, it seems that at village level, it is rare to make an appointment beforehand. I realized this is very different from the rules that 'we' follow in urban settings. The rural relation building is much more flexible and informal. In this sense, probably as well as easier entry to get to know people, because the encounter depends more on the direct face-to-face feeling rather than the issue per se (what an appointment for). Another example is that written (formal) consent for the collection of data and recording of interviews was not much appreciated; the participant might hesitate or sometimes express their preference not to have anything written or signed. Instead, verbal information about the research and the option to withdraw at any point was well accepted.

Furthermore, issues of confidentiality, anonymity, and privacy were considered, with research participants being given the choice to remain anonymous. Although most had agreed to be named in the final output emerging from the research, respondents were coded to enable consistent anonymous responses' format.

3.7 Limitations

It is necessary to be aware of the limitations that constrain one's research. Whereas some have been addressed throughout the thesis, the remaining issues are outlined in this section.

Several limitations deserve specific attention. Generally, the qualitative nature of the present investigation suggests that the interpretation of data could be biased depending on the researchers' background, knowledge and experiences (Zapata & Hall, 2012). However, this is a common challenge confronted when conducting qualitative research, in particular in ethnic regions when the cultural background of the researcher is different (Yang et al., 2008; Yang, 2017), commonly associated with language barriers.

Another limitation is concerning software in data analysis. The tones and intonations of the interviewees, their non-language expressions, including body language and actions during the interviews cannot be included in the data analysis with the software, although they could contain abundant, sometimes crucial information. This factor might compromise the validity of the data and we need to compensate this flaw by the "traditional" way of coding and interpretation by the researcher with the help of the field diaries as a useful information source.

Finally, due to the limited entry to the official data sources in Vietnam, the research scope was constrained. Partially, this was due to the lack of knowledge of how the government works in Vietnam before the fieldwork. After persistent efforts made with the Mongcai Foreign affairs office, a Chinese speaking officer (who just visited China for bilateral trade cooperation) told me the procedure I should follow in order to arrange official meetings with relevant government departments. Unfortunately, it took me about two weeks to be informed, during which I was refused for various reasons, to name a few, I must pay a visit with a local interpreter, I must present the official document to prove my identity and justify my purpose, I must get the approval from the foreign affair office at the first place, I must represent an institute instead of an individual, I must have a local Vietnamese partner to conduct the research in Vietnam. There are a lot of "must-do" norms that I had no access to, if I was not physically present. Eventually, I did not have enough time to reach all requirements by the end of my stay in Vietnam.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has introduced the whole process of research design and conduction. Firstly, two contrasting research paradigms were presented, positivism and constructivism. Research that seeks to explain human behaviour through cause and effect differ from those aims to understand and interpret human actions through an individual's own perspective. Secondly, case study was justified to be the most appropriate research strategy to tackle the research problems. This section also indicated the specific embedded design, informing there are three units of analysis on multiple scales. Validity and reliability were discussed, which is an important issue in case study and more generally qualitative research. After the detailed methods and techniques in data collection and analysis, reflexivity was discussed from two aspects: how personal factors of the researcher influence the research and the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Drawing from the discussion of this Chapter, the point of research was made clear: researcher does not merely mean how to produce knowledge, but ultimately to understand the human connectivity by sharing a co-constitutive society and realize its nature as dialogic, synergistic, and open-ended (Wang, 2002; Xiao 2012).

Table 9. Summary of research methodology and method

Research philosophy	Constructivism
Research strategy	Case study
Research purpose	Explorative study
Research approach	Qualitative research
Data collection method	In-depth interviews Focus group Participant observation
Data analysis	Social network analysis Content analysis
Research context	Border ethnic tourism in China
Participants	Policy makers (13); Planners (2); Jing community members (22); Jing Entrepreneurs (18); Jing Cultural Leaders (2); Chinese Han Entrepreneurs (15); Vietnam businessmen (5); Tourism academics (3); Tourist (19).

Source: Author

CHAPTER 4. THE STUDY AREA

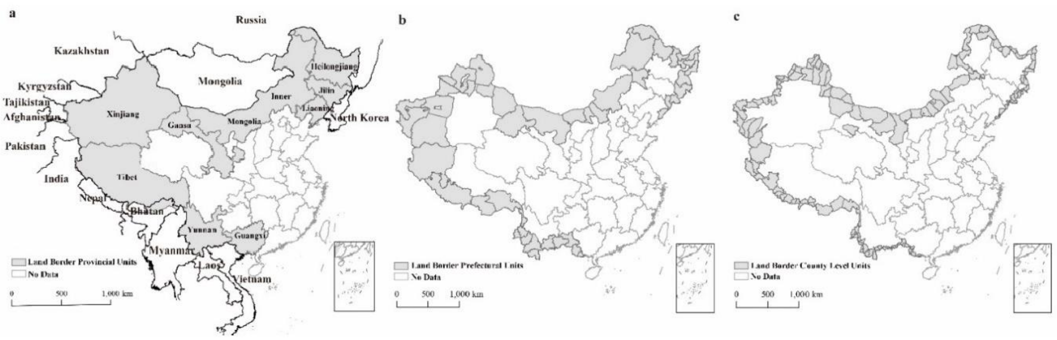
4.1 Introduction

To understand the nature of community participation at border region from a social exchange perspective, it is necessary to recall the historical evolution, since the institutions, cultural resources and local norms that affect community participation in governance, have rooted in a particular historical context. As such, it is the aim of this chapter to provide a historical overview of the political economy development of the study site Dongxing (DX), touching upon political, economic and societal issues. DX can be said to be at a crossroad at this very moment to decide on the direction of its development, which is not only significant for itself, as a pilot zone of border tourism, it might also become an exemplary model for other ethnic border regions. This chapter therefore begins with a brief introduction about DX location and population in general and specifically the coastal area, which is the most popular tourist attraction, Gold Beach in Wanwei village. Four phases of DX evolution under the state policy influence is outlined, followed by explanation of the multifaceted complexities of border and bordering processes. This chapter is intended to present a full comprehension of the distinctive features that may have impacted on the nature of local governance. It aims to set a scenario for further analysis and provide abundant information and data from empirical perspective to justify why DX is selected as the study site.

4.2 Location and population

China is a country with over 22,000 km borderlines with 14 neighbouring countries, 73 ports (out of 138 in total) have been opened along the border. Most of the border areas are cross-border ethnic regions. Border tourism is embedded in the complex geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural texture. Bordering activities such as bilateral trade, everyday visits, regular cultural exchanges between cross-border communities indicate that borders, as a specific context of tourism development is a dynamic process influenced by multiple factors and deserve careful examination.

Figure 7. Borderlands of China



Note: a. land border provinces and neighbouring countries of China; b. land border prefectures; c. land border counties.

Source: Zhang et.al, 2019. Land border tourism resources in China: Spatial patterns and tourism management

Dongxing (DX) is located in the south-west of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China, the only province with direct sea and land access to ASEAN countries in China and an important hub for the international corridor to Southeast Asia. DX, a coastal city bordering Vietnam with Mong Cai lying on the other side of the border river, which the largest and most open special economic zone in the north of Vietnam. Owing to such geographical advantages, DX has contributed nearly half of Guangxi’s trade volume between China and Vietnam.

DX is a county-level city with 31 administrative villages under the direction of three township governments. As a border city (with Mongcai of Vietnam), DX has a complex population structure. Its population of 298,000 comprises of Han, Zhuang, Jing, Yao, and Viet. Half of the population consists of immigrants from surrounding provinces of China and from Vietnam. Dongxing is the main Jing settlement in China, the three villages, namely, Wutou, Shanxin and Wanwei used to be islands (now connected to land) concentrating 19,469 Jing people, the 88% of the total Jing population in China and almost 2/3 of the local population.

Dongxing shares a 33 km borderline with Vietnam; historically, Jing and Kinh (a predominant ethnic group in Vietnam) stem from the same racial and cultural roots, extending back over 500 years. According to the definition given by the China National Committee of Ethnic Affairs, any minority nationalities, whose population of below 300,000 people are named “the less-population minority nationality”.

With the growth of cross-border trade since the 1990s and national policies to support development, the three islands were connected to the mainland, new roads were built, and more immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds flocked to Dongxing for business opportunities. There are four main mobility patterns: a. Jing and Viet people take on to daily border-crossing trade activities; b. skilled craftsmen move from surrounding provinces to work in the red-wood furniture industry in Dongxing; c. short-haul domestic tourists go to Mongcai, Vietnam via Dongxing; d. some of these tourists stop in Dongxing, partially due to restricted regulations for government officials.

Unlike many other ethnic areas in China, where the economic and social development of minority communities is relatively low, according to 2015 statistics provided by the Dongxing Poverty Reduction Office, only 5.3% of the poor in Dongxing belong to the Jing ethnic group. Dongxing has been an important border town and trading port in China, by virtue of its favorable geographical location – it is the only port linking China and Vietnam by both land and water, and currently boosts a national economic and technological development zone, the Dongxing Border & Economic Cooperation Zone. According to 2015 statistics, China-Vietnam bilateral trade volumes reached $66.6 billion. About 60% of the Dongxing government revenues came from border trade contribution. Most Jing people benefit from participating in trade activities. Thanks to their knowledge of Vietnamese, they are one of the wealthiest minorities in China, playing a significant role in local development. For this reason, they are quite confident and proud of their own culture and tradition, which may lay a good foundation in the process of cultural interactions with other groups, especially in the process of destination identity formation.

Figure 8. Map of southwest borders of China

Figure 9. Dongxing-Mongcai border birdview

Figure 10. Wanwei village 1

Figure 11. Wanwei village 2

Figure 12. Performance with sing-string zithers on the occasion of Ha Festival

Figure 13. Jing traditional fishing technique "Gaoqiao buyu"

Figure 14. Sing-string zither teaching at the "Jing Cultural Preservation Center"

Figure 15. Traditional ceremony of Jing Ha Festival

Source: DongXing news.com

4.3 Multifaceted complexities: border and bordering

The fast pace of growth in DX, coupled with the geopolitical complexities of multiple ethnic groups in a border location, increases the challenges of developing effective governance mechanism here. However, DX is representative of many destinations developed under the recent OBOR policy, and the novelty of tourism provides opportunities to adjust development. Therefore, it deserves a careful examination on its border tourism in light with the bordering process.

Borderlines are not only the demarcation of the legal limits of national sovereignty, but borderlands are also seen as the interstitial spaces influenced socially, culturally, politically, and economically by their proximity to the neighbouring countries

(Gelbman & Timothy, 2011). Moreover, "it is the bordering process, rather than the border per se, which affects our lives on a daily basis, from the global to the national and, most significantly, at the local and micro scales of socio-spatial activity." (Newman, 2006b, p. 144). Contrasting to the national identity perspectives commonly seen in border literature, Newman (2006b, p. 143) proposed to study borderland at a micro-scale: "borders should be studied not only from a top-down perspective but also from the bottom- up, with a focus on the individual border narratives and experiences, reflecting the ways in which borders impact upon the daily life practices of people living in and around the borderland and transboundary transition zones." This perspective has guided studies towards bordering process.

This section focuses on three aspects: 1) borders as tourist attractions based on the definition of border tourism, worldwide and China; 2) Jing people's cultural resources and everyday bordering process, by which the social relations and social norms are maintained; and 3) three dimensions of border complexities.

4.3.1 Borders as tourist attractions

Tourism is significant in many border regions, and some of the world's most popular attractions are located adjacent to, or directly on political boundaries (Timothy, 2000). Timothy (1995) classifies two levels of borders, namely, international and subnational. The role of international boundaries in tourism is commonly a transit one. Some features of border, such as going through customs, language barriers, foreign currency, might be perceived either inconvenient for some tourists, or exciting for others. His study firstly demonstrated how borders themselves and border-related environments could act as significant tourist attractions (p. 525). Furthermore, Timothy (2000, p. 57) proposes to view border tourism from two special perspectives: "tourism that focuses on the borderline itself and tourism that owes its existence to a border location, but which does not focus directly on the border." This geography-based definition clarifies that the cross-border tourism focuses on the borderline activities; while border tourism, instead, refers to tourist activities in the proximity of border location, but unnecessarily relates to border crossing. Sofield (2006, p. 102) explains the border in a broader sense, which lays a solid foundation for further discussion on how border could become a tourist attraction, associated with power, authority, governing model and community culture:

> Borders, whether physical or conceptual, have been considered as demarcations of 'us' and 'them', of delineating difference, of civilized from barbarian, of one field of endeavour (e.g. the arts) from another (the art of war), as either 'open' or 'closed', and of dividing friend from foe. Spatially they have enclosed nations, governments, ethnicities and cultures, and defined centres and peripheries, with seats of power, authority and governing elites in the nucleus and marginalized communities at the edge. The term 'border' includes both the legal demarcation between states and a signifier of differentiation or frontier where cultures and politics meet, often in contestation, in a dynamic relationship.

In fact, it is a wide consensus among many scholars engaged in border tourism studies, that although a distinction is often drawn between physical and cultural (or material and mental) boundaries (Sofield, 2006; Newman, 2006a; Timothy, 2011), the two are integrated as the two sides of one coin. Kearney (2004, p. 132) confirms this point by taking an anthropological view: "a border is a vaguely defined area that exists on both sides of a boundary. Cultural borders demarcate identities such as nationality, citizenship, ethnicity, and so forth. A border defined in both senses is a composite geographic, legal, institutional, and sociocultural structure and process." Thus, borders and bordering process can provide an interesting context to understand state-market-community relations from both top-down and bottom-up approaches. As discussed in Chapter 2, the decentralization of power from state to markets is supposed to improve efficiency of public administration based on criteria of competition and market-centric rationality. Meanwhile bringing decision-making closer to the population (Bramwell, 2005; Bevir, 2013). Governance at border regions, therefore, underlines how community participation could contribute to improving the effectiveness and efficiency of local governance network. Border tourism studies in

China has evolved with the practice. The earliest definition of border tourism was restricted to cross-border activities back in 1970s, when China's open-door policy was initiated. After about two decades, academia like Zhang (1997), Yao (1998) and Luo (2002) still focus on the material level of border crossing over the international border, research topics were confined to convenience of border crossing, the organization of tour operators, duration of stay and consumption. Until recent national policy orientation in China especially after OBOR initiatives launched in 2013, border regions have been moving from peripheries to the 'connecting and contacting zone' (Liang & Luo, 2016; Du, 2017), border tourism studies broaden its view. Some scholars observe that border tourism is a 'double-edged sword' for its economic benefit and socio-cultural side-effects, especially when it comes to ethnic regions, such as negative impact towards the preservation of aboriginal cultural heritage and more importantly, it is closely connected to the local bordering process of everyday life (Li, 2013; Liu et. al, 2015). Some others are more concerned that border tourism relates to sensitive issues involving national security and international relationship, which implies the border significance on global scale (Wang et al., 2014; Li et al., 2017). Notwithstanding the aforementioned advances in border tourism studies in China, more efforts are needed to go beyond descriptive studies to reveal profound socio-cultural roots of border tourism development in the long term.

As previously defined, the border is not only associated with the physical, territorial and political demarcation, more importantly, the social, cultural and ethnic meaning of the border influences both the local communities and tourists. This thesis underlines the importance of local tourism governance, particularly how the ethnic community can effectively participate in the decision-making process by mobilizing their resources, especially cultural resources. Therefore, the tourist border-crossing behaviour, although as a component of the most tours, is not included as the focus of the analysis. Instead, the bordering process based on social interaction across the border and the everyday life of the Jing community enlightens the study. The next subsection introduces the details of the cultural resources that are integrated into Jing people's daily lives and much appreciated by tourists.

4.3.2 Everyday life & Jing socio-cultural resources

DX was nominated as one of the most outstanding ethnic tourism destinations in China with abundant ethnic traditions and cultural heritage. Named as one of the Chinese artistic towns for 'Jing folklore and arts' by the Ministry of Culture, The Ha festival and the performance with single-string zither of the Jing people were respectively listed as national intangible heritage in 2006 and 2011. This improved the visibility of Jing culture both locally among the different ethnic groups, and nationally for visitors. The heritage remains embedded in everyday local life. Aside from daily performance/practice attracting hundreds of visitors, special occasions like Ha festival attract tens of thousands of visitors according to the local tourism administration. The Jing culture, either in the form of traditional religious celebrations, folklore, or cuisine, is undoubtedly highly intermeshed with the tourist attractiveness of the area.

According to Henri Lefebvre (1991), there are three components in everyday life: work, family and personal life and leisure. These three aspects holistically determine every individual and his/her social relationship with others. The pre-modern traditional lifestyle still keeps Jing people undifferentiated. Thus, the Jing social-culture resources and their bordering activities are illustrated from these dimensions of everyday life as follow:

Work and production. Jing People is a unique coastal ethnic group in China, depending on the sea for a living for centuries. The Gold beach is where Jing people have been living and working for many generations. This wide beach lashed by rolling waves looks beautiful and romantic. However, it could be dangerous for fishermen. Since there are few research about this area so far, document sources are extremely limited. Therefore, some information about this study site is taken from interview data. The following description about the Jing/Kinh relations specifically associated with fishing is accordant with Mr. Huang, the head of village council of Wanwei village:

We Jing people have fought to survive on Jing islands for many generations. It is not far to be relaxing and romantic to live like a fisherman, in particular when the weather is not favourable. It requires rich experience, knowledge, and skills to survive. Moreover, disasters could happen any time. Fortunately, Jing and Kinh people on both side of the border always help each other whenever such things happen. Even if it was impossible to save people's lives, it became our shared norms that we try our best to deliver the bodies back to their families. Nowadays, our life is getting better, and fishing is not the only income source anymore, such as tourism has became a significant source of income for six months. Whereas fishing remains a crucial and traditional living skill for Jing people, without working on the sea, our traditions, religion, festivals, even language lose their root.

Haiyingmen Resort near to Jing Gold Beach (the section of production team no. 17), a CBT enterprise founded as a pilot project based on Jing ethnic culture, in order to transform DX from a border-crossing corridor into a destination. Gold Beach has the highest concentration of Jing minority people and is the most visited tourist attraction in DX. Haiyingmen was initiated jointly by a Han entrepreneur and a Jing businessman, all Jing families of the production team hold some share of the enterprise by contributing either the right to use their land or traditional performance skills. The Jing cultural leader is invited to be their advisor and 70% of the full-time service providers in the resort are Jing people. Moreover, Jing cultural shows (including national intangible heritage stringed zither) are organised on a daily basis and all performers are part-time and from the same neighbourhood.

Due to the feature of the seasonality of tourism industry, in particular at the seaside, Jing people at Wanwei village combine diverse work forms around the year. Half of the year (from May to October) work in tourism, most Jing people have transformed into entrepreneurs of seafood restaurants, hotels, bed & breakfast, shops selling and renting swimsuits. Fishing boats in tourism peak season serve for tourist fishing as a local authentic offer. The rest of the year, most Jing people have multiple choices between border trade and seafood processing, or some remain in tourism, even though business is not as good as summer. No matter what work form is chosen, Jing people stay on the Jing islands, where their personal lives take place and their families are able to take part in their daily lives.

Family and personal life. As discussed above, the lifestyle in Wanwei village combines work and daily personal activities. Nowadays, most Jing people have their own houses right in the back of the hotels, restaurants, and shops open to tourists. Thus, work is a part of their personal life. Previously, according to the description of a villager, Jing people have been allocated the beach based on the fishnet size (which is associated with family size). In this way, equality and configured norms are gradually established and widely accepted by villagers, combining fishery and daily life. As Henri Lefebvre (1991) observes, the lifestyle of farmers (in our case, fishermen) is not individual but acknowledged as a shared way of living for members of a connected group, in which both life and individuals living in it can develop. In this sense, the combination of production and life makes human being undifferentiated. Therefore, everyday life in the village includes managing the work forms, organizing family life and organizing festivals (p.28). Aside from career life, family life, the last component in everyday life is leisure activities.

Leisure activities. Nowadays, leisure seems opposite to work and production, owing to its feature of “non-productive consumption of time” according to Thorstein Veblen’s definition. He explains this concept in his seminal book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899, p. 22) that “during modern industrial times, the leisure class is those who are exempt from industrial labour……those who are engaged in conspicuous consumption, along with ‘conspicuous leisure’, to demonstrate wealth or to mark higher social status.” However, this is a recent understanding in the capitalism society in which humans are differentiated as producers in work, different social identity player in private life, and consumers in leisure time to relax while showing off social status. On the contrary, in a traditional social setting like DX, leisure is not separated from everyday life but a part of it as a whole, in particular, it is clearly demonstrated when people organize their cultural festivals in accordant with Lefebvre (1991). For example, Jing people hold the aboriginal religion of worshipping the God of the sea (Zhenhai Dawang) and their ancestors. Ha festival is the occasion when all Jing and Kinh ethnic groups get together across border regularly and celebrate the smooth and lucky year with families, friends, and neighbours by singing and dancing. Such a bordering process is integrated into social interactions and cultural identity confirmation among the members of Jing/Kinh ethnic groups. This is distinct from what leisure is interpreted as consumption in free time in modern society. Therefore, Ha festival is rooted in the local community and their everyday life as a way of their specific cultural expression. It is endogenously related to the environment that they live in, the lifestyle that they share, and the people that they are both working and living with on a daily basis. Recently, with the development of tourism industry, Ha festival has been transformed into a popular tourism product. The questions concerning how and why it took place will be analysed in Chapter 5.

4.3.3 Border complexities

Borders have become increasingly complex and multifaceted in today's globalized world. With the recent national policy orientation in China especially after OBOR initiatives launched in 2013, border regions have been moving from peripheries to the "connecting and contacting zone" (Liang & Luo, 2016; Du, 2017). In the tourism sphere, a growing literature has emerged on international borders as tourist attractions and cross-border co-operation (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011). Aside from vast descriptive research on the types and functions of borders, most still concentrate on the transnational level, ignoring the fact that territorial delimitations on different levels might pose management complexities. With the development of border studies, there has been a shift of research attention from the international scale to subnational borders like national, regional, municipal, even local borders (Xu et. al, 2018).

To understanding border complexity, it is important to recognize that local contexts (Stoffelen et al., 2017; Xu et. al, 2018). Current border tourism studies in China still concentrate on descriptive phenomena, yet little has investigated how these complex issues might influence the process of policymaking and implementation at border destinations. Given this research gap, going beyond levels and scales of borders, this thesis agrees with Haselsberger (2014) to view borders as a dynamic process and this sub-section aims to initiate a discussion on tourism governance taking into consideration of power relations and border complexities. Thus, the border can be illustrated with the specific characteristics of borders and border regions. The following sub-sections take this framework to interpret the Sino-Vietnamese border of DX. Table 10 seeks to unravel the multiple facets of borders and their main actors with detailed characteristics and interpretations.

Table 10. Characteristics and interpretations of borders

Category	**Main actor**	**Characteristics**	**Interpretations**
Geopolitical	State/governments	Administration and management of territories; defense and protection of territories (e.g. political inclusion and exclusion of people)	The conception of territorial identity through symbols (e.g. flags, anthems, monuments, number plates)
Economic	Market force/enterprises	External market: cross-border industrial chains and employment; bilateral trade. Internal market: commercialization of ethnic culture dominated by non-locals	Unique selling position of economic products including border ethnic culture; Common currency
Socio-cultural	Communities	Maintenance of commonalities (e.g. common history, religion, language) in everyday life; Protection of group interests, ideologies, culture, tradition, and collective memory	Knowledge transfer through cultural memory (such as artifacts, music, language)

Source: Adapted from Haselsberger (2014)

First, borders often appear as a major topic in traditional political geography, they are man-made lines dividing political areas and claiming the administration and management of certain territories. These borderlands are symbolized with national flags, anthems, borderline number plates, and monuments. As such, various physical forms of the border demarcation between two nations representing the state power and cross-border diplomatic relations inherently became tourist attractions (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011).

Second, border trade between communities on both sides provides job opportunities and creates workforce migration. In the external market, the trade activities on daily basis improve the economic integration in border regions, for example using the common currency among traders. Moreover, some specific products can be found only in border areas and as unique selling positions, such as specific local products from both sides, perfume, coffee, fruits, etc. Enterprises on both sides of borders are conscious of market demands and cooperation opportunities. With tourism mobility increases, borders have shown more and more impact on tourism businesses. In the internal market, more and more domestic tourists intend to cross-border and take advantage of staying at borderland to enjoy local tourism products. As such, Ha festival of Jing ethnic group is commercialized by Han tourism enterprises. Thus, the tension of cultural representation could be complicated between different ethnic groups.

Third, border communities often share a common history, religion, tradition, and language, which ties communities through cultural memory and further provide a common foundation for knowledge exchange and transfer. Whereas borders also could be barriers depending on the socio-cultural connections, political relationships and economic circumstances (Tosun et al., 2005). Departing from this knowledge, the interconnections and dynamics between three facets will be elaborated for future application to a specific context at a Sino-Vietnamese border DX, China.

To sum up, it is important to note that China, like many places in the world, faces challenges about how to reconcile national borders with ethnic ones (Bie et al., 2013). Borders attract tourists as political boundaries distinguishing between “us” and “them”. In contrast, the socio-cultural bordering process also obtains popularity as a tourist product, even though it is embedded in the everyday life of local ethnic communities and it encourages cross-border integration and interaction. As such, both the top-down and bottom-up perspectives draw attention to how and why such borders and cultural recourses can be managed or governed in an effective and sustainable way in a border tourism destination like DX or other similar places. This question is anticipated in Chapter 5. After reviewing the horizontal cross-section of DX, now the focus turns to the vertical historical evolution of the Jing ethnic border area in the next section.

4.4 Historical evolution of the Jing ethnic border

Despite growing interest in border effect, there are little empirical studies on how geographic boundary impact on Jing ethnic border area and its tourism development. In order to understand how DX tourism has been deeply influenced by state border policies, the evolutionary history of DX tourism development phases is necessary to be reviewed in detail. This section organizes the related documents that are available and concise narratives from interview data into four phases, starting with the pre-normalization of Sino-Vietnamese diplomatic relations until DX is approved to be the pilot zone of border tourism in China.

4.4.1 First phase: Pre-1990

Dongxing is a place where the peoples of China and Vietnam have had the most frequent contact. China and Vietnam have gone through complicated relations over the decades. The period from 1949 to 1978 was characterized by ideological comradeship, mutual trust, and support. The good neighbourly relations of the border people on both banks of the Beilun River were described as “people drinking water from the same river” in the 1960s.

China was a steady and indispensable source of support for Vietnam throughout its war against the French, the United States, and South Vietnam. However, the turning point was 1979 China-Vietnam border war due to Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia. Until 1991, this period of antagonism, war, and mutual distrust came to an end and bilateral diplomatic relations were resumed (Manyin, 2014).

Apart from the formal international relations, the narratives from local Jing people reflect their understanding and attitudes toward the border relations and national identity on the individual level. The following description is based on two interviews with the Jing cultural leaders, who have experienced the war, from the major Jing concentration villages Wanwei and Wutou.

Jing people originally came from Tushan Vietnam around the year 1500. Since over 500 years, Jing community has enjoyed living on three islands, namely, Wutou, Shanxin, and Waiwei. Vietnamese has been the daily language spoken for many generations. Two other languages gradually became common more recently. Among those who established business relations with Guangdong (Canton), the adjacent province, Cantonese is often used; otherwise, those who run tourism-related businesses learn to speak Mandarin over the past decade. Most senior people only speak Vietnamese. Furthermore, in some traditional occasions like Ha Festival, Vietnamese is considered a more appropriate language, in particular during the religious worship ceremonies. Such traditional festivals are often joined mutually because both sides share the same God and ancestors.

When it came to the topic of wars, the seniors seemed melancholy.

> **JC2:** *In May 1965, we went to Vietnam to help our brothers to fight against the US. Almost all the men of our villages attended this war. We fought side by side (with Vietnamese), a lot of us worked as interpreters, but still, over 2,000 died in the war. By the time of Mao Zedong and Ho ChiMing, our relations were very good. We came back four years later in 1969. Later Deng Xiaoping regime in 1970s, we were called*

again to join the army, but this time it was against Vietnam, we did not go. The Jing villages stayed away from the conflicts. The other side acknowledged that we stemmed from the same ancestors and we have always been very friendly to each other. Instead, the Han people at the DX border fiercely fought against Vietnamese.

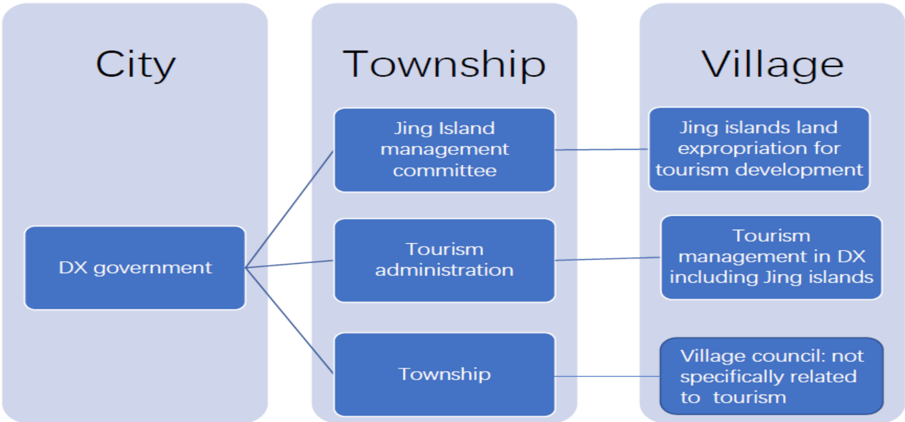
The post-war period was featured close-door and hostile, border functioned as the national boundary distinguishing between “us” and “them” (Houtum, 1998; Passi, 1996). Not surprisingly, tourism did not develop, as an industry under such situation, besides the economy on both sides of the border was not favourable yet. However, what is worth noting is that communities (both Jing and Kinh people) never stopped crossing borders for visiting relatives and friends, exchange daily goods, joining each other to celebrate common festivals even during or/and post-war periods. The community has been the daily users of the borderlands. The border thus is a mutual process of social exchanges and cultural identity construction.

4.4.2 Second phase: 1991-2004

The second phase began in 1991, with the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries. It created tremendous border trade opportunities for improving local livelihood on both sides. Based on the prosperous market, the first Border Economic Cooperation Zone was established in DX the next year. With the rapid development of trade mobility, tourism gradually grew as a promising industry, especially at the coastal areas (Jing islands), where Jing ethnic people concentrate.

In order to build tourism facilities (therefore land expropriation) and conduct direct management on Jing islands tourism, a quango institute Jing Island Tourism Management Committee (hereafter the Committee) was created in 1993, directly reporting to DX government. In parallel, the Village Council has managed Jing islands. Since most villagers were either involved in border trade or fishing by that time, tourism issues did not cause any conflict between these two authorities. However, the turning point was when DX was upgraded from county to city level and DX tourism administration was established in 1996. In terms of administrative ranking, DX tourism administration and the Committee are equal; this creates blurry boundaries on Jing tourism management. On one hand, the geographical scope of DX tourism administration is larger than Jing Islands; on the other hand, the functional scope of the Committee is larger, apart from tourism management, also including land expropriation, which is the vital factor for tourism development. Thus, two authorities started an intertwined, yet long journey to different directions.

Figure 16. Dongxing administrative scales



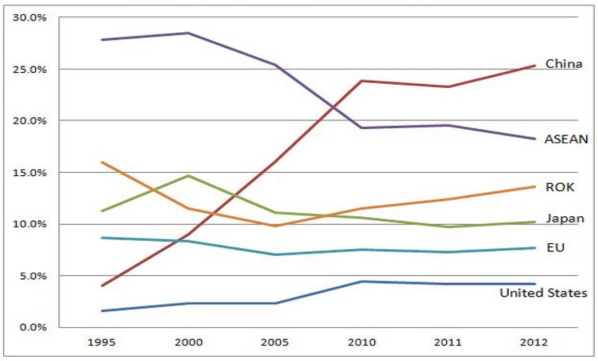
Source: Author

4.4.3 Third phase: 2005-2012

The third phase started in 2005 when China ceased the border tourism businesses nationwide to prevent Chinese tourist gambling abroad, both DX and MC trade and tourism industry suffered severely. During this period, the national borderline on land between China and Vietnam was demarcated as recently as 2008, border crossing on both sides was not influenced. Jing and Kinh communities keep on communing not only for regular cultural festivals but also for casual visits to relatives and friends. According to the Jing cultural leader of Wutou village, about 4,000 Vietnamese women are officially registered to marry Jing men in Wutou (similar to other Jing villages). Vice versa, many businessmen choose to live on both sides for convenience.

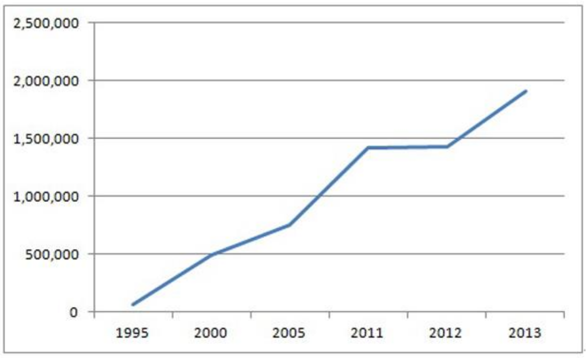
Therefore, during this banned period, no tourist was allowed to cross the border and for almost six years, tourism industry was completely stagnated until 2006, when DX and MC local governments initiated the first Sino-Vietnamese Expo for Border Trade and Tourism. This effort became a powerful impetus to restore the bilateral relations and tourism industry was inherently refreshed. After the continuous joint organization of annual Sino-Vietnamese Expo for Border Trade and Tourism, the tourism sector eventually strikes to establish a relatively stable and trustful relationship at the local and provincial level with Mongcai and Guangnan, Vietnam. This prepares the revitalization of border tourism in terms of institutional collaboration, which is quite significant in authoritarian counties where governments play a key role in decision-making.

Figure17. Shares of Vietnam's imports from major trading partners



Source: General Statistics Office of Vietnam

Figure 18. Chinese Visitors to Vietnam



Source: Vietnam General Statistics Office, reprinted by Vietnam National Administration of Tourism

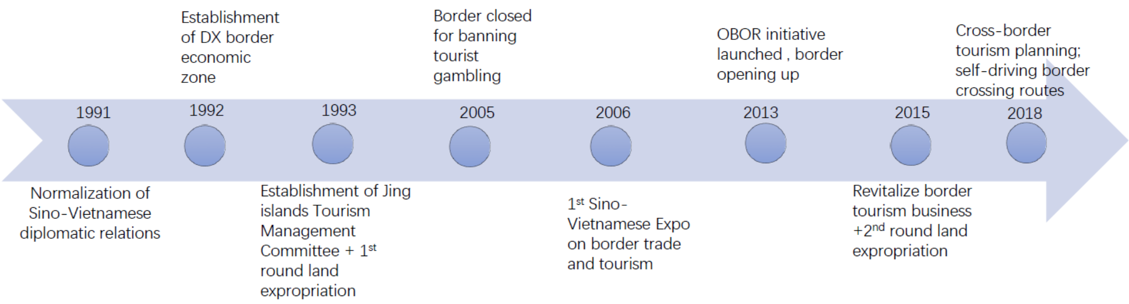
4.4.4 Fourth phase: 2013-2018

Phase four was marked by the "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) policy and Opinions on Development and Opening-up along the Borderlines issued by the State Council in 2013, recognizing the significance of adapting strategies in international relations: "Vietnam as one of the most complicated yet important neighbouring countries, should be fully integrated into the strategic layout of China; Guangxi Autonomous region should continuously enhance the ability to 'radiate' the surrounding areas by implementing the policy of 'prospering the borders and enriching the people'" (State Council of China, No. 50, 2013). Under this background, DX-MC Cross-border Economic Cooperation Zone was established in the same year; meanwhile, border tourism in DX was approved to be resumed. Correspondingly, the second round of land expropriation was launched at Jing Islands for further tourism development in 2015, in order to attract investments. This has intensified various potential contradictions hidden for a long time.

Dongxing (DX), as an emerging border tourism destination with high mobility, was approved as a national-level border tourism pilot zone (within Fangchenggang municipality, hereafter FCG) by the China's State Council in April 2018, as a measure to deepen OBOR initiative of China's international cooperation strategy. According to the data provided by the local tourism administration, tourist arrivals have increased dramatically since 2014. The number of people passing over the border from mainland China to Vietnam reached nearly ten million in 2017, of which about two million tourists travelled through DX by road, with a double-digit increase (about 25% on average) in the past three years.

In summary, the retrospect of this section on DX's development of border tourism demonstrated the evolution of state policies and coping strategies on the local level, as well as the changes of livelihood of the Jing people over three decades.

Figure 19. Timeline of the DX tourism development associated with Sino-Vietnamese relations and relevant state policies



Source: Author

CHAPTER 5. DECIPHERING THE POWER PATTERN IN DESTINATION GOVERNANCE: A SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The current Chapter reveals why and how the gap between tourism policy formulation and implementation forms assisted by the governance theory. It could contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of tourism development in China, especially under the influence of OBOR initiative, by identifying the power relations among different stakeholders. Primary data is collected by conducting in-depth interviews, secondary data from multiple sources is collected as well for data triangulation; social network analysis and KH coder are employed to analyse the data.

5.2 Analysis and findings

The results emerging from the social network analysis highlight the power relations at both policy formulation and implementation phases: 1) multi-scalar institutional power in the 'project system' in policy formulation process; 2) cross-scalar power structure in the policy implementation process, specifically, six tensions are identified to impede the policy implementation, which might further lead to the gap between the policy formulation and implementation.

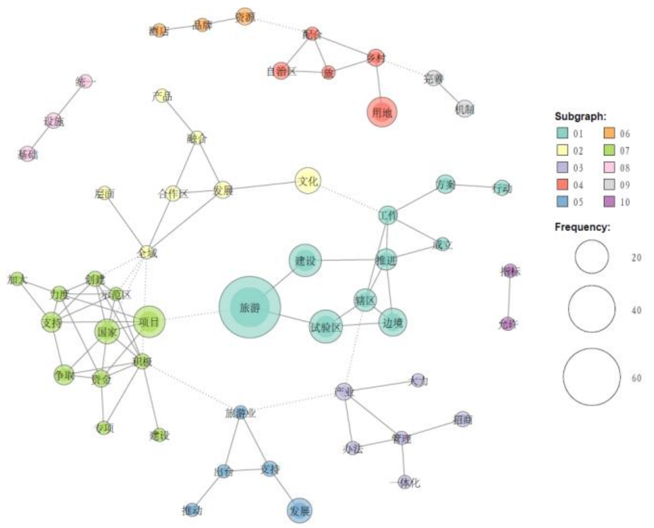
5.2.1 Power patterns in policy formulation process: multi-scalar institutional power in the 'project system'

The following analysis titled top-down and bottom-up processes are based on government documents and interview data, respectively. The third sub-section explains the power dynamics in the whole operation process of policy formulation.

5.2.1.1 Top-down process: centralized policy orientation and vision

The top 55 frequent words and 83 edges are presented in a word-occurrence network (Figure 20) based on the Jaccard Coefficient. The density is .056, meaning 5.6% of all possible edges take place in the network. "Tourism" appears the most frequent word, the most dominant sub-groups are "project" cluster and "pilot zone" cluster (Table 11). The word "project" is identified as the densest word, one "walk" connecting to "national", "mega", and "funds". "Pilot zone" appears densely related to "DX local government" and "border". The FCG provincial government is located in "land use" (16 times) cluster, which explains its major role in land quota allocation.

Figure 20. Co-occurrence network with government document data.



Nodes: 55; Edges: 83; Density: 0.056   *Source: Author*

Table 11. KWIC concordance list of "project".

No.	Co-occurrence words	Times	Jaccard
1	Apply /application	7	0.208
2	Fund	6	0.103
3	Mega /Key	3	0.094
4	Bottom-up	3	0.094
5	Selection	3	0.094
6	National level	2	0.057
7	PPP	2	0.057

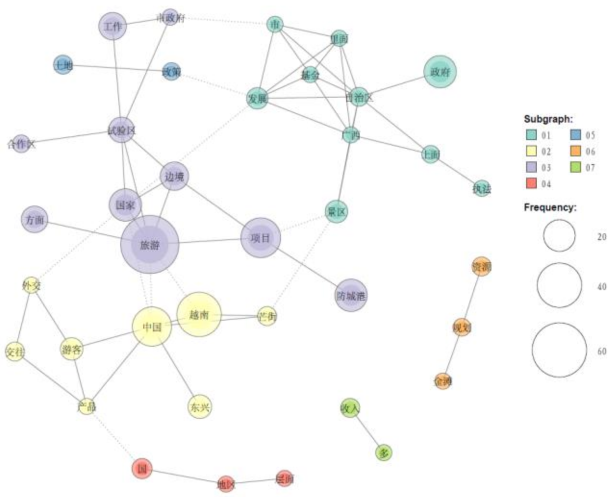
Source: Author

The results indicate that the national government offers favourable policy and financial support in the form of projects to the local level for the establishment of border tourism pilot zone. Between national and local levels, provincial government plays a “transformer” role, because both land quotas and project packaging are managed at this level (Xu et al., 2017), which determines the feasibility of the policy formulation through project selection. Thus, such a top-down project selection system guarantees that the vision of the central government is embraced by lower levels of governments, and during this consensus reaching process through project approval, leadership is established by taking an active role in tourism planning and management (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). This study shows that projects play a key role to link multi-scalar power and embody the national vision. The analysis of official government documents in this sub-section confirms the “hierarchical model of institutional mechanism” proposed by Zhe & Chen (2011).

5.2.1.2 Bottom-up process: decentralized grassroots innovation & strategy

The top 38 frequent words and 60 edges are presented in a word-occurrence network (Figure 21). The density is .085, meaning 8.5% of all possible edges are present in the network. Figure 21 shows that there are three major sub-groups: “project”, “fund” and “Sino-Vietnamese relation”. Table 12 provides the keyword (term) frequency of each cluster. (1) “Project” cluster. The KWIC concordance list (Table 13) shows that “project” appears 32 times in the context of the application of megaprojects on the national level, the form of PPP is encouraged, and the important aspect is how the bottom-up proposals can be selected. (2) “Fund” cluster. The fund involves all levels of “government”. Three related concepts emerge in this cluster, namely, “tourist attraction innovation” (city/county level), “development” (city/county & municipal level) and “monitor” (municipal & provincial level), which indicates the role of different levels of government in project funds proposing and management. (3) “Sino-Vietnamese relation” cluster. “Vietnam” and “China” are the core of this cluster, three aspects are identified: diplomatic relations, tourism exchanges, border cities DX-MC as the ‘window’ of international relations.

Figure 21. Co-occurrence network with government official interview data



Nodes: 38; Edges: 60; Density: 0.085 *Source: Author*

Table 12. Key Term Frequency based on government interview data

	Project cluster		Fund cluster		Sino-Vietnam relation cluster	
No.	Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
1	Project	32	Government	26	Vietnam	40
2	Application	7	Development	15	China	34
3	Fund	6	Attractions	14	Tourists	26
4	Mega	3	Monitoring	11	Diplomatic	21
5	Bottom-up	3	-	-	DX-MC	20

Source: Author

The data illustrates the bottom-up process of project selection. The projects are firstly proposed by the government at city/county level; then recommended by governments at a municipal and provincial level, only in this way, projects formally enter the project archive and selection procedure; eventually, the approved ones could be (co-)financed by the central government. In this process, projects are initiated by the city/ county government and designed together with potential private partners, who intend to co-invest in approved projects. Since these proposals must be competitive enough to stand out, State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) or large investors (mostly external capitals) are given priorities by the local government in the primary selection procedures. On the one hand, such fierce competitions often stimulate grass-rooted innovation (Zhou, 2018; Zhe & Chen, 2014); on the other hand, it might create an exclusive situation and unfair competition to SMEs. In DX case, being a pilot zone at the national level implies its favourable position to gain the approval of megaprojects, which is interpreted as a local strategy to integrate local interests and priorities through bottom-up project proposals.

The data also shows that in the bottom-up process, DX-MC local connections are related to Sino-Vietnam international diplomatic relations, in which tourism exchanges may play a significant role.

Table 13. KWIC concordance list of "project" cluster

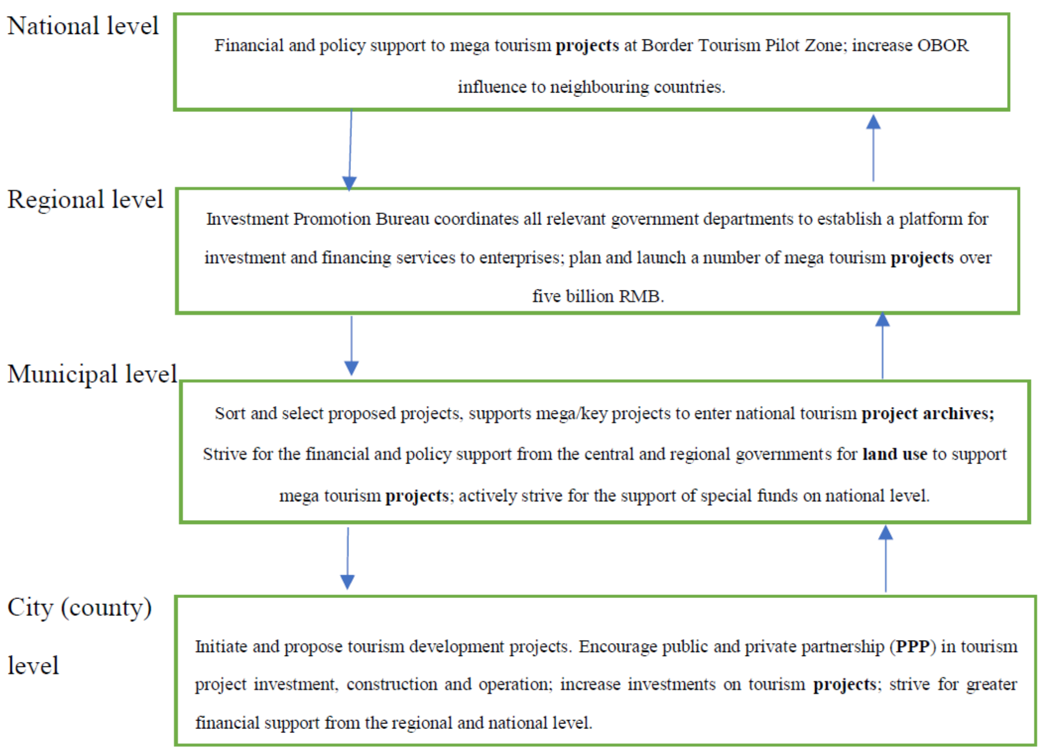
No.	Co-occurrence words	Frequency	Jaccard
1	Apply /application	7	0.208
2	Fund	6	0.103
3	Mega /Key	3	0.094
4	Bottom-up	3	0.094
5	Selection	3	0.094
6	National level	2	0.057
7	PPP	2	0.057

Source: Author

5.2.1.3 The multi-scalar & circulating power pattern within the 'project system'

Drawing from the previous analysis, the top-down process stresses the relations between the national and local levels on the establishment of the pilot zone. In contrast, the bottom-up process integrates the border particularities into the project proposals for national funding. However, these two processes are not separate. Instead, they form a power cycle in the policy-making process. According to Emerson (1962), power refers to a property of the social relation, instead of an attribute of the actor. This definition of power is also appropriate to explain the power dynamics within the institutional structure. Power-balance is used primarily to refer to power equality in exchange relations. Different levels of governments as active actors who seek for their own interests in the project system exchange resources, which somehow reach reciprocity in power–dependency. Specifically, the present study shows that institutional power relations are based on exchanges of political control and financial support through central, provincial, municipal and local governments. Thus, power is exchanged and confined within the formal hierarchical political structure in the form of 'project system' in the policy-making process. The integration of seemingly opposite approaches probably explains China's miracle in economic growth (Zhou, 2018) and such a project system with Chinese characteristic seems efficient to formulate policy (Zhou, 2015). However, as Wang & Xu (2011) found that tourism SMEs are often excluded from the project selection procedure, the result echoes a recent study by Kimbu & Ngoasong (2013), to question how is such effective policy-making network implemented in reality? Furthermore, the policy formulation process has encompassed the power balance in terms of political-institutional and financial-economic dimensions among the hierarchical institutions, which leads to a relatively stable power network: according to the SET theory, when exchange relations are balanced, no actors are motivated to extend the network for power balancing operations. Hence, this network is exclusive to the external actors who potentially disturb the existing orders. In this sense, it seems that the policy formulation process has ignored the socio-cultural dimension, which is, in fact, a significant relational context that embeds all actors, affecting their social relations and potentially further the efficiency and consequences of the implementation process. This is the focus of the next sub-section.

Figure 22. "Project system" of the policy formulation process

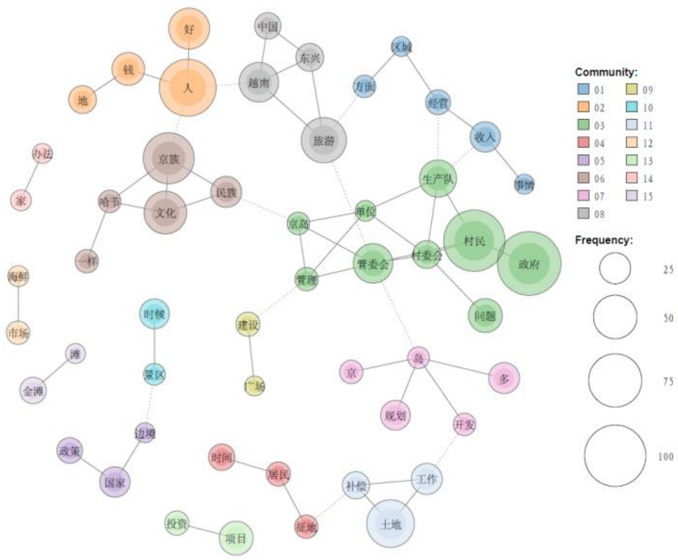


Source: Author

5.2.2 Power patterns in policy implementation processes: Cross-scalar institutional power

As shown in Figure 23, the density of this network is only 0.044, i.e., this is a sparse network (nodes are not densely related). The most frequent words are "government" (108 times), "villagers" (100 times), and "the Committee" (43 times) in stakeholder cluster (green). In this network, "the Committee" is the densest node connected with "governments" (9 times), "village council" (7 times), and "villagers" (6 times). SNA focuses on edges rather than nodes, this indicates that the data analysis should focus on scrutinization of three pairs of relations with the centralization of "the Committee" (Tussyadiah & Zach, 2017), namely, relations between the committee and tourism administration (DX and FCG levels), the village council and villagers.

Figure 23. Co-occurrence network based on relevant interview data



Nodes: 53; Edges: 61; Density: 0.044   *Source: Author*

The relation between the Committee and tourism administrations

Internal vs. external legitimacy. Authority & legitimacy are one of the key constructs in SET, which are closely related to power and roles. Authority refers to the roles that power is vested, in another word, the "legitimate power". According to (Emerson, 1962, p. 38), "authority emerges as a transformation of power in a process called ´legitimation´ and that process is one special case of balancing operation of the coalition." The interview data demonstrates that FCG municipal tourism administration is the authority that is in charge of tourism planning. As studied, tourism planning is the unique legitimized way to change the function of rural land from agriculture to other functions, such as construction for tourism infrastructure (Liu, 2014). However, tourism planning is commissioned to a private company. Thus, the legitimacy is transferred from internal to external agencies. Consequently, the legitimacy of representation and leadership can be questioned.

Effectiveness vs. overlapping power. At the local level, DX tourism administration and the Committee both are legitimized to manage tourism development of Jing Islands, including Wanwei village. The lack of clear boundaries of their responsibilities and different priorities cause ineffectiveness even conflicts. In social network analysis, dense ties usually suggest greater cohesion and offer greater opportunities for information exchange and shared responsibilities (Dredge, 2006b). However, this is the opposite of the case of the present study.

G3: *The Committee does not accept inspections of DX Tourism Administration. They are very arrogant. Jing Islands belong to DX, of course, we should be in charge.*

G4: *The Committee demolished a part of a pilot project of community-based cultural tourism resort without even consulting us (DX Tourism Administration). Only because it does not comply with the land regulations!*

5.2.2.1 The relation between the Committee and the village council

Exclusive power vs. public participation. The village council was created in 2010 after the Villager Autonomy Law was issued. Since then, villager representatives have a channel to participate in a formal and regular discussion about how villagers can get involved in tourism and how to use collective land. However, as the diagram shows that the “Jing community” is only tied with “culture”, this cluster is isolated from any other clusters. The interview data explains that the “democratic mechanism” at the village level does not necessarily promote any positive interactions with the Committee.

G5: *Yes, the villagers do have a democratic system to discuss, but they cannot decide.*

G7: *governmental documents justify that the Committee is the coordinator of the whole tourism area on Jing Islands. We must obey. But we are also under pressure coming from villagers, once they are not satisfied with our work, they would say they* *will not elect us anymore. Such a dilemma has been undergoing for a long time without a solution.*

The present study shows that grassroots democracy at the village level is not included in the power network. The Committee, as an executive quango agency of the formal political structure obtains the exclusive power at the local level. In this case, although the democratic mechanism exists, which encourages open discussion and consensus-building among villagers, a bridge connecting the villagers and the power network is missing. Hence, community participation cannot be realized through the liberal model like in most western countries.

Different interests vs. consensus building. Different stakeholders represent various values, purposes, and interests, in particular in ethnic regions. The interview data demonstrates that the Committee represents the prioritized interests of the local government for economic growth, whereas the village council represents the community benefits and values, especially in the tourism commodification of their cultural and religious heritage, such as Ha festival. Consequently, consensus might be built only if both parties share some common interests and purposes.

At the local level, the project system appears prioritized for government; it seems that the diverse interests are conflicting. However, the present study suggests taking into considerations of the border contexts in order not to simplify the complex sociocultural factors that are important at large.

5.2.2.2 The relation between the Committee and villagers

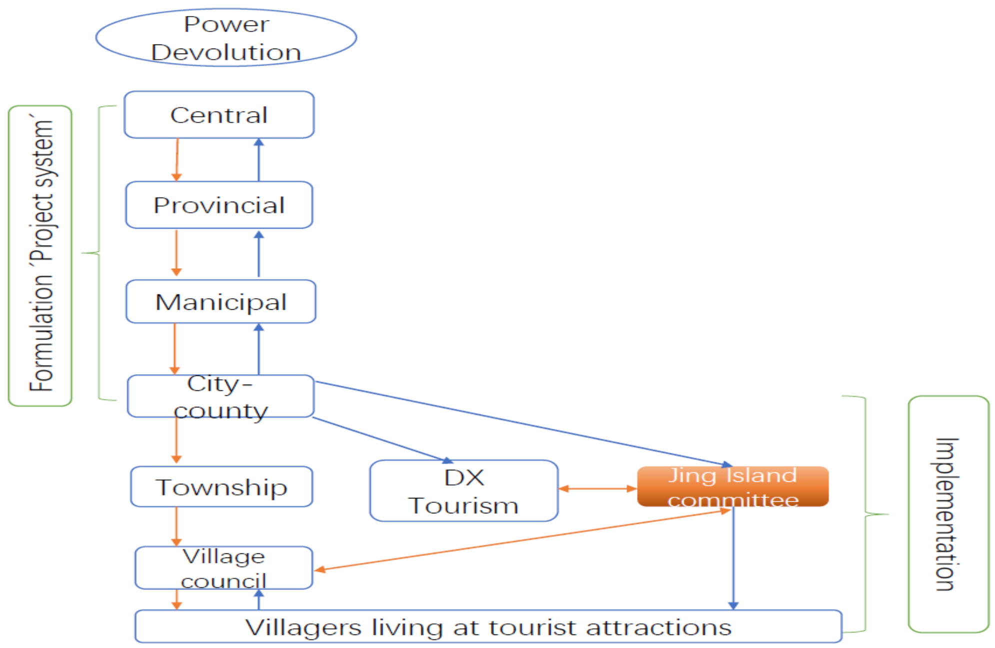
Laws vs. norms. According to the Law of the People's Republic of China on Land Administration, the Committee forbids Jing villagers to build any tourism infrastructure on “their own” land, because only agricultural activities are allowed on collective lands. However, the same piece of land has been planned for tourism project development. Therefore, the question wondered by villagers is “Why OTHERS are justified to run tourism business on OUR land, but not US? …But this land has always been ‘OURS’ for hundreds of years!” The traditional land resource allocation became a norm that villagers abide by, which has maintained the social order for decades. The conflicts between traditional norms and modern laws seem to impact on the fairness of resource allocation and community participation in tourism.

JC15: *Our ancestors allocated the land to each family by the size of fishnet. This norm had lasted until 1980s land reform. We accepted it because everybody was equal to gain the land according to the family size. Now the Committee says what we have followed for many years is against the law! Is it fair?*

Unpredictability vs. trust. As Lawler and Yoon (1993, 1996, 1997) underline, "trust" lies in the heart of reciprocal exchange relations, implying low inequality, low level of power use, strong engendered trust and high fairness (Mitchell et. al., 2012). Therefore, generation of trustful relations among stakeholders is a long-term selective process. Furthermore, three forms of trust are observed by Lewicki et al (1995, 1996, 2006): 1) calculus-based trust, involving economic calculation, mostly takes place in the modern industrial market competition; 2) knowledge-based trust refers to the understanding between partners about the other, based on long-term predictability of their behaviours, thus reduce uncertainty; and 3) identity-based trust is based on shared vision and strategies among members of a group. Data analysis in this study demonstrates that at the local level, the government intervention is rather unpredictable, partially because the committee focuses on the quantity of tourism investment instead of quality, this is one of the reasons why implementation is often difficult. Therefore, this leads to the villagers' "illusion" to benefit from tourism development. Because since1990s, in the name of tourism development, villagers agreed to give up their control of part of the collective lands. Eventually, not only no economic benefit was returned, which barriers the calculus-based trust-building at the first place; their patience and trust towards the "government" or "state" for the unpredictable regulations and rules executed by the Committee as the quango institute of DX government. Consequently, the capacity in implementation depends on the trustful social relations between the executive institutes and the communities; vice versa, villagers' trust further influences the implementation.

To sum up, this section has revealed the most important relations in the processes of policy formulation and implementation. The formulation process shows a multi-scalar circulating power pattern integrating both top-down and bottom-up approaches. This specific pattern might have initiated policy changes and grass-rooted innovation without stepping away from centralized power. In contrast, cross-scalar powers in the implementation process are illustrated with six tensions identified from a comprehensive analysis. The present study shows that overlapping cross-scalar power creates an uncoordinated situation, which harnesses effective participation of the ethnic community at borders.

Figure 24. Power tensions between policy formulation and implementation



Source: Author

5.3 Discussion: power and trust in destination governance

The power distribution remains in the centre of the debate on governance. On one hand, this study agrees that the project system encourages grassroots innovation based on market competition, in this way, somehow partially reaches the goal of effective governance (Zhou, 2018), although confined within a rather limited scope; on the other hand, the findings identify that a formal institutional system lacks a coordination mechanism or organization to include broader public participation to the policy-making process, like the recent successful cases studied by Kimbu & Ngoasong (2013) and Lin & Simmons (2017). All in all, the power distribution is influences both by internal factors of the traditional centralized hierarchical political system and external factors, such as broader social and cultural aspects. The concerns towards the latter are especially meaningful in a border context, which will be further developed in Chapter 8.

The present study has excavated the deep root of the power dynamics by revealing a circulating 'project system' conflated by centralized and decentralized tourism policymaking process within a formal institutional system in China. Similar to this study, Saxena (2005) describes hierarchical arrangements to develop market-based relationships, through which to allocate resources for the delivery of a tourism project; guided by the PPP neoliberal concept, it is also observed that political and industrial elites with the power in tourism planning often work for their own interests (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). Therefore, power is relatively balanced within a limited or well- established network with multiple advantages in political, institutional, and financial dimensions. Bramwell (2011) criticizes that governments do not always work in the best interest of society and fails to manage power imbalances and further the objectives of good governance and sustainable tourism. They often favour their own goals and protect those of societal elites following their understanding. Similarly, Nunkoo & Smith (2015) explain the marginalization of local community in development, power imbalances in decision making, and failure of the local government to manage inequalities in tourism development.

Even though it seems that the confined power structure works well in the process of policy formulation, this study shows that, when it comes to implementation phase, the power balance within the formal institutional structure is challenged by various factors, as the findings indicate that social and cultural factors are determinant whether the tourism policy or planning could be realized on the ground. As Nunkoo (2017, p. 282) warns that, "an over-focus on power means that decisions and governance processes are formulated and interpreted within a framework of power and power relations among stakeholders……If planners interpret everything in terms of power, where communities are always seen as victims in the tourism development process, it induces paralysis, making good governance and sustainable tourism look hopeless". Stein and Harper (2003) affirm that as a result of an over-focus on power, the consensus among development actors which is central to good governance and sustainable tourism becomes theoretically impossible. Therefore, researchers are encouraged to consider 'trust as the basic' instead of power (Stein & Harper, 2003, p. 134).

The discourse of tourism policy not only include issues like market competition and service efficiency, but also destination sustainability, community wellbeing, and social cohesion, etc. (Hall, 1999; Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Dredge, 2006b; Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013). The current study finds that border communities often share a common history, religion, tradition, and language, which ties communities through cultural memory and further provide a common ground for knowledge exchange and transfer, which could create a coherent and relaxing social foundation to establish an inclusive governance model. Whereas borders also could be barriers depending on the socio-cultural connections, political relationships (including diplomatic relations) and economic circumstances (Tosun et.al, 2005). Therefore, the distribution of power in tourism governance at border destinations is even more complex due to its specific geopolitical, economic, and socio-cultural contexts.

How to incorporate socio-cultural factors into policy formulation, eventually being implemented in practice is a shared concern of policymakers, academia, and practitioners (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). The present study argues that it is not only about the mechanism (although the importance of democracy is not denied here) or techniques (such as tourism planning) to build consensus, but the identification of nature of true interests represented by institutional power and communities and further understanding of their reasons can be helpful for the policy design. In particular, what draws attention is that, in an authoritarian country like China, recent studies show that trust seems to be the replacement of democracy instead (Huhe et al., 2015)

Although it is criticized that tourism policy or planning can remain a ‘desktop exercise’ with little implementation, it is observed that decentralized governance might lead to public participation, relying on democratic mechanism among studies on governance conducted in the west. Because it allows negotiation and compromise before reaching a relative consensus (Dredge, 2006b), in spite of some other cases showing that the public still plays a minor role even remains excluded from tourism governance (Moscardo, 2011). Nunkoo & Gursoy (2017) further demonstrate how partisan policies of the government influence the allocation of land resources and permits for tourism development to the benefit of those close to the political regime, making the decision-making process undemocratic.

5.4 Conclusion

Chapter 5 has explained why and how gaps between tourism policy formulation and implementation are caused. Power relations amongst multiple stakeholders at a border tourism destination DX was examined with social network analysis based on empirical evidence. The main findings answer the research question by revealing the power patterns in both the policy formulation and implementation processes: i) a multi-scalar circulating power patterns in the policy formulation process. Power relations are embedded in the formal ‘project system’, composed both by top-down centralized selection criteria and bottom-up decentralized grassroots innovative strategies; and ii) cross-scalar power structure in the implementation process. Specifically, six tensions (based on analysis of three key network relations) explain why the approved policy or planning could not be implemented in practice, including internal vs. external legitimacy, effectiveness vs. overlapping power, exclusive power vs. public participation, different interests vs. consensus building, laws vs. norms, and unpredictability vs. trust.

The next chapter focuses on the perspective of the ethnic community at a relatively micro level, aiming to explain how and why indigenous community participates in cultural tourism development as a part of their everyday life, by negotiating the ethnic boundaries in social relations with multiple stakeholders.

CHAPTER 6. BOUNDARIES OR BORDERS? TRANSFORMATION FROM ETHNIC CULTURAL REPRESENTATION TO PLACE IDENTITY

6.1 Introduction

Borders and boundaries are an understudied component of tourism motilities (Sofield, 2006). A limited number of works have focused on the impact of tourism on community boundaries. Sofield (2006) explored the social and cultural spaces of border communities where politics often play a significant role in cross-border tourism developing; Gelbman & Timothy (2011) have studied that communities in border areas often find themselves in a complex reality and facing a dilemma of living "in the middle" between two societies and cultures (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011, p. 110). The debate about whether mobility blurs the boundaries inspired academic research, such as Sun & Zhang (2015), who examined how boundaries in the context of mobility have been maintained in a heterogeneous host community of Yangshuo, China. These authors argued that the boundary between different ethnic groups is constructed and maintained by two factors: internally, the core cultural values of ethnic groups; and externally, by the ecology of the tourism industry based on inter-group interactions. Using examples from anthropological fieldwork in Tanzania, Salazar (2012) paid special attention to the role of professional intermediaries (local tour guides) in facilitating tourist experience in the cultural contact. These influence the image-building process of the people and places visited, (re)shaping destination images and indirectly influencing the self-image of those visited too. Yang et. al (2016) explores the operational mechanism of impersonation in multi-ethnic communities, showing that indigenous culture was represented (and may be misrepresented) by other ethnic groups in Xinjiang, leading to the questioning of ethnic cultural boundaries and destination representation.

This Chapter interrogates 1) whether tourism as a form of dynamic social interaction provides specific "time-space compression" conditions in the process of maintaining ethnic boundaries; 2) how tourism plays a significant role in transforming the ethnic-cultural expression into a place identity. In the end, based on the findings of the empirical study, further discussions are undertaken to highlight the relations between authenticity and commodification implied in this case study.

6.2 Analysis and findings

Similarly to the Cajuns' case in Marjorie (1984), in which the "ethnic theatre" or tourist stage caters not just to non-Cajun visitors but also to locals, and local interest in ethnic identity is both a cause and an effect of tourism, tourism in Dongxing also allows local Jing people to get involved in a wider social contacts and the identity of Jing is strengthened during the dynamic inter-relation with other communities. Specifically, the empirical study in Dongxing demonstrates a different attitude from three of Barth's categorizations of ethnic groups participating in social activities. Due to the "fun-seeking" attitude of participation in tourism and alternative income resource for Jing people, it makes it possible to negotiate the identity based on the genuine (authentic) cultural expression. Each of the following findings is elaborated with one quotation under certain subtitle due to the limited space in this chapter.

6.2.1 Tourism provides an important channel of social interaction for Jing people in the social structure.

As described before, most Jing people are involved in the border trade business. However, as long as they acquire any skills concerning their own culture in whatever forms, such as singing, dancing, instrument-playing, and no matter they are men or women, young or senior, everyone in this neighbourhood receives an invitation to prepare for stage performance in the evenings. The performance is originated from Jing marine lifestyle, such as Ladawang (fishermen work together to pull a huge fishing net). This initiative was proposed by Haiyingmen, a Han-Jing joint venture (tourist resort) near Gold Beach, supported by the local culture bureau, as it was considered a way to preserve ethnic cultural heritage. In fact, the regular rehearsals become informal inter-group interactions between Jing and Han to discuss their understanding of the concrete forms of Jing cultural expression. It also created a "stable model" of regular interrelations in the multi-ethnic society.

> **JC5**: *My business is by the seaside (Gold Beach), where Jing culture cradled about 600 years ago, even though I'm not from Jing ethnic group, and not necessarily all my guests are interested in Jing culture, I insist that I should try to present what's special of this place. However, most Jing people are quite occupied with their own trade business in the daytime. Therefore, my business partner, also this company's shareholder from Jing group helps me to invite our Jing neighbours in "editing" some performances based on their tradition in their free time—mostly in late afternoons or*

weekends. Moreover, I get support from the cultural bureau to advise them occasionally.

6.2.2 Tourism amplifies ethnic identity and reinforces the boundaries of ethnic culture.

Mr. Su xx (for protecting the privacy, the given name is not mentioned here with the agreement of the interviewee) used to be a successful businessman. When the Jing Ha festival is listed as national cultural heritage, he was excited to learn that his personal opinion of the significance of his own culture was "approved" by the policymakers on the national level and taken seriously by local government as well. Especially after some tourism enterprises started to initiate the Jing performance in the resorts near tourist attractions, Mr. Su decided to give up the previous business and fully concentrate on promotion of Jing culture by producing and teaching traditional musical instruments, in the meantime, he also works as a member of local cultural committee to advise musical performances. In this way, he is building stronger intra-group ties; on the other hand, he is participating to social work as a representative of Jing ethnic group, "gaining personal satisfaction from carrying forward traditional elements of a threatened culture" as McKay (1982, p. 402) articulated.

JC9: *All my family members are dedicated to the work in promoting Jing culture, we keep practicing the traditional Jing instruments, like drums and harps; I'm grateful that Haiyingmen resort provides us with the opportunity to share our cultural forms with neighbours and visitors. We perform one hour every night; I feel that our culture is getting well-recognized day by day, not only among the local residents but also among visitors from other places. Tourism makes Jing culture stronger and I'm very happy about being a member of our Jing ethnic group*.

6.2.3 Tourism creates a "time-space compression" for ethnic group to reflex on their own culture.

Barth singled out three types of attitudes of ethnic groups participating in social activities back in the 1960s. However, the empirical study in DX demonstrates a different attitude.

According to Barth, they may attempt to become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group. In Dongxing, Jing people is considered the pre-established cultural group, although they are not the largest in terms of population or economic power, Jing culture functions as a "magnet" to attract other ethnic groups to incorporate with.

> **JC8**: *"Our ancestors came here many years ago, I'm the 7th generation of Vietnamese immigrants. This is my home. I'm happy that more and more people appreciate our performance and understand our culture. The big boss of Haiyingmen is Han, but I don't mind working with other ethnic groups as long as we think alike*".

According to Barth, they may accept a 'minority' status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differences in sectors of non-articulation, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized group in the other sectors of activity. Jing people speak their own mother tongue, express their feelings in different forms, live the way they are accustomed to. Being a Jing minority is not some "disabilities", instead of enormous advantage in Dongxing.

> **JC8**: *"I used to do trade business, mostly with Vietnamese of Mongcai (the counterpart border city in Vietnam). Because it's very convenient for us Jing people, we have no language barrier in communication with both sides (Chinese and Vietnamese). Border trade was encouraged by the government; it was good to make a living out of it. Since 2014, my uncle, the Jing culture leader, has convinced me and all our family to work together in order to concentrate on Jing culture preservation and promotion."*

According to Barth, they may choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes. Unlike other pre-established industries, tourism is a so-called "work" for ordinary Jing performers-- get together in free time to play music or dance with neighbours from the same community, it becomes a leisure activity. According to the focus group interviews, respondents (in this case, 8 dancers in Haiyingmen Resort) did not take it as a "serious" work, instead, they enjoyed a lot to spend time in the nice neighbourhood near the beach (Gold Beach) as well as enjoyed dancing the way that their mothers taught them in their childhoods. In this case, ethnic identity is emphasized by the "cultural broker" for profit-oriented purpose.

Based on the consensus of Jing ethnic culture being the representing identity of the place among key stakeholders, Jing culture is chosen to be emphasized for developing tourism in Dongxing. Within the Jing group, some elites (such as the Su family) gradually become aware of the importance of preserving Jing heritage as well as its potential value on the tourism market. However, most Jing people are passively involved in tourism as stage performers. Three previous types of attitudes conceive that ethnic group collectively takes a consistent strategy in the social relations according to Barth's theory. However, the Dongxing case reveals that internal social stratifications within Jing ethnic group may lead to a non-unified attitude. It might be the beginning of a process that a consensus will be reached in a certain period of time between elites and the ordinaries.

> **JC12**: *I'm very happy to dance in Haiyingmen resort together with my cousins and neighbours. My family runs a small business in border trade; I have enough money to live a pretty good life. I don't really care how much I get paid for the evening performance. It's fun.*

> **JC9**: *Tourism is very new for me, I know about my culture, I see that it could bring a lot of benefits, but I know nothing about how the tourism industry works*.

6.2.4 Tourism as a minor alternative source of income facilitates negotiation of identity.

Apart from daily work, most Jing family practice singing and dancing, originally for the occasion of the annual Ha festival, a religious event when all Jing communities gather to celebrate. Now they are paid to practice and perform on stage in public, it sounds great both to enjoy themselves and entertain others. Since the performers are not professional, they have the choice to accept or refuse the advice from the resort manager and even officials of culture bureau, depending on how much they are willing to compromise and whether they think it properly expresses their true feelings.

6.3 Conclusions and discussion

This study has adopted Barth's (1969) ethnic boundary theory as an epistemological lens to examine the function of tourism as a specific form of social activity in the dynamic transformation of Jing minority culture in Dongxing, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China.

Authenticity and commodification are central to academic debates in tourism, a common view in the literature shows that tourism turns culture into a commodity, packaged and sold to tourists, resulting in a loss of authenticity (Cole, 2007). Oakes (1998) holds rather a pragmatic point of view towards tourism by stating that the main purpose of cultural development in ethnic areas is to combat poverty. Dongxing clearly addresses a different situation. Most Jing people enjoy participating in the performance for fun, whereas the economic benefit is less attractive for them. Interestingly, such “passive” or non-profit-driven participation somehow increases authenticity. On one hand, Jing people are capable of negotiating about the “proper” or “genuine” way to express their own culture with other groups to reach the balance between different powers in the process of commodification; on the other hand, the national cultural policy empowers the inheritors of cultural heritage as “interface” between the cultural brokers (resort managers) and the Jing community, which helps to confirm Jing people’s cultural boundaries, in the same time, it creates a specific intercultural communication mechanism in identity negotiation.

This chapter has zoomed into a border destination and found that as the core of the heterogeneous host community, Jing people are open to sharing their cultural resources with neighbouring communities due to the intrinsic strength in economic condition and cultural confidence. As such, instead of protecting ethnic resources from profit-orientated operations, as suggested by Yang & Wall (2009) to avoid unfair economic distribution, this study indicates that more stress should be given to construct a collective identity (or even brand) of the border destination in the dynamic social-cultural interactions, in order to maximize the benefits created by the common activities that all communities engaged in.

As China shares over 22,000 km border lines with neighbouring countries, Dongxing case might not be unique, other ethnic minorities involved in border trade are probably in a similar situation. This case could inspire further studies focusing on this type of border areas, which might require different ethnic tourism policies and development plans from inner/mountainous ethnic regions.

CHAPTER 7. POWER IN COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM: THE TRANSITION FROM CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY(CSR) TOWARDS CREATING SHARED VALUE(CSV)

7.1 Introduction

Community-based Tourism (CBT) is often related to the unfair distributions of economic benefit to communities and the inequalities of community involvement in decision-making. The question concerning the conditions that communities can be efficiently involved in CBT is the focus of the analysis in this Chapter. The present Chapter departs from social exchange theory and proposes to explain CBT from the perspective of Creating Shared Value (CSV) by attempting to explore why and how the CSV concept can be adopted in CBT initiatives to improve community participation effectively and, by so doing, enhance equality in benefit distribution and social cohesion.

7.2 Findings and Discussion

The findings are organized based on the perspectives of three key stakeholders with respect to how power relates to CSV. Those stakeholders are the Han-Jing joint venture, the Jing community, and local institutions. The results of the analysis reveal under what conditions each stakeholder group is willing to collaborate to create shared value.

7.2.1 Han-Jing Joint venture

The literature confirms that different types of motivation are not mutually exclusive, but complementary to each other in developing supportive business-community relationships (Li & Hunter, 2015; Ashley & Jones, 2001). In this study, three motivations are identified regarding why a Han entrepreneur decided to establish a joint venture with Jing community members: i) instrumental: the unique Jing ethnic culture could provide competitive advantages over other coastal tourism destinations, given that the Jing ethnic group is the only marine minority in China; ii) normative: “it is worth doing” to preserve and promote Jing culture because it represents the identity of the place where the Jing community has been living for hundreds of years; iii) descriptive: the Han businessman is embedded in the local Jing community and shares similar concerns.

The instrumental motivation is strongly connected with business competitiveness; community participation is foreseen by this Han entrepreneur to benefit the organization's performance. As Porter & Kramer (2011) argued, when businesses act like businesses, they can generate intrinsic, powerful forces in addressing any problem. Normative motivation is shared in both CSR and CSV applications. However, the difference is that CSR is merely dedicated to doing "something good" (Majumdar et al., 2012), whereas CSV goes one step further to seek the most appropriate way to enable stakeholders to do profitable business together. Finally, descriptive motivation is essential in CSV approach, because the enterprise is not isolated from the ethnic community or local circumstances; for this reason, businesses truly care about their common good and have shared values based on a profound understanding of local needs. This factor was exemplified when the resort manager clearly described his shift from "earn money then do good things" (CSR) to "earn money by doing good things" (CSV) i.e. the economic outcome became a means to an end of social progress:

> **JC9**: *We have received a lot of help from society; it's always good to give it back when we can. That's why I donated 100,000 Yuan to the poor this year. I must earn money to donate, and the amount varies depending on company profit and other factors. But since last year, we have adopted a different concept; we try to take everyone on the same boat. That is to say, we provide some jobs to the poor—three university students are working here during their summer vacation to earn their tuition fees; another waiter is from a poor local Han family recommended by the tourism authority as a part of the Government Act on Poverty Reduction through tourism. So, in my opinion, the action order should not be one after another, but "kill two birds with one stone", not to earn money then do good things but earn money by doing good things.*

Both Han and Jing businessmen agreed that sharing the same vision as the Jing people is fundamental to develop effective tourist products. Consequently, the business model is shaped based on the capability of the main participants and the specific roles that they are able to play in tourism activities, what is called "strategic participation" by the respondents:

> **JC9**: *We both recognise that Jing culture is a treasure; it is something special in OUR place. We are aware that most of the Jing people have their own businesses; they might be unavailable to join us. Therefore, we arrange a performance in the evenings when they are off work. Then we think how other community members can participate.*

Some can "Chang Ha" (sing traditional songs in Vietnamese); some are good at dancing; some others play the traditional single-stringed zither, even if those who are not talented in arts, they can still provide service in the resort… we always find a way to involve them if they also want to.

The empirical data reveals that power emerged from the heterogeneous community in the strategic structure of the local joint venture. "Tailor-made" roles for community participation demonstrated, in this case, illustrate that coalitions are established on the basis of dyadic relations. Because the relatively balanced power sourced in participants' knowledge and skills in various forms are recognised and integrated into the tourism business to create economic value in cohesion. This case shows that, on one hand, CSV promotes rational choices to distinguish and select the appropriate resources to make a profit. Different from the negotiated and reciprocal relations identified in traditional SET, the economic value was created in both the negotiated and reciprocal relations at the same time in this case, which suggests a third-social relation that is more complex and progressive, this coalition formation demonstrates that the network should not be taken as pre-existing but a constructive process; on the other hand, unlike what Simpson (2008) argued for the professional deliverables, it respects the "non-expert" skills obtained by Jing community members to express their own culture and transform it into an authentic tourist experience. This demonstrates how a CSV approach relinquishes power from the managers and professionals to the hands of community members and, in so doing, a collaborative network is gradually built.

7.2.2 Jing Community

Apart from a Jing businessman, according to the roles that Jing community members play in the resort, three sub-groups are identified: i) a Jing cultural leader participates because tourism provides an alternative to preserve and promote Jing ethnic culture; ii) Jing performers are primarily motivated by a social bond beyond an economic benefit; although they are paid on a daily basis, performances and rehearsals are leisure time to "hang out" with relatives and neighbours. These circumstances are significantly different to the professional dancers that Yang (2011) observed in the Ethnic Park of Yunnan China, which confronts the dilemma of ethnic cultural representation; and iii) Jing service providers, such as full-time waiters and waitresses, all come from the same neighbourhood. The job is seen as "elegant" and provides decent living standards, although salary is a concern; however, the sense of shared profits within "harmonious relationships" creates cohesiveness.

> **JC15**: *I do not like the work in the seafood processing factory or trade business, although they could be alternative options. It is much better to work in the resort because it is beautiful, clean and fun here. Moreover, everyone knows each other; we are all from Jing group. I feel familiar, interested and at ease.*

Similar to Okazaki's study (2008), the community's conventional power structure may act as a constraint against collaboration. The participation of different sub-groups of Jing community in this study was a gradual process. However, local elites (such as the cultural leader and the Jing businessman), who might be predisposed to withhold power, actually played a key role in facilitating collaboration as described below.

Mr. S was officially appointed Jing intangible heritage inheritor by the Ministry of Culture three years ago. He takes his role seriously as his duty is to preserve Jing cultural heritage. In practice, he adjusts the relations through "interpretation" between different stakeholders and he functions as a cultural "filter" and "adapter" with his traditional knowledge bridging between the Han and Jing groups as well as between institutions and individuals by providing formal and informal consulting to both sides. Unlike ordinary cultural brokers or intermediaries (Salazar, 2012), the cultural leader obtains well-earned reputations and respect over a long period of time, which distinguishes him from common business-oriented brokers. As Foucault (1980a) emphasized, one's place within a network of relations determines one's individual power. The specific power of the cultural leader is deeply rooted in local social relations and then redistributed through communication within the collaborative network, which permits more stakeholders to have their voice heard in debates and hence to get involved in decision-making. This process seems time-consuming, but it enables the community to share their true thoughts and feel self-determined in tourism development.

Another key actor in the community is the Jing businessman. Like "cosmopolitan local" (Iorio & Wall, 2012), he is appreciated for his capacity to identify collaboration opportunities with both Chinese and Vietnamese people. He is an "insider" for both sides. On the one hand, he shares the same aspirations to preserve Jing culture as other Jing community members; on the other hand, he shares the same vision as the Han businessman to transform Jing culture to a unique tourism product for profitability. This case reflects the CSV approach; that of "shared" aspirations, visions and goals that are commonly valued by stakeholders, although they need to be identified through effective communication among participants and connected by a "middleman", in this case, the Jing businessman, who allies himself with, and takes collective actions for, whatever various stakeholders commonly value. Both cultural leader and Jing businessman are trusted as insiders and play a bridge or transformer roles.

As with many other communities, the Jing ethnic group is heterogeneous. However, led and facilitated by local elites, power redistribution has been achieved through linkages with key actors in the collaborative network. Simultaneously, community members have been motivated to establish further collaborations with local enterprises, to keep searching for ways to promote Jing culture under the ethnic-cultural leadership, and to actively communicate with local authorities. As a result, the relative balance between partners allows power to "flow" in various directions on the basis of common understanding. This multi-dimensional feature underpins the CSV approach; turning it into reality. In contrast, CSR is predominantly a single-dimensional approach, designed to "give" a community some benefit, without knowing whether it is what the community actually wants (Sen & Cowley, 2013). The DX case, highlighted in this study, demonstrates that self-determination within a local community and trustful social relations, through a collaborative network, makes CSV a feasible approach.

7.2.3 Institutions

In the present study, institutions have driven the business strategy in the following ways: i) the culture authority provided guidelines on heritage preservation and promotion, and these inspired the CBT initiative. For example, the successful designation of the traditional Jing Ha festival as a national heritage event has raised awareness among local enterprises of potential opportunities to develop cultural tourism; ii) the guidelines were written based on interactions with the Jing community. This interaction raised awareness within the ordinary community members of the opportunity to participate in tourism business; iii) professional suggestions provided by the culture authority stimulated debates on authentic Jing performance and tourist experience; iv) the tourism authority provided not only specific policy orientations but also support for infrastructure requirements such as the provision of tourism toilets. This was done via the 'National Tourism Toilet Revolution', a China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) initiative to improve hygiene conditions especially in washrooms of tourist attractions all over China; and v) frequent communication with authorities made the relations much more informal, which created a better political atmosphere for business development. This DX case study demonstrates that institutions can operate as significant drivers to influence a firm's strategy by guiding the direction of business development while also playing a supportive role.

Over the last decade, Sun & Bao (2006) pointed out that, due to the top-down social structure in China, power usually remains at the top resulting in most CBT principles having been studied, and suggested, but rarely implemented in practice. In the same period, similar barriers were being identified in the neighbouring Mekong sub-region; Sofield (2006) confirmed that power and institutional obstacles determined the extent to which local communities were able to participate in CBT projects. In contrast, the DX case reflects the new policy orientation of the One Belt One Road initiative, whereby "the government sets up the stage; businesses act in the opera". This creates a crucial political context that enables the private sector and communities to become involved and improves international collaboration, particularly in border regions. As such, institutional power changes its traditional top-down relationship with businesses and becomes a guideline provider and an infrastructure supporter. This empirical case verifies what Hall and Jenkins (1995) suggested, that power should be analysed in a specific context that should include place, people, values, culture, and government philosophy. We would add that the critical moment at which the power is exerted should probably be included. Moreover, for a specific time and place, a flattened power structure can provide a foundation for relatively equal positions among different stakeholders, from which the potential synergies of a broader network can emerge.

7.3 Conclusion

Although challenges to applying CSV have been anticipated by theoretical critics (Crane, 2014) and proved unrealistic in mature destinations by applied research (Serra et al., 2017), this study has attempted to explore the conditions under which CSV could be operational by examining it in the context of an emerging ethnic tourist destination in China. As a rather new concept of business innovation, CSV requires a decision-making process that involves multiple stakeholders working together for sustainable collaboration, which is accordant with process-oriented CBT principles. This study has tested a community-based, ethnic tourism case at a border region of China where there are new political circumstances in force that have been designed specifically to reduce the potential barriers arising from traditional power structures and institutional, or organizational, bureaucracy, as indicated by previous research (Wells et al,2016). The findings provide insight into a specific domain of ethnic cultural destination management in relation to a collaborative network between an ethnic community, local enterprises, and relevant institutions. The prerequisites to building such a network are presented from four perspectives, in accordance with the CSV framework: i) business motivation, ii) institutional drivers, iii) management, and iv) measurement of inter/intragroup relationships with(in) the local community.

7.3.1 Motivations

Three types of motivation are experienced simultaneously by the businesses. The study shows that a basic step for businesses to apply CSV is to identify the innovative products and services that will create both economic and social value. This instrumental motivation is what makes CSV primarily a business principle because CSV seeks long-term competitive advantage, instead of merely “being good”. Moreover, descriptive motivation is essential; businesses consider themselves a part of the local community and share the community’s concerns. If a business was not locally rooted, it would be more difficult for it to understand the local social needs or, even if it was able to understand them, the business would not necessarily choose to share ‘burdens’ with local stakeholders, especially if doing so would not deliver its profitability strategy. In this study, the Han entrepreneur considers himself to be an integrated part of the host community and, as such, his behaviour follows some of the principles of a social enterprise (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013). His concerns towards the place are beyond business profit, thus showing a normative motivation.

7.3.2 Drivers

A flattened power structure and shifted institutional functions both drive business strategies and create preferential conditions for broader collaboration. Despite a long tradition of top-down social structure in China (Sun & Bao, 2006; Yang, 2011), and in other developing countries with limited experience of democracy (Sebele, 2010; Tosun, 2000), the findings indicate that a locally-initiated network can result from bottom-up processes, with support from government departments in three ways: i) advocating ethnic cultural preservation and promotion to raise awareness among communities and businesses; ii) providing relevant guidelines and political orientations; and iii) providing infrastructural support where necessary. Thus, government departments give businesses and local communities the time and space they need to explore their own interests and find their own way of expression or interpretation of what they truly value. As argued by CSV proponents, only when such interests and values are shared by businesses and communities, strategic innovation can possibly be initiated. Beneficially, this might be more effective in the long run than seeking immediate outcomes with a top-down approach. Although many researchers, especially those advocating for a performance-oriented CBT approach, argue that a utilitarian approach is more efficient in maximising benefit, we argue that it is worth asking the question: "efficiency for whom?" (Provan & Kenis, 2008).

7.3.3 Management

Effective communication through community elites is essential in both social networking and inclusive management. Tosun (2000) warned against exogenous elitist bodies because non-local power often aims to control tourism resources for their own benefit. This study shows that elites do not necessarily hold dominant power if they are locally rooted and from different ethnicities and professional fields. It is possible for power to be shared among different stakeholders, each with varying knowledge, capacities, resources and skills. Equally importantly, elites act as key to transfer power flow to other participants in the social network. Thus, it results in strategic community participation being associated with different motivations, capacities and the specific roles that community members may play in tourism, thus demonstrating the possibility that local knowledge can be recognised and respected. The process of searching for participation positions has been proved necessary to raise awareness, "share" aspirations and eventually reach a consensus among stakeholders, which is vital to apply CSV. Meanwhile, self-determination and self-empowerment gradually emerge during such social interactions.

7.3.4 Measurement

Measurement is based on a sense of shared profits within harmonious social relationships. Although many CBT projects are considered to be moderately successful, from a financial perspective, they can create social tensions (Yang et al., 2013) and even widen the gap between the economically powerful and the powerless (Taylor, 2017). Therefore, agreeing to a local definition for a 'successful' CBT initiative is fundamental if we are to measure criteria from a community development perspective. Unlike the performance-oriented approach that tends to focus on the economic outcomes of CBT projects, without taking community participation into account in the decision-making process, this study reveals that the application of CSV principles to an ethnic cultural tourism project is effective at integrating both economic and social values, based on a multiple stakeholder collaborative network. In particular, the Jing community evaluates the economic benefits gained from tourism development as a means to an end of social cohesiveness.

Several limitations of the study should be noted. First, the concept of community is problematic (Prabhakaran et al., 2014; Iorio & Corsale, 2014; Salazar, 2012). In a highly mobile border destination, a heterogeneous community is quite common. Consequently, the ethnic community, local community (including migrants) and host community (paired with the guest community) could overlap. The role that this plays in the tourism industry is not explored in this Chapter. Second, the nature of the Jing community deserves further research: Why is this specific community capable of achieving collaboration? What allows them to gain such capability? Is it something in common with other ethnic communities or is it something different? Third, as mentioned in the methodology, due to the language barriers experienced during the data collection process, some key informants (such as the Jing businessman) did not talk much. A few words were interpreted by the local tour guide, who was from the Han group. This might have compromised the value of some data.

Although our analysis is restricted to one specific context, this study leads us to reconsider the appropriate way to plan or design a CBT project, especially regarding the question of "effectiveness for whom?" The findings of this study provide insights for both academic researchers and industry practitioners. Theoretically, the study contributes to the body of knowledge in the area of power and stakeholder collaboration in the context of ethnic, community-based tourism development. In practice, the study provides a framework to question CBT projects based on the motivations, drivers, management processes and measurement priorities of different stakeholders, and how power informs these.

CHAPTER 8. BORDER COMPLEXITIES AND BORDERING PROCESS

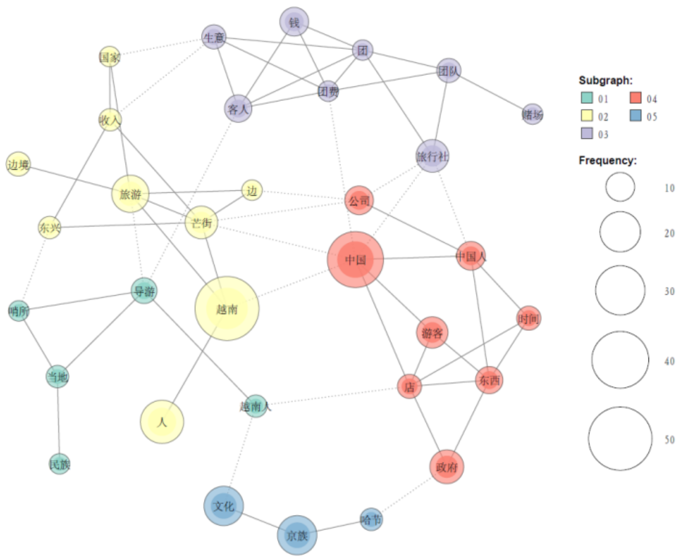
8.1 Introduction

To recall the relationship-context in Chapter 2, it emphasizes how contextual elements affect the relations which are embedded in certain context as a moderator; and vice versa, how the relationships influence the contexts. This chapter illustrates such a mutual interplay between border contexts and the social relations in the destination governance network by identifying three tensions: state political border vs. community everyday bordering, cross-border vs. internal markets, and endogenous vs. exogenous cultural usage.

8.2 Analysis and findings

As shown in Figure 25, four main clusters are identified: China, Vietnam, the tourism market, and Jing culture. Graphically, two countries are connected by both tourism market and Jing culture. However, the tourism market and Jing culture are not well related. Three relations between the identified themes (clusters) emerge from the analysis as mentioned above. Further discussion on how these factors might contribute to causing the gap in border governance network is provided afterwards.

Figure 25. Word co-occurrence network based on border interview data



Nodes: 33; Edges: 62; Density: 0.117　　　*Source: Author*

8.2.1 State political border vs. community everyday bordering

The figure clearly shows that China and Vietnam are two separate clusters, which means that the border tourism network is not integrated yet. According to the interview data, on the one hand, the political nature of borders reflects the national identities and further promotes specific border tourism products. For instance, In MC, the first international lighthouse on the border of Vietnam's waters was developed as a tourist attraction, with a national flag on the top, symbolizing Vietnamese national identity. On the other hand, tourism development at borders is greatly restricted by state policies. For instance, the tourism strategy “two nations in one city-Dong(xing) Mong(cai)” proposed by DX local government was rejected by the central government, because “national border must be clear”. Thus, the state political borders are somehow ‘hard’.

In contrast, the informal civil relations between border communities have never ceased, no matter how the ‘hard’ border policies vary from time to time. Exchanges of daily goods, participation to the joint cultural festivals, development of border trade market, all these border activities have been embedded in communities’ everyday life. Borders become ‘soft’ in daily social interactions. Inherently, a gap could be identified between the ‘hard’ national border and the ‘soft’, sometimes even blurry boundaries in the everyday bordering process.

8.2.2 Cross-border vs. internal markets

Tourism market is one of the key factors to connect China and Vietnam. Chinese tourism industrial chains extend across the border. In the “market” cluster, the diagram shows that “tourism”, “shops” and “tour guides” are the densest words. Interpreted within contexts, Vietnamese travel agencies accuse Chinese counterparts of their dishonest behaviours. Most Chinese tourists are taken to shops by tour guides for high return, apart from fixed commission. Consequently, tourists are short of time to visit cultural sites, even though they were in the first place attracted by the exotic culture near borders. This finding confirms that the tremendous negative impact of “zero-commission tour” on stakeholders (Zhang et. al, 2009) could harm the cross-border cooperation, even the international relationship in a long run and weaken the trustful ties built by the border ethnic communities, because the nationality “Chinese” in this context sharply distinguishes ‘us’ from ‘them’:

TE12: *Many Chinese come here to buy coffee, jade, gold, etc., but it is not good! Because the goods are fake! Chinese businessmen sell fake stuff to Chinese tourists visiting Vietnam. When Chinese tourists go back to China, they say that they are cheated by Vietnamese shops! In fact, they are all Chinese bosses. For the long run, Vietnam's reputation will be destroyed. We hope our government should take some measures to regulate the market.*

In comparison to the cross-border tourism market, internal market (with domestic Chinese tourists) confronts risks of cultural (mis)representation and commodification by external capitals. According to the official statistics (2014-2017), DX tourist arrival reached peaks during the Ha festival week of Jing group. Therefore, it is believed that the Vietnamese/Jing culture is what satisfies domestic tourists' curiosity and it could serve as a unique selling point.

TE1: *DX government leaders and the village head both agreed with our idea to promote Jing culture. We plan to produce a mega-event based on the Ha festival of Jing ethnic people. They have done the same thing for many years, nothing changes at all, it could be boring. Instead, we will hire professionals to perform and use high tech to create magnificent stage effects. The show will be a great success.*

Market exchange activities include complex relations, according to Blau (1964), at least there are economic and social exchange relations. Molm (1994, 1999) further develops them into the concepts of negotiated and reciprocal exchange relations. The negotiated relations are formally arranged based on the economic rules, the relations between the transaction partners are oriented in economic values. As shown in the current study, both the cross-border tourism markets and internal markets are centred with the economic outcome. Such economic relations are conceived short-term and "de-personalized". In contrast, instead of immediate return and profit maximization in the negotiated relations, reciprocal relation relies on consistent interactions between two parties over time, which is not the case of the tourism market but exists in border trade between communities of both borders. Therefore, this phenomenon suggests to further investigate the relationship between the tourism market and border communities. For instance, what has been demonstrated in the previous Chapter about a feasible and realistic collaboration mechanism and process to increase trust in tourism markets through community participation.

8.2.3 Endogenous vs. exogenous cultural usage

Jing culture is the other key factors to connect China and Vietnam besides tourism markets. The investors within the borderline of China show great interest in Jing ethnic culture and the means of its commercialization. As shown in Figure 25, "Jing culture" is connected with other clusters through "Ha Festival", although "Jing" and "culture" are most frequent words, their density is among the lowest in the network. Inherently, "Ha festival" represents Jing culture and functions as a regular communication channel to local actors and across the border. Interestingly, endogenous usage means that Jing community members learn about the traditional way of singing and dancing, music playing and cooking through the exchange with their Vietnamese counterparts across the border. In this way, knowledge and collective memory of Jing/Vietnamese ethnicity are reinforced. These self-organized informal activities maintain social relations from both sides of the border. This case has shown that ethnicity and culture remain a key determinant of group affiliation. Building upon the ethnicity and interactions in everyday life, endogenous development potentially could flourish with local resource use.

Conversely, exogenous usage of Jing culture refers to the aforementioned risks in the internal tourism market, which might over-commercialized the ethnic heritage and compromise the cultural authenticity, even tourist experience (Yang, 2011). Moreover, Yang et. al (2013) argue that local ethnic people are a part of the landscape, which gives special meanings to the experiences of tourists. Taking the lessons learned, authentic tourism representation with the local participation could prevent severe consequences, especially at border regions, where ethnic-cultural representation could be more controversial.

8.3 Discussion: trust as a root to establish a coherent border tourism destination

Although border destinations are much influences by national policy, this study finds that, on the one hand, the experienced border communities do not trust the local government because its rather unpredictable regulations and reliable behaviours; on the other hand, trust has been built over years between communities across borders in the everyday bordering process. As a significant concept in SET, trust specifically contributes to understanding social exchange relations at the local level. As sociologist Robbins (2016, p. 972–973) argues that trust is "an emergent property of social life embedded in social relations and personally experienced by everyday people. … Trust promotes cooperation and eases social interaction –regardless of the goals or what is at stake – in social life. With trust, social order is possible; without trust, social conflict is probable". This enlightens the needs to a "tailor-made" policy at borders, taking into consideration the tension between the 'hard' political border and the 'soft' civil bordering process on a daily basis.

The findings show clearly that the local community is not well integrated into the tourism industry of the border destination DX. Therefore, two different value system are presented: the ethnic communities are running small tourism-related businesses near the border while keeping personal socio-cultural contacts with their counterparts on the other side of the border. Trust between these communities is long-lasting and stable. As Uslaner (2004, p. 4) observes "the roots of trust are not institutional. They lie in the deeper values that societies hold–and in the distribution of resources." In contrast, the tourism industrial chain is highly commercialized and economic return is the prioritized in such negotiated social relations based on market competition, especially in the increasingly globalized economic system. The current state of research in tourism studies reflects the under-privileged nature of trust (e.g. Nunkoo, 2017; Ryan, 2002). Under this research context, Bramwell (2005) advocates investigating further the specific character of trust and develops a typology of trust in tourism governance and sustainable tourism.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter elaborates the particularities and potential impacts of border contexts towards destination governance by investigating the social relations reflecting state political border vs. community everyday bordering, cross-border vs. internal markets, and endogenous vs. exogenous cultural usage. The discussion stresses the importance of trust in the border social relations, implying that state political power would be even more solid if it can be rooted in and adapted to the civil societal relations, in particular taking into consideration the border communities share long historic socio-cultural ties and strong traditions, such as language, festival, religion, which are embedded in their everyday life. Under such contexts, how to integrate community cluster into the tourism industry cluster is confirmed worth more research attention.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

Although the literature has been advocating for citizen/community-inclusive approach for decades, there is still little knowledge of how policymakers and practitioners can effectively engage communities, in both decision-making and benefit-sharing (Ashley et al., 2015). This thesis set out to explore a feasible model that may innovatively integrate local community into the destination governance network. Following the outlined results from Chapter 5 to 8, the current chapter intends to elucidate the findings by putting the "puzzles" altogether and showing a multi-dimensional picture of a border destination governance at macro, micro and meso scales, specifically focusing on the conditions that allow (or impede) community participation from the perspectives of institutions, communities and enterprises.

This chapter is composed of six sections. After the introduction, the main findings of the study are recalled and situated within the proposed SET framework in Chapter 2. Following this analytical foundation, the third section addresses imperative issues in policy design, providing implications specifically "tailored" for the relational contexts of border destinations. Before the suggestions of future research directions, in the end, the contributions of the current study are summed up in both theoretical and practical terms.

9.2 Research objectives and overall results

The overarching research question for this study is concerned with examining the conditions under which border ethnic communities could participate in local tourism development, not only in terms of passive economic benefit sharing, but also active decision-making, which is expected to lead to an inclusive, cohesive and sustainable development. To address this question, a conceptual framework is proposed based on an in-depth review of the extant literature on governance and community participation. While the construction of the analytical model is framed by interpreting the SET. More specifically, the notion about the importance of borders at the critical moment of OBOR initiative of China, which aims to connect and collaborate with the neighbouring countries, calls for a research framing within a social exchange context.

Border tourism encompasses various issues, such as regional development, global value chain, national security, and international relations. This study is conducted on community participation in the tourism governance within a Chinese border context. To gain a deeper understanding, it is important to examine the comprehensive conditions under which community participation is feasible and operational, by considering both public and private, formal and informal factors. Therefore, this study focuses on the particularities of border regions by articulating three main aspects: 1) institutional power patterns in governance, which set a formal and legitimate scenario for community participation; 2) ethnic community boundaries, reflecting endogenous strategies from an emit perspective, influenced by high mobility within and across borders; and 3) socio-economic values that intrinsically emerge from the grassroots enterprises embedded in everyday social relations. This study identifies the conditions that community participation could take place at macro-, micro- and meso- levels, which might contribute to the policy design in border regions, particularly in the transformational period of China under the influence of OBOR initiative. As such, this section provides discussion to address the research questions under three subtitles, namely, power, boundaries, and values, in accordance with the conceptual model proposed in Chapter 2.

Table 14. Research questions of the thesis and knowledge advancements

Research questions of the thesis	Keyword	Knowledge advancements
General question: what are the conditions under which community could participate in tourism governance networks in an efficient and holistic way?	Governance Community participation	Valuable insights are provided on conditions that community participation requires in the context of border destination governance at macro, micro and meso levels.
Sub-question 1: What causes the gap between policy formulation and implementation at border destinations?	Power (macro: destination)	Six tensions are identified to impede community participation in tourism decision making by investigating and comparing actors, process and mechanism of policy formulation and implementation
Sub-question 2: Why and how do ethnic communities decide their participation in tourism as a form of social interactions?	Boundaries (micro: community)	The complexity and dynamics of the community participation is due to 3Ps: 1) Process: tourism as a form of social interactions provides a process to form the ethnic boundaries; 2) Proactive strategies of participation: tourism amplifies ethnic identity and reinforces the boundaries of ethnic culture; and 3) Propriety: tourism as an alternative

		source of income facilitates negotiation of the cultural representation and place identity
Sub-question 3: How and why socio-economic values can endogenously emerge from grassroots enterprises by effectively engaging local communities?	Values (meso: enterprise)	Four conditions are identified to create shared value (CSV) by testing a locally initiated CBT enterprise: various motivations, institutional drivers, inclusive management and holistic measurement.

Source: Author

9.2.1 Rethinking 'power' in the relation between governance and state

Community involvement is twofold: participation in decision-making and/or the benefits that accrue from tourism activities (Timothy, 1999). As aforementioned, the interpretation of this study on decision-making is a process-oriented approach concerning power relations amongst stakeholders, while the benefit-sharing is oriented in performance, which could be understood as a result of the power distribution process. To evaluate the decentralization of tourism governance, it is essential to examine how power is delegated to public, private sectors and community stakeholders (Bramwell, 2005). Traditional methods to involve community stakeholders include public briefings, questionnaire surveys, interviews, workshops and advisory committees (Lin & Simmons, 2017; Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011; Byrd, 2007; Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Vernon et al., 2005), reflecting 'minimal' involvement, where participants have little power to influence policy effectively (Marzuki et al., 2012; Spencer, 2010). This means that institutional power dominates the decision-making process and community participation somehow remains a political issue. How much democracy matters in terms community participation in liberal political system seems contested, whereas in authoritarian countries, unbalance power relation leads to difficulties for existing power holders to share their control with non-expert citizens (Simpson, 2008; Dragouni, 2018). Fortunately, this is not a dead-end. As Chapter 7 indicates that power not only derives from formal institutions but also stems from local knowledge and culture when it is valued in social exchange relations, even though it is often neglected by institutions in policy making process. In this vein, power is suggested to be categorized as top-down and bottom-up directions, with different attributes of power sources, involved actors or selected partners, their vision and strategies, which reflect the key dimensions of governance networks.

Table 15. Power typology

Power direction	Top-down	Bottom-up
Power source	Formal public institutions	Informal and /or private sectors and communities
Policy-related process	Policy formulation	Policy implementation
Involved actors/ Selected partners	Public administrations and state-owned enterprises/ investors	Local enterprises and local communities
Visions/strategies	Economic growth based on market competitions	Social cohesion and livelihood improvement based on trust and reciprocity
Delivery carrier	Mega projects	Local CBT initiatives
Bidirectional power relationship	Internal vs. external legitimacy; Effectiveness vs. overlapping power; Exclusive power vs. public participation; Different interests vs. consensus building; Laws vs. Norms; Unpredictability vs. trust	

Source: Author

As identified in Chapter 5, the gap between policy formulation and implementation is partially caused by one-way communication mechanism. For example, local communities are informed by the village council about relevant issues, mainly after the decisions have been taken, villagers have no power to influence top-management decisions or policymaking. Techniques such as tourism planning adopted as an instrument to be more inclusive have been proved ineffective in allowing meaningful and continuous community participation by some studies (Marzuki et al., 2012), especially if they merely form a consultation exercise. For instance, Irvin & Stansbury (2004) assert that community-inclusive planning does not guarantee better decisions, as participatory approaches can be exploited by the most persuasive and powerful, who wish to promote and ratify decisions in favour of their personal interests rather than communal benefits.

Table 16. Community participation in liberal and authoritarian models

Liberal models	Democracy (Taylor, 1995; Joppe, 1996; Simpson,2008; Tosun,2000) policy/decision-making process	Planning (Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994; Bramwell, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Butler, 2011, Airey & Miller, 2008; Rita et al, 2018)
Authoritarian models	Trust (Huhe et al, 2015; Nunkoo, 2015) Both are quantitative research.	Planning (Yang, 2011; Ashley & Jones, 2001; Sebele, 2010; Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Lin & Simmons, 2017; Bao, 2000, 2016)

Source: Author

When both democracy and planning are not feasible options, as the literature suggests that trust might show a way out (Huhe et al, 2015; Nunkoo, 2015). This study demonstrates that the bottom-up power emerged from the collaboration between local CBT enterprise and ethnic community creates shared value, both social and economic. Therefore, it should be recognized that power doesn't only exist in formal institutions based on tangible resource exchange, more importantly, the endogenous power embedded in social exchange relations based on intangible resources (such as trustful relations) might become a significant resource and play a key role to improve community participation.

An increasing number of management and action plans produced in the last decades underline the need to involve communities; however, there seems to be little effort on translating their words into practice (Chirikure et al. 2010). Sometimes, the participation of local communities even can be regarded as a threat or trouble by tourism professionals (Simpson, 2008; Connelly, 2010). This suggests that participatory governance is an established theoretical concept of sustainable tourism, but its implementation is conspicuously difficult (Landorf, 2011). This study identifies six tensions in policy implementation, to explain the reasons why it is difficult in practice due to the gap between the top-down and bottom-up power directions and related consequences.

9.2.2 Rethinking 'boundaries' in the relation between governance and communities

Boundaries are not fixed, but dynamic and negotiated. As discussed, Barth's theory breaks down static analytical frameworks that rely on a "power domination" perspective, and approach ethnic culture in a wider social context. Following this line, 'ethnic boundaries' formation is a dynamic process of social interaction. Border tourism as a specific form of social relation provides an ideal context to understand how and why the ethnic boundaries are formed and maintained, taking into consideration that ethnic culture across borders as the main tourist attraction is "owned" by local Jing community. Three P's (Process, Purpose, and Propriety) explain the motivations and mechanism of the boundary formation and negotiation. Accordingly, the strategies that the community takes are rooted in power relations within a local governance network.

As explained in SET previously, on the one hand, the departure point of forming exchange relations is to define the boundaries of a group, especially when the nature of resources and its ownership influence whether certain communities could get involved.

On the other hand, it is essential to identify the exchange partner who values the resources, and situates in a relatively balanced position, even depend on each other. This is what according to Emerson, coalitions established on the basis of dyadic relations, which paves the way to be extended to a triadic network in theory. Therefore, networks are not pre-existing, Jing community and their participation in local tourism activities provide the empirical evidence for network formation process.

What could be risky is that the socially constructed meanings of cultural heritage (Hall, 1997; Mason, 2002), the everyday cultural expressions, local customs and traditions of ethnic community are valued as tourism resources, but not by a power-balanced partner, instead by much more powerful stakeholders, such as external investors or public institutions. In spite of the widespread academic consensus that communities need to participate in the tourism planning or policymaking, in practice, communities are rarely assigned with the power to influence tourism decisions (Jordan et al., 2013; Su et al., 2016; Su & Wall, 2014). Such imbalanced power relation cannot form the dyadic social relations that embrace the value of culture, which might lead to misrepresentation of ethnic culture (Yang et al., 2016) or even the over-commodification and acculturalization in a long run (Yang & Wall, 2007).

The dilemma is that the development of ethnic cultural tourism requires substantial investment and the collective co-operation of government officials, professionals, and local communities for its sustainable viability. Therefore, the concern is what are the conditions to form an effective governance network. From the previous analysis, it seems that five steps could be followed:

1) identify valuable resources;

2) define the ownership of the resources in order to establish a dyadic social relation;

3) identify the balanced/dependent partners with relatively same power;

4) develop a coalition with the identified partner;

5) extend the dyadic coalition to the triad and/or network.

In this case, it is possible to avoid the top-down approach to convince the power holder to share their power, rather a bottom-up approach to gradually build a network starting with small scale collaboration with the selected partners. Thus, mistrust between formal stakeholders and non-expert communities could be mitigated (Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013).

Another concern drawn attention is that community members are reluctant to share their cultural resources with outsiders (Lowenthal, 2015). This may be due to community's fear that tourism would cause undesirable transformations to their heritage, or it might even manifest their concerns of losing ownership (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013; Wang & Bramwell, 2012). This could be a barrier to establish a social exchange relation according to SET. In this sense, ethnic boundaries are significant in terms of keeping open-minded and flexible, meanwhile not losing control. This justifies the importance to understand the motivation and mechanism of boundary formation and maintenance. Furthermore, there are additional place-specific reasons that make this exploration more interesting, such as border regions.

9.2.3 Rethinking 'values' in the relation between governance and enterprises

Busser & Shulga (2018, p. 75) suggest that value co-creation requires "a mutual understanding, common vision, and functional interdependence bringing together two or more actors to achieve shared objectives that are not achievable by one actor alone. Linked to value creation, the process and outcome become more valuable when all actors collaborate for mutual benefit, positive-sum gain, system vitality, and strong reciprocal relationships." Although this is enlightening on the positive outcome of CSV, it does not explain how it can be achieved. In fact, the prerequisite of co-creating value is to understand the nature of value per se. The traditional SET distinguishes value as negotiated and reciprocal ones according to the social relations between actors. The former is oriented in economic value for improving market competitiveness, which is mostly conceived short-term and "de-personalized". Whereas the latter is engaged in consistent social interactions between two parties over time, instead of immediate return and profit maximization. Therefore, orientation of value creation determines the way of community participation. If the economic growth is the priority, administrative effectiveness instead of social inclusiveness might be preferred (Provan & Kenis, 2008); while when social value is prominent, community participation can be expected more feasible in comparison. Additionally, economic and social values are not mutually exclusive. SET suggests that trust can function as the transformer from negotiated to reciprocal social relations. This theoretical hypothesis needs a reality check in practice.

This study takes the perspective of enterprises to investigate the conditions allowing community participation in dealing with the relation between economic and social values. CSV concept coined by Porter and Kramer (2011) is tested, 'shared value involves creating economic value in a way that also creates value for society by addressing its needs and challenges'. Thus, economic benefits and social responsibility are not isolated any more as in the traditional theoretical system. This study focuses on the enterprise level to explain how and why it is feasible to realize meaningful community participation and sustainable local development.

Previous research has explored co-created value mostly concentrated in the field of customer loyalty in general (Hsieh, 2015; O'Cass & Sok, 2015; Busser & Shulga, 2018) or tourist destination experience (Jamilena et al., 2016; Mathis et al., 2016; Pena et al., 2014). Despite the consensus that social entrepreneurship creating social value, little is still known about the mechanism and process how social value can be generated (Altinay et al., 2016). Three types of motivations explain the complex decision-making process of CBT enterprises.

Firstly, the enterprises' priority is to survive with its core business competitiveness. The identification of unique Jing ethnic culture provides competitive advantages over other coastal tourism destinations, given that the Jing ethnic group is the only marine minority in China, this is an essential market positioning oriented to economic value, which is defined as instrumental motivation. Secondly, Jing culture represents the identity of the place, "it is worth doing" to involve Jing community, on the one hand, to guarantee the authentic tourist experiences, on the other hand, as the owner of the Jing culture, they "deserve" to be a part of it. This is considered normative motivation. Thirdly, the Han businessman is embedded in the local Jing community and shares similar socio-environmental concerns. This is the most profound motivation that connects locally initiated enterprise and community, which is descriptive motivation.

Different from the negotiated and reciprocal relations identified in traditional SET, the economic value was created in both the negotiated and reciprocal relations at the same time in this case, which suggests a third-social relation that is more complex and progressive, this coalition formation demonstrates that the network should not be taken as pre-existing but a constructive process; on the other hand, unlike what Simpson (2008) argued for the professional deliverables, it respects the "non-expert" skills obtained by

Jing community members to express their own culture and transform it into an authentic tourist experience. This demonstrates how a CSV approach relinquishes power from the managers and professionals to the hands of community members and, in so doing, a collaborative network is gradually built. Thus, the dyadic coalition between community and enterprise is ready to be extended to network based on long-term trustful social relations and consolidated economic foundations.

This study demonstrates that it is possible that local knowledge can be recognised and respected by showing strategic community participation being associated with different motivations, capacities and the specific roles that community members may play in tourism. The process of searching for participation positions has been proved necessary to raise awareness, "share" aspirations and eventually reach a consensus among stakeholders, which is vital to apply CSV. Meanwhile, self-determination and self-empowerment gradually emerge during such social interactions.

On the contrary, mistrust between participant stakeholders can pose extra barriers to collaboration, given that trust and reciprocity are key factors that mobilize social resources (Lo et al., 2013). Kelliher et al. (2018) confirm the role of trust in building micro firm network engagement, especially when communities do not have the capacity to operate a commercially successful business, although indigenous enterprises might have some competitive advantages (Fuller et al, 2004). Inherently, partnerships with other stakeholders within the region can overcome the constraints of community participation. This could also avoid the control of exogenous elitists warned by Tosun (2000) because non-local power often aims to control tourism resources for their own benefit.

Recent studies confirm that neither tourism-related nor pure economic benefits exerted major influences on motivating community members to participate in tourism policy (Mukherjee & Dutta, 2018). Economic incentives cannot sufficiently explain or inform the mobilization process of participatory planning, especially in emerging destinations (Saufi et al., 2014; Stone & Stone, 2011; Wang et al., 2010). Instead, the evidence of this study suggests that community should be counted as value creators or producers, not the objects of value redistribution. Therefore, expected satisfaction from community participation is not merely linked to tourism economic returns as a social exchange (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1987). Rather, as it is argued that the social rewards of participating in public policy matters may be more important than tangible gains

(Fairclough, 2001). As Meeker (1971) developed this value proposition to predict people's future choice behaviour, the more social value a person gains, the more likely he/she would take actions. This is particularly meaningful for border destinations in terms of policy design.

9.3 Implications on policy design of border destination

9.3.1 Border as a relational context

Tourism is a significant industry in many border regions, and some of the world's most popular attractions are located adjacent to, or directly on political boundaries (Timothy, 2000). This study investigates the context of border destinations and observes the interplay between the context and its embedded social relations. Three tensions are identified to reveal how border complexities might affect governance: state political border vs. community bordering process, cross-border vs. internal markets, and endogenous vs. exogenous cultural usage. This section discusses borders as a complex context from two aspects: hard vs. soft borders; cross vs. within border.

9.3.1.1 Hard vs. soft borders

As indicated in Chapter 8, political or national borders are somehow 'hard'. Various physical forms of the border demarcation between two nations representing the state power and cross-border diplomatic relations (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011). Borders have been construed as 'institutions that serve to mark the functioning barrier between states, to impose control over the flows of people and regulation of cross-border trade, or to indicate the evolving gateway to facilitating contact and interchange' (Hageman et al., 2004, p. 2). Therefore, the exercise of sovereignty within that territorially bounded space is one of de jure governance (Timothy, 2000). In contrast, civil or community borders are relatively 'soft' in daily social interactions and bordering process. The relation between 'hard' or 'soft' borders in the context of (cross-)border tourism reflects the interwoven national identities and local identities, which is based on everyday activities and personal contacts. As Paasi & Prokkola (2008, p. 25) observe "actors working at the grass-root levels stress that co-operation should be based on daily practices. Personal contacts are considered just as important as ceremonial meetings such as political rallies, sports events or joint celebrations. What counts as significant is the sharing of mundane daily life." In this vein, this study suggests that broader social processes at contextual features might be of great help to understand the relation between 'hard' and 'soft' borders.

9.3.1.2 Cross vs. within border

From the results shown in the findings, both the cross-border tourism markets and internal markets are centred with the economic outcome, with little connection to local community and Jing ethnic culture. Such negotiated market-based relations are conceived short-term according to SET. Border tourism, especially cross-border value chain represents economic globalization. As Mukherjee & Dutta (2018, p. 103) find out that "higher economic globalization emphasizes market-based policies. At the same time, higher social globalization that comes with the greater exchange of ideas and information as well as cultural integration, can make the populace more aware of international norms, can enhance freedom of expression via network building and exchange of ideas and can make the populace adhere better to rules in the society." Mukherjee & Dutta (2018) further conclude that the market is social globalization depending on community everyday bordering process can improve border regions and countries to better enjoy the benefits from economic globalization. On the contrary, countries with low levels of social globalization fail to benefit from economic globalization. Thus, it can be argued that better border governance lies in the socio-cultural fusion in the border community everyday lives.

9.3.2 Implications of policy design at borders

In the previous chapters, the evolutionary process of DX border destination development is analysed, it has experienced a process of power shift from a dominant control by local states and market forces, then a partial shift towards national state and border communities, and a new dominance by the Chinese state, like other similar border destinations in neighbouring provinces (Gao et al., 2019). Correspondently, border policies should adapt to such changes in power structure, and border complexities should also be taken into consideration in the process of the policy design. Moreover, border tourism development depends on multiple factors, including political and economic environment, means of communication, socio-cultural cohesion (Paasi & Prokkola, 2008). This section is dedicated to discussing in what way different border facets could impact on destination governance and what implications can be suggested for future policymaking.

Schlager & Sabatier (1999, p. 4) point out that "understanding the policy process requires knowledge of the goals and perceptions of hundreds of actors throughout the country involving possibly very technical-scientific and legal issues over periods of a decade or more while most of those actors are actively seeking to propagate their specific 'spin' on events." Beginning in the 1980s, policy theorists turned to a policy design approach (Simon, 1981; Schneider & Ingram 1988; Weimer & Vining 1989; May, 1991) that was initially proposed to address the welter of intervening variables that affect the design, selection, implementation, and evaluation of public policy. By the late 1980s, the concept of social construction of target populations was introduced. This work posited that public policymakers socially construct target populations in positive and negative terms by distributing benefits and/or burdens. The incorporation of social construction of target populations as part of policy design helps explain why public policy, which can have such a positive or negative effect on society (Ingram et al., 2007). They further stress "policy design has fundamental social and political consequences, not just on material welfare but also on social reputation and how segments of the population view their relationship with their government (Ingram et al., 2007, p. 94). This section addresses issues in policy design in terms of the social construction of border regions, particular with focus of border communities and how they can be integrated into policy design in political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions.

9.3.2.1 Political border

In a given political regime, tourism resources are largely shaped by the political environment of a destination (Kester & Croce, 2011). Meanwhile, borders are heavily influenced by the nature and extent of tourism development in their vicinity (Timothy, 2000). Thus, border tourism governance means to take into consideration of the political impact of border in both national and civil terms. One the one hand, border tourism (focusing on cross-border or not) is a part of international/ global value chain by the nature of mobility. Border destination governance and related policy design should not merely confined within domestic perspective or on the national level. The OBOR initiative launched by Chinese central government is a good example to take a global and/or regional view in looking at the border relations. However, our study interestingly evidences that at local level, such a vision has been compromised due to the nature of 'project system' that centralizes institutional power by distributing financial resources. Therefore, policymakers should be aware how border tourism policy could function differently from inland system to foster the political effectiveness at borders. On the other hand, as clearly shown in this study, the ethnic community and local CBT enterprises are intrinsically motivated to participate in tourism development for their profound concerns of local development and personal place attachment. This is opposite to politically motivated initiatives that are often unsustainable as the formal power is relatively short-term (Paasi & Prokkola, 2008). Therefore, such grassroots powerful drivers could be even politically constructive and should not be neglected, specifically in the process of border policymaking. This is supported by research that proves two-dimensional nature of community attachment as both social, i.e. social interactions, integration into the community, and physical, namely, rootedness and affinity to a specific place (Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; McCool & Martin, 1994).

9.3.2.2 Economic border

Historically, border trade between local ethnic communities across the border has experience four decades between DX and MC, which paves the way to further development of economic zones on both sides. In another word, border market development is based on community livelihood. Nowadays, small-scale border trade between communities still remains the major economic contribution to local economic development, although this is a critical moment that local government is seeking for a more market-oriented rapid pro-growth track, taking the advantage of being the first pilot zone of border tourism in China and getting financial support from central government. As previously discussed, marketized economy by its nature is for improving competitiveness, whereas the creating shared value system encourages local entrepreneurship embedded in the social relations for the long run, oriented to collaboration and cooperation. The current study does not suggest that these two paths cannot be compatible with each other, and it does not mean to exclude external capitals. Instead, as a means to strengthen the market competitiveness of the local enterprises, external investors could join the consolidated coalition of community and local enterprise as the member of the governance network (Zhang & Xu, 2019). Thus, the border tourism policy legitimizes the local CBT enterprises, meanwhile, keeps the governance network open to be more inclusive and competitive. In this sense, border regions can provide a secure, cohesive, prosperous environment for local sustainable development.

9.3.2.3 Socio-cultural border

As discussed in Chapter 8, there exist the contradictions between endogenous and exogenous usage of Jing cultural resources, especially in the domestic tourism market, which is related to over-commercialization and fairness of benefit distribution. However, Saxena & Ilbery (2008) argue that the concepts of endogeneity and exogeneity are not absolute. It depends on how they are perceived locally, especially in terms of where ownership and decision-making powers are thought to lie. Endogenous means that development is built around local distinctive resources and locals enjoy the maximum benefits, which fits the case of border community. In this sense, the cross-border Jing/Kinh communities are endogenous users and owners of common cultural resources. Although this might be a 'throne' from the perspective of nationalism or political regime, theorists suggest that societies with higher levels of trust (like the border areas) in turn have institutions that function better. Trust leads to better institutions–not the other way around Uslaner (2004), given the roots of trust are not institutional. They lie in the deeper values societies hold–and in the distribution of resources.

To sum up, as Uslaner (2004, p. 2) asserts that "trust has cultural roots that are resistant to change. However, trust does not depend upon culture alone. The level of economic equality in a country has a powerful effect on the level of interpersonal trust–and here, government policies that foster a more equal distribution of resources can have a powerful effect on trust." Therefore, the policy design should avoid unfair distribution of resources by merely supporting mega projects operated by state-owned enterprises or large external capitals. In contrast, the locally initiated enterprises, which are embedded in long-term social relations, sharing the common concerns about the place environment and cultural traditions, should be encouraged and legitimized to have a wider space to develop and gain market competitiveness. Thus, a dynamic state-market-community relation within a balanced power structure at local level would create a cohesive society, which also lays a domestic foundation for building further cooperation across border.

9.4 Contributions

9.4.1 Theoretical contributions

This thesis makes several theoretical and practical contributions. Based on an extensive literature review, an analytical framework is proposed for a deeper understanding of participatory model of border destination governance. This model seeks to explain the mechanism of state-market-community interplay by taking into consideration both resource-based relations and relation-based attributes embedded in a complex and dynamic relational context at borders of China and Vietnam. It departs from dyadic relations of traditional SET and focuses on the processes and conditions that a governance network could be generated from grass-rooted ground on the basis of coalition between local communities and CBT enterprises. Interesting issues of cultural boundaries, place identity, trust, shared values, and social cohesion emerges from a multi-scale comprehensive analysis. These developments advance the existing knowledge of community participation from a multi-actor perspective. In this sense, the current study not only applies social exchange theory to disentangle the social relations encompassing community as a target population but also seeks to extend and enrich SET in a cross-disciplinary approach, namely, anthropological and microeconomic. This thesis shows a need to address the complexities associated with social exchange relationships, and as such, move beyond dyadic relations and recognise the cyclical nature of exchange process influenced by its contexts.

Under the umbrella of the proposed analytical framework to understand the conditions under which community could participate in tourism governance networks in a holistic approach, three academic engagement areas deserve attention.

First, policymaking is socially constructed as a form of social learning within policy networks (e.g. Freeman, 2006; Klein, 1997; Rose, 1993). This thesis deconstructs the structure and process of community participation within a context of border destination governance to enable a better understanding of the core issues that policy is called for addressing, which might contribute to facilitating a tailored policy design. As Hall (2011b) asserts that policymaking should be a learning process of addressing social issues which at the stake of the network actors. In this vein, two types of learning within policy domains have been identified (2011b, p.656): first, instrumental or technical learning which is concerned with adjusting or modifying existing policy instruments in order to pursue policy goals. Such incremental learning is generally regarded as a normal part of the policy process (Bennett & Howlett, 1992; Hall, 1993). Second, conceptual or social policy learning that is concerned with changes in basic policy beliefs and paradigms (Fiorino, 2001; Hall, 1993; May, 1992). The former refers to superficial change with respect to goal achievement and the latter to more fundamental changes in organisational goals and norms (Argyris, 1992). For Hall (1993, p. 279) a “policy paradigm” is the “framework of ideas and standards that specify not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments used to attain them but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing”.

The contribution of this thesis, on the one hand, is to provide a theoretical framework to explain what could be learned from the policy implementation process (six tensions) in order to formulate more inclusive policies while keeping the overarching policy goals; on the other hand, policy instruments such as tourism planning and/or techniques and technologies used to achieve policy goals should not take the lead of the destination development orientation by neglecting the grounded social issues. Thus, the policy formulation process is accessible to the local day-to-day problem solving and opportunity creation, the gap between policymaking and implementation can be filled up.

Additionally, in light of this, the findings from this thesis add to previous research by showing an empirically supported bidirectional power relationships and their sources, visions, involved actors and delivery carriers. The need and importance to incorporate these elements to encapsulate a depth of understanding in the process of policy formulation are evidenced by demonstrating the power emerging from the micro level to influence such meso and macro entities as organizations, institutions, even the state, and governance processes (Nunkoo, 2017).

Second, community-based research shed light on the social construction processes of cultural heritage and identity by drawing on local interpretations towards traditions. However, community participation is often treated as a technical instrument to tourism development rather than a transformative one (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Consequently, such a pragmatic approach would detach the communities from their local social dynamics, which can be particularly problematic, given that participation is influenced by context-specific characteristics (Ebdon, 2000). Although much empirical discussion on participatory tourism governance, many remain disconnected from this background (see, for instance, Jordan et al., 2015; Spencer, 2010; Wray, 2011, Vernon et al., 2005). In contrast, the thesis has specifically drawn attention to the border context and its multi-dimensional influence to explain why and how ethnic communities decide their participation in tourism as social interactions. As clearly shown by this study, community preferences and behaviours are socially constructed within the embedded everyday relations. Identification of community concerns can be of great help to detect problematic areas from an early stage and work on rectifying them so that a solid basis for social cohesion could be achieved.

Third, SET is meant to apply across a wide variety of social situations to gain an operational definition to bridge between generalizing concepts and the concrete features of a specific research situation (Emerson, 1962). This thesis has tested with empirical research on the application condition at a Chinese border: how and why socio-economic values can endogenously emerge from the grassroots enterprises by effectively engaging communities. The findings provide a theoretical backup to the community-based tourism solution. Progressive social relations guided by CSV contribute new knowledge to more recent literature, suggesting that simultaneous social relations integrating negotiated and reciprocal ones could provide a relation-based attribute to maintain the enterprises' strength to the market competition, similar to the discussion on social enterprises providing inclusive forms of tourism in practice (Biddulph, 2018).

Overall, previous empirical research has separately examined key actors focusing on the role of community, enterprise and/or government. There is a shortage of a holistic understanding of the processes and conditions at the destination level combining the policies, enterprises, and communities. This study provides insight into the importance of social relationships that are built around mutual trust and reciprocity and the impact such relationships can have on the governance model. A clear contribution to theory lies in the holistic and simultaneous analysis of these factors to enhance SET about how the concepts are applied in an empirical study.

9.4.2 Practical contributions

Community participation plays a key role in shaping the social value creation (Altinay et al., 2016), which could be generated at three levels: macro, micro, and meso. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to make some practical contributions to a more inclusive border destination governance at three levels.

First, regarding the macro level. According to the Chinese government, OBOR initiative could help promote economic prosperity and regional cooperation, strengthen exchanges and mutual learning between different civilizations, and promote world peace and development (National Development and Reform Commission, 2015). However, as Pu (2017) analyses that OBOR is initially an economic development strategy, given its aims to potentially affect 55 percent of world gross national product (GNP). This thesis argues that policies should not just be considered as a resource (re)distribution instrument, but also a relational approach to coordinate actors across multiple scales to meet their needs. Beyond economic calculations, policy at border specifically influence the international relations (OBOR has diplomatic and security components), more importantly, social and cultural relations in civil societies across border between communities, which might adversely shape the policy choice of a state in a long run. Practically, as China is one of the largest counties with over 22,000 km borderlines (Yuan, 2014; Du, 2017; Huang, 2017), the findings of this study provide concrete guidelines to both policymakers at different levels and practitioners at similar border destinations about what should be taken into consideration in order to establish a sustainable destination in a holistic approach. Another contribution lies to contextualise a different possibility to develop local economy while prioritising community participation. This study proposes an alternative development approach rather than merely following the formal policy options, stressing the significance of the tailored policies to the current border situations under the influence of OBOR initiative of China.

Second, regarding the micro-level, community development and livelihood improvement should be considered as the goal of economic growth, instead of the growth per se. Community participation to tourism governance network in terms of both decision-making and benefit-sharing guarantees sustainable development and social cohesion. In this sense, this thesis provides a comprehensive analysis to understand the motivations and mechanism that ethnic communities choose to keep their cultural boundaries so that they can control the power to negotiate their way of participation, and cultural expressions, contributing to the identity or even brand of the border destination. Such capabilities of recognizing the community power sourced from local knowledge and cultural heritage embedded in everyday social relations is a key condition for communities to be self-determined. This evidence might be encouraging for many ethnic communities who are living in/around tourist attractions near borderlines. Unlike the case of Xinjiang China presented by Zhang et al. (2015), showing the marginalization of minorities in tourism development as a result of weak bargaining power.

Third, regarding the meso-level. CBT projects are commonly funded by donors through relevant (international) organizations, which mostly remains symbolic (Dinica, 2017). As discussed, CBT has been criticized for its low survival rate without external funding, which implies that the endogenous power is not cultivated or emerged from local communities. Therefore, such “solutions” cannot be sustainable for either the funder or the community. Oppositely, this thesis reveals with empirical support that CBT could emerge by itself, although the exogenous professionals or relevant organizations could be of assistance in terms of technical issues or sometimes bridging the network hole between the policymakers and the community. Evidently, in this case, the project managers are provided with suggestions to switch their traditional roles to observation, connectivity, and facilitation from mere management of the routine details of the projects, such as the timelines, deliverables, and milestones, although these works are also necessary for practice.

9.5 Limitation and future research directions

This thesis has adopted a single case study approach as the research method; there are certain limitations which need to be taken into account so that the results could be further generalized to other similar cases. These limitations provide a vital starting point for setting future research path.

Firstly, it is important to bear in mind that each destination has its own specificities that can define its initial circumstances and upon which participation can take place. For the purpose of this thesis, the limited access to the informants on Vietnam's side hinges potential comparison with the data collected on China's side. Due to such limitations as described in Chapter 3, future research could be further developed by gaining comparative data from Vietnam by collaborating with local academic partners. Specifically, the access to government officials at different levels would be of great interest to have an overall picture of the policy design and interactions at (cross-) border destinations, given the border contexts are shared by two states within the shared tourism markets. Nevertheless, exploring and comparing the current study with other cases would be valuable for enriching and extending this important line of research.

Furthermore, with regard to methodology, the interpretation of the data somehow is confined by the description of the calculated data suggested by the software, without taking into consideration of the richness extracted from facial expressions, intonations and body languages, etc. although the software offers helpful calculation and visualization. This aspect could be improved in future studies.

Secondly, owing to the fact that the identification of the motivations and driving forces for community participation is crucial for policy design, future studies could explore this issue further in terms of operational indicators to measure the effectiveness and efficiency of CSV. Due to the constraints of the journal papers that initially composing this thesis, it was rather difficult to address all issues (such as measurement) to fit in the focused topic range. However, this research line deserves to be further developed because it could be of great help for both policymakers and practitioners to understand the situation through relatively systematic evaluation and more importantly, sharing their information and understanding towards the concerned issues. Although this study has anchored the empirical investigation in cultural representation, ethnic border tourism and social value domains from both anthropological and microeconomic disciplines, the academic background of psychology and/or political science could be of massive value in enhancing a more profound understanding in the future.

Thirdly, as previously mentioned, there is a shortage of past literature that has examined social exchange relationships at macro, micro, and meso levels. Sustainable governance should be grounded in local community dialogue and values (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). This study encourages the future research to explore more appropriate social representations and community participation forms (Moscardo, 2011; Saxena, 2005) such as promoting social enterprises (Biddulph, 2018); adapting strategies of local actors to external opportunities for their own needs (Saxena & Ilbery, 2008). Specifically, “trust” among the communities across the borders is another topic worth further exploring with a qualitative approach (Huhe et al., 2015).

Lastly, but not the least, at the moment while the thesis writing comes to the end, I am informed that mega investment projects have just been approved in DX Waiwei village where Jing community has been living for hundreds of years. What we have worried about the community leaving their homeland, where their cultural traditions cultivated from and social relations embedded in, seems unavoidable. As the sad informant comments: “Unfortunately, this might be the cost of development. No pains, no gains. What can we do?” During the Ph.D. journey, I have witnessed the ups and downs of local communities, much influenced by policy choices at various development stages, even though it has been only four years. It seemed that very moment could be critical; as such a rapid growth spiral creates a black hole that does not leave any time to pause and think, why are we doing this? For whom? As the new policy is undertaking, the political environment has changed dramatically in the past three years. New challenges and institutional driver might be different from the previous survey. This is another limitation of the current study, which might be shared by many destinations in

China, experiencing a rapid transformation of society and economic development. As Hall (2011b) claims that it is possible that policymaking is continually seeking to “catch up”, because the associated economic, social and political conditions change, and occur faster than corresponding changes in policy systems.

9.6 Conclusion

Overall, this study brings together a cross-disciplinary collection of major theoretical concepts from sociology, anthropology, economic theory, governance, tourism, and sustainable development to frame a novel multi-dimensional enquiry into the subject of community participation. It applies social network analysis combined with content analysis, which introduces new approaches to research on the subject, such as ex-ante assessments (conditions on each level) of destinations. By doing so, it provides empirical evidence to support the theoretical concept of community participation with endogenous power in the coalition with local CBT enterprises. These findings are particularly useful for informing future participation processes that can pave the way for sustainable and inclusive border tourism destinations. Thus, it is evident that this particular line of enquiry deserves further attention.

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